

The Rohe Potae
Commercial Economy
in the
Mid-Nineteenth Century,
c.1830-1886

A report commissioned by
the Waitangi Tribunal

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Weights and Measures

This report deals with Imperial weights and measures. For ease of reference these are some of the basic units and conversions:

1 pound (lb) = 14 ounces (oz) Metric conversion = 0.45 kg

1 stone (st) = 16 lbs or 7.25 kgs

112 lbs = 1 hundredweight (cwt) or 50.8 kgs

1 ton = 2,240 lbs or 1.016 metric ton

24 bushels per acre of wheat (average)

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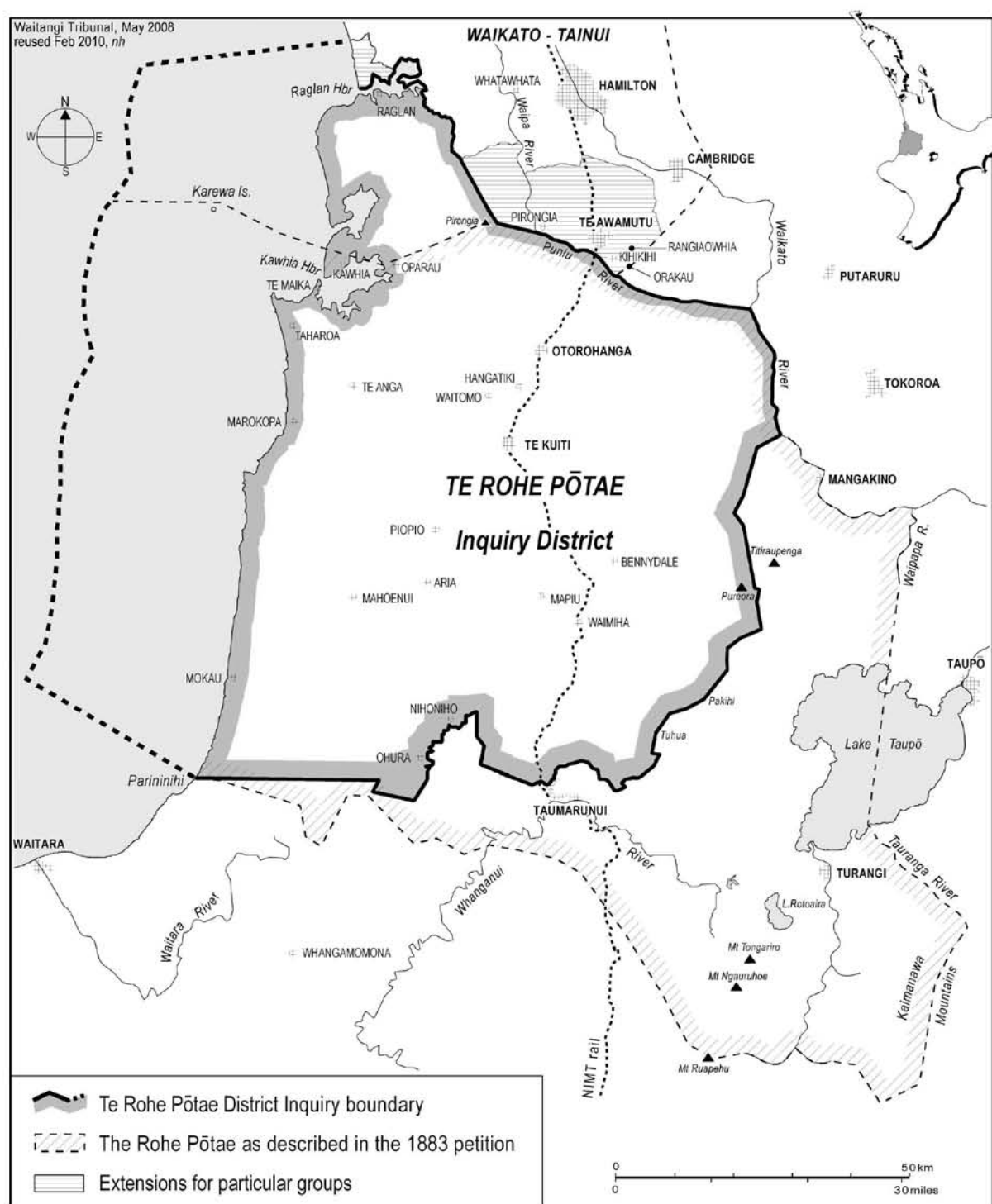
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Map 1: Map of Te Rohe Potae Inquiry District



Commissioning of the report (Wai 898 Doc # 2.3.49)

The following report, part of the Wai 898 Te Rohe Potae casebook research programme, was commissioned in May 2010 following the completion of a scoping report by Tribunal staff member Dr Nicholas Bayley. As a result of Dr Bayley's report, a number of interconnected reports across a broad socio-economic spectrum were commissioned. These include: Economic sector studies (forestry, mining, tourism and fishing) (20A); Health issues (20B); Education issues (20C), Socio-demographic profile (20D); and Mid-nineteenth century Maori commercial economy (20E).

The following report (20E) provides an analysis of the commercial activities which evolved in the district from approximately the 1830s through to the mid-1880s. In doing so it covers the period of effective Maori political control before the substantial arrival of European settlers and the institutions of state. It examines a number of commercial activities including agriculture for market, milling, flax production and coastal and inland transport. A copy of the commission is appended to this report. The commission questions addressed in this report are as follows:

- [1] What was the nature and extent of engagement by the hapu and iwi of Te Rohe Potae with the new settler economy from the arrival of Pakeha traders and missionaries in the 1820s and 1830s?
- [2] What commercial purposes did hapu and iwi of Te Rohe Potae put their land to before it was alienated through sale?
- [3] How was economic activity managed and organised? Were new forms of commercial activity compatible with traditional forms of political economy? Were new industries organised under 'traditional' hapu or iwi authority, or along the same lines as Pakeha enterprise or as hybrids of different models?
- [4] To what extent did the wars affect commercial activity in the short and longer terms?
- [5] To what extent were any other obstacles to economic development a result of Crown actions or omissions?
- [6] What can be said about the extent of commercial Maori economic activity in the district during the period of the aukati? What can be said about the role of the Kingitanga and of tribal leaders in relation to particular types of economic activity?
- [7] What other factors affected the economy of the region in this period?

It should be noted that this report concentrates on specific areas of Maori commercial economic activity and does not address, to any great degree, broader contextual matters concerning the

development of international trade and New Zealand's place within that development. As a result, it should be used in conjunction with the other socio-economic reports mentioned above to assist the reader in completing the picture of what took place in the inquiry district.

Introductory discussion

This report focuses on a number of key themes in order to gain a clearer understanding of the development of agriculture in the Rohe Potae between the 1830s and the early 1880s. In terms of timeline, this report commences at the point when a more sustained European-Maori interaction over trade began to develop. It acknowledges the arrival and contact early nineteenth century traders had with coastal Maori, predominantly around the port of Kawhia, but these relationships were not as influential in the development of Maori-Pakeha communication as was more direct engagement from the late 1820s and early 1830s. The expansion of trade developed mainly from the Royal Navy's demand for Maori flax. This trade, essentially a trade between coastal Rohe Potae and Sydney (and from there the flax was shipped to London), laid the foundations for greater interaction between the two communities. The arrival of the missionary societies from the early 1830s onwards in many ways advanced these commercial dealings. The Anglican, Catholic, Wesleyan, Methodist and Lutheran Churches all gained footholds within Maori communities and assisted, with differing enthusiasm and success, Maori economic advancement. A major figure was Anglican John Morgan who, along with his wife, established the Church Missionary Society (CMS) station at Otawhao (Te Awamutu). In particular, Morgan assisted Maori in his circuit to realize their own economic potential to cultivate European-introduced goods not just for their own consumption but on a commercial scale where a surplus could be bartered or sold at market.

In addressing the commission questions, the report charts chronologically the development of Maori trade and commerce through a number of time periods. First, it discusses those early contacts with coastal flax traders which appeared to reach their zenith in the mid to late 1830s. One consequence of these seemingly mutually beneficial contacts was the desire to develop trading links with inland Maori close to major waterways. Traders found themselves appropriated by tribes and in some cases entering into formal unions by way of marriage. Just as missionaries like Morgan proved invaluable to the development of trade, so too did these early Pakeha-Maori traders. Second, the report assesses what has been termed by earlier commentators and scholars as the 'golden age of Maori agriculture', encompassing approximately the years 1845-1855. It discusses the rapid expansion of wheat, oats and barley cultivation, predominantly in the northern Rohe Potae around Te Awamutu, and the equally swift growth of

interest in Maori possessing their own mills to grind their own locally-produced crops. Third, this report discusses the expanding infrastructure based around the cultivation, transporting and trading of locally-grown produce. In particular it focuses on the canoe trade which plied the Waipa and Waikato rivers to the Auckland markets, and the coastal schooner trade which operated in and out of Kawhia harbour during this period. Auckland's expanding population and the Victorian gold rush in Australia were both of major significance in the development of the Rohe Potae commercial economy. For a number of years the former continued to take as much produce as was possible. The latter trade was more short-lived and came to a fairly abrupt end by the late-1850s as Australian farmers began to produce in quantities sufficient to feed the local market. Rohe Potae trade, however, extended further than across the Tasman. Though not too much information is known, there were clear links between the district and the Pacific coastline of the United States, and links also with coastal South America, in particular with Peru. Domestically, the change in agriculture brought with it a change in physical appearance of the landscape. This report touches on a number of observations made by government officials, traders, travellers, scientists and soldiers, who all remarked on the changing appearances of a number of settlements from traditional Maori kainga to villages reminiscent of an English country scene.

This study suggests that after the boom years of the 1840s and early 1850s Maori agricultural productivity declined to the extent that, by the outbreak of the Waikato Wars, its capacity to produce agricultural goods was in danger of being eroded altogether. Contemporary reports published in the immediate aftermath of the wars suggested a very different economic, political, social and physical landscape from the one which had revelled in the reputation as the 'Granary of the North Island' just a generation before. This report evaluates a number of factors potentially responsible for such a dramatic reversal of economic fortunes. The wars do not feature heavily in this report. It concentrates, instead, on the effects of the conflicts rather than the events themselves. This report characterizes the early 1860s as turbulent years which affected considerably Maori agricultural production, trade and commerce. As war became a more realistic prospect, influential Maori attentions seemed to be diverted towards more pressing political concerns; as a result, agriculture suffered.

It seems evident from the sources consulted that the wars did significantly affect Maori agricultural production. However, rather than being set back many years, this report suggests that Maori ingenuity, industriousness, willingness to diversify and a myriad of other factors ensured that commercial agricultural production did return to the district. The aukati, 'officially' imposed in 1866, appeared to present few barriers to trade as farmers, traders, entrepreneurs and tribal

chiefs busied themselves in pursuit of new opportunities brought about by the conflict. The district's output levels may not have reached those enjoyed in earlier times but, given the circumstances and the miserable situation in which many found themselves in the immediate post-war era, it seems remarkable that production was able to be rejuvenated. Not only that, Maori demonstrated initiative by diversifying into tobacco and hop cultivation on a scale sufficient enough to be able to trade. This demonstrates that in these years Rohe Potae Maori were able to recover, to some extent, from the blows dealt by the wars, rebuild their economies, and engage once more with European traders and authorities. Evidence suggests that a measure of this success is illustrated by reports that as a result of lack of contact with Europeans and, importantly, the retaining of traditional lands, Rohe Potae Maori fared considerably better health-wise than did Maori living north of the aukati in areas characterized by land confiscation, military settlement and growing European immigration.

This report also addresses the extent to which Maori were affected by the changes to their traditional forms of political and social economy brought about by increased contact with European traders, both locally and in the Auckland markets. It considers the argument that the introduction of European technology to non-European communities 'precipitated catastrophic changes in social progress and livelihood', a viewpoint argued against by American academic William Carl Schaniel among others.¹ Instead, the evidence presented for this report suggests that far from being encapsulated by every aspect of European technology, Maori were adept at selecting those elements which were of use to them and disregarding those which, for a variety of reasons, were deemed unsuitable or unnecessary.

Methodology

This report has attempted to use as wide an array of sources as possible. Official publications such as *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives*, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* and *British Parliamentary Papers* have provided valuable information including export returns, location of district-wide flourmills, and correspondence between government officials on the progress of the Rohe Potae commercial economy. Equally valuable have been the diaries of missionaries involved, including Cort Henry Schnackenberg and Gideon Smales. This report uses extensively the diaries, letters and reports written by John Morgan. His daily journal, letters to the CMS in London, and his reports to Governor George Grey, illustrate the extent to which agriculture developed in the inquiry district.

¹ William Carl Schaniel, 'The Maori and the Economic Frontier: An economic history of the Maori of New Zealand, 1769-1840', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN, 1985.

Local historical society publications have supplied important information, in particular on early missionaries and traders, the location of early flourmills, and the advent of the coastal shipping routes. A number of secondary sources relating to the development of the mid-nineteenth century Rohe Potae economy have been of value, in particular Hazel Petrie's *Chiefs of Industry*, Kerry Howe's 1970 Master's thesis, 'Missionaries, Maoris, and 'Civilization' in the Upper-Waikato, 1833-1863', and works by RP Hargreaves, Keith Sorrenson and Evelyn Stokes, to name three. The use of newspaper articles allows this report to go beyond investigating the immediate post-war era by expanding into the 1870s and the early 1880s. There are limitations on source material relevant to this topic resulting, in some cases, in an inability to draw firm conclusions. For example, information provided by government officials and independent travellers suggested that economic engagement with European commerce and traders had a transformative effect on Maori communities. While this may be so in some instances, it is impossible to establish whether the same can be said for all hapu that did participate. However, consulting with claimant groups and the information they provided was of particular value in filling some gaps.

This report has also made use of other Waitangi Tribunal commissioned research reports including Leanne Boulton's 'Hapu and Iwi Land Transactions with the Crown and Europeans in Te Rohe Potae Inquiry District, c.1840-1865' (Preliminary Report, September 2009), and Vincent O'Malley's 'Te Rohe Potae District War and Raupatu' (December 2010) and 'Te Rohe Potae Political Engagement, 1840-1863' (December 2010). It has also used Paul Thomas's 'Crown and Maori in Mokau, 1840-1911' (draft at the time of writing, November 2010).

This work has focused mainly on the following key areas: early contact with European traders; the influence of the mission societies; Crown assistance in developing Maori commercial economy; Maori entrepreneurship; the influence and effects of the wars; and the gradual rebuilding in the post-war era. By doing so it is hoped that within the timeframe available this study has furthered understanding of the development of the Rohe Potae commercial economy from the 1830s through to the mid-1880s and the arrival of the Native Land Court.

Chapter One: Early Maori-Settler Trade and the Influence of the Mission Societies, 1830-1850

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the early contact between Rohe Potae Maori and European traders. It centres, initially, on the coastal flax trade around Kawhia harbour, and then traces the expansion of this trading contact further inland towards the Waipa valley as both parties sought new markets and new opportunities brought about by the apparent success of these early trading relations. It discusses the arrival of Christian missionaries and the establishment of their stations throughout the inquiry district. In particular it discusses the work undertaken by the mission stations in assisting Maori to engage in European-style economic activity, and discusses the contribution made by the Anglican Reverend John Morgan at his station at Otawhao. It discusses also the assistance Morgan provided local Maori in the agricultural development of the Waipa valley. The proliferation of mills – fifteen were constructed in Morgan's catchment alone in a four-year period between 1844 and 1847 – was testament to the way in which the district was being transformed. Finally, it discusses the diversification in production in the district from flax in the 1830s through to a variety of cereals, fruits and vegetables by the early 1850s which helped to stimulate the local economies.

Chapter One address the first three the questions set by the commission. It discusses the nature and extent of engagement between Te Rohe Potae hapu and iwi with Pakeha traders and missionaries in the late 1820s and 1830s; assesses the commercial purposes Te Rohe Potae hapu and iwi put their land to before it was alienated through sale; and examines how economic activity was managed and organized, and the extent to which it was compatible with traditional forms of political economy. It also addresses question five of the commission: the extent to which obstacles to Maori economic development were a result of Crown acts or omissions.

Early Maori-Pakeha trade

Trade between Maori and European traders had been gathering since the late eighteenth century. Sydney sealers and whalers were both attracted to New Zealand waters, and by the early 1800s they had been joined by British, American and French whalers who began to fish regularly along the coastline. The Bay of Islands became a major trading centre, not just in whale and seal meat, but also in timber. These industries proved highly lucrative. Keith Sinclair noted that in one week

in 1810, a cargo of New Zealand seal skins worth over £100,000 was landed at Sydney.² This early trade brought Maori into increasingly regular contact with Europeans. Maori assisted in the cutting of timber for spars and their transportation to the waiting ships. They also sailed as crew on the whaling vessels, some visiting Norfolk Island, Sydney, and even England. Maori were keen on trading in ironware, particularly nails which could be fashioned into chisels, fish-hooks and axes.³ Maori also took a keen interest in procuring muskets. There was also a growing trade in kauri which brought in further revenue. Trade with Sydney companies was such that agents established depots in a number of North Island settlements. Sinclair noted that by the late 1820s there was even a shipyard established at Hokianga.⁴ With this ever-expanding trade it was only a matter of time before European traders came into contact with Kawhia Maori.

Early trade in the inquiry district

It is generally accepted that the first European to enter Kawhia Harbour was Captain John Rodolphus Kent, who did so on New Year's Day 1824 on board the brig *Elizabeth Henrietta*. Kent was appointed by the New South Wales government to explore the possibility of establishing a flax trade relationship with Maori.⁵ Over the ensuing years Kent established, or helped to establish, a number of coastal trading posts as well as being instrumental in introducing European traders to the Rohe Potae. Throughout the 1830s and 1840s Anglican, Wesleyan, Catholic and Lutheran missionaries also arrived to establish stations from which they would 'civilize' their respective Maori communities. In many ways Christianity and Commerce characterize this time period: as European traders forged relationships with Maori for a multitude of locally grown products, so did missionaries like Morgan at Otawhao assist Maori in realizing the economic opportunities available to them. Items associated with the Europeans' arrival – wheat, maize, potatoes and pigs, to name just four – became synonymous with Maori economic and agricultural advancement throughout the years of peace prior to the wars of the 1860s. However, trade links between coastal Rohe Potae Maori and the outside world had already been established before Kent dropped anchor in the mid-1820s.

With regard to the Waikato region, Alan Clark argued that while direct European contact and serious commerce began around 1829, and religious conversion around 1834, there was

² Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, revised edition, Auckland: Penguin, 2000, p.35.

³ Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, p.35.

⁴ Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, p.35. For further information on British and Colonial government trade with Maori see RP Wigglesworth, 'The New Zealand Timber and Flax Trade, 1769-1840', unpublished PhD thesis, Massey University, 1981, pp.240-263.

⁵ JF Mandeno, 'Early Settlers of the West Coast, Waikato and Waipa', part one, *Footprints of History*, 9: November 1992, p. 199. See Supporting Document 40.

evidence of white potato growing prior to 1800, introduced to the area, Clark claimed, possibly from the Thames area or Tamaki-Manukau isthmus.⁶ Howe noted that some European crops and animals were flourishing in the Maori economy in the Thames-Waikato area by the 1820s. Samuel Marsden had found potato plantations and pigs in the Thames area, and Henry Williams found corn plantations in the region on a visit in 1833.⁷ In 1834, 100 acres of maize was being cultivated in the vicinity of Raroera Pa.⁸ But it was the flax industry that grew significantly and, pre-1840, dominated trade relationships between Maori and Europeans.

Flax trade

The first major shipment to London, sixty tons valued at £2,600, left the shores prior to 1818. By 1831 the trade in flax was valued at £26,000⁹, and a total of £50,000 worth had been auctioned in Sydney between 1828 and 1832. As the *New Zealand Geographic* noted, ‘flax was this country’s biggest export until wool and frozen mutton kicked in late in the 19th century.’¹⁰ The flourishing flax industry – production as well as export – that operated on the West Coast of the North Island was due, in large part, to the necessities of the Royal Navy. James Cook was recorded as stating that ‘[Maori] cordage of fishing line is equal in strength and evenness to that made by us and their nets not at all inferior.’¹¹ Maori-produced flax was also used for rope twine, sacking, matting, netting, cloaks, sandals, and even sieves.¹² Entrepreneurial European flax traders like Charles Marshall on the Waikato River, Dicky Barrett and his partner, John Love at New Plymouth, as well as Kent, were quick to recognize the export value of the fibre, and were equally quick to meet Maori demands for muskets. Flax (*Phormium tenax*) grew prolifically at Kawhia as it did elsewhere on the West Coast. A sharpened paua or mussel shell was held by the toes of the left foot, the leaves were then drawn over the sharp edge thus separating the fibre from the pulp. By this method it was estimated that one person could produce nine pounds (lbs) of dressed flax per day, and, in the early years of flax trading, Maori produced one ton (or 2,240

⁶ Alan Clark, ‘European Impact on Maori Culture with Particular Reference to Areas Like Inland Waikato’, *Journal of the Te Anamutu Historical Society*, 8: 1, 1973, p.3. See Supporting Document 34.

⁷ KR Howe, ‘Missionaries, Maoris, and ‘Civilization’ in the Upper Waikato, 1833-1863: A study in culture contact, with special reference to the attitudes and activities of the Reverend John Morgan of Otawhao’, MA thesis, Auckland, 1970, p.5.

⁸ Clark, ‘European Impact on Maori Culture’, p.6. See Supporting Document 34. It is uncertain but it is believed that Raroera Pa was at Rangioahia.

⁹ Mandeno, ‘Flax – Phormium Tenax or Harakeke to the Maori’, p.3. See Supporting Document 44. Also see Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, p.39.

¹⁰ Quoted in JF Mandeno, ‘Flax – Phormium Tenax or Harakeke to the Maori’, *Footprints of History*, 23: December 1999, p.2. See Supporting Document 44.

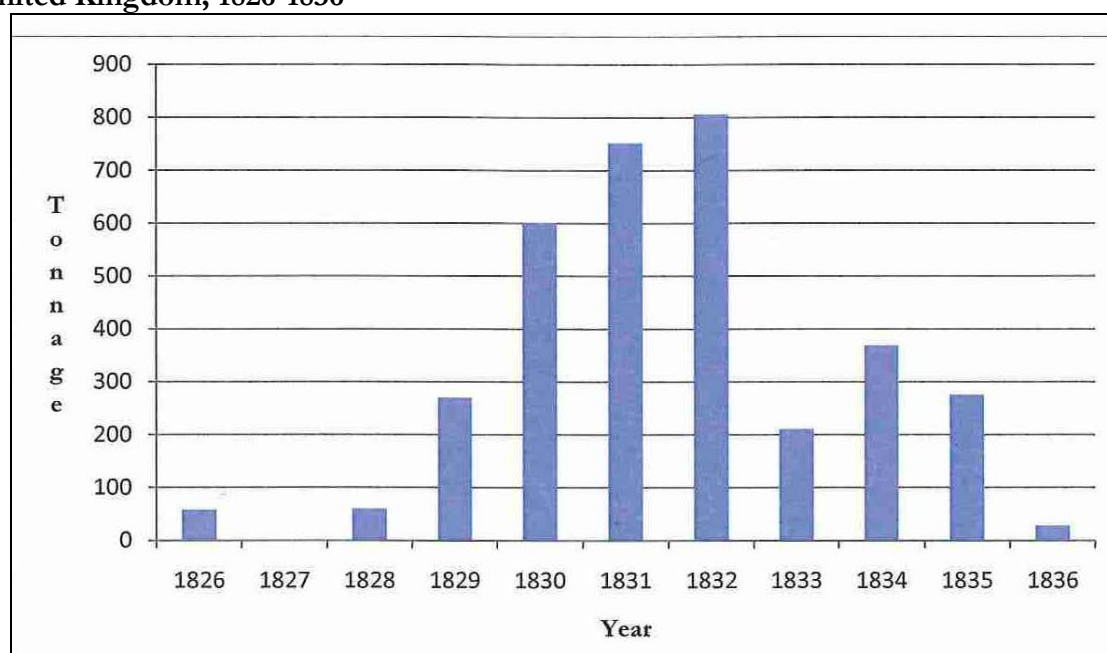
¹¹ Mandeno, ‘Flax – Phormium Tenax or Harakeke to the Maori’, p.1. See Supporting Document 44.

¹² RC Cooper and RC Cambie, *New Zealand’s Economic Native Plants*, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1991, p.79.

lbs) of dressed flax to purchase one musket which, in the early years, was a principal aim for Maori traders.¹³

One keen on purchasing muskets was Haupokia who, in the early 1830s, travelled to Sydney to persuade the wealthy financier and merchant, Joseph B Montefiore, to invest in the west coast's growing flax industry. Montefiore, accompanied by another Sydney trader, Arthur Kemmis, visited Kawhia and purchased a block of land at Ahuahu on which to establish a flax depot. A Mr Slade was appointed to run the station but it proved unsuccessful and, within a few years, was closed.¹⁴ In general, however, the flax trade, in particular during the first half of the 1830s, flourished on the west coast.

Fig. 1: Importations (to Australia) of New Zealand Flax (per tonnage) Re-exported to the United Kingdom, 1826-1836



Note: There was also New Zealand flax which was imported directly into Britain: 1831 (890 hundredweight (cwt)), 1833 (230 cwt) and 1836 (99 cwt).¹⁵

Source: William Carl Schaniel, 'The Maori and the Economic Frontier: An economic history of the Maori of New Zealand, 1769-1840', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN, 1985, p.270.

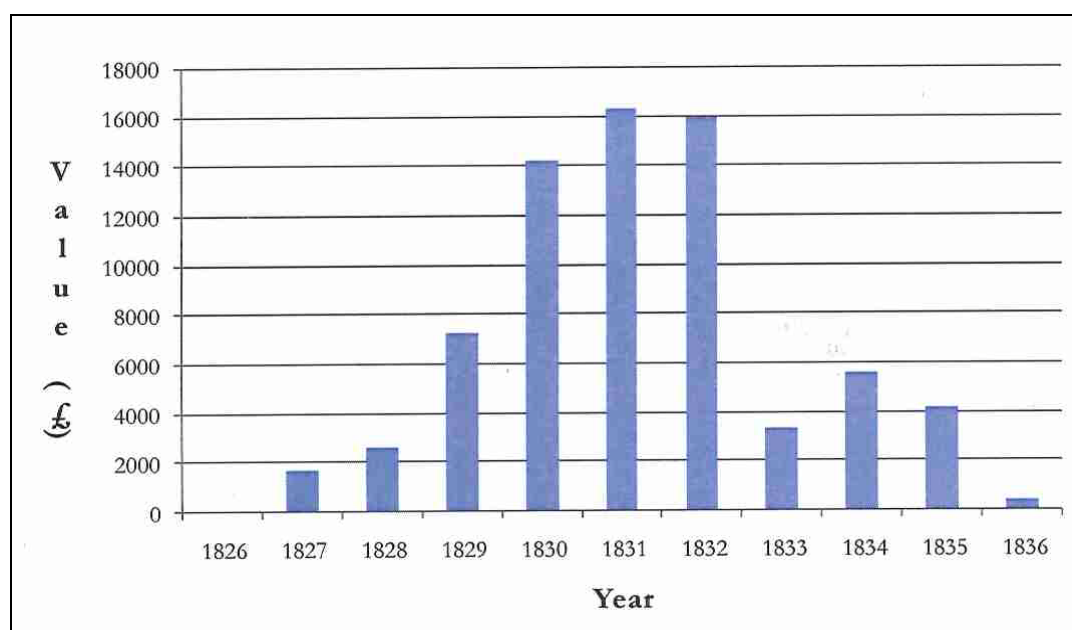
¹³ JF Mandeno, 'A Saga of Kawhia', *Footprints of History*, 19: February 1998, p.2. See Supporting Document 45. Also see May Bass, *Northwest King Country: A history of the land and its people*, Hamilton: Department of Conservation, 1993, p.18, and William Carl Schaniel, 'The Maori and the Economic Frontier', p.260.

¹⁴ Mandeno, 'A Saga of Kawhia', p.2. See Supporting Document 45. Wigglesworth noted that Slade and George MacFarlane were the two Montefiore agents who traded out of Kawhia, see Wigglesworth 'The New Zealand Timber and Flax Trade, 1769-1840', p.98.

¹⁵ One hundredweight (cwt) equals 112 lbs, 20 cwt equals one ton (2,240 lbs)

Kawhia was central to the North Island flax trade. Not only did the fibre grow well in the area, but the harbour was easily accessible by vessels, often rigged schooners, which were ideal for navigating through the shallow waters of the harbour entrances. Along with muskets, they brought in blankets, clothes and ironmongery, in exchange for flax bound predominantly for Sydney.¹⁶ But the market weakened and the flax trade took a downturn in the latter half of the 1830s. Dressed New Zealand flax prices tumbled from a high of £40 per ton to between £22 and £25 per ton.¹⁷ James Belich argued that the decline in production was due in part to the fall in prices;¹⁸ Schaniel suggested that this came about as a result of the Royal Navy's rejection of New Zealand flax after it made trials with 800 tons it had taken the previous year. Roger Wigglesworth noted that the Royal Navy withdrew a potentially lucrative contract after a shipment of flax fibres was found to be in a poor state. Care had apparently not been taken

Fig. 2: Value (£) of Importations (to Australia) of New Zealand Flax Re-exported to the United Kingdom, 1826-1836



Source: William Carl Schaniel, 'The Maori and the Economic Frontier: An economic history of the Maori of New Zealand, 1769-1840', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN, 1985, p.270.

¹⁶ Mandeno, 'A Saga of Kawhia', p.1. See Supporting Document 45.

¹⁷ It is worth noting here that John Morgan noted in his 1845 diary that a 'respectable European' had informed him that dressed flax would realize between £85 and £100 per ton, John Morgan Letters and Journals, QMS-1390, Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL), Wellington, 29 November 1845, p.171. See Supporting Document 6.

¹⁸ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A history of the New Zealanders from Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century*, Auckland: Penguin, 1996, p.216.

when loading the shipment, it has been doused in salt water which affected its quality, and it was believed that out-of-season fibres were included to meet the demand.¹⁹ Before the slump flax constituted, at times, up to sixty-seven per cent of the value of imports flowing from New Zealand into New South Wales. In 1833 the tonnage being exported dropped by a staggering seventy-three per cent which, after a brief recovery in 1834 and 1835, increased to an eighty-nine per cent fall in 1836.

By the end of the 1830s Britain was no longer buying New Zealand in large quantities. Though flax still found a market in New South Wales, it no longer constituted the proportions it had enjoyed just a few years earlier. In fact, Wigglesworth noted that flax imports in the latter half of the 1830s formed only a part of cargoes of other New Zealand goods such as pork, vegetables and whale oil.²⁰ Wigglesworth concluded that economic conditions in New South Wales improved markedly, especially in the wool industry. Combined with the fact a decade long extensive bay whaling industry was about to commence in New Zealand it heralded the rapid decline of the flax trade.²¹

General trade

It is unclear whether a regular trade existed, but there were trading links between Kawhia and the South American coast, in particular, Callao, the port of Lima in Peru²². The most extensive trade, however, was undoubtedly with Sydney. 'For such voyages, it has been noted, 'large vessels were employed and it was not unusual during the [eighteen] forties and fifties, the time of the gold rush in Victoria, to see several at anchor in the harbour awaiting the discharge and the taking in of cargo.'²³ In this period considerable areas of wheat were cultivated by local Maori who were extremely numerous around the harbour. They 'dug the low hills and rolling country on the land facing the harbour all the way round except in the Kinohaku area where the land running down to the harbour was steep'.²⁴ As with other areas, Maori here knew the value of milling their own flour so endeavoured to erect a number of mills; there were at least four flour mills around the harbour, of which at least two were water-powered. A local historical study from 1968 noted that if Auckland ran short of wheat and flour supplies from the Te Awamutu district, it could, and

¹⁹ RP Wigglesworth, 'The New Zealand Timber and Flax Trade, 1769-1840', pp.82-83.

²⁰ RP Wigglesworth, 'The New Zealand Timber and Flax Trade, 1769-1840', pp.82-83.

²¹ RP Wigglesworth, 'The New Zealand Timber and Flax Trade, 1769-1840', p.85.

²² May Bass, *Northwest King Country*, p.15.

²³ WE Anderson, 'Kawhia District', *Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society*, 3:2, December 1968, p.75. See Supporting Document 33.

²⁴ WE Anderson, 'Kawhia District', pp.75, 77. See Supporting Document 33.

did, call upon supplies delivered by ship from Kawhia.²⁵ Such was the growth of the harbour that by the 1850s a customs officer was installed at the port. It was here in Kawhia that Kent had established his trading post in 1828.

Kent, known to Maori friends as Amukete, was a considerable influence in the region during its early years of trade with Europeans. The year after establishing his trading post he brought to New Zealand a number of traders including John Cowell (Te Kaora), Thomas Smith (Tamete) and Cavanagh (Te Kanawa). These men were

appropriated by various chiefs who provided them with wives and settled them at various places along the Kawhia foreshore where they acted as agents and arranged the bartering of flax for firearms. Te Kaora was taken by the Ngati Mahuta chief Kiwi and settled at Pouewe, Tamete was taken by Te Kanawa and settled at Maketu, while Te Rangitera was settled at Heahea, where he married the daughter of his chief, Te Tuhi of Ngati Mahuta.²⁶

Likewise, in the early 1830s, Captain JD Liddell brought to Mokau the trader Thomas Ralph.²⁷ Kent was also allegedly responsible for introducing to New Zealand the Kunekune pig which provided the basis for the thriving district-wide pork and live pig industry. When the pig was roasted 'the fat was collected to pour over the cooked meat to preserve it. The cooked meat, having been packed in wooden barrels, was air-tight, well preserved, and in demand by the penal colony at Poihakena (Port Jackson or Sydney).'²⁸ At Kawhia Kent met Te Wherowhero, whose daughter, Tiria, Kent later married. Between the late 1820s until ill-health took its toll in late 1836, Kent regularly crossed the Tasman Sea to Sydney, taking cargoes of Maori-produced spars, flax, pork and potatoes, returning with, among other things, muskets, gunpowder and liquor. In 1834 he moved his flax trading base to Ngaruawahia, the centre of the trade routes for the Waikato River and the Manukau Harbour.²⁹

Thomas Ralph's sojourn in the Mokau area was shorter lived than others. Like Kent, Ralph was engaged in flax trading on behalf of Joseph Montefiore. He too was welcomed into his local Maori community and, like others, married into an influential family; in his case, the daughter of the principal Ngatimaniapoto chief of the area. It appears that not long after his arrival Ralph was taken hostage by Ngati Tama, a response, allegedly, to Ngatimaniapoto and

²⁵ WE Anderson, 'Kawhia District', p.77. See Supporting Document 33.

²⁶ Leslie G Kelly, *Tainui: The story of Hoturoa and his descendants*, Christchurch: Cadsonbury Publications, 2002, pp.423-424.

²⁷ Mandeno, 'A Saga of Kawhia', p.1. See Supporting Document 45.

²⁸ Mandeno, 'A Saga of Kawhia', p.1. Note: Throughout the article Mandeno refers to Kent as Amos Kent. It is assumed that Amos and John are the same person. See Supporting Document 45. May Bass noted this method of preserving pork was far superior to the European method of curing it in brine, May Bass, *Northwest King Country*, p.20.

²⁹ Neil Begg, 'Kent, John Rodolphus, ?-1837', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, volume 1, Wellington: Allen & Unwin and Department of Internal Affairs, 1990, pp.225-226.

Waikato forces attacking Taranaki and threatening Ngati Tama-aligned settlers.³⁰ On his release he did not return to Mokau. In his report for the Rohe Potae District Inquiry, Paul Thomas notes that for the rest of the 1830s European presence in the area consisted of little more than a few transients, deserters, a shipwreck survivor, and the occasional visit from missionary John Whiteley.³¹

While this may not have been the case at Kawhia where European traders were increasing in number, trade did establish itself in Mokau and, by the early 1840s, was beginning to thrive due, in no small part, to the enthusiasm of local Maori for European goods. Ernst Dieffenbach recorded during his 1840 journey to the district that Mokau Maori 'seem to be in very prosperous circumstances' and the fertile area around the Mokau river was well cultivated with potatoes, maize, tobacco and flax.³² In early 1841 FG Moore, captain of the 150-ton brigantine the *Jewess* recorded his observations after a visit: 'The Maoris had a superabundance of good potatoes, Indian corn, melons, pumpkins, taro, kumaras, dressed flax, native mats, or garments, war implements of wood and stone, some beautiful carvings in boxes, canoes etc. ...' Moore continued by describing preparations for a feast in which many locals helped to prepare:

When all was ready I was astonished to see the abundance of good wholesome, well cooked food they had prepared. Along the beach were mounds of steamed and baked potatoes and fish; pyramids of pigeons and kakas, pork roasted and steamed, wood hens, pipis, mussels, and various kinds of vegetables, such as kumaras, taro, Indian green corn, cooked in the leaf, under the wood ashes. Then there were baskets of water-melons, pumpkins and calabash and kekia ...³³

What Moore's account reveals is the extent to which Maori had not only embraced certain imported European foodstuffs, but the level to which these had been produced in significant quantities. By the time the *Jewess* left Mokau for its return trip to Wellington it was laden with potatoes, maize, melons, pumpkins, flax and pigs. At that stage Moore believed the venture to be a 'profitable one, paving the way for other friendly voyages.'³⁴

Pakeha traders like Cowell, Cavanagh and Ralph were equally vital to early trading relations as they 'offered a channel for the disposal of their produce and the reception of the

³⁰ Paul Thomas, Wai 898 Mokau Report (draft at the time of writing), commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, Chapter Two, p.2.

³¹ Paul Thomas, Wai 898 Mokau report (draft at the time of writing), commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, Chapter Two, p.2.

³² Evelyn Stokes, 'Mokau: Maori cultural and historical perspectives', Hamilton: University of Waikato, 1988, p.94.

³³ Evelyn Stokes, 'Mokau: Maori cultural and historical perspectives', p.87.

³⁴ Evelyn Stokes, 'Mokau: Maori cultural and historical perspectives', p.89.

coveted white man's articles.³⁵ Raymond Firth noted that in some cases traders would travel the coastline to different settlements to engage in bartering. In some places it was customary for Maori to 'place hundreds of baskets of potatoes in a row; the purchaser then went along and placed a stick of tobacco and a farthing on each, an equivalent which gave complete satisfaction.'³⁶ At the same time as Maori were bartering their goods for muskets, gunpowder and shot, there was also a sign of growing Maori interest in agriculture. Produce was increasingly traded for European farming implements including hoes, axes, tomahawks, nails and small iron tools. The introduction of pigs and potatoes were welcomed with similar enthusiasm. Firth noted that within a remarkably short time both potato cultivation and pig-breeding had been so successful that they became staples of Maori exchange with Europeans.³⁷

This early contact familiarized those Maori who engaged with a number of European goods and the processes by which they were delivered. Firth argued that such contact gave Maori a new perspective in regard to the material apparatus of culture, and helped to 'furnish him with a new set of economic values and to arouse in him new desires and ambitions.'³⁸ If this is so, it helps to explain the gusto with which Maori embraced agricultural production throughout the 1840s and 1850s. The second point Firth raised was that trading contact with Europeans acquainted Maori with a different system of economic standards and 'put before him a more individualistic outlook, and a scheme of trade and exchange regulated by entirely different principles from those obtained in the sphere to which he was formerly accustomed.'³⁹ While this was still in its infancy during the 1830s, the development of Maori agriculture over the next two decades saw Maori adapt to European methods of agricultural production and commercial activity, but not, it seems, at the expense of customs and traditional structures.

Prior to 1840 and the advent of widespread European settlement, the trading activities on the West Coast of New Zealand were centred on the Kawhia, Marokopa and Awakino districts. Once trade with Europeans flourished, however, commerce pushed inland in active pursuit of new markets, opportunities and profits. Traders established themselves in coastal regions, then, with sufficient capital behind them, moved inland to do the same. John Cowell was one such trader who followed this path. With his wife Mary Anne (allegedly the first European woman to live at Kawhia) and his son John Vittoria – also recorded as Victoria – John

³⁵ Raymond Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1972, p.441.

³⁶ Raymond Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, p.441.

³⁷ Raymond Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, p.442.

³⁸ Raymond Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, p.445.

³⁹ Raymond Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, p.445.

senior opened a trading post at Pouwere in 1835.⁴⁰ John junior, a fluent Maori speaker from a young age, became trading master on the brig *Elizabeth*. In 1832 Te Raura and Manuka of Ngati Maniapoto gave Cowell land on the Awaroa Stream, which today is known as Hauturu. Here he established a trading station with Edward Lee of Sydney. Soon after Cowell junior entered into a relationship with Rewa, a Ngati Hikairo woman, who had previously been married to Captain Moncur. Shortly after the birth of their son, Honi Kaora, Rewa died. On his father's death in 1839, Cowell also took over the running of the station at Pouwere, and established a further station at Te Rore on the banks of the Waipa.⁴¹

According to local historians, this land was traditionally Ngati Apakura land but, at the time, was occupied by Ngati Puhiawe, a senior Apakura hapu.⁴² Cowell married Martha Riden (Mata Rihana), a half-sister to Toetoe, an influential Apakura chief. Their Maori ceremony was followed by another conducted by the Reverend John Whiteley in the Wesleyan Church at Kawhia on 16 August 1845.

Image 1: Kawhia Harbour, 2010



Source: A Francis

⁴⁰ Local historian George Howe suggested that John junior's middle name was given in honour of the Duke of Wellington's victory over the French at the Battle of Vittoria in June 1813, 'Johnny Cowell-Pakeha-Maori Trader', *Historical Journal Auckland-Waikato*, 28: April 1976, p.13. See Supporting Document 28.

⁴¹ JF Mandeno, 'John Cowell – 'Seeking the Truth'', *Footprints of History*, 22: June 1999, p.12. See Supporting Document 39. Further information on JV Cowell can be found in 'Kawhia Opened to Europeans Despite Tawhiao's Objection', *Footprints of History*, 9: November 1992, pp.203-204. See Supporting Document 41.

⁴² Mandeno, John Victoria Cowell – 'Seeking the Truth', p.12. See Supporting Document 39.

They produced seven children, a number of whom attended John Morgan's mission school at Otawhao.⁴³

In 1846 George Charlton purchased Cowell's Pouwere post and accompanying land for £33. He arrived in 1838 from Australia with his wife, Ann, and four children; a further three were born in Kawhia. Over the twenty-five years he was living in Kawhia he built up considerable interests, including a bush hotel, an accommodation house with nine available rooms, and a number of farming interests. In 1859, four years before his death, Charlton was visited at his home on the north side of the harbour by German geologist Ferdinand Hochstetter. In his record of the meeting, Hochstetter noted: '[Charlton] had acquired wealth by trading in corn and cattle. I saw the splendid orchard and vegetable garden, poultry yard, horses, cattle, sheep, pigs ...' The report went on to suggest that Charlton was central to the growing European population of Kawhia. In 1863 Charlton drowned when the cutter *Thistle* capsized while in a race with Captain Kilgour's vessel, the *Favourite*.⁴⁴ As of 1993, the site occupied by Charlton was on a low ridge on Charleston Street, Kawhia. The street was named in honour of Charlton, though the spelling is incorrect.⁴⁵

With increasing trade through Kawhia, the port's importance grew. Kawhia historian WE Anderson noted that Governor Grey had plans to make Kawhia the port for the Waikato. Not only did it possess 'twenty-nine feet of water on the bar at high tide' but it could be entered by ships in all weather because of Albatross Point, a point of land which shelters the harbour's entrance. The governor had a 'detailed survey made for a railway to Kawhia, plans for which included a tunnel. A town was laid out at Te Maika on the south side of the entrance to the harbour with sections for Government offices.' But Anderson explained that these plans came to nought; the land for the town at Te Maika was eventually 'given to the Taharoa Maoris who, later on, gave it to the Maori King. When the railway was made from the Waitemata to the Waikato it took away all traffic that would have come to Kawhia from the Waikato about Hamilton, Te Awamutu, Otorohanga and Te Kuiti.'⁴⁶

⁴³ JF Mandeno, 'Early Settlers of the West Coast, Waikato and Waipa', part two, *Footprints of History*, 10: June 1993, p.220. See Supporting Document 42.

⁴⁴ Further information regarding Charlton's business activities and his death can be found in Peg Cummins, *A History of Kawhia and Its District*, Kawhia: Kawhia Museum, 2004, pp.42-46.

⁴⁵ JF Mandeno, 'Early Settlers of the West Coast, Waikato and Waipa', part one, *Footprints of History*, 9: November 1992, p.201. See Supporting Document 40.

⁴⁶ WE Anderson, 'Kawhia District', p.77. See Supporting Document 33.

The rise of the Pakeha-Maori

It seems apparent from the evidence that trade prospered from the late 1820s onwards, and, with the appropriation of European traders by Maori chiefs, the economic frontier expanded into the interior of the North Island. Schaniel suggested that the rise of the Pakeha-Maori male was a consequence of the development of the flax trade. They operated according to two rules: with Europeans they traded by European market rules, with Maori they traded by Maori rules. 'They were the source of European goods for the tribe to which they associated, and 'were valued and sought after by the Maori chiefs.'⁴⁷ Pakeha-Maori were foreign seamen, traders and a number of New South Wales and Norfolk Island convicts who 'became part of the tribe and were treated by Maori as Maori'.⁴⁸ Trevor Bentley noted that these strangers 'penetrated Maori communities, adapted to tribal life and influenced their hosts.' He argued that prior to 1840 all Europeans were, to some degree, reliant on Maori for protection.⁴⁹ In exchange, some found themselves in a position to act as intermediaries with European traders in the purchase or exchange of vital goods.

Their arrival and subsequent growth in numbers (recorded at fifteen in 1827 and 150 by 1840) does appear to be the point at which trade in the coastal areas of the Rohe Potae developed at what could loosely be termed an 'industrial' rate. While flax was by no means the sole cultivation for Maori communities, it was a key one for their development. Schaniel argued that prior to European arrival flax was cultivated as part of the general process of mat production. Afterwards it became a major occupation of many women and slaves. The role played by Pakeha-Maori was one of facilitating trade; seeking new markets (often inland ones); acting as go-betweens (especially in the purchase of firearms); and turning profits. In return storage facilities would be erected from which they could operate, they would often marry into influential families, and would be assured both personal and commercial protection. Laurie Barber argued that prior to the arrival of the missionaries, 'a few traders and Pakeha-Maori guided the destiny of the Waipa tribes.' New skills in crop-production were introduced: Maori were taught how to graft and bud fruit trees, and later assisted with the erection of flour mills and provided with the knowledge to dam creeks to power the said mills.⁵⁰

While contact between Maori and European traders in this early period was still limited, it did lay the foundations for what was to come in the 1840s and beyond when trade between the

⁴⁷ William Carl Schaniel, 'The Maori and the Economic Frontier', p.256. For further reading see Trevor Bentley, *Pakeha Maori: The extraordinary story of the Europeans who lived as Maori in early New Zealand*, Auckland: Penguin, 1999, and John Horsman, *The Coming of the Pakeha to Auckland Province*, Wellington: Hicks Smith and Sons, 1971.

⁴⁸ Trevor Bentley, *Pakeha Maori*, p.9.

⁴⁹ Trevor Bentley, *Pakeha Maori*, p.9.

⁵⁰ Laurie Barber, *The View From Pirongia: The history of the Waipa County*, Auckland: Richards Publishing, 1978, p.8.

two communities rapidly expanded. There are contrary opinions as to the effect on Maori by the arrival of European traders and western agricultural and economic practices. Howe argued that there was little evidence to suggest that the introduction of European animals and plants upset the Maori economy. In fact, Howe noted, they fitted so easily into everyday patterns of living that they were soon an integral part of Maori life.⁵¹ This is a point supported by Schaniel who stated that Maori cultivation of European-introduced white potatoes was one example where benefits were reaped. Unlike Maori cultivation of sweet potato, white potato cultivation could be carried out by women and slaves thus no longer restricting chiefs to be present on their lands for lengthy periods. As a result they could devote arguably more time to warfare as well as

Image 2: Raglan, 2010



Source: A Francis

developing relationships with European traders – their main source for European items.⁵² JF Mandeno on the other hand argued that the development of the flax trade had an adverse effect on those Maori involved in its cultivation and preparation: a move away from the high country to live on the lowlands to harvest the flax, women neglecting their traditional work such as weaving, and the increased neglect of children, he argued, all contributed to a decline in health standards.⁵³

There is, of course, validity in both these arguments: Maori health suffered as a result of coming into contact with Europeans and, it seems, changes to labour patterns contributed also

⁵¹ KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris, and 'Civilization'', p.5.

⁵² William Carl Schaniel, 'European Technology and the New Zealand Maori Economy, 1769-1840', *Social Science Journal*, 38: 2001, p.140.

⁵³ JF Mandeno, 'Flax – Tenax or Harakeke to the Maori', p.3. See Supporting Document 44. This point was also made in May Bass, *Northwest King Country*, p.18.

to a downturn in health. That said, contact with Europeans broadened Maori interests, desires and expectations, and it seems that these factors were powerful enough for Maori to retain trading links despite the probable negative effects.

The Influence of Church Missionaries in the Rohe Potae

Pakeha traders were not alone in facilitating trade with Maori. It was at this time that missionary societies moved into the Rohe Potae. Wesleyan stations were established at Raglan and at Te Waitere on Kawhia Harbour. After crossing the Te Rauamo Range, stations were set up at Te Kopua and Whakatumutumu near Arapae on the Mokau River. The Reverend Frederick Miller established the station at Whakatumutumu, where he stayed until his death in 1848. He was joined by Cort Henry Schnackenberg and his station at Te Mahoe on the Mokau Heads. Schnackenberg was resident at Te Mahoe until 1858 whereupon he decamped to Kawhia. Roman Catholics and Lutherans were also busying themselves in the Aria district.⁵⁴ The Reverend Riemenschneider established a Lutheran mission station at Motukaramu near to Mahoenui, and took with him an agricultural expert by the name of Trost.⁵⁵ In addition, Catholic mission stations were established at Matamata around 1841, which was followed by one in 1844 at Rangiaohia.⁵⁶ The Reverend Fathers Pezant, and later, Garavel and Vinay, encouraged agricultural as well as religious enlightenment. Missionaries, regardless of their religious persuasion, did much to develop their districts, especially in the two decades prior to the outbreak of war in the 1860s. Apart from spreading the Word missionaries, to varying degrees and with varying success, traded with local Maori, acted as intermediaries in chiefly dealings with Crown officials and European traders, brought with them technical expertise, and encouraged and assisted Maori to develop their own cultivations.

In the main this section focuses on missionary activities in the northern half of the Rohe Potae, as Paul Thomas's report covers, to a significant degree, trade and commerce in the Mokau district.⁵⁷ His work on Schnackenberg rightly acknowledges the importance he had within his circuit around Te Mahoe, from establishing a school at the station, to assisting with the development of Maori commerce, imparting his detailed knowledge of European trade and

⁵⁴ James W Fox, 'Te Kuiti and the Northern King Country: A region of agricultural transition', *The New Zealand Geographer*, 6: 2, October 1950, p.132.

⁵⁵ Evelyn Stokes, 'Mokau: Maori cultural and historical perspectives', working paper, Hamilton: University of Waikato, 1988, p.104.

⁵⁶ HCM Norris, 'Glimpse of Waikato History 1820-1870: The first European settlers in the Waikato', *Historical Journal Auckland-Waikato*, 22, April 1973, p.20. See Supporting Document 30.

⁵⁷ See Paul Thomas, Wai 898 Mokau report (draft at the time of writing), commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal.

traders, and teaching technical skills such as rope-making.⁵⁸ In a similar fashion, John Morgan who, with his wife, Maria, established the Church Mission Society station at Otawhao in early 1841 was instrumental in the social and economic advancement in the north of the inquiry district. The Morgans stayed until 1863 by which time significant contributions to the religious, educational and agricultural development of the district had taken place. As HA Swarbrick noted, education and religion may have been at the forefront of the missionaries' attention, but agriculture and industry were integral to 'civilizing' Maori within the district.⁵⁹

Writing in 1854 to the Church Mission Society (CMS) in London Morgan noted: '... the mills, ploughs, carts and horses, cornfields and orchards tell how rapid had been the transition from heathen barbarism to Christianity and civilization.'⁶⁰ Morgan was influential in establishing a number of flour mills, encouraging Maori to embrace wheat production, and to adopt modern European farming techniques, which would, so Morgan surmised, lead to an overall social, economic and moral improvement which would benefit all involved. Aside from the cultivation of cereals, fruit trees were introduced, allowing Maori to learn the craft of budding and grafting. By the end of the 1850s there existed excellent cultivated orchards of peaches, pears, plums, quinces, gooseberries and almonds, as well as substantial wheat, barley and maize crops.⁶¹ It was in considerable part due to the Morgans' efforts that the district around Otawhao and Rangiaohia became known as the 'granary of the North Island'.

John Morgan and the Establishment of the Otawhao Station

After arriving in New Zealand in 1833, Morgan, later known as 'Te Mokena'⁶² by local Maori, accompanied the Reverends Williams and Brown throughout the Waikato. Prior to 1841, Morgan and his wife, Maria, had been based near Rotorua. For reasons of Mrs Morgan's health, he requested a move and was given the opportunity to advance the work already done by Reverend Benjamin Ashwell at the Otawhao station. Named after Tawhao, the mission station was established on the hill site which is now Wallace Terrace.⁶³ Morgan immediately set about fostering good relations with local Maori, and one way of doing so was to introduce western

⁵⁸ The ropes were then sold at New Plymouth to support the school. For further information see GEJ Hammer, *A Pioneer Missionary Raglan to Mokau 1844-1880: Cort Henry Schnackenberg*, Auckland: Wesley Historical Society, 1991.

⁵⁹ HA Swarbrick, 'European Era to the Maori War', *Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society*, 1: 1, March 1966, p.9. See Supporting Document 35.

⁶⁰ Letter from John Morgan to Church Mission Society (CMS), London, 20 April 1854, p.598. See Supporting Document 18.

⁶¹ RP Hargreaves, 'The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 68: 1959, p.72.

⁶² James Cowan, *The Old Frontier: Te Awamutu, the story of the Waipa Valley, the missionary, the soldier, the pioneer farmer, early colonization, the war in Waikato, life on the Maori border and later-day settlement*, Wellington: Southern Reprints, 2000, p.17.

⁶³ Early History of Te Awamutu, Te Awamutu Online, <http://www.teawamutu.co.nz>

educational and industrial practices which would lead, Morgan hoped, to social and economic betterment for all communities in the district. Despite establishing the Otawhao mission station in 1841, carrying out church services, marrying parishioners, and fulfilling the duties expected of a Reverend, he was not ordained until 1852. Allegedly, his repeated application for ordination was refused by Bishop Selwyn because he [Morgan] failed to learn Latin, at least to the standard Selwyn thought adequate.⁶⁴ Notwithstanding Selwyn's reluctance, Morgan proved a very popular figure in the district where parishioners would walk up to six miles to attend church services.⁶⁵

Described by ES Beer as a 'diligent disciple of agriculture', Morgan was determined to divert Maori attention away from what he regarded as 'savagery'. To do this he introduced a seven-point policy:

- [1] Establish Maori in Christian belief
- [2] Fostering the growing of wheat and the erection of flour mills
- [3] Using the profits to buy livestock
- [4] Establishing schools
- [5] Erecting brick ovens in every village for the baking of leavened bread
- [6] Instructing women in knitting, spinning and weaving
- [7] Encouraging the building of strong timber houses to promote health and comfort.⁶⁶

Morgan hoped that by implementing his policy Maori converts would attain, as Howe noted, 'the comforts of small English farmers'. Morgan foresaw each family 'with their neat boarded cottage, surrounded by their orchards and wheat fields, the men employed in driving their carts...their women...engaged with their sewing...training their children in the habits of honest industry.'⁶⁷

One obvious consequence of this was that:

[Maori] would soon find their property so increased, that they would not even if selfish motives alone influenced them, wish to stake their all to engage in a destructive and unprofitable war. They would find peace with the British Government indispensable to their own prosperity, and feeling this would beat their swords into plough shares, and their spears into pruning hooks.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ HA Swarbrick, 'John Morgan', *Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society*, 1: 2, June 1966, p.30.

⁶⁵ HCM Norris, 'Glimpse of Waikato History 1820-1870', p.21. See Supporting Document 30.

⁶⁶ ES Beer, 'Early Traders of the Waikato 1854-1860', *Journal of the New Zealand Federation of Historical Societies*, 1: 1, November 1971, pp.5-6. See Supporting Document 29. Morgan, in his own journal, included an eighth point explaining to Maori how the first seven points would benefit them on an on-going basis if followed; John Morgan letters and journals, QMS-1394, ATL, p.73. See Supporting Document 24.

⁶⁷ KR Howe, 'Morgan, John, 1806/1807? – 1865', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.1, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books and Department of Internal Affairs, 1990, pp.299-300.

⁶⁸ John Morgan Letters and Journals, QMS-1394, ATL, p.76. See Supporting Document 24.

Put simply, calm pursuits on the land would cause Maori to move away from predatory warlike instincts and senseless pursuits of a 'destructive and unprofitable war'.⁶⁹ This aspect of Maori agricultural development was a regular theme of newspaper reports throughout the 1850s. In addition, Maori investment in their own cultivations meant that they were required to remain in their locale to farm their produce and tend to their stock, making it easier for the missionaries to spread the Gospel. The government would also benefit as it would make the task of imposing its authority on the Maori population all the easier.

Morgan recognized the fertile nature of the soil in the environs of Rangiaohia, and, in particular, the keenness shown by Maori to dedicate their energies to wheat production. He recorded that:

In consequence of the difficulty of obtaining supplies of flour from the coast I procured some seed wheat. After the reaping of the first crop I sent Pungarehu, of Rangiaowhia, a few quarts of seed. This he sowed and reaped. The second year he had a good-sized field. Other natives now desired to reap the benefit, and the applications of seed became so numerous that I could not supply them all, and many obtained seed from

Image 3: Richard Taylor's sketch of John Morgan's mission house, Otawhao, c.1847



Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, E-296-q-148-1

⁶⁹ KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris, and 'civilization' p.89.

Kawhia and Aotea (West Coast), where wheat had been introduced either by Wesleyan missionaries or settlers.⁷⁰

Morgan's journal indicates that Maori acknowledged the potential rewards in cultivating wheat crops, and gives an indication that wheat production throughout the district was likely to spread.

The Upper Waikato region along the banks of the Waipa River proved ideal for agricultural production. Ensign Best recorded his experience of travelling from Kawhia to Te Awamutu in 1841. Descending from Mt Pirongia, and crossing the Waipa River, Best 'struck across a beautiful undulating plain towards Otawou [sic]. For nine miles we passed through the richest fern land crossing occasional swamps of no great size.'⁷¹ Given the quality of land, Morgan encouraged Maori to grow wheat and barley in the areas surrounding his mission station. This was accompanied in time by fruit orchards of peaches, apples, pears, plums, quince and gooseberries. Crops grew in abundance and, before long, it became clear that wheat production could be made more profitable if Maori were in a position to grind the wheat into flour themselves, rather than sending it out of the area to be milled.

In 1844 Morgan arranged for a European millwright to construct what was envisaged as the first of several mills in the district. It is likely that this was the mill located on what is now known as Flat Road between Te Awamutu and Kihikihi.⁷² Maori would pay for the mills in pigs, would cut their own timber, dam the streams, and dig the water courses.⁷³ The millwright was Stewart McMullen from Auckland. It is necessary to note here that there are variations in spelling of the millwright's name including McMullan, Mullen, Mullan, and Mr Stewart. It is thought that they all relate to the same man – Stewart McMullen.⁷⁴

At a cost of £200, an amount to which the chiefs agreed, McMullen supervised the construction of the mill at Morgan's Otawhao station, and within a year it was in production, capable of milling between forty and sixty bushels per day.⁷⁵ So immediate were the advantages of possessing a mill that Maori at Maungatautari asked Morgan to facilitate the erecting of a mill there. As with the Otawhao mill and, indeed, future mill erections, building costs would be borne out of the sale of produce. It was at this time that Morgan gained an assistant in Thomas Power, who was sent from Rangiaohia by Governor George Grey. Power brought with him drays,

⁷⁰ Quoted in May Bass, *Northwest King Country*, p.22.

⁷¹ WA Sullivan, 'The Acclimatisation of New Fauna in the Waikato', *Footprints of History*, 3, October 1989, pp.66-67. See Supporting Document 36.

⁷² Correspondence between HA Swarbrick, President of Te Awamutu Historical Society, and CG Hunt, 7 July 1960, ARC 1777, Te Awamutu Museum. See Supporting Document 4.

⁷³ Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris and 'civilization'', p.108. Also see Morgan's letters and journal, QMS-1390, ATL, 11 November 1845, p.162. See Supporting Document 5.

⁷⁴ This probability has also been raised by Hazel Petrie in *Chiefs of Industry: Maori tribal enterprise in early colonial New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2006, p.309 endnotes.

⁷⁵ Beer, 'Early Traders of the Waikato', p.6. See Supporting Document 29.

horses, ploughs and harrows.⁷⁶ He married Rahapa Te Hauata and they lived at the head of a gully called Rua Tawhiwhi.⁷⁷

There were a number of factors significant to the agricultural expansion of the northern Rohe Potae: the assistance provided by a number of missionaries in introducing European modes of production; the consequent economic opportunities as a result of the growth of Auckland; the opening up of Australian markets by traders; and, most importantly, the willingness of Maori to engage in alien agricultural and economic practices to provide a more secure future for their whanau and hapu. The erection of the water-powered flour mill accelerated production and brought significant profits for Otawhao, Rangiaohia, and other districts that embraced wheat production. To that point grinding wheat had been a laborious task carried out on hand-powered millstones. Now Maori were in a position to grind the wheat at source, distribute as much locally as was required to sustain their hapu, leaving the rest for sale at the growing Auckland market. This was the situation in which Rangiaohia Maori found themselves in 1848, when they took their first cargo of flour for sale down the Waipa and Waikato Rivers to Auckland. It is unclear the quantity of flour, but £70 was realized from the sale, with which they purchased blankets, tools, salt and other items.⁷⁸

Image 4: John Morgan circa 1854



Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, PA2-2713

⁷⁶ JF Mandeno, 'Farming in the Waipa', *Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society*, 1:1, March 1966, p.11. See Supporting Document 32.

⁷⁷ ARC 1887, Te Awamutu Museum, correspondence between HA Swarbrick, President of Te Awamutu Historical Society and Mrs Subritzky, a great-granddaughter of Power. See Supporting Document 2.

⁷⁸ Beer, 'Early Traders of the Waikato', p.6. See Supporting Document 29.

Missionaries elsewhere were also assisting their parishioners in the booming agricultural economy. There are conflicting opinions over who established and operated the station at Rauraukauere on the shores of Aotea Harbour; one suggests that it was Reverend Henry Hanson Turton and his wife who, after arriving at Aotea in 1840, ran the station which they named 'Beechamdale'. They remained there until 1844, whereupon he was replaced by the Reverend Gideon Smales, who, arriving in New Zealand at the same time as Turton, remained at Aotea until 1855 or 1856, whereupon he was replaced by Schnackenberg.⁷⁹ Other sources suggest that it was Smales who raised the necessary funding to establish Beechamdale, a station named in honour of one of the London secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, John Beecham. Smales travelled up and down the coast from Kawhia in the north to New Plymouth in the south collecting contributions ranging from one shilling to £10, the latter amount one which he made himself. A total of £120 was raised; the Aotea harbour website records that all but four of the contributions (from Reverends Smales, Whiteley and Samuel Ironside, and a Kawhia resident named John Lawrie) were made by Maori.⁸⁰ A list of subscribers and their contributions can be found as an appendix to this report.

Whatever the truth about who established the station, under Smales's guidance wheat production flourished, prompting a glowing assessment from the *New Zealander* in March 1846:

For some time past, wheat has been cultivated by the natives, residing in a valley called 'Beecham Dale' at Aotea, and during the last two years, they have had, each year, about one hundred acres of wheat. At the harvest of last year, these industrious, intelligent natives, experienced their great want of means to convert their grain into flour, and perceived that, unless the evil was remedied, before the next harvest, their cultivation of wheat was utterly unprofitable and useless. The principal chiefs of the districts – and whose names are worthy of record – Paora, Muriwhenua, Hoari Kingi, Te Haratua and Te Manihera – about nine months since, determined on the erection of a water mill, and aided by the advice of their pastor, the Rev. Gideon Smales, they have most completely accomplished their object and set a most praiseworthy example to their own countrymen.⁸¹

The report continued by stating that, as with inland mills, the costs were borne by local Maori. Stewart McMullen, again, was employed to oversee its erection for a fee of £80. Local Maori

⁷⁹ JF Mandeno, 'Wesleyan Missions on the West Coast and Inland', *Footprints of History*, 1: 1, October 1988, p.17. See Supporting Document 38. Smales was born in Whitby, Yorkshire in 1817 and ordained as a Wesleyan minister in 1837. He arrived in New Zealand in May 1840 and married Mary Anna Bumby seven months later. They had seven children, all born at Aotea or Kawhia, RT Vernon and CR Buckeridge, *Te Mata-Aotea*, Hamilton: AO Rice Ltd, 1973, pp.81, 84.

⁸⁰ Aotea Harbour New Zealand Visitor Information, http://www.aoteaharbour.co.nz/wesleyan_mission-2.html.

⁸¹ *New Zealander*, 14 March 1846, p.3.

excavated the ground, felled the timber, and brought the stones from Kawhia. 'The mill performs its work well', the report noted, 'at the rate of two bushels per hour, and is considered the property in common, of those chiefs and their natives, who assisted and contributed to its erection.'⁸² Smales reported that McMullen's £80 labour charge was met by the sale of a number of pigs and an ox. 'But', he continued, 'the result is interesting. It is extremely gratifying to see two or three old veterans in barbarous life sitting for hours near the waterwheel; its brisk rattling noise seems to impart new life into their stupefied souls. They chat with a new interest and vigour around the machinery whilst the water dashes and foams beneath their feet.'⁸³

The Aotea mill was the first Maori-owned water-powered mill in the area.⁸⁴ There was greater efficiency with water-powered mills over hand mills, not just in less intensive labour, but also that a competent miller could dress the mill stones on site, rather than sending them, as in the case of the hand mills, to Auckland for repair. Though its operation was short-lived the Aotea mill heralded the start of mill construction in the Rohe Potae.

The *New Zealander* reported on the knock-on effect the Aotea mill had on further agricultural activity in the district. It stated that there were a further three mills under construction in Aotea district, all under the supervision of McMullen. 'The intelligence of the mill at Beecham Dale', it noted,

as is usually the case among natives, has spread far and wide among them in the interior; and besides the three mills in progress ... the natives at Pehiakura, in the Waikato district, are extremely desirous to possess the same advantage. Mr H H Lawry, who has lately returned from that part of the country, has been commissioned by the chiefs at Pehiakura, to ascertain full particulars in Auckland, as to the expense of material, and superintendence of erection. These natives possess some horses, and are very desirous to add carts to their farming stock, to convey their produce to the water side, to which from their own pa, and cultivation grounds, they are about to make good a road.⁸⁵

The same newspaper reported on Maori from the Mahoi Pa on the Waiharakeke, Kawhia. It stated that they had been in Auckland selling a great number of pigs in order to raise funds for erecting a water-powered flour mill on the Waiharakeke. 'Having realized the sum of £50', it recorded,

⁸² *New Zealander*, 14 March 1846, p.3.

⁸³ Smales' letter dated 29 January 1847, quoted in Peg Cummins, *A History of Kawhia and Its District*, p.40.

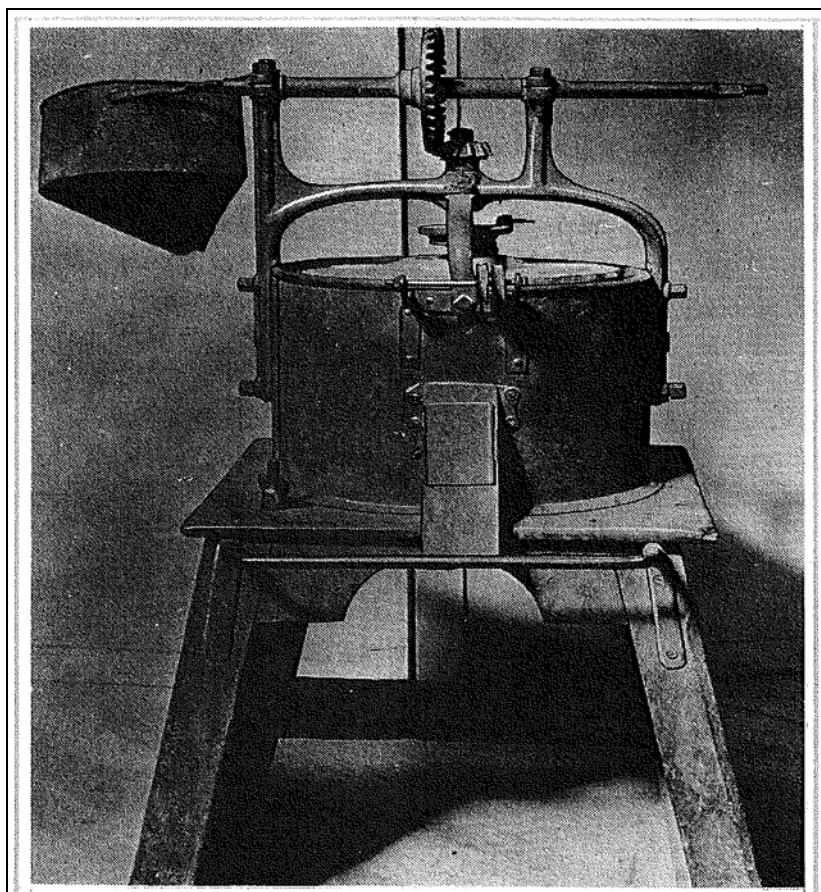
⁸⁴ RP Hargreaves, 'The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', p.69.

⁸⁵ *New Zealander*, 21 March 1846, p.2.

they have deposited the money in the hands of a gentleman in Auckland, who is to cash the orders they may draw from time to time in favour of the millwright as the work proceeds. Mr Waldron, of Kawhia, has engaged to construct the Mill, and has been busily employed, procuring the necessary iron work, &c. These spirited and praiseworthy Natives expect to return again in the course of two or three months, with more pigs for sale, the proceeds of which are to be devoted to the same object.⁸⁶

Reports such as these demonstrate well how Maori were actively engaging with Europeans to advance their own economic state. Inter-hapu rivalries led to competition which stimulated district economies. By the end of the 1840s Auckland, within 100 miles of the northern fringes of the King Country, had cemented itself as a key market for Waikato and King Country-produced goods. With more mills being erected in the districts and Maori learning on a daily basis how to maximize profits, the future looked promising.

Image 5: Hand operated steel flour mill as used by early European settlers



Source: *Flour Milling & Baking in New Zealand: The first 150 years*, Wellington: New Zealand Association of Bakers, 1983, p.3.

⁸⁶ *New Zealander*, 31 October 1846, p.2.

carried over a well used bluff, down the river to Te Anga, up over Donald's hills, across the road through Grant Holmes' farm to the Taumatotara before going down to the mill at Owhiro.⁸⁸

At the beginning of 1847 Smales reported on agricultural developments at the station, which is worth quoting at length:

Two years ago we had neither horse nor sheep. We now have 21 sheep, and six horses, about a dozen horned cattle and a great number of goats ... the natives formally lived principally on fern and other roots, including the kumara; latterly on these valuable esculent ones, the kumara and potato. They have suffered greatly in their strength by confining themselves so uniformly to so unsubstantial a diet. Wheat is now approved of; in 1844 they reaped throughout the circuit, not more than twenty acres of wheat; in 1845 about eighty; in 1846 one hundred and fifty; and this year they will reap about two hundred acres of wheat besides a patch of oats and another of barley. A good portion of their wheat has been sold to traders for calico and print and sent to Auckland and other Anglo-New Zealand towns by small vessels. They have used what they retained for their own consumption in some cases by simply boiling the wheat; in others as rororiori or boiled flour and water (with sugar when it could be obtained) and very often in the form of bread.⁸⁹

Smales' and the *New Zealander's* reports on agricultural developments in the district complement what seemed to be happening further inland at Morgan's station at Otawhao, where Maori industrious and willingness to learn combined with Morgan's encouragement and agricultural knowledge were reaping rewards. Aside from the rapid growth in wheat production, Morgan also introduced barley and oats to Rangiaohia. James Cowan noted Maori discernment on what produce was worth spending time on cultivating:

Many of the people at various villages are now forming orchards, and they possess many hundreds of trees budded or grafted by themselves, consisting of peach, apple, pear, plum, quince, and almond; also gooseberry bushes in abundance. For flowers or ornamental trees [Maori] have no taste; as they do not bear fruit, it is, in their opinion, loss of time to cultivate them.⁹⁰

Discernment and diversification appear to have been key features of the agricultural progress made by local Maori in the district throughout this period.

⁸⁸ Colleen Neal and Ken Shaw, *Kawhia South*, p.8.

⁸⁹ Quoted in Peg Cummins, *A History of Kawhia*, pp.39-40. Also see RT Vernon and CR Buckeridge, *Te Mata-Aotea*, Hamilton: AO Rice, 1973, p.82.

⁹⁰ James Cowan, *The Old Frontier*, p.16.

George Grey and the Mission Stations

The development of the North Island agricultural economy attracted interest, too, from Governor George Grey. In his correspondence with Grey, Morgan was quick to acknowledge Grey's support of the schemes Morgan was implementing: 'This rapid advancement in civilisation is the fruits of Sir G. Grey's kind present and friendly feeling towards those tribes.'⁹¹ It should also be stressed that Morgan was equally quick to make clear to the Governor that while Maori would be rendered European assistance in establishing mills, assisting communities to purchase ploughs, and helping them to break in horses, the success of the burgeoning economy owed much to the industriousness of the Maori communities themselves.

What has been termed Grey's 'sugar and flour' policy involved the strategic gifting of agricultural implements, horses, and loans to assist in the realization of economic aspirations to those Maori Grey considered friendly. In return Maori chiefs donated significant areas of land on which agricultural schools could be established. In correspondence to the CMS in London, Morgan explained that:

You will be glad to hear that the natives at Mr. Ashwell's have just given up a block of land, estimated at 600 acres for his School and Sir George Grey informed me yesterday that he is going to send up Surveyors immediately. The block given up at Otawhao for my School when Surveyed proved to be 870 acres, so that with the land granted by Sir G. Grey (part of which was a gift from the natives to the C.M.S 3 years ago) and a small piece since given we have now at Otawhao nearly 1100 acres of some of the finest land in New Zealand. I believe that the Bishop [Selwyn] and Governor consider that district as the garden of New Zealand.⁹²

From Morgan's letters back to the CMS in London, and his correspondence with Grey, it appears that they fostered a good relationship. Morgan would report back on the economic advancements made in his and others' parishes, while Grey was pleased to receive news that Maori in the district were devoting their energies to industry rather than conflict. In 1849 Grey visited Otawhao along with other government officials and, in Howe's words, took a deep interest in the mission. While there he presented Rangiohia Maori with a plough and a harness, and commissioned Morgan to engage and superintend a European to instruct Maori how to plough. Grey also set aside twenty-one shillings per week for a year to pay for the instructor; this was later extended to cover several years.⁹³ Either during this trip or shortly after, Grey granted the CMS a government title to 173 acres of land at Otawhao. In 1850, Grey supplied to

⁹¹ John Morgan letters and journals, QMS-1394, ATL, p.73. See Supporting Document 24.

⁹² John Morgan letter to CMS, London, QMS-1392, ATL, 3 November 1853, p.584. See Supporting Document 16.

⁹³ Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris and 'civilization'', p.119.

Morgan's school, which taught, among other subjects, agriculture, fifty blankets and 250 yards of canvas for mattresses, two carthorses, a dray, and assorted agricultural implements. Funds were also made available to assist in the erection of mills. After returning to the area in 1853, Grey presented further agricultural machinery including threshing machines as well as some farm animals. A year earlier Grey wrote off Morgan's school debt of £240, a significant sum of money for the time.⁹⁴

There was a need, of course, for Grey to justify this approach to the Colonial Office back in London. To Earl Grey, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, he explained that he was loaning 'moderate sums, from funds available to native purposes' to native chiefs with the intention of assisting Maori commercial enterprises. He explained that Maori difficulties lay in transporting their goods – large quantities of wheat, fruit, Indian corn (maize), flax and potatoes among them – to the markets of Auckland. For an East Coast tribe, for example, this proved particularly problematic given the distances involved. As a result, Maori who did not have the means to purchase European goods were left in a state of comparative poverty, and British trade in the region remained stifled. The Governor realized that with some Government financial assistance, trade and commerce could be invigorated to the point whereby all would benefit. 'The effect of this system', Grey noted,

would be to attach the natives to the Government from a sense of benefits received, to increase the trade of the colony, and to train up amongst the natives a race of coasting seamen, which would be of the greatest advantage to British interests in those seas; and as the natives would have the means of repaying the loans so made directly they were able to bring their produce to market, the advances which were made to them could always be repaid within a period of twelve months.⁹⁵

To illustrate his point, Grey concluded that:

I found that a suitable vessel for Hikairo's tribe could be purchased for 105/., which only required a loan of 75/ from the Government. This loan was therefore made upon the 10th February last; and upon the 20th instant Hikairo repaid the sum of 30/ as an instalment, being now only indebted to the Government in the sum of 45/., which debt he will very shortly liquidate.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris and 'civilization'', pp.119-120. It should be noted that Howe recorded this figure as \$482. He states in his introduction that he doubled sterling amounts in order to represent them in dollars.

⁹⁵ Governor George Grey to Earl Grey, *British Parliamentary Papers* (BPP), 1850, no.28, 22 March 1849, pp.64-65.

⁹⁶ Governor Grey to Earl Grey, BPP, no.28, 22 March 1849, p.64.

To assure the Secretary of State that the scheme could not only be profitable to the Crown but would also attach little risk, Grey enclosed a list, taken from the *Maori Messenger*, of the Maori-owned vessels which had docked at Auckland in the previous fortnight. Listed were sixteen vessels hailing from varying parts of the North Island, carrying a wide array of goods including wheat, potatoes, pigs, oil and timber.

It should be noted that the 1852 Constitution Act made provision in the Civil List for an annual grant for Maori purposes of £7,000. Bishop Selwyn noted that the 'Civil List for Native Purposes' was an 'estimated portion of the Public revenue presumed to be contributed by the Natives themselves'⁹⁷, which came predominantly from customs duty and the profits made by the government in reselling Maori land.⁹⁸ Both Grey and Thomas Gore Browne, Governor between 1855 and 1861, made use of the Civil List to fund a number of areas including Maori education administered by the main religious denominations, small pensions to 'chiefs of importance', Maori healthcare, and also made available loans that would hopefully secure the friendship of Maori which would, ultimately, assist in stimulating the economy.⁹⁹ Donald Loveridge noted that there was considerable debate throughout this period questioning whether Maori were, in fact, receiving from the public purse a fair return for what they were contributing through their purchasing of European goods.¹⁰⁰ Gore Browne remarked that Maori 'contribute so largely to the revenue' of the colony, more than half, in fact, that he felt that the annual grant of £7,000 would possibly prove insufficient for the purposes of 'improvement and advance in civilization'.¹⁰¹

It is unclear whether Grey and, later, Gore Browne, felt they held a responsibility to stimulate Maori commercial activity by making gifts of cash and implements to selected tribal leaders, but one could argue that donations helped grease the wheels of Maori commercial activity, which would ultimately benefit the growing European settler population as much as it would Maori. In addition to providing loans, Grey subsidized schools and encouraged missionaries to establish new ones. A number of co-educational Industrial Boarding schools were established, which taught students carpentry, agricultural skills and sewing, alongside English, Maori and arithmetic.

⁹⁷ Cited in Donald Loveridge, 'Maori Lands and British Colonization 1840-1865 A Preliminary Analysis', report commissioned by the Crown Law Office, May 2001, Wai 903 #A86, p.37.

⁹⁸ BJ Dalton, *War and Politics in New Zealand 1855-1870*, Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1967, p.59.

⁹⁹ Thomas Gore Browne Memorandum, 31 May 1856, encl.1 in Despatch 56, BPP 1860, p.229. For further information on the Civil List in terms of Maori healthcare see Derek A Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy 1840-1940*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1999, and Raeburn Lange, *May the People Live: A history of Maori health development 1900-1920*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999.

¹⁰⁰ Donald Loveridge, 'Maori Lands and British Colonization 1840-1865 A Preliminary Analysis', report commissioned by the Crown Law Office, May 2001, Wai 903 #A86, pp.36-37.

¹⁰¹ Thomas Gore Browne Memorandum, 31 May 1856, encl.1 in Despatch 56, BPP 1860, p.228.

Image 7: St John's Anglican Church, Te Awamutu. This was built in 1854 to replace the one also erected by local Maori at John Morgan's mission station in 1842



Photo: A Francis

As a result of such initiatives, Grey informed Earl Grey that Maori and Pakeha were well on their way to peaceful co-existence. 'Both races', he stated optimistically, 'already form one harmonious community, connected together by commercial and agricultural pursuits, professing the same faith, resorting to the same Courts of Justice, joining in the same public sports, standing mutually and indifferently to each other in the relation of landlord and tenant, and thus insensibly forming one people.'¹⁰² While this may have been an over elaboration of the realities on the ground, Grey's attempts at promoting economic and social advancement by injecting capital where it would do most good were at least a positive move in the right direction.

Ashwell, Morgan and the meaning of 'civilization'

Given the startling economic transformation of some areas of the inquiry district, it is easily forgotten that the principal aim of missionary work was to bring 'Christian salvation' to Maori. Smales noted from the Beechamdale mission station in early 1847 that:

¹⁰² Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, pp.87-88.

Innumerable are the advantages resulting from the progress of Christianity here as in other parts. I am not aware that there has been a single case either of infanticide or murder, as the consequence of witchcraft in the circuit, since the beginning of 1844 ... [Maori] have not only been able amicably to settle all their own disputes which have arisen during this time among themselves (disputes about women, pigs and land, three of the most fruitful sources of native quarrels), but they have on more than one occasion been of service in settling the disputes of other tribes. A great transformation is taking place in their moral constitution.¹⁰³

In a similar vein, Morgan reported to Grey: 'When the mills now contemplated are built, we may trust that the plough will be introduced into every village. Nothing will more contribute to promote the civilization and advancement of the native tribes than the introduction of the plough and the erection of mills.'¹⁰⁴ Morgan was also keen to report to London on the success of

Image 8: St Paul's Anglican Mission Church, Rangiaohia, built by local Maori in 1856



Photo: A Francis

¹⁰³ RT Vernon and CR Buckeridge, *Te Mata-Aotea*, p.83.

¹⁰⁴ John Morgan to Governor Grey forwarded to Earl Grey, Otawhao, BPP, 20 November 1849, encl.5, no.33, pp.107-108.

engaging Maori with Christianity and the benefits derived from it. Writing in April 1854 he recorded that:

Now the Gospel is generally professed, about 150 Communicants belong to the various Congregations in the district, and instead of spending as formerly their all in the purchase of fire arms and powder and ball to destroy each other, and feast on the bodies of the slain; they now come forward to subscribe £300 towards the erection of two Churches at Otawhao and Rangiaohia, one of which is opened and the other progressing, while their mills, ploughs, carts, horses, cornfields and orchards tell how rapid has been the transition from heathen barbarism to Christianity and civilization.¹⁰⁵

For missionaries like Smales and Morgan, the two went hand-in-hand: Maori industriousness through the cultivation of wheat fields and erection of flour mills would lead to economic and progress which, in turn, would lead to better living conditions, improved health, diet and life expectancy. And the question was asked a number of times: who was likely to want to jeopardize such advantages by returning to warfare?

However, there were others within the mission societies who disagreed with Smales' and Morgan's approach to the 'civilisation' of Maori. Hazel Petrie has argued that both Thomas Chapman, who had established mission stations in the Bay of Islands and at Rotorua, and Benjamin Ashwell, Morgan's predecessor at Otawhao, believed that Maori needed to be Christianized in order that 'civilizing' could follow. Both considered a Maori pursuit of commerce fostered an indifference towards Christianity in that it diverted them from their spiritual duties. In 1852, at the height of the roaring agricultural success in the Otawhao district, Chapman reprimanded Morgan for over-emphasizing civilization through agriculture, and not to 'forget that civilization itself cannot illuminate the darkness of the heart ... and that large barns and stacks of corn, cannot give your people, the peace of God which passes all understanding.'¹⁰⁶

But it seems evident from Morgan's letters and journals that his incentive for transforming local economic fortunes was not the unadulterated profit for local Maori. Writing in March 1852 he noted:

The constitution of hundreds is broken down by Scrofula¹⁰⁷, so that many fine young men are hurried to an early grave. In reference to the children,

¹⁰⁵ John Morgan letter to CMS, London, QMS-1392, ATL, 20 April 1854, p.598. See Supporting Document 18.

¹⁰⁶ Thomas Chapman to John Morgan, January 1852, quoted in Hazel Petrie, 'Bitter Recollections? Thomas Chapman and Benjamin Ashwell on Maori flourmills and ships in the mid-nineteenth century', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 39:1, 2005, p.10.

¹⁰⁷ Scrofula – a form of TB that occurred most commonly in the lymph nodes in the neck, often caused by airborne bacteria and also through unpasteurized milk.

the deaths at the age of weaning are awful, and we must attribute this to the want of proper food at that delicate age. A potato and a drink of cold water have never appeared to me a proper substitute for the milk of the mother. Hence hundreds of infants have pined away sickened and died. These facts have convinced me of the necessity of using every means to provide proper food for the young as flour, and milk, and also to improve the constitutions of the rising generation by providing them with better food, and clothing, and improve houses, etc. labouring at the same time to raise their general habits, as the chief means under God of saving and preserving the Aboriginal race.¹⁰⁸

Morgan surmised that an improved economic position brought about by agricultural production, trading and profit making would provide for advanced living conditions, diet, and general improvements in health and well-being of the parishioners that he served. This overriding purpose of wheat production and milling was shared by Hori Haupapa and his appeal to Ngati Whakaue: 'Strive to possess some portion of [the European's] wealth, and acquire mills, and ploughs, that we may be able to procure better food for our families than *we* lived upon in our youth.'¹⁰⁹

Morgan was also acutely aware of the dangers of his Maori flock being exposed to European vices: 'At the commencement of the year [1852]', he noted,

about 80 gallons of wine and spirits arrived (20 Gals. spirits had arrived a few days before) and this large quantity was taken by one of the traders to Rangiaohia. The chiefs generally were opposed to it but being 130 miles from the nearest Magistrate there was no person in authority to interfere. As soon as this large supply reached the village the owner of it proposed to the Europeans a racing fund, to be contested for by the Aborigines on their own horses. This idea was adopted with delight by the wild young men.¹¹⁰

He concluded by arguing 'If the Aboriginal race is to be preserved as a nation if the labours of missionaries are not to be sacrificed, the committee must exert their influence to prevent not only licensed public houses, but also the sale of spirits in any way in the Maori villages.'¹¹¹

Paul Thomas notes in his report that as Maori trade and affluence increased there was a fear they would become less reliant on the missionaries. Schnackenberg for one was concerned

¹⁰⁸ John Morgan letter to Reverend Thomas Chapman, QMS-1392, ATL, 4 March 1852, p.543. See Supporting Document 13.

¹⁰⁹ *New Zealander*, 18 November 1857, p.3, quoted in Hazel Petrie, 'Bitter Recollections?', p.4. Petrie noted that the emphasis appeared in the original *New Zealander* article.

¹¹⁰ John Morgan's 1852 report on Otawhao station, QMS-1392, ATL, 31 December 1852, p.569. See Supporting Document 14. Eighty gallons equates to approximately 360 litres.

¹¹¹ John Morgan's 1852 report on Otawhao station, QMS-1392, ATL, 31 December 1852, p.571. See Supporting Document 14.

that Maori would be enticed away from European education as a result of improvements in their economic status. Wheat prices notably increased as farmers and traders laboured to feed hungry Australian gold miners. Writing to a colleague in November 1851, Schnackenberg noted:

The Gold affair in Australia may keep the price of wheat up for a few years, during which it will be impossible to convince the Natives that the benefit of schooling is at all comparable to the value of a horse which they fancy is now procurable for one year's mahinga whiti [wheat cultivation].¹¹²

While not all missionaries behaved in the same way, it was almost unavoidable that some Maori would, in the cold light of day, find the teachings of the Church less appealing than the acquisition of agricultural implements and status symbols such as horses, mills, and even sailing vessels.

Conclusion

It is evident that by the mid-1830s there was considerable trading activity taking place between Maori and, in the first instance, with traders initially based in Sydney. As trade became more pronounced and diversified, traders settled permanently in the inquiry district; first in the coastal regions around Kawhia and Raglan, and then moving inland to establish trading stations on major waterways. Traders marrying into influential Maori families appeared to assist both communities: Maori had access to Europeans who could facilitate all manner of trade, and Europeans had access to large areas of land, chiefly protection and the apparatus to create profits for themselves and their Maori communities.

In a similar manner, the work undertaken by the mission stations in assisting Maori to engage in a more European economic model cannot be underestimated. At the Otawhao station in particular, considerable agricultural advances resulted from Morgan's ability to influence Governor Grey to gift agricultural implements to Maori or to make available loans at very reasonable rates of repayment for the purchase of coastal vessels (more on this in the next chapter). Within Morgan's district lived approximately 2,500 Maori, 1,100 of whom lived in or near Otawhao and Rangiaohia.¹¹³ As a result of fairly intense development in the district, and a general desire for people to emulate the successes of these two settlements, 'few, if any, Maoris were not in some way in contact with, or using, European crops, agricultural techniques, and mills.'¹¹⁴ The proliferation of mills, many of them within Morgan's catchment of the Upper Waikato sparked a desire within other Maori communities to gain an economic foothold as a

¹¹² Quoted in Paul Thomas, Wai 898 Mokau report (draft at the time of writing), commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, Chapter Two, p.15.

¹¹³ KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris, and 'civilization'', p.113.

¹¹⁴ KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris, and 'civilization'', p.113.

result of agriculture and milling. Some of the resulting capital was reinvested in the local community in the form of chapels: fifteen were constructed in Morgan's district alone between 1844 and 1847.¹¹⁵ He was also in a position to engage the services of millwrights; draw up contracts between them and Maori; organize payments on behalf of his Maori parishioners; encourage them to switch from steel grinders to the more efficient stones ones; and imported machinery from England for local use. By comparison, Howe noted, the Wesleyans at Te Kopua were not as forthcoming in their assistance to their own Maori flock, concentrating instead on spiritual matters over secular activities.¹¹⁶ The Catholic mission at Rangiaohia, headed by Father Pezant, a French priest who arrived in the 1830s, and then later by Father Garavel who arrived in the 1850s, did, however, grow wheat, oats, potatoes, and an abundance of fruit including pears, apples, pears, apricots, peaches and cherries, though not quite on the scale of the Anglican station headed by Morgan.¹¹⁷

But it should be made clear that despite the assistance provided by European traders and settlers in facilitating trade and procuring European goods, and the guidance of the various missionaries in initiating district-wide agricultural programmes, it was the industriousness and perseverance displayed by the numerous Maori communities that had the greatest influence on the region. It appears, from the evidence sighted, that the aspects of economic opportunity embraced by Maori were compatible with tribal configuration and systems of land tenure to the point that neither – at least in the early years of contact – appeared to suffer serious disruption as a result of new economic innovations. It could be argued that Maori flexibility in this regard and the advances made in the early period of Maori-Pakeha contact undoubtedly laid the foundation for what was to follow over the next decade.

¹¹⁵ KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris, and 'civilization'', p.113.

¹¹⁶ KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris, and 'civilization'', p.117.

¹¹⁷ Further information on the district's Catholic mission stations and churches can be found at ARC 1872, Te Awamutu Museum records. See Supporting Document 3.

Chapter Two: ‘The Granary of the North Island’: The Economic Growth of the Rohe Potae, 1845-1855

Introduction

This chapter expands further on the inquiry district’s economic growth during the decade from the mid-1840s to the mid-1850s. It discusses the extent to which commercial production of cereals, fruits and vegetables became established in the region, and traces the engagement between Rohe Potae Maori – both coastal and inland – with the markets and traders of Auckland. In the main it expands on questions two and three of the commission: the commercial purposes hapu and iwi put their land to before it was alienated through sale; and a broadening of the discussion on the manner in which economic activity in the district was managed and organized, and the extent to which Maori in the district found a compatibility between new European-style innovations and more traditional forms of production and land management. It examines the significant growth of commercial activity in the district, a period representing the ‘heyday of Maori agriculture’. To differing degrees the economic, social and physical landscapes were altered as a result of all rapid agricultural advancement. Again, it expands on the Reverend John Morgan’s efforts at Otawhao in assisting local Maori to develop their own cultivations, and acquire the necessary farming implements and livestock. This chapter also assesses the extent to which Maori purchased coastal vessels to realize their own economic potential.

Impressions of the district

In March and April 1852 David Rough, Auckland’s first harbour master, visited the district. After being loaned horses by John Cowell at his bush hotel at Te Rore, Rough and his companions took a ‘pleasant ride of a few hours’ to Otawhao and then Rangiaohia. What he witnessed, and later recorded, was a district experiencing an agricultural and economic boom:

The population [of Rangiaohia] is about 700, all engaged in agriculture; and we were informed that they had 800 acres in wheat this year, which, at the low average of twenty bushels per acre, would be about sixteen thousand bushels: and valued at five shillings per bushel, which is about one shilling below present market price in Sydney and Auckland, would amount to four thousand pounds, which is nearly as profitable as gold-digging in the neighbouring colonies, more especially when it is considered that the land

never cost the natives a farthing, and the labour employed in its cultivation is their own on which they place very little value.¹¹⁸

Rough noted further that:

besides being conveniently situated within a few miles of one of the tributary streams of the Waipa, which is navigable for their canoes: they are therefore provided with the downward current of the Waipa and Waikato as a means of transit for their produce, which, with the exception of the land carriage across the portage between the Awaroa and Manukau, is landed at Onehunga, within six miles of Auckland.¹¹⁹

In sum, Rough concluded that not only was the land fertile and well-suited to wheat growing, local Maori also benefitted from having reasonable access to domestic markets at Auckland, and, from there, Australian export markets from which potentially substantial profits could be derived.

It seems clear, at least from travellers passing through at the time that, by the mid-1850s, the northern portion of the inquiry district, at least, had undergone, and was continuing to undergo, a major transformation, not just with regard to its economic output, but also in terms of physical landscape. Missionaries, as discussed in the previous chapter, were instrumental in this: the development of wheat fields, the appearance of church spires, fruit orchards, the enclosure of fields, and the cultivation of individual gardens seemed to characterize the decade and a half prior to the outbreak of war in the Waikato. Rough observed that:

The native village of Rangahaphia [sic] is about two miles long, nearly as broad, and is quite different from an ordinary Maori Kainga. Each house is separate, and has two or three acres or more attached to it, which is enclosed, and completely cultivated: with numerous rows of peach trees of some standing growing in every field, which gives the place an extremely rural appearance, resembling extensive fields of English orchards.¹²⁰

Others, too, noticed the resemblance of the area with aspects of England. JE Gorst remarked, after travelling through the area in the wake of the Waikato Wars, that 'a white church and spire, surrounded by English trees, green fields, and neighbouring settlers' houses, make the place look like home. The pretty contrast to the brown scenery around reminds the exile of the villages in Cambridgeshire.'¹²¹ A Dr Johnson, travelling throughout the upper half of the North Island during 1846, commented on the landscape he encountered. Around Te Awamutu he

¹¹⁸ 'An Aucklander Describes his 1852 Jaunt to the Waikato', *Footprints of History*, 10: June 1993, p.240. See Supporting Document 37.

¹¹⁹ 'An Aucklander Describes his 1852 Jaunt to the Waikato', p.240. See Supporting Document 37.

¹²⁰ 'An Aucklander Describes his 1852 Jaunt to the Waikato', p.240. See Supporting Document 37.

¹²¹ JE Gorst, *The Maori King, Or, The Story of Our Quarrel with the Natives of New Zealand*, reprinted Auckland: Reed Publishing, 2001, pp.12-13.

found the garden at Morgan's mission house 'well-stocked with English fruit trees', in particular 'gooseberry bushes were loaded with fruit, and I and my fellow-traveller ... enjoyed this truly English fruit, which we had not tasted for many years ...'. Nearby Johnson found 'the soil improved in quality, and there was a good deal of natural grass in places ... A similar country stretched away on either hand, as far as the eye could reach, which would form fine pasture-ground for cattle, who would annually improve it for that purpose.'¹²²

Similarly, Governor George Grey journeyed through 'the extensive and fertile districts of the Waikato and Waipa' in 1849. In his report to Earl Grey in London, the Governor remarked that he was

both surprised and gratified at the rapid advances in civilization which the natives of that part of New Zealand have made during the last two years. Two flour-mills have already been constructed at their sole cost, and another water-mill is in course of erection. The natives of that district also grow wheat very extensively; at one place alone the estimated extent of land under wheat is a thousand acres. They have also good orchards, with fruit-trees of the best kind grafted and budded by themselves. They have extensive cultivations of Indian corn, potatoes &c.¹²³

What Grey found of particular interest was that he had 'never seen a more thriving or contented population in any part of the world. The district I am describing is of the most fertile character, and the quantity of land cultivated or used by the natives is quite insignificant compared with the extent of fertile country.' Most importantly, Grey 'found the whole of the native population prepared at once, with the greatest readiness and cheerfulness, to abandon their hostile intentions.' As already stated, diverting Maori attention away from seemingly warlike tendencies towards agricultural cultivation was central to government and missionary thinking.

And so it continued. After a visit to Raglan in 1852, Surveyor-General, Charles Ligar, reported back to the Colonial Secretary, Andrew Sinclair, on developments since the purchase of land in the area the previous year. One of these was Te Horea, a block which lay 'from the northern shore of the harbour to Carter's Beach, including Te Akau South and Kauri Flat areas.' After paying Ngati Mahuta chief Wiremu Neera £100, being the second instalment for this land, Ligar observed that changes were taking place:

I found that the Natives who sold the land, have with a part of the purchase money bought horses and implements of agriculture, and commenced the

¹²² Dr Johnson's 'Notes From a Journal: Kept during an excursion to the boiling springs of Rotorua and Rotomahana, by way of the Waikato and Waipa countries, in the summer of eighteen hundred and forty-six and seven', published in the *New Zealander*, 6 November 1847, p.3.

¹²³ Governor George Grey to Earl Grey, 7 March 1849, *British Parliamentary Papers* (BPP), no.17, 1850, pp.26-27.

cultivation of wheat on a very large scale, and there is every prospect of their deriving more advantage from the ample reserve they have retained, than they would have done with the whole of the land heretofore in their possession. The Whaingaroa and surrounding Natives have set down to the quiet routine of agriculture and are in every way improved since the Government settled the long-impending war between them and the Nga te Mahuta tribes respecting lands at Horea. Two years ago they were in a wretched state from want of food and appeared to be harassed by the threatened invasion of the Waikato people. They are now speculating on the quantity of wheat they will produce and enjoying by anticipation the golden harvest.¹²⁴

Eighteen fifty-two seemed to be a popular year for visits: Lady Mary Ann Martin, the wife of New Zealand's first chief justice, Sir William Martin, also had many positive things to say of the district. After visiting Otawhao in that year she later remarked:

For miles we saw one great wheat field ... and all along the way, on either side, were wild peach-trees in full blossom. Carts were driven to and from the mill by their native owners; the women sat under the trees sewing flour bags; fat, healthy children and babies swarmed around, presenting a floury appearance ... We little dreamed that in ten years the peaceful industry of the whole district would cease and the land become a desert through our unhappy war.¹²⁵

The same year, A Kennedy recorded in his *Notes of a Short Tour into the Interior of the Northern Colony of New Zealand*, that at Rangiaohia:

Each house is separate, and has two or three acres or more attached to it, which are enclosed, and completely cultivated, with numerous rows of peach trees of some standing growing in every field, which gives the place an extremely rural appearance, resembling extensive fields of English orchards. The population is all engaged in agriculture.¹²⁶

Heywood Crispe, a member of a canoe party journeying from Auckland to Rangiaohia in that year painted a vivid image of how the area had, and was, developing:

I can well remember the first sight we got in the distance of the steeple of the church at the Rev Mr. Morgan's mission station at Te Awamutu ... the natives at Rangiaowhia had made preparations for a goodly party, as they had two days' racing in hand. They allotted to us a large, newly-erected

¹²⁴ CW Ligar to Andrew Sinclair quoted in RT Vernon, *Raglan*, Auckland: WG Vernon, 1984, pp.11-12.

¹²⁵ Lady Martin, *Our Maoris*, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1884, P.116.

¹²⁶ Quoted in KR Howe 'Missionaries, Maoris, and 'civilization' p.66.

whare, the floor being covered with native mats, and it was on them that we indulged in sweet sleep. There was a line of whares erected on the crown of Rangiohia Hill, from which we could obtain a fine view of the surrounding country, and it all had a grand appearance in our eyes. There was a long grove of large peach trees and very fine fruit on them. Such a waste of fruit it seemed to us, but of course they were of no value there. One never sees such trees of peaches now. We, the Europeans, must be the cause by the importation of pests from other countries. A large portion of the ground round the hill was carrying a very good crop of wheat, for the Maoris believed in that as a crop, and they used to convert it into flour at the various flour-mills they had. It was of a very good quality, and some of the Waikato mills had a name for the flour they produced ...¹²⁷

Likewise, the *Maori Messenger* noted that Rangiaohia ‘in appearance is similar to an English village. Neat homesteads dotted here and there with haystacks, ploughs, harrows and other implements of husbandry ... and scenery enlivened by several flour mills. The natives are extensive cultivators of wheat, which is ground at their mills and sold at Onehunga and Auckland.’¹²⁸ From these reports it seems evident that the district’s physical landscape was changing: neat, ordered, English-style homesteads, increased cultivation of cereal crops, and the appearance of church spires on the horizon all point to, in the mid-nineteenth century European interpretation, at least, a district experiencing progressive transformation.

The Wheat and Flour Mill Revolution

Raymond Hargreaves argued that by the early 1850s wheat, maize and potatoes had become a staple component of the Maori diet. Also grown were considerable amounts of oats, barley, carrots, cabbages, onions, turnips, marrows, beans, and numerous types of fruit including apples, peaches, quinces, cherries, water melons and grapes. There were also a few acres devoted to tobacco cultivation, though this apparently proved to be of inferior quality and thus was generally grown for home consumption.¹²⁹ By 1850 it was estimated that Rangiaohia, which was central to the agricultural and industrial boom, was well stocked with farming equipment which included ten ploughs, seven carts and drays, and harnesses for twenty of the fifty horses owned there.

¹²⁷ Quoted in James Cowan, *The Old Frontier*, pp.18-19.

¹²⁸ *Maori Messenger*, 1 January 1855, p.5.

¹²⁹ RP Hargreaves, ‘The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century’, p.64.

Without any doubt the transformation of the district was in large part due to the success of the region's flour milling industry. Economic growth lay not only in the acreage given over to wheat production, but also the proliferation and output of the district's flour mills. It became clear that to maximize profits from wheat growing, it would be beneficial for Maori to grind their own wheat at source, rather than sending the bushels off elsewhere for this process to be undertaken. By 1847, the Rangiaohia millstones – two feet eight inches (81cm) in diameter and made from scoria obtained from near Mount Eden in Auckland – were capable of grinding wheat at the rate of six bushels per hour.¹³⁰ By the following year it was estimated to have ground approximately 2,600 bushels of wheat which had been grown locally, while by 1851, the same mill produced 150 tons of flour, of which 100 tons were sent to Auckland for sale at market. John Morgan's report for 1848 on the Otawhao station he managed stated that with 800-1,000 acres of wheat 'now in ear in the District' the mill there was grinding '40 to 60 bushels of wheat a day.'¹³¹ Thomas Power noted in a return sent to George Grey that the Otawhao station could average twenty-four bushels of wheat per acre, but with the inexperienced manner in which it was being reaped and harvested, this had fallen to nineteen bushels per acre. That said, Power was keen to point out that Maori were 'rapidly improving in their agricultural pursuits.'¹³²

Image 9: Land around Rangiaohia, 2010



Source: A Francis

¹³⁰ RP Hargreaves, 'The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', p.79.

¹³¹ John Morgan's 1848 report on the Otawhao station, QMS-1391, ATL, p.305. See Supporting Document 7.

¹³² Thomas Power return, BPP, 1850 [1420], 21 October 1850, p.95.

Such was the advancement in the district that two Rangiaohia chiefs, Hori Kingi Te Waru and Hoani Papita Kahawai, wrote a letter to Queen Victoria on 25 March 1849 proudly explaining their advancing situation. Accompanying the letter presented to Governor Grey

Image 10: Engraving of Royal Family Presented to Rangiaohia Maori in 1850



Source: Acc No 4068, Collection, Te Awamutu Museum

during his visit to the district, was a consignment of flour ground at their own water-powered mill, the first, according to the Governor, to be constructed in New Zealand from wheat grown in their own fields.¹³³ Translated into English by John Grant Johnson, Interpreter to the Civil Secretary, the letter informed the Queen that 'Our water-mill is completed; we subscribed all the money for it; we paid the European who built it 200*l*. We acquired this sum by [the sale] of flax and pigs ... we did such work as natives are accustomed to do, namely, the sluices for the water and other such works.'¹³⁴ In return they received two large coloured framed engravings, one of the Monarch in her Coronation robes, and the other with Prince Albert and the royal children. Both were by the renowned German artist Franz Winterhalter. The first hung in the Roman Catholic Mission at Rangiaohia but was destroyed by fire in 1865. The latter, in a heavy gilt frame

¹³³ Governor George Grey to Earl Grey, 18 June 1849, BPP, no.46, 1850, p. 166.

¹³⁴ Governor George Grey to Earl Grey, 18 June 1849, BPP, encl. 2 in no.46, 1850, p. 168. The letter was also translated by William Servantes, Interpreter to Major-General Commanding Forces, encl.1 in no.46, p.167.

and measuring four feet by three feet, hung in John Morgan's house at Otawhao until it was removed by Hohaia Ngahiwi – under instruction from Morgan – for safe-keeping.¹³⁵ It was later purchased by William Searancke who passed it down through his family to his granddaughter, Miss Phyllis von Sturmer. She then bequeathed it to Te Awamutu Museum upon her death in July 1958.¹³⁶

Grey reported to London in 1849 on the swift progress of mill-erection in the North Island. Using Morgan's station at Otawhao as the central point, Grey noted the number of Maori-owned mills already in operation within a fifty-mile radius:

Fig. 3: Return of flour mills now in operation within one district of the Province of New Ulster, the property of Aboriginal Natives

District	Settlement	Name of principal owner	Cost		Remarks
			Cash	Labour	
Waiapa [sic]	Rangiawhia	Te Waru	£ 200	s. d. 50	All these mills are within a circuit of 50 miles of Otawhao
Ditto	Otawhao	Ti Tipa	120	40	
Kawhia	Mangaharakeke	Tipa	80	40	
Aotea	Aotea	Manihera	80	40	
Waikato	Kaitotehe	Pake	330	40	
Coromandel Harbour	Kopatauaki	Paora Te Patu	100	40	
		TOTAL	£1,160		

Source: Governor Grey to Earl Grey, 22 August 1849, BPP 1850, Encl. 1 in No.7, p.25.

In the one district, he noted, 'six water-mills have recently been constructed at a cost of about 1,200£, and are now in full operation, and that nine other mills are in course of construction, at an estimated cost of about 1,700£.' Grey concluded that the growth of agriculture in the district, which was being replicated in districts elsewhere, demonstrated the 'most encouraging hopes for the future tranquillity and prosperity of this country.'¹³⁷ A month earlier Grey informed London that a further nine mills were either in construction or in proposal stage. These mills were

¹³⁵ Statement made by Hohaia Ngahiwi, 2 December 1885, MS Papers 173, Taupo Magistrates Court, Taupo, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, taken from ARC 2056 Te Awamutu Museum Historical Society Proceedings Book, pp.295-296. See Supporting Document 1.

¹³⁶ William Searancke's recollection of how he came to acquire the engraving can be found in ARC 2056 Te Awamutu Museum Historical Society Proceedings Book, p.297. See Supporting Document 1.

¹³⁷ Governor George Grey to Earl Grey, 22 August 1849, BPP, no. 7, 1850, pp.24-25.

situated at Te Wera Te Atua (district of Maungatautari), Kopua and Wata Wata (Waipa), Kiri Kiri Roa and Whangape (Waikato), Pari Pari (Mokau), Mata Mata (River Thames), Kapanga (Coromandel Harbour), and Taupo (Waitemata).¹³⁸ Earl Grey was impressed by such rapid developments. In reply he admitted: 'These papers', he stated, 'have afforded me ... proof of the progress made by the aborigines in the arts of civilized life, and of the improvement in their social position, which promises eventually to be of so much benefit to the interests of both races in New Zealand.'¹³⁹ It is worth noting that mills were heavily concentrated in the Waikato, especially the Upper Waikato, whereas there were none, at this stage, located either in Auckland or in East Coast districts.

Morgan's emphasis on the virtues of agriculture at Otawhao was, as mentioned previously, largely responsible for transforming the district into the undoubted bread basket that it became by the mid-1850s. Not only was he determined to turn Maori into farmers, but he went to 'considerable lengths to detail and carefully plan the mode of existence' they were to adopt.¹⁴⁰ Howe noted that Morgan's vision included each family having 20 or 30 acres of land planted in wheat and vegetables. The Upper Waikato was to be transformed into a 'land of idyllic Christian hamlets amidst acres of golden wheat. Orchards in particular would add to the "appearance of civilization" of each cottage and village.'¹⁴¹ Not only would this benefit the general economy of the colony by producing goods which could be sold at market in Auckland, or for export to Australia, but it would also advance Maori through being able to support one another and buying the items they themselves could not produce.

Just as Morgan and the Governor were quick to point out that it was Maori industriousness that was the driving force behind the district's development, so too newspaper reports made it known of the 'anxiety and desire of the natives to acquire knowledge and practice of agricultural pursuits ...'. As early as 1846 the *New Zealander* reported, however, that Maori labouring in the wheat fields as ploughmen, reapers, and bullock drivers was not being fully rewarded:

But with the natives, as with the European settlers, a productive harvest of wheat is comparatively no benefit to the resident population, unless there are mills on the spot, to convert it into flour. This very circumstance has much retarded the success of farmers in the neighbourhood of Auckland, where grain might be shipped to other ports; but such disadvantage would operate more powerfully, against the farmer in the interior, and indeed, in

¹³⁸ Governor George Grey to Earl Grey, 3 July 1849, BPP, no.51, 1850, pp.172-173.

¹³⁹ Earl Grey to Governor George Grey, 14 February 1850, BPP, 1850 [1280], no.2, p.143.

¹⁴⁰ KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris, and 'civilization'', p.86.

¹⁴¹ KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris, and 'civilization'', p.87.

districts distant from the coast, and without any roads to the capital, would prevent altogether the cultivation of wheat.¹⁴²

By the beginning of 1849, Morgan reported back to London that 'wheat [was] now at between 800-1000 acres, two thirds of which grow within six miles of Otawhao. By October 1850 Thomas Power reported that 1,317 acres were in produce: 600 of which was dedicated to wheat, 345 acres to potatoes, and 200 to kumara. Other cereals, fruit and vegetables constituted the rest.¹⁴³ Morgan recorded that 'Quality of the crops is fine. Natives have taken 6 tons of flour to market in the last six months, receiving £13 per ton.'¹⁴⁴ It is worth noting here that the *New Zealander* published prevailing produce prices, and just fifteen months earlier in October 1847, reported that first quality flour was fetching £18 per ton and second quality £16 per ton.¹⁴⁵ At the same time, wheat was selling for six shillings per bushel, barley six shillings and sixpence, and maize two shillings and sixpence per bushel. With the success of wheat growing in the district it was likely that further mills would be erected. In the Te Awamutu district alone, at least twenty-five flour mills were erected, mostly in the latter half of the 1840s and the first half of the 1850s, at a cost of between £120 and £700 each.¹⁴⁶ The drive to erect mills to cope with the increase in wheat production extended elsewhere in the Rohe Potae.

At Kawhia the *Maori Messenger* reported on what it termed to be a 'mania for mills'. As with other newspaper reports of the time it acknowledged the role of the missionaries in assisting Maori 'civilizing and advancement' through laudable agricultural production and mill ownership and operation:

One thing we observe of a very praiseworthy character in reference to the native inhabitants of this fine settlement, namely, their liberal contributions to the good Mission cause. We congratulate our old and esteemed friend the Rev. J. Whitely [sic] upon the success which has attended his labors here and elsewhere. We have no doubt but that the natives justly appreciate the indefatigable zeal of their devoted Missionary; and although there are many hindrances at present, in regard to the work in which Mr. Whiteley is engaged, the cheering promise is "In due season we shall reap if we faint not."¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² *New Zealander*, 14 March 1846, p.3.

¹⁴³ Thomas Power return, BPP, 1850 [1420], 21 October 1850, p.95.

¹⁴⁴ John Morgan letter to CMS, London, QMS-1391, ATL, 2 January 1849, p.379. See Supporting Document 10.

¹⁴⁵ *New Zealander*, 16 October 1847, p.2.

¹⁴⁶ HCM Norris, 'Glimpse of Waikato History 1820-1870', p.21. See Supporting Document 30.

¹⁴⁷ *Maori Messenger*, 1 January 1855, p.6.

By the early 1850s Mokau Maori were aware of their own trading potential. A European millwright was employed to erect a mill at Waikawau, an area frequented by a number of timber millers. Schnackenberg, acting as an intermediary in the district, reported that:

Flax also abounds which I purchase at £14 per ton ... I purchased 120 bushels of wheat, £50 of maize for the cutter besides perhaps 50 bushels for our own consumption ... I had also two trees – 4000 feet of timber cut. I paid the Natives 10/- for each ton and the sawyers 6/- for Kahikatea and 8/- per 100 feet for Rimu. Flax I may have purchased 6 or £7 worth and sold £20 worth of rope.¹⁴⁸

Elsewhere in the Otorohanga district, wheat was grown between Haurua and Te Pohue (the Waitomo Golf Course area), between Taarewaanga and Te Paparara (from Otorohanga College down the eastern side of the Waipa for about two kilometres) at Kohitane (east of the Waipa opposite the railway station and along Otewa Road); and also at Karamu, Terengonehe, Te Puta and Roherohe (from gate Pa along Rangiatea Road for about three kilometres).¹⁴⁹ The considerable acreage devoted to wheat production influenced local Maori in their decision to raise the money to build their own mill. Tuhoro, a Ngati Maniapoto chief of the Ngati Uekaha and Ngati Pakau hapu, addressed his people:

Would it not be wonderful if we could build a mill to grind our wheat? The women and children would be freed of the labour of grinding the grain in the small handmills we have, and perhaps could even produce enough to sell, so that we could buy tools and clothing from the pakeha.¹⁵⁰

The matter was discussed at length by Ngati Kinohaku, Ngato Hinewai, Ngati Rungaterangi, Ngati Uekaha, Ngati Huia, Ngati Rereahu and Ngato Rora. In 1851, pigs, dressed flax, and wheat, were taken by twenty canoes for sale at Auckland. With enough money to employ the services of a millwright, a number of chiefs engaged the services of a Mr Stewart [believed to be McMullen], whose reputation had been enhanced by his building of a mill at Maungatautari.

Morgan reported to Governor Grey on the progress of the mill, twenty-five miles south-west of Otawhao: 'The chief person in the erection of this mill is Tipa, step-son of Waru. Waru himself is much interested in it.' Morgan was keen to emphasize the co-operation involved in having the mill erected. The Church of England, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic natives, he explained, united for the erection of this mill. 'In works of this kind', he wrote, 'I am convinced,

¹⁴⁸ Schnackenberg to T Trappitt, 1 August 1850, quoted in Paul Thomas, Wai 898 Mokau report (draft at the time of writing), commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, Chapter Two, p.15.

¹⁴⁹ FL Phillips, 'Mohoao-Nui Flour Mill – First industry at Otorohanga', *Footprints of History*, 16: April 1996, p.10. See Supporting Document 43.

¹⁵⁰ FL Phillips, 'Mohoao-Nui Flour Mill', p.8. See Supporting Document 43.

Map of the Otahao region showing rivers, mills, and proposed mill sites. The map includes labels for rivers like Rangitoto, Rangipo, and Rangitiki. Mills are marked with dots and labels such as 'New Mill Cost £250', 'Old Mill Cost £100', and 'Proposed Mill'. A north arrow is present.

Number of Mills within 50 miles round Otahao either built, or building, or for which funds are being collected.

Built -	
1.	Rangitoto, cost £200
2.	Otahao old Mill 120
3.	Maungatautari 110
4.	Maungakaua 100
5.	Matamata 300
6.	Kaitiaki 200
7.	Kirikiriwa 250
8.	Watawaka 320
9.	Mahomani 350
10.	Maungatautari 500
Value of Maori labor on 10 Mills £2720	
Building -	
11.	Rangitoto New Mill 360
12.	Otahao New Mill 220
Native labor 100	
£760	
Mills for which funds are now being collected -	
13.	Tireke 320
14.	Mangamahoe 320
15.	Maungatautari 320
16.	Rangitoto 320
17.	Karakariki 320
18.	Patere 320
Value of Maori labor 380	
£2270	

Total Value of Mills	
Mills built	£2720
Building	760
For which funds are now being collected by the Aborigines	2270
	<u>£5750</u>

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that it is much better (as at Rangiaohia) to unite all parties than to promote separate interests. Their advancement in civilization will be much more rapid.’¹⁵¹ Morgan continued: ‘The natives of Te Hitu, on the Waipa, also propose erecting a mill. Waru has applied to me to assist him in procuring a millwright to erect a second mill at Kaahia.’¹⁵² In response Morgan made application to McMullen, who had already overseen the erection of the Rangiaohia, Otawhao and Maungatautari mills, and accompanied him to Mohoa-nui, where the contract for its erection, at a cost of £300, was entered into. As Morgan explained, ‘all the Rangiaohia chiefs accompanied Waru to Mohoanui. No European was present, as it took place just as we returned from Auckland; but I think Mr McMullen will erect a good mill; it will be the largest mill yet erected.’¹⁵³

Unfortunately, McMullen on this occasion proved a poor choice.¹⁵⁴ He chose a site at Te Tito, where the Kohiroa Stream joined the Waipa River. In 1996, at the time a *Footprints of History* article on the mill’s construction was written, the site was occupied by the Otorohanga Timber Company, formerly the Otorohanga Butter Factory. McMullen asked the men to heap up a large mound of earth in preparation for damming the stream, and moved into a house at Taumata-tiro-tiro which the local men had constructed for him. After an advance payment of £30 had been made, McMullen fled to Auckland, pursued by Tuhoro and Te Rangi-ka-haruru. The incident led to the composition of a song which began, ‘Ka eke ki kakamutu ka titiro ki te tito (There was a lie heaped up at Kakamutu for all to see)’. A lawsuit followed in which McMullen was ordered to return the £30 he had taken and pay costs of the same amount.

It is worth recording that Maori were not beyond involving the authorities in recouping through legal means what they were owed. The same could also be argued for officialdom ensuring that Maori were not duped by the unsavoury actions of European tradesmen. A similar situation had developed almost a decade earlier at Mokau when Takerei, a major chief, sought to purchase the vessel *Hydrus* with the intention of expanding Mokau’s trade with New Plymouth. It was agreed that Takerei would exchange 200 pigs with the vessel’s owner. However, upon receiving 120 the owner absconded only to be captured under the orders of Governor Robert FitzRoy. Paul Thomas’s Mokau report highlights the considerable energy expended by FitzRoy and George Grey in pursuing this matter on Takerei’s behalf, and ensuring cordial trading

¹⁵¹ John Morgan to Governor Grey forwarded to Earl Grey, 20 November 1849, BPP, encl.5 in no.33, pp.107-108.

¹⁵² John Morgan to Governor Grey forwarded to Earl Grey, 20 November 1849, BPP, encl.5 in no.33, pp.107-108.

¹⁵³ John Morgan to Governor Grey forwarded to Earl Grey, 20 November 1849, BPP, encl.5 in no.33, pp.107-108.

¹⁵⁴ It is worth recording here that McMullen had been employed as early as 1834 to supervise the erection of a mill at the CMS station at Waimate in the Bay of Islands. The Reverend Richard Davis referred to McMullen as ‘hapless’ when he almost allowed a dam to overflow; *Flour Milling & Baking in New Zealand: The first 150 years*, Wellington: New Zealand Association of Bakers, 1983, p.5.

relations were maintained.¹⁵⁵ In this instance Maori were not deterred. In fact, Schnackenberg was astounded by Takerei's insistence on acquiring the boat rather than settling for compensation.

Equally, Tuhoro and Te Rangi-ka-haruru were not deterred in their pursuit of a millwright. On their return journey they were told of a Mr Cuthbert (named Karaputu by local Maori) who had been employed by Hori Te Waru. Cuthbert agreed to erect the mill and travelled back to Otorahanga (Orahiri) with the party.¹⁵⁶ Under Cuthbert's direction the mill site was changed. The labour carried out involved everyone in the community: the men felling and splitting timber; others building the mill wheel and digging the diversion race, and the women taking on a number of tasks including cultivating the gardens and preparing food for the men. The mill was completed in the summer of 1853-1854 at a cost, according to Morgan, of £300.¹⁵⁷ All the hapu of Ngati Maniapoto who had been involved in the project attended the opening.

The mill was named Mohonau, after the ancient village of Maniapoto; this was followed by a blessing given by a Kopua missionary. *Footprints of History* provides a vivid description of the mill's inauguration:

The children waited at the dam on the Orahiri Stream until the diversion gate was closed and then ran beside the water as it poured along the head race and finally surged over the great water wheel. Slowly the wheel began to rotate under the weight of the water and then faster and faster until it turned steadily in a cascade of foam and spray. A great shout arose from the multitude which then began to file through the mill to watch the great mill stones turn and crush the stream of golden grain into flour.¹⁵⁸

The mill continued to flourish until the battle at Orakau in March 1864. Then, fearing a British invasion, the people abandoned their crops and homes to build a great fort at Pare Tuhi beside today's State Highway 3 just south of Lees Block Road. On discovering that the soldiers had not crossed the Puniu River the people returned to Orahiri. On their return they found that wheat growing was exhausting the soils available near the mill so they dismantled it and took it to Owhiro on the eastern side of Kawhia Harbour. It is possible that this was at Waiharakeke. The site of the Mohoanui mill is still marked by the masonry of the slot in which the great water

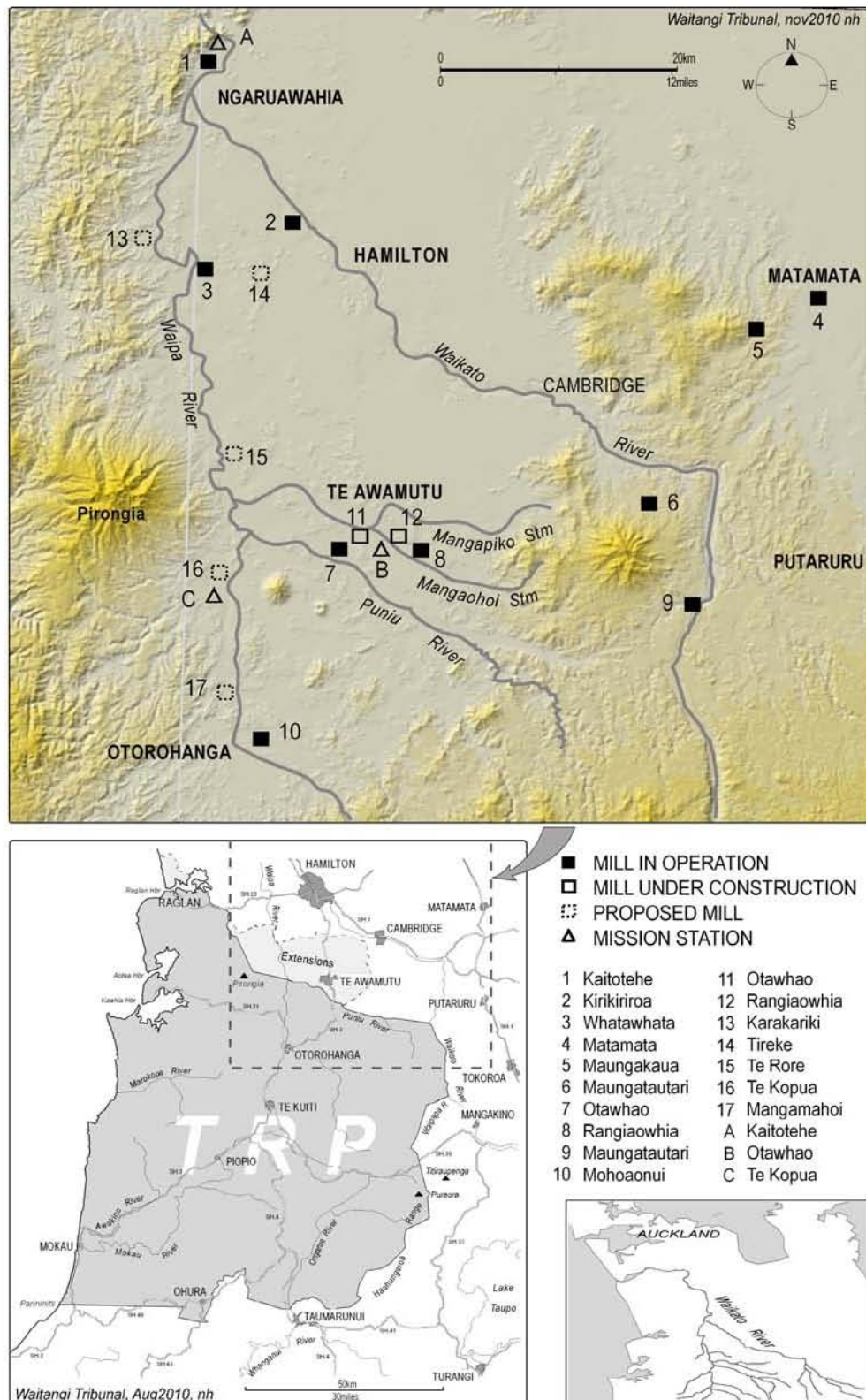
¹⁵⁵ Paul Thomas, Wai 898 Mokau report (draft at the time of writing), commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, Chapter Two, p.14.

¹⁵⁶ FL Phillips, 'Mohoao-Nui Flour Mill', p.9. See Supporting Document 43.

¹⁵⁷ James Cowan, *The Old Frontier*, p.16.

¹⁵⁸ FL Phillips, 'Mohoao-Nui Flour Mill', pp.9-10. See Supporting Document 43.

Map 2: Map Showing Progression of Maori Flour Mills in the Waikato during the 1850s



Source: RP Hargreaves, RP Hargreaves, 'The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 68: 1959, p.71 and RP Hargreaves, 'Maori Agriculture after the Wars', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 69: 1960, p.166.

wheel once turned, but the Orahiri has reverted to its original course and the head race has been ploughed over.¹⁵⁹

Mill activity in the region continued apace. Towards the end of 1854, H Boyton, Inspector of Native Mills, toured the area to update his records on the status of mills in operation, and those planned for erection. Boyton's report to Major Nugent, the Native Secretary, is worth quoting at length as it contains valuable evidence of the region's milling capacity:

Since my last report, I have again visited the mills on the Waikato and Waipa. The new mill at Rangiaowhia is now completed, and in full work, giving very good satisfaction; the old mill which is nearly worn out, but is still working, it is proposed to supercede by a new one as soon as a Millwright can be procured. The mill at Kihekihe repaired by Mr. Clowe, in consequence of the work being so badly done, the payment was for some time in dispute; but, as both parties referred the matter to me, after a careful investigation in the presence of Dr. Harsant the Police Magistrate, the Rev. J. Morgan, and the Maori Chiefs interested, after a careful examination of the work done, the arrangements entered into, the payments already made, and the statement of both parties; I felt it my duty to strike off £55 from the amount charged, allowing £100 for the work instead of £155 as demanded. I have also made an arrangement with Messrs Culbert & Walker to finish, and put in rough working order, the mill at Matamata, for the sum of £100, agreeably to your instructions. The mill at Mangatae, near Rev. J. Morgan's, is in a forward state. A new mill has also been agreed for at Tireke. The natives of Maungatautari are desirous of building a new mill, and also another at Kawhia. The mill at Patetere is nearly finished. And preparations are making for commencing the mill at Mangarewa, near Rev. J. Buttle's, on the Waipa, by Mr. Chandler. I also visited the mill at Mohoanui, and assisted in dressing the stones, and making a little alteration in the dressing machine. The new mill at Te Rore will be commenced immediately ... The natives of Wakapaka on the Waipa, a little below Whatawhata, are wishing Mr. Chandler to build them a mill; the Chief Tangere, has requested me to draw up an agreement, provided Mr. Chandler after ascertaining the price of

¹⁵⁹ FL Phillips, 'Mohoao-Nui Flour Mill', pp.9-10. See Supporting Document 43. Also see Hazel Petrie, *Chiefs of Industry*, pp.147-148.

materials in Town, offers such terms as you may think it advisable to accept.¹⁶⁰

It is clearly evident from Boyton's report that milling in the district was showing no signs of slowing. In fact, with plans in place to erect further mills, the district's agricultural output looked set to increase.

Boyton returned to the district in 1856. His report noted that, in general, the mills within the inquiry district were in good working order. With the exception of the old mill at Maungatautari (unfit for work, proposed to be rebuilt) and the mill at Mangatea (in process of being erected) those in the Waipa and Rangiaohia Districts fared well. Those in the Kawhia District received a not so positive appraisal. Boyton's comments regarding the five mills there he inspected were:

Mangapapa – badly arranged, and makes inferior work

Rangataiki – Similar to the last, left by the millwright before it was quite finished

Mahoe – In course of erection

Whaingaroa – Small mill, badly arranged, the dressing machine of no service

Waitetuna – Small mill, badly arranged, the dressing machine of no service¹⁶¹

Despite Boyton's findings, the drive to have a local mill grinding one's own locally-produced wheat continued and subsequently had a transformative effect on the Rohe Potae. The realization that profits could be maximized by milling locally encouraged hapu to embrace technological change. In many cases, locally-produced fruit, vegetables and cereals were sold to raise funds for mill construction. If the construction of the Mohoao-Nui mill as described above is representative of the process under which many mills were erected, complete community participation was required. With a number of mills in close proximity to one another, production of fine quality wheat and other goods intensified, local milling increased, and the need to transport to Auckland and, later, overseas markets, as cost effectively as possible became imperative. The benefits that could potentially be reaped were considerable for the time. As a result, if individual hapu were unable themselves to raise the funds to participate in the agricultural boom, they could, and did, join forces with other hapu to compete.

¹⁶⁰ H Boyton, Inspector of Native Mills, report to Major Nugent, Native Secretary, 21 December 1854, quoted in *Maori Messenger*, 4 March 1855, pp.14-15.

¹⁶¹ List of flour mills, the property of Maories, erected or in process of erection, according to the reports of Mr Boyton, Inspector of Mills, *New Zealand Gazette*, no.22, 20 June 1856, p.134.

Inter-Hapu Rivalry and Co-operation

Belich has argued that far more mills were built in the 1840s and 1850s than were needed to process the available wheat; this was because mills had become a currency of group rivalry.¹⁶² Howe noted that there was a strong desire to own a mill: they were novel, useful, and gave considerable prestige.¹⁶³ As a result, Howe argued, mill ownership, like owning schooners, building of mills, churches, and increasing acreages of wheat, were all motives in outdoing other hapu and tribes.¹⁶⁴ Likewise, the desire to own European agricultural implements created the desire amongst the other tribes to acquire agricultural advantages. The possession of European goods and tools, he suggested, 'conferred mana upon the owners which often led to possessiveness and jealousy between those who had such goods and those without.'¹⁶⁵

Hazel Petrie has argued against the evaluation of what the *Maori Messenger* regarded as a 'mania for mills'. She has suggested that as a result of little scholarly attention, a general characterization that mills were purchased as status symbols, that inter-hapu rivalries hindered their development, and that Maori love of novelty meant that ships and flourmills were not maintained, has been allowed to evolve.¹⁶⁶ Petrie explained that there were numerous ways in which capital could be raised to invest in shipping or mills: land sales would be arranged; on occasion joint stock companies and purchase by subscription arrangements were established; and there were also government loans. As stated earlier, the Mohoao-Nui mill at Otorohanga involved the collaboration of several groups. Likewise, the *Maori Messenger* published a list of subscribers to the erecting of a Ngati Hikairo mill at Kawhia in 1855. It records contributions totalling £162, 8s from individuals and other tribal groups including Ngati Waitapu, Ngati Matenui, Ngatitiaroha [sic], and Ngati Maniapoto.¹⁶⁷ In the same vein, Anglican, Wesleyan and Catholic missionaries joined forces to erect a mill at Rangiaohia and, further afield, Ohau and Waikawa people had interests in the Catholic mill at Otaki.¹⁶⁸ Further, there was also Maori-Pakeha co-operation: a petition was made by Pakeha settlers to the Auckland Provincial Council in 1854 for a cart road between Rangiaohia and Te Rore. They stated that there were 'six to eight thousand natives and a large body of European settlers, all more or less interested in those many flour mills erected in the said districts – and producing the main supply of that Article in the Auckland market.'¹⁶⁹

¹⁶² James Belich, *Making Peoples*, p.216.

¹⁶³ Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris, and 'civilization'', p.124.

¹⁶⁴ Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris, and 'civilization'', p.125.

¹⁶⁵ Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris, and 'civilization'', pp.122-123.

¹⁶⁶ Hazel Petrie, 'Bitter Recollections?', p.1.

¹⁶⁷ *Maori Messenger*, 1 February 1855, pp.11-12. A full list of subscribers can be found in the appendix of this report.

¹⁶⁸ Hazel Petrie, 'Bitter Recollections', p.5.

¹⁶⁹ Hazel Petrie, 'Bitter Recollections', p.5.

It seems apparent from the evidence that boosts to the Rohe Potae economy through agricultural production, milling, coastal shipping, and river transports to the Auckland markets, were promoted as being beneficial to all those Maori and Pakeha who participated. Newspaper reports and missionaries' diaries (in particular Morgan's) were keen to publicize the mutual advantages to be gained through adopting European style crops, methods, and, in many cases, such as Morgan's flock, lifestyles. To put this into clearer context, it needs to be understood how profitable the region was during the so-called 'boom years' of the 1840s and 1850s.

Those involved with the Rangiaohia mill realized swift returns. In 1848 local Maori took flour down to the Auckland markets from which they made £70. ES Beer noted that this sudden affluence bought blankets, tools, salt and numerous other items. The following year Rangiaohia and Maungatautari Maori sold £330 worth of flour at the Auckland markets. Of this, £240 was spent purchasing horses, drays and ploughs.¹⁷⁰ By the end of 1848, the Rangiaohia mill was, according to Howe, grinding approximately 2,600 bushels of wheat. He notes that by the end of 1851 the Rangiaohia mill had produced 150 tons of flour, two-thirds of which was sold in Auckland.¹⁷¹

Arthur Ormsby provided an enlightening account of harvest time in the district during the economic boom years:

In one season, I was for nearly a month assisting with the harvest at Te Kopua, going from one field to another, working hard all day and every day. The owner of each plot would provide a feast for the workers on his plot as part payment. I have been one of fifty sickle hands in one field, and there were more than a score of lassies behind the reapers binding the sheaves with flax, which had been prepared before reaping had commenced. Frequently the leading man or woman would start a song which would be taken up by all the workers in the field, and the effect on the listeners and workers alike, was inspiring. The community singing seemed to make the sickles go like miniature mowing machines.¹⁷²

It appears from both Ormsby's account, and Morgan's reports of the increases in production and profits, that the district was bustling with economic activity and blossoming financially. It is important to remember that while wheat may have dominated localized agriculture, there was also considerable production in other areas, enough to appear for sale in the Auckland market.

¹⁷⁰ ES Beer, 'Early Traders of the Waikato 1854-1860', p.6. See Supporting Document 29.

¹⁷¹ Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris, and 'civilization'', p.109. Howe's information came from John Morgan's 1851 report, Letters and Journals, QMS-1391, ATL, 31 December 1851, p.495. See Supporting Document 12.

¹⁷² HCM Norris, 'Glimpse of Waikato History 1820-1870', p.21. See Supporting Document 30.

Auckland Market and the Canoe Trade

Graham Bush noted that ‘The town centred around the port; this was the prime source of livelihood, directly or indirectly, for the majority of urban dwellers. Auckland provided commercial and transport services linking the timber-miller, flax-gatherer, gold-miner and agriculturalist with the foreign industrialist and entrepreneur.’¹⁷³ As such, it was the principal port for Maori produce. Crowds of vendors thronged the streets selling their wares. They formed encampments and stayed until all their produce was sold. Belich estimated that in 1853 alone 2,000 canoe trips were made taking produce to Auckland and Onehunga.¹⁷⁴ Maori were, at least in the early years of Auckland’s development, the ‘largest purveyors of foodstuffs; so large indeed as to nearly monopolize the market and to exclude the Europeans from competition.’ The *New Zealander* added that ‘It is likely that but for the Maori trade Auckland business would have collapsed during these hard years.’ Maori traders were described as the ‘very life blood’ of the Auckland economy.¹⁷⁵ In large part this was due to Auckland’s population growth. By 1841 there were approximately 1,800 living in the early Auckland settlement. Despite the population declining in the late 1840s, a consequence of people leaving to seek their fortune in the Californian Gold Rush (approximately 1848-1855), the population had recovered and risen to over 9,000 by 1853, and just under 13,000 by 1870.¹⁷⁶ As a province, Auckland’s population reached 9,430 by 1851, 24,420 by 1861, 62,335 by 1861, and 99,451 by 1881.¹⁷⁷

Depending on where one was located in the district, carriage to Auckland could mean several trans-shipments. Heywood Crispe, travelling through the district in February 1852, noted that the canoe party’s journey from Auckland to Rangiaohia had taken the best part of three weeks. Reflecting on this many years later Crispe noted that ‘there was no iron horse then by which to make a rapid journey. Now it is only part of a day’s journey to get to the same spot’.¹⁷⁸ As Hargreaves described, produce was first carried

by bullock dray to a landing place on the Puniu Stream, a navigable branch of the Waipa River, loaded into canoes and paddled downstream. A number of miles before the mouth of the Waikato River was reached, the canoes headed up the Awaroa Creek, the produce backborne across the portage at Waiuku and once again loaded into canoes or a cutter for the run across the

¹⁷³ GWA Bush, *Decently and in Order: The centennial history of the Auckland City Council*, Auckland: Collins Bros., 1971, p.32.

¹⁷⁴ James Belich, *Making Peoples*, pp.215-216.

¹⁷⁵ Quoted in James Belich, *Making Peoples*, p.215.

¹⁷⁶ GWA Bush, *Decently and in Order*, pp.32, 47, 77.

¹⁷⁷ Jeanine Graham, ‘Settler Society’, in WH Oliver (ed) with BR Williams, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981, p.117.

¹⁷⁸ Quoted in James Cowan, *The Old Frontier*, p.19.

Manukau Harbour to Onehunga. While some of the produce was sold here most of it was carted by dray across the isthmus to the Auckland market.¹⁷⁹

While a considerable amount of effort would no doubt have been expended on transporting goods to market, evidence suggests that substantial rewards could be reaped once the goods were sold. Morgan recorded in his journal that in early 1849 charges to carry freight across the Waikato river were being reduced from thirty shillings per ton to just five or six shillings per ton, making it considerably more profitable to take goods to the Auckland markets.¹⁸⁰

As mentioned above, the main route down the Waipa, Waikato, and across the portage to Waiuku was arguably more arduous than that encountered by coastal schooners, but appears to have been quite lucrative. A combination of packhorse, sledge, and bullock wagon carried the produce to the nearest navigable stream where it was placed in large canoes and taken down the Waipa and Waikato Rivers. A typical journey could take several days before the canoes, usually in flotilla formation, arrived at the Awaroa Stream. From here the canoes were paddle poled as far as possible until the portage, separating the headwaters of the Waiuku Estuary on the southern shores of the Manukau Harbour and the Awaroa stream was reached.¹⁸¹ From here, goods were carried, mostly back-borne, over the approximately two miles (three and a half kilometres) wide strip of land. Produce bound for Auckland was then transferred into cutters at Onehunga and transported across the isthmus to the Auckland market, a journey of some one hundred miles from the Rangiaohia and Otawaho mills.¹⁸² James Cowan recorded a journey taken in the opposite direction by the Mellsopps, a pioneer family from the Mauku district near Pukekohe. After embarking at Waiuku, they passed through the

narrow and crooked Awaroa Creek in kopapa, or small canoes, the only craft which could navigate this stream, connecting the Manukau harbour with the Waikato River. In the Waikato they transferred to a large canoe, about sixty feet long, well loaded with goods from Auckland ... Their Maori crew paddled them up to Te Rore, on the Waipa; the voyage occupied three days.¹⁸³

The evidence suggests that the canoe trade between the Rohe Potae and Auckland was a substantial operation involving large numbers of Maori transporting considerable amounts of varied cargo. It also seems apparent that, until European production overtook Maori output, Auckland's ever-growing population remained heavily reliant on Maori-grown produce. A

¹⁷⁹ RP Hargreaves, 'The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province', p.72.

¹⁸⁰ John Morgan's Journal, QMS-1391, ATL, 22 February 1849, p.369. See Supporting Document 9.

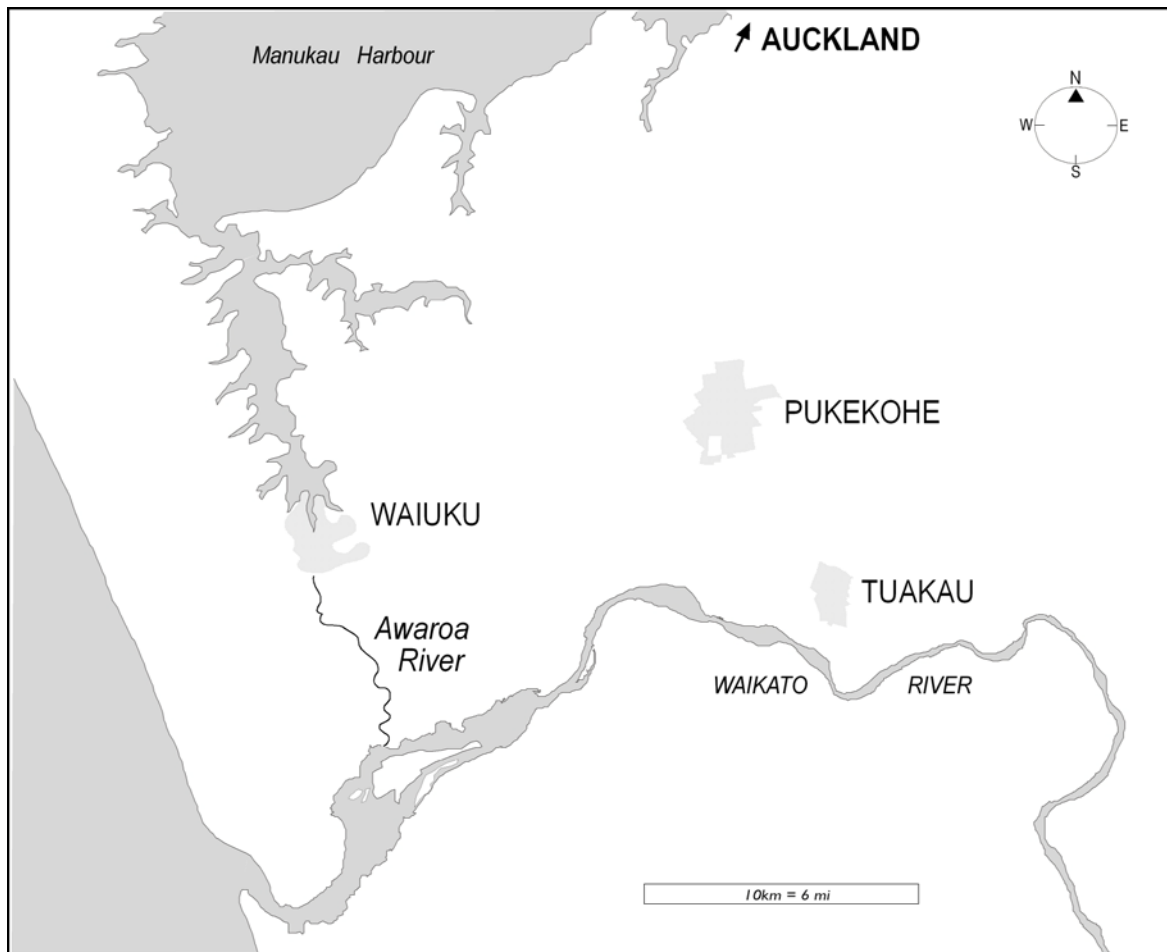
¹⁸¹ RD Pick, 'Waikato Wheatgrowing', *Historical Journal Auckland-Waikato*, 11: October 1967, p.25. See Supporting Document 27.

¹⁸² James Cowan, *The Old Frontier*, P.21.

¹⁸³ James Cowan, *The Old Frontier*, P.20.

further extension of this considerable increase in river trade was the appearance of a number of riverside trading stations. JV Cowell's station at Te Rore was one that serviced Maori who travelled the increasingly well-worn route from the district to Auckland. By the 1850s Maori taking their produce north to Auckland were also assisted by an eight-mile long dray road joining Te Rore with Te Awamutu, constructed under Morgan's supervision.¹⁸⁴

Map 3: Map showing location and distance of Waiuku Portage



Note: Estimated length of Awaroa River: 8.7 kms (5.4 miles). Estimated overland travel: 2.2 kms (1.3 miles).

Agricultural activity was such that by 1848 Morgan was recommending local Maori begin taking their flour to Auckland. 'They are', he recorded, 'now preparing to start with 3 or 4 canoe loads.'¹⁸⁵ Morgan noted at the same time that there had already been '2,500 bushels of wheat ground in the mill this season.' While it is unclear to which mill he was referring (though it is likely to be the Rangiaohia mill), it was a signal that produce was plentiful as, he noted, 'the

¹⁸⁴ JF Mandeno, 'John Victoria Cowell – 'Seeking the Truth'', p.13. See Supporting Document 39.

¹⁸⁵ John Morgan's Journal, QMS-1391, ATL, 23 October 1848, p.335. See Supporting Document 8.

wheat fields are more extensive this year.’¹⁸⁶ In July 1849 George Grey informed Earl Grey on the increased activity at the Auckland markets brought about by extensive agricultural production in expanding areas of the North Island. Grey estimated that exports from this one port were averaging an annual value upwards of £20,000.¹⁸⁷ This return was despite, Grey had previously informed London, the sometime difficult task of transporting items to Auckland. ‘I trust, however’, he noted, ‘shortly to be able to arrange a plan of communication across the harbour of Manukau which will render it easy to bring the produce of the Waikato and Waipa to this market, an arrangement which will much promote the commerce of this place, and advance the interests of the natives.’¹⁸⁸

Fig. 4: Return of Exports, the Produce of New Zealand, from the Port of Auckland, from January 6 to April 5 1849

Articles	Quantity	Value (£ s. d.)
Ambergris	56 lbs	100
Boots	1 case	20
Bricks	8,400	21
Candles	6½ cwt.	13
Cordage	13 tons 6 cwt.	265
Flax	5 tons	70
Flour	9 tons 6 cwt.	144
Furniture	20 packages	10
Kauri gum	100 tons	500
Sperm oil	50½ tons	2,505
Onions	10 cwt.	6
Potatoes	8 tons	15
Salted pork	4 tons 6 cwt.	125
Soap	5 cwt.	6
Sawn timber	225,000 feet	898
Wool	1,920 lbs	88
		TOTAL: £4786. 0. 0

Source: AJHR, 51, 3 July 1849, (1850)p.173.

¹⁸⁶ John Morgan’s Journal, QMS-1391, ATL, 23 October 1848, p.335. See Supporting Document 8.

¹⁸⁷ Governor George Grey to Earl Grey, BPP, 51, 3 July 1849, pp.172-173.

¹⁸⁸ Governor Grey to Earl Grey, BPP, 17, 7 March 1849, pp.26-27.

Figure 4 demonstrates the wide-ranging selection of goods produced by North Island Maori. While it is impossible to ascertain how much of this produce came from Rohe Potae Maori, it does illustrate that the export market was growing on a monthly basis. The value between the first and last quarter of 1849 represented an increase of close to £6,300. Alongside this, there was also an array of items which featured in the last quarter of that year which did not appear in the first.

Fig. 5: Return of the principal exports, the produce of New Zealand, from the Port of Auckland, from 11 October 1849 to 5 January 1850.

Articles	Quantity	Value (£ s. d.)
Ambergris	41 lbs	47
Bricks	58,400	132
Salted butter	200 lbs	10
Boat	1	50
Copper ore	335 tons	3,210
Cordage	23 tons	460
Curiosities	2 packages	4
Drays	2	18
Eggs	308 doz.	10
Firewood	40 tons	12
Flour	45 tons	540
Dried Fish	621 lbs	8
Flax	3 tons 19 cwt.	73
Kauri gum	50 tons	300
Hams and bacon	3½ tons	152
Houses in frame	74	2,555
Lime	178 bushels	11.10.0
Black oil	8 tons	120
Sperm oil	20½ tons	1,073
Salted pork	4,000 lbs	53
Potatoes	8¾ tons	35
Rickers	180 tons	130
Skins and hides	595 tons	34
Shingles	103,900 tons	61

Tallow	5 cwt.	20
Sawn timber	285,930 feet	1,633.10.0
Whalebone	10 cwt.	48
Wood	8,579 lbs	279
		Total: £11,079.0.0

Source: AJHR encl. in no.35, 24 January 1850, p.110.

Belich stated that the 2,000 Maori trading canoes which landed at Auckland and Onehunga in 1853 carried cargo including large quantities of vegetables, maize, fruit, some 2,500 bushels of wheat, 132 tons of Maori-milled flour, and large numbers of livestock. In addition to food, Maori supplied fuel and building materials including 2,320 tons of wood. In all, this represented for sale at Auckland and for export overseas, an estimated value of £12,879. Belich noted that this did not include goods grown for Maori consumption, those sold in the small settlements outside Auckland, those brought by land to Auckland itself or those brought by Maori-owned coastal ships.¹⁸⁹

What can be deduced here is that Maori trade with Auckland was lively. In support of this, New Zealand's first Attorney-General, Sir William Swainson, described Maori commercial activity with the Auckland markets:

From a distance of nearly a hundred miles, the natives supply the market of Auckland with the produce of their industry; brought partly by land carriage, partly by small coasting craft, and partly by canoes. In the course of the year 1852, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two canoes entered the harbour of Auckland, bringing to market by this means alone two hundred tons of potatoes, fourteen hundred baskets of onions, seventeen hundred baskets of maize, twelve hundred baskets of peaches, twelve hundred tons of firewood, forty-five tons of fish, and thirteen hundred pigs, besides flax, poultry, vegetables. They are the owners also of numerous small coasting craft...¹⁹⁰

The *Maori Messenger*, published in Auckland under the authority of the colonial government, and an important source when discussing Maori commercial activity in this period, provides figures for how much goods were fetching at market by the mid-1850s. It is difficult to assess how much of this produce came from Maori communities, but it does illustrate that goods were becoming increasingly diverse, satisfying the expanding tastes of Auckland's residents:

¹⁸⁹ Belich, *Making Peoples*, p.215.

¹⁹⁰ Mitzi Nairn (ed), *Maori Economic Prospects 1840-1860: Supportive Ideology: Warfare*, Auckland: CCANZ Programme on Racism, 1992, p.8. See Supporting Document 31.

Fig. 6: Sale of goods at Auckland market (£, s, d.)

Flour (fine), £33 per ton	Flour, seconds, £30 per ton	Biscuit, best cabin, 240 per cwt.
Timber, 2nd quality, £1. 5. 0 per 100 feet	Flax, second quality, £33 per ton	Timber, kauri, £1. 7. 0 per 100 feet
Kauri Gum, £13 per ton	Coals, £4. 10. 0 per ton	Coals, 2nd quality, £400 per ton
Barley, £0. 6. 0 per bushel	Bricks, £7 per thousand	Wheat, best quality, £0. 12. 0 per bushel
Oats, good quality, £0. 9. 0 per bushel	Maize, £0. 9. 0 per bushel	Maize, 2nd quality, £0. 8. 0 per bushel
Cheese, New Zealand, £0. 1. 0 per lb	Butter, fresh, £0. 1. 3 per lb	Butter, salt, £0. 1. 2 per lb
Pork, retail, £0. 0. 9 per lb	Hams, £0. 1. 0 per lb	Bacon, £0. 0. 9 per lb
Tobacco, good, £0. 2. 6 per lb	Beef, good, 0. 1. 0 per lb	Mutton, 0. 1. 0 per lb
Turkeys, £0. 10. 0 per couple	Fowls, good, £0. 6. 6 per couple	Ducks, £0. 7. 6 per couple.

Source: *Maori Messenger*, 1 Jan 1855, p.12

The Auckland market, alongside its population, continued to grow throughout the 1850s. Arthur Ormsby recorded that a ‘marketing party’ would sometimes spend several weeks on the trip, returning with Pakeha commodities to delight the hearts of their families.¹⁹¹ The *Maori Messenger* recorded that:

Our metropolis as usual is all hustle and energy. Europeans and Natives vying with one another as to which shall make the best bargains. Our Native friends have handled a great quantity of money lately, it being usual to realize from £200 to £500 per trip for the produce brought to market in their coasters. The greater portion of this money passes speedily into the drawers of the merchants and shop-keepers, in exchange for goods, and thus a brisk trade is kept up, each party benefiting the other. We are glad to find that the trade for the most part is carried on with mutual good feeling; and we can see no reason why this excellent mode of traffic, and these friendly relations should not continue.

However, the article noted a word of caution:

We should fail to discharge our duty if we did not take this opportunity of warning our native readers against the vices of the more abandoned in this City. We more particularly refer to drunkenness which is so rife here. Now

¹⁹¹ HCM Norris, ‘Glimpse of Waikato History 1820-1870’, p.21. See Supporting Document 30.

in order to avoid this contagion, let no unnecessary delays be made in town by the natives; but as soon as their produce is disposed of, let them disperse to their respective kainga. They are in the habit of holding religious services when at the native Settlements, both morning and evening, let the same excellent rule be carried into practice during their temporary sojourn in town, which will of necessity engender a disinclination to do evil.¹⁹²

A Maori song of the 1850s ran: 'I am going to Auckland tomorrow/The abode of the Pakeha/The place tobacco and blankets are sold/Where the governor and the soldiers live/Where the prison stands/Where the large ships lie/The fire boats are seen/Where men are hung/Tomorrow I shall go to Auckland.'¹⁹³ Whether Auckland was gaining a reputation for vice is open to interpretation, but what is clearer is that produce from all over the North Island was flooding in, a substantial portion of it brought via the river and coastal canoe trade.

Exact figures determining Maori trade with Auckland have not been sighted. Figures are unclear or, at best, contradictory. Raymond Hargreaves estimated that around £16,000 per annum, which fluctuated depending on the state of the market, was generated within the Auckland Province. In 1853, the canoe trade alone was valued at almost £13,000. In 1854 it reached £16,000, but between 1855 and 1857, values declined to less than half of the 1854 figure.¹⁹⁴ In discussing the canoe trade, the *New Zealander* stated that: 'This branch of native industry has continued to increase in the most satisfactory and surprising manner. Even at the last quarter of the past year, when the products of the previous season may be supposed to have been pretty well exhausted, the supplies are declared to be but little short in value of those of the previous quarter.'¹⁹⁵ The *Maori Messenger*, in the same issue, questioned the 1854 annual figure of £16,000, but acknowledged '[the canoe trade's] rapid progress, and its great importance to the best interests of Auckland'. It quoted the *New Zealander's* figures for canoe-borne trade to Auckland and Onehunga thus: for 1852 (£6, 460 18s); 1853 (£11, 731, 5, 0d); and 1854 (£16, 181, 13, 4d).¹⁹⁶ These are impressive increases, more so when one considers that these returns do not include goods conveyed by coastal vessels, or those 'back-borne into Auckland by numerous native tribes employed in agricultural and other industrial pursuits in the vicinity of the capital.'

From Hargreaves' statistics, it is evident there was a substantial coastal trade making its way to Auckland during the boom years of the mid-1850s. The number of bushels of wheat carried via coastal vessels more than doubled over a three-year period. While a considerably

¹⁹² *Maori Messenger*, 1 January 1855, p.4.

¹⁹³ RCJ Stone, *From Tamaki Makau-Rau to Auckland*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001, p.315.

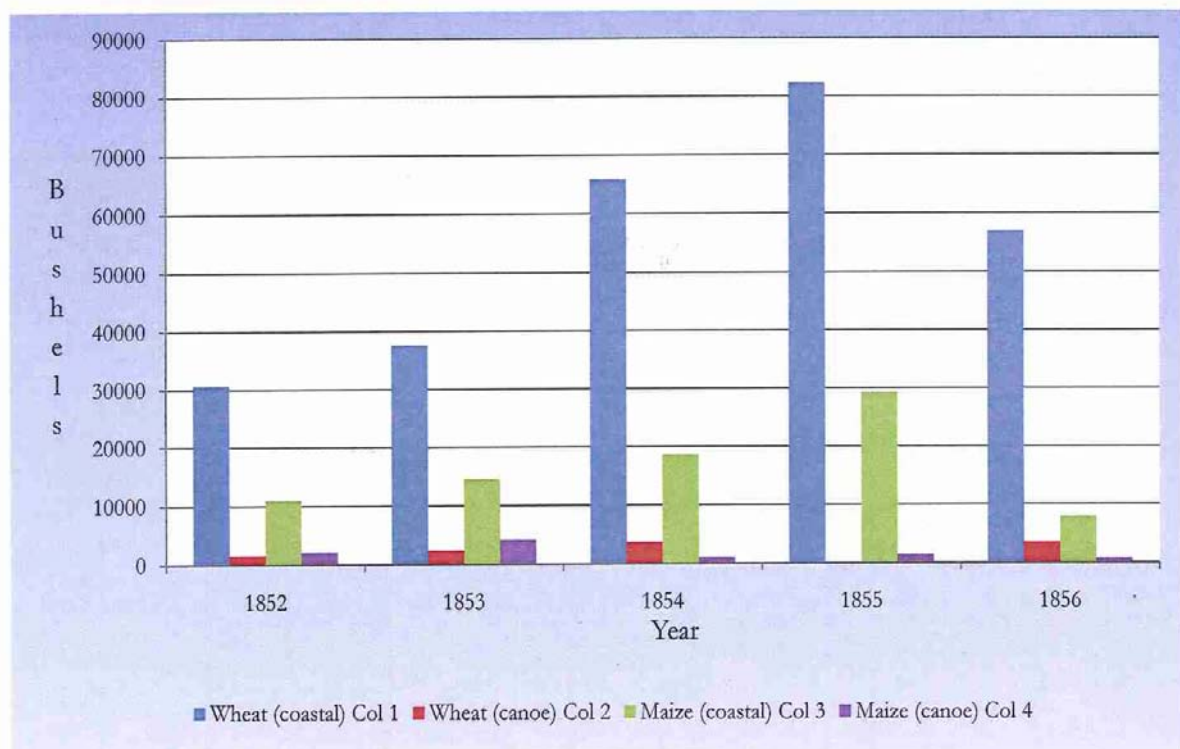
¹⁹⁴ RP Hargreaves, 'The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century, p.74.

¹⁹⁵ Cited by the *Maori Messenger*, 1 February 1855, pp.10-11.

¹⁹⁶ *Maori Messenger*, 1 February 1855, p.11.

smaller trade, canoe carriage also doubled from 1,674 bushels in 1852 to 3,715 in 1854. The same can also be said for the carriage of maize in the same period, rising from 10,959 bushels via coastal trade in 1852 to a peak of 29,250 bushels in 1855. From AJHR returns it is possible to ascertain that there were 147 Ngati Maniapoto canoe trips carrying produce to and from the ports of Auckland and Onehunga between December 1853 and March 1858. The busiest period was during the last half of 1855 and the first quarter of 1856. There was also a considerable jump in the last quarter of 1857.

Fig. 7: Auckland Imports of Selected Maori Produce in bushels, 1852-1856



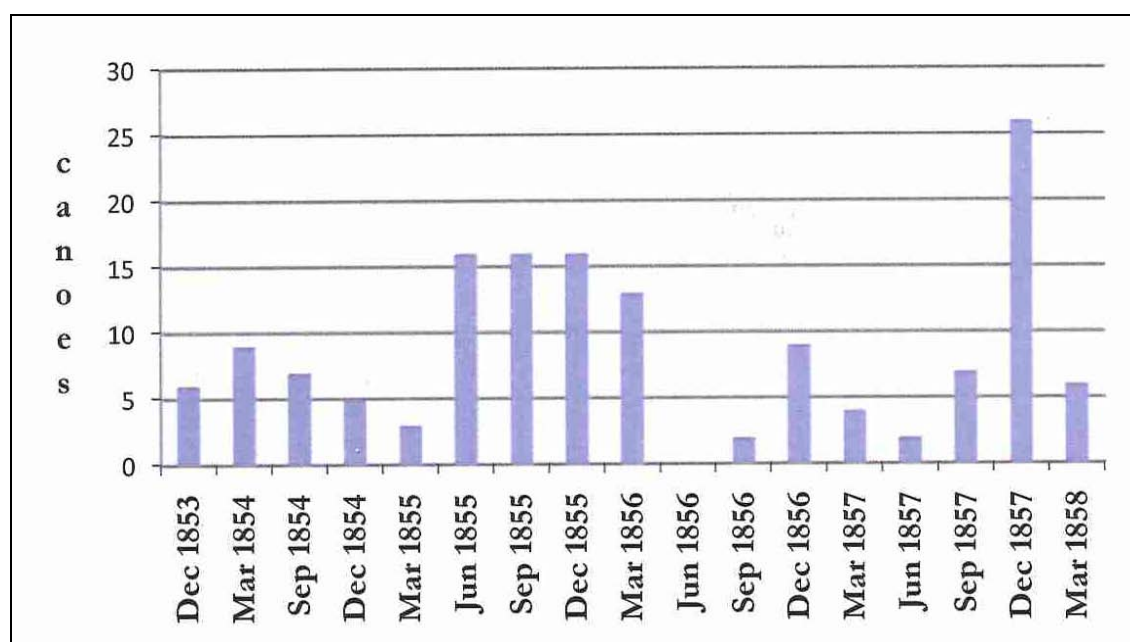
Source: RP Hargreaves, 'The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 68: 1959, p.74.

In large part this significant rise in the mid 1850s was due to the Victoria gold rush which led to an increased demand for New Zealand agricultural produce. Russell Stone noted that 'Gold discoveries in Australia oriented Auckland's trade even more firmly towards Sydney and Melbourne. For three years the goldfields provided large and generally profitable markets for produce ranging from potatoes to prefabricated frame houses consigned by enterprising merchants from Auckland ports.'¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ RCJ Stone, *Makers of Fortune: A colonial business community and its fall*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1973, p.7.

It is safe to assume, at least at this stage in the economic development of New Zealand, that the overwhelming majority of these goods were still supplied by Maori. Indeed, in a letter to the CMS back in London, Morgan explained that ‘The discovery of gold in Australia and the consequent influx of Europeans into the neighbouring colonies has raised the price of nearly every description of goods and provisions, at least from 25 to 100 percent, and the value of labour from 50 to 100 percent.’¹⁹⁸

Fig. 8: Number of Ngati Maniapoto canoes visiting Auckland and Onehunga Harbours per quarter, December 1853-March 1858



Source: Return of Native Produce Imported into the Ports of Auckland and Onehunga, AJHR, E-12, 1865, pp.4-14.

Coastal Shipping Trade

As mentioned previously, early trading contact with Europeans centred round Kawhia. From the early 1840s local vessels plied their trade along the coast transporting out locally-produced wheat, timber, flax, oats, maize, and numerous other items. On their return journeys they brought in blankets, ironmongery, sugar and clothes. The vessels were often schooners, ideal for shallow water harbours like Kawhia. However, larger vessels did call:

...an occasional ship would follow the trail of the Californian gold rush to Frisco where foodstuffs bought beyond the Golden Gate realised fabulous figures. Still more frequently Callao [port of Lima, Peru] was visited to supply the hungry Peruvian miners; but in these cases only a one-way freight

¹⁹⁸ John Morgan letter to CMS, London, QMS-1392, ATL, 5 June 1854, p.600. See Supporting Document 19.

was assured as the West Coast of America had little to offer in return, necessitating the homecoming in ballast. On the other hand Australia offered ideal trading facilities as our produce met with a ready sale in trans-Tasman ports, while the well-stocked warehouses in Sydney (and sometimes Melbourne) guaranteed a full cargo of everything that was required in the early settlement of what was at that period a dependency of New South Wales.¹⁹⁹

While it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of Maori-owned coastal vessels, it is clear that the numbers were increasing to the extent that, by the end of 1849, the Collector of Auckland Custom House, William Young, requested that Maori vessel owners be made aware of their obligations to purchase a trading licence and the forms of entry and clearance at the Custom House.²⁰⁰ The discovery of gold in Victoria in the early 1850s brought a further increase of shipping in and out of Kawhia as traders looked to cash in on new opportunities created by the significant movement of people seeking their own fortunes across the Tasman. In 1855, at the height of Maori trade with Australia via the Auckland market, forty-nine schooners were registered as Maori-owned and operating the coastal trade routes. Hargreaves noted that in terms of size they varied from thirteen tons to fifty-seven tons. Maori also owned large numbers of smaller craft engaged in carrying supplies to the Auckland market.²⁰¹ Importantly, possessing their own ships allowed Maori entrepreneurs to deal directly with the major markets, which, in turn, provided access to a wider range of better-priced goods for consumption by their own people. It should also be remembered that Maori shipping was not only providing a service for its own communities; burgeoning European settler communities in the Rohe Potae were also dependent on Maori shipping for food supplies and sending and receiving mail.

Cargo vessel arrivals at Auckland were not differentiated by European and Maori ownership, but it is possible to assume that almost all the agricultural produce such as wheat, maize and potatoes was from Maori producers, as outside the Auckland region, European acreage in such crops was, in the early 1850s, at least, limited. North Island Maori-owned ships were trading with Auckland by the late 1840s. The *Maori Messenger* recorded that in the final fortnight of February 1849, sixteen 'small vessels' entered Auckland with an array of produce for sale. This information Grey forwarded to Earl Grey as proof of the growth in Maori coastal

¹⁹⁹ Quoted in May Bass, *Northwest King Country*, p.15, taken from a *Te Awamutu Courier* newspaper article (undated) written by Edward Henry Schnackenberg.

²⁰⁰ William Young to the Colonial Secretary, 14 November 1849, encl.4 in no.33, Governor Grey to Earl Grey, BPP, 1850, p.107.

²⁰¹ RP Hargreaves, 'The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', p.73.

trading.²⁰² By 1867 as many as 111 Maori-owned ships were registered, though Belich suggests that their numbers may have been greater in the boom years of the 1850s.²⁰³

As with flour mill ownership, it has been suggested that ownership of coastal schooners was an extension of inter-hapu rivalry. Paul Monin referred to this as ‘schooner mania’,²⁰⁴ commodities ‘purchased and operated as the exclusive property of individual hapu. Inter-hapu rivalries and the status of the hapu as the standard operating unit in Maori society ruled out inter-hapu sharing of these large assets’, and that the ‘speed with which the Maori passion for schooners spread from Auckland to the East Coast amounted to a fever.’²⁰⁵ Ngati Hikairo purchased several vessels, along with their flour mill at Pouewe, and Ngati Maniapoto purchased four schooners, expressly for trade out of Kawhia. Whether it can be said that these groups were engaging in ‘schooner mania’ is open to interpretation.²⁰⁶

As a result of increased localized production, and the subsequent increased trade with Auckland, Raglan and Kawhia harbours assumed a greater importance in the Rohe Potae’s development. By the mid-1850s there were requests in Parliament for the government to improve the district’s infrastructure. It was proposed that a sum of £200 be placed on the General Estimates to open up a bridle road from Kawhia to Mokau, this being the main route by road to New Plymouth, ‘and was also the best and nearest road to Mokau, which district had been lately purchased by the Government, and was already being settled. Opening the road would turn the trade of the District to this Province.’²⁰⁷ To further illustrate the growing importance of Kawhia, WE Anderson provided a list of thirty-five trading vessels that regularly visited Kawhia from Onehunga, Auckland and Wellington. It is unclear the time period covered, but it most likely covers the 1845-1860 period. Anderson made it clear that this list did not include ocean-going ships from Australian and South American ports.²⁰⁸

Fig. 9: Regular Trading Vessels Visiting Kawhia

Vessel	Type	Captain
<i>Henrietta</i>	Brig	John Kent
<i>Phoebe Dunbar</i>	Barque	
<i>Tory</i>	Barque	Hellfire Jack

²⁰² Governor Grey to Earl Grey, 22 March 1849, BPP, no.16, encl.2, pp.64-65

²⁰³ Belich, *Making Peoples*, p.215.

²⁰⁴ Gavin McLean, *Captain’s Log: New Zealand’s maritime history*, Auckland: Hodder Moa Beckett, 2001, p.51.

²⁰⁵ Hazel Petrie, ‘Bitter Recollections’, p.5.

²⁰⁶ George Howe, ‘Johnny Cowell-Pakeha-Maori Trader’, p.15. See Supporting Document 28.

²⁰⁷ *Daily Southern Cross*, 1 December 1854, p.3.

²⁰⁸ WE Anderson, ‘Kawhia District’, p.75. See Supporting Document 33. For further information regarding European-owned ships that regularly used Kawhia harbour see RT Vernon’s *Raglan*, pp.15-22.

<i>Volox</i>	Brig	Holford
<i>Polly</i>	Brig	Holford
<i>Nebuchadnesser</i>	Fore and aft schooner	Pumipi
<i>Harriet</i> (Built at Kawhia)	Fore and aft schooner	Holford
<i>Shepherdess</i>	Topsl. schooner	Leathart
<i>Jupiter</i>	Fore and aft schooner	Wright
<i>Emma Elizabeth</i>	Fore and aft schooner	Black
<i>Abiona</i>	Topsl. Schooner	Wright – lost 1867
<i>Favourite</i>	Cutter	Kilgour
<i>Maid o' the Mill</i>	Cutter	Grundy (Curly Jack)
<i>Zilla</i>	Topsl. Schooner	Kent
<i>Osprey</i>	Topsl. Schooner	1857
<i>John Whiteley</i> (Built at Kawhia)	Topsl. Schooner	Liddell
<i>Albatross</i>	Fore and aft schooner	Wrecked 1857
<i>Echo</i>	Fore and aft schooner	Cowell – wrecked off Raglan all hands lost 1879
<i>Victoria</i>	Brig (Government)	Liddell
<i>Victoria</i>	Topsl. Schooner	Marks
<i>William Watson</i>	Barque	
<i>Emma</i>	Brig	Holford
<i>Imogene</i>	Schooner (Ngati Hikairo)	
<i>Ann</i> (Built at Kawhia)	Fore and aft schooner	Leathart – wrecked 1856, possibly at entrance to Whaingaroa Harbour. Owners were Thomas Emery of Waipa and Samuel and Johan (Josiah) Hopkins. ²⁰⁹
<i>Moonraker</i>	Fore and aft schooner	King (owned by Ngati Hikairo)
<i>Victory</i> (Built at Kawhia)	Fore and aft schooner	Leathart
<i>Matilda</i>	Topsl. Schooner	Swan
<i>Aotearoa</i>	Fore and aft schooner	Henare Takere
<i>Grace Darling</i>	Fore and aft schooner	Black

²⁰⁹ JF Mandeno, 'Early Settlers of the West Coast, Waikato and Waipa', part two, p.219. See Supporting Document 42.

<i>Thistle</i>	Cutter	Lost 1863 off Kawhia. Crew and passengers drowned, including Mrs [sic] Charlton ²¹⁰
<i>Raven</i>	Ketch	Hopkins – scuttled by Maori crew of Marokopa 1864
<i>Kate</i>	Cutter	Grundy – destroyed by Maori at Opotiki
<i>Karewa</i>	Fore and aft schooner	Black Jim – turned turtle Kawhia Bar 1859
<i>Flora MacDonald</i>		Kenny – wrecked off Manukau Bar 1877
<i>HMS Eclipse</i>	First steamer	Sir George Grey on board

Source: WE Anderson, ‘Kawhia District’, *The Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society*, March 1966-December 1975, 3: 2, December 1968, p.76.

It is worth noting here that the *John Whiteley*, the *Ann*, the *Harriet*, the *Victory* and the *Cicely* were all built by Captain James Liddell with the assistance of his son, William, at their builder’s yard on the Waiharakeke Estuary near the southern harbour road bridge at Kawhia.²¹¹ Another boat-builder in the district at the same time was Francis Owen Leathart who, aside from being captain of the numerous trading ships, was also an agent for Sydney-based traders. Ensign Abel Best’s journal described Leathart as ‘the most respectable settler in the place ... Kawhia can boast of nearly a dozen white inhabitants the greater part of whom are a lawless drunken set.’²¹² Leathart built a number of ships, the *Uncle Sam*, the *John Bull*, and the *Harriet Leathart* included, though not all at his boatyard located near the foreshore at Maketu. Pit-sawn kauri, making up the straight lengths, would be floated across the harbour, while pohutukawa was used for the curved pieces. Peg Cummins states that this accounts for the decimation of pohutukawa between Maketu and the Heads, an area which pre-European contact was lined with them.²¹³

Effect on Maori

Anglican, Wesleyan, Lutheran and Catholic missionaries all, to varying degrees, contributed to, encouraged, and benefitted from the agricultural and economic advances made in the Rohe Potae in the ‘golden age of prosperity’ of the 1840s and 1850s. But the ‘civilizing’ process, of which cultivation of European style crops, the erection of flour mills, and coastal schooner ownership were central tenets, may not have developed in the ways that the missionaries envisaged. In particular, the pursuit of economic wealth and the associated trappings diverted

²¹⁰ It was, in fact, Mr George Charlton who drowned when the *Thistle* was sunk.

²¹¹ JF Mandeno, ‘A Saga of Kawhia’, p.2. See Supporting Document 45.

²¹² Best’s journal quoted in Peg Cummins, *A History of Kawhia and Its District*, p.50.

²¹³ Peg Cummins, *A History of Kawhia and Its District*, p.50.

some attentions away from more spiritual matters. Journeys to Auckland and beyond to sell produce opened up an unknown world of excitement and experiences which proved more alluring than the word of God. As Howe noted, 'trade enabled the Maoris to buy European goods and to behave in a manner that disgusted the missionaries.'²¹⁴ John Morgan's 1857 report on developments within his district reflected this concern: 'In some cases the love of riches has choked the word and made it unfruitful, and in other cases the Aborigines from being frequently brought into contact with Europeans of the lowest class have learned their vices, and sometimes yielded to temptation.'²¹⁵ Reverend Ashwell found the same: 'Mills, ploughs etc ... absorb their thoughts and desires.'²¹⁶

Howe remarked that in the agricultural boom years, religion lost its initial novelty and excitement. The early missionaries arriving in the 1830s brought a whole new world of goods and ideas into the Upper-Waikato. But by the mid 1840s, with the development of Auckland and the introduction of the mills, ploughs and new crops, a more exciting world was available to Maori.²¹⁷ But new opportunities for Maori also attracted the unwarranted attentions of unscrupulous Europeans keen to cash in on any possible venture. Robert Sutton, travelling south from Auckland to Wellington in March 1842, remarked:

I may observe that both the Waipa and Waikato rivers are infested with men of the lowest grade, under the name of pig-jobbers, ci-divant [sic] sawyers, and people of every disreputable denomination whose sole employment consists in cheating and demoralising the natives, and endeavouring to throw difficulties in the way of the few industrious and honest Europeans who are fighting an uphill game for the support of themselves and their families.²¹⁸

Just as newspapers expressed a word of caution for buyers and sellers heading to the Auckland markets, it appears that the lure of money created undesired elements living within Maori communities of the Rohe Potae and no doubt beyond its borders.

John Morgan, as so often a valuable source of information on developments within his district, reported on unwelcome threats to his flock. But it may have been the case that Morgan was swimming against the tide: the rise in trade in the district brought increases in the number of traders and trading posts. Those like John Cowell's trading station at Te Rore were just one of a number along the strategic points between the 'granary of the North Island' that was Otawhao

²¹⁴ KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris and 'civilization'', p.164.

²¹⁵ John Morgan's Annual Report, 1857, QMS-1392, ATL, 31 December 1857, p.614. See Supporting Document 21.

²¹⁶ Benjamin Ashwell, Letters and Journals, 31 December 1856, quoted in KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris and 'civilization'', p.164.

²¹⁷ KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris and 'civilization'', p.164.

²¹⁸ Quoted in Leslie G Kelly, *Tainui*, p.427.

and Rangiaohia, and the harbours of Raglan, Kawhia and Auckland. Preventing their influence in the district would prove difficult.

However, an alternative view was expressed by Charles Ligar, the Surveyor-General, who toured the district in 1852 and recorded the effect the growing economy was having on Maori traders. He noted that European traders were becoming less influential as they were surpassed by the adeptness and business acumen of local Maori:

All speculative theories are thrown aside, and they seem to have started with an energy quite surprising in the pursuit of gain, bidding fair to outstrip many of their early European instructors. They have now dispensed with the formerly all-important European character, once so indispensable among them, and to be seen in every village, "the Native Trader." He has been for the last three or four years unknown among them, being unable to make a profit by his trading transactions. They have all obtained some knowledge of arithmetic, and delight in exhibiting their skill. Often is a slate presented to the traveller covered with long rows of figures in addition, subtraction, &c., to the imposing looking and correctly worked questions of "Rule of Three." They have now wise men among themselves to calculate the cubic contents of a heap of firewood, the area of a plot of ground, so as to sow two bushels of wheat to the acre, the live weight of a pig, and the value at 3*d.* per pound, sinking one fifth as offal.²¹⁹

Ligar continued by expanding on the extent to which economic activity had engaged the interest of communities:

The old persons may be seen in groups round the evening fire, chatting about the appearance of crops, and all the subjects relating to them; the women being busily employed in making baskets to carry grain and potatoes, or in plaiting leg ropes for driving their pigs to market. All other pursuits seemed merged into habits of thrift; and the most engrossing subject that can be broached, is the relative merits of the two mill sites, over or undershot wheels, and the best means of raising 200*l.* or 300*l.* for the purpose of building a mill which shall grind more than one erected by a rival tribe.²²⁰

It appears from the evidence provided by observers like Ligar that economic engagement with European commerce and traders had a transformative effect on Maori communities. It is impossible to establish if the same can be said for all hapu that did participate, but there are

²¹⁹ Charles Ligar, Surveyor-General to the Colonial Secretary, 15 April 1852, BPP, 1854, p.110.

²²⁰ Charles Ligar, Surveyor-General to the Colonial Secretary, 15 April 1852, BPP, 1854, p.110.

examples where activity undertaken either at an individual hapu level, or as a result of inter-hapu cooperation, generated innovation in new crops, new styles of production, distribution and innovative methods of management.

Conclusion

It is evident that the decade from the mid-1840s to the mid-1850s represented the 'heyday of Maori agriculture'. But by the late 1850s, as the next chapter demonstrates, production, prices and travel to Auckland markets, appeared to be in decline. Until that point, however, Maori 'were competing favourably with settlers from their secure economic base: they controlled their land and resources, and worked as a productive labour force based on kinship and collectivity.'²²¹ The Auckland Province contained more than two-thirds of the Maori population of the colony and it was where agricultural advancement was most obvious and keenly pursued. Economic, agricultural, social and physical landscapes all altered to some degree. John Morgan's efforts at Otawhao assisted local Maori to develop their own cultivations, and acquire the necessary farming implements and livestock. Other Maori purchased coastal vessels to realize their own economic potential. Within a few short years the physical landscape in some districts changed almost beyond recognition.

Travellers described the settlements in or nearby Rangiaohia as resembling English villages. Morgan's wish that each family would cultivate its own twenty to thirty acres of land planted in wheat and vegetables and stocked with sheep and cattle did, in some places, come true. Morgan (and others') influence combined with Maori ingenuity, industriousness and work ethic helped transform the landscape into one abundant in golden wheat fields and overrun with ploughs, carts, flour mills and livestock: a vision of idyllic commercial advancement. This is an important point to consider and addresses the third question set by this report's commission: the compatibility of new forms of commercial activity with more traditional forms. Morgan's introduction of some form of individual land cultivation and tenure operated well and proved fruitful for many of those involved. While this was a long way from what the Native Land Court introduced at a later stage, it is reasonable to assert from the evidence supplied by travellers' observations and Morgan's letters, journals and correspondence with Governor Grey, that some individualized system of ownership could prove productive and could function in tandem with operations that were based on traditional forms of communal cultivation. Joint mill erections and joint harvesting and milling projects illustrate the point that communal and inter-tribal

²²¹ Mitzi Nairn, *Maori Economic Prospects*, p.9. See Supporting Document 31.

agricultural activity operated alongside a more individualized system in place within the inquiry district.

Howe noted that 'the Upper-Waikato was to be transformed into a land of idyllic Christian hamlets amidst acres of golden wheat. Orchards in particular would add to the 'appearance of civilization' of each cottage and village.'²²² In some areas this certainly seemed to be the dream that was realized. With a strong emphasis on the virtues of agriculture, the settlements of Otawhao and Rangiaohia led the way in cereal, vegetable and fruit production. A key feature is the rapidity with which Maori took to innovative agricultural methods. By 1847, Maori in these two communities had over 300 acres planted in wheat. Within two seasons this had increased to somewhere between 800 and 1,000 acres.²²³ Morgan recorded in correspondence to Governor Grey in 1849 that:

The natives of Rangiawhia ... have now got about 20 or 25 tons of flour ready for the Auckland market, which they will take down as soon as they have finished their planting. The amount received for the flour will be chiefly expended in the purchased of horses and ploughs ... In the purchase of carts several tribes will unite. The Rangeonhia [sic] tribes say that before the close of next year they will have from 10 to 15 ploughs at work.²²⁴

Rangiaohia Maori predictions were not unfounded: by the end of 1850 they owned fifty-six horses, thirteen cows, eleven ploughs, harnesses for between twenty-five and thirty horses, and eleven dray and carts.²²⁵ Morgan's own station appeared to be a microcosm of the district and epitomized the 'idyllic English' vision. There the farm and school covered an area of 1,100 acres, of which 178 acres had, by the end of the 1850s, been fenced and was planted in wheat, potatoes, oats and vegetables. A further seventy acres was in grass, and there were at least 100 sheep. As has been noted, all this, as at Rangiaohia, was achieved through Maori labour.²²⁶

For George Grey, a key element in the development of Maori agriculture was that it would divert Maori attention from engaging in warfare. The adoption of European-style agricultural methods, the accumulation of monetary wealth, and a 'complete change in the articles on which they subsist' were integral to the 'civilizing' process to which Grey subscribed through his 'sugar and flour' policy.²²⁷ Grey found the returns of flour mill production from the

²²² KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris and 'civilization'', p.87.

²²³ KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris and 'civilization'', p.87.

²²⁴ John Morgan to Governor Grey forwarded to Earl Grey, Otawhao, 20 November 1849, BPP, encl.5 in no.33, pp.107-108.

²²⁵ Thomas Power return, BPP, 1850 [1420], 21 October 1850, p.95.

²²⁶ KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris and 'civilization'', p.108.

²²⁷ George Grey to Earl Grey, 22 August 1849, BPP, 1850, p.24.

Rohe Potae, Bay of Plenty and Coromandel encouraging, especially when considering that similar changes were also taking place elsewhere in the colony.

A portion of the wealth Maori accumulated was reinvested back into the local community. Rangiaohia Maori engaged a European brick-maker to make 2,700 bricks for a large oven in which, by 1853, they were baking 400 loaves at a time, 'supplying their friends from Kawhia'.²²⁸ In addition, two Maori-built churches, St John's at Otawhao and St Paul's at Rangiaohia had their chapels replaced with substantial wooden buildings with spires. Local Maori contributed more than sixty per cent of the renovation costs.²²⁹ It should be remembered, of course, that revenue from produce sales also helped finance the mission farms and schools.

Significant advancements had been made, but could it be sustained? The increase in European settler numbers, the decline in the Australian market, and other factors beyond Maori control, were about to undermine their achievements, curtail their prosperity, and make the latter half of the 1850s nowhere near as fruitful as the first half had proved to be.

²²⁸ KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris and 'civilization'', p.109.

²²⁹ KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris and 'civilization'', p.110.

Chapter Three: 'Darkening the Picture': 1856-1866

Introduction

This chapter assesses the commercial agricultural productivity of the inquiry district from the mid-1850s through to the mid-1860s, encompassing the years prior to, during and in the wake of the wars in Taranaki and Waikato. It addresses question four of the commission – the extent to which the wars affected commercial activity in the short and longer terms – and determines that while the wars had a devastating effect on the inquiry district's capacity to produce agricultural goods, the economy was already beginning to falter in advance of conflict in the North Island. This chapter also addresses question seven of the commission – other factors which affected the economy of the region – by arguing that due to a number of variants including a fall in wheat prices due to a decline in demand from California and Victoria, rising suspicions between Maori and Pakeha as war loomed closer, and the allegation that Maori were devoting more time to political affairs rather than agricultural ones, the region did not perform as well in the latter half of the 1850s and early 1860s as earlier years suggested they would. This is not to say, however, that the wars did not take a significant toll on the economic output of the district: the confiscation of previously agriculturally fertile territory dealt Maori of the district a tremendous blow.

The decline of agricultural production

In 1985 the Waitangi Tribunal released its Manukau Report. The report recorded, among other things, that:

in 1858 in the Port of Auckland 53 small vessels were registered as being in native ownership and the annual total of native canoes entering the harbour was more than 1,700. At about that time the Waikato Maoris established their own trading bank. This was the golden age of Maori agriculture and growth. Peace and prosperity seemed assured ...²³⁰

Evidence suggests, however, that the region's prosperity was already in decline by the latter half of the 1850s. Commentators at the time and more recent scholarship identified a number of factors which contributed to the decline of Maori agricultural output and the consequent downturn in profits. These included the spectre of coming conflict which led to a distrust of European settlers; a growing suspicion that European traders were engaging in price-fixing to

²³⁰ Waitangi Tribunal *Manukau Report*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1985, p.13.

ease Maori out of the marketplace; a slowing down of the Australian export market; and a lack of crop rotation or resting of the land resulting in a noticeable decline in the quality of produce. This chapter investigates these and other factors to determine the extent to which they contributed to the decline of Maori wealth and opportunity in the Rohe Potae in the decade from the second half of the 1850s through to the mid-1860s. This chapter focuses not on the events of war in the district rather their effects.²³¹ It considers the extent to which rising tensions beforehand and the aftermath of the conflicts were pivotal in allegedly destroying permanently Maori agriculture and its related industries in the ensuing years.

Statistics suggest that Rohe Potae exports, either via coastal shipping out of the west coast ports, or via canoe trade down the Waipa and Waikato rivers to Auckland, did dip in the latter half of the 1850s, well in advance of the impact the war would ultimately have. It appears that the Auckland Province's share of the colony's wheat exports in the latter half of the 1850s was in decline, going from a high of eighty per cent in 1854 to just twenty-eight per cent in 1859. This decline meant that the Province's wheat (per bushel) exports tumbled from a peak of 71,000 per annum in 1855 to just 7,800 per annum in 1859.²³² There appear to be a number of interrelated reasons for this: first, as news of conflict breaking out in Taranaki filtered back, Waikato and King Country wheat producers, who contributed most of the wheat grown within the Province, began to turn their attentions toward politics and away from agriculture. Secondly, and partly as a consequence of the above, the region was outstripped in wheat production by other areas, in particular the Bay of Plenty and Canterbury – areas where the threat of war was not keenly felt. Thirdly, there is the argument that Maori in general did not use manures to nourish the earth on which their crops were being grown. As a result, the land became exhausted leading to the final product being of an inferior quality to what had been produced just two or three years previously. A Dr Johnson, travelling through the district in 1846, commented that Maori 'have almost a superstitious abhorrence to the use of manure so that it is only by constantly changing their ground that they have any chance of good crops.'²³³ Fourthly, scholars have noted there was a general disillusionment in the late 1850s and early 1860s with European agricultural techniques which coincided with the rise in Maori nationalism.²³⁴ Fifthly, but certainly not finally, it was simply that the markets faltered and goods failed to realize the prices

²³¹ For a discussion of the war in the Rohe Potae see Vincent O'Malley, 'Te Rohe Potae District War and Raupatu' report, commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, December 2010, Wai 898 #A22.

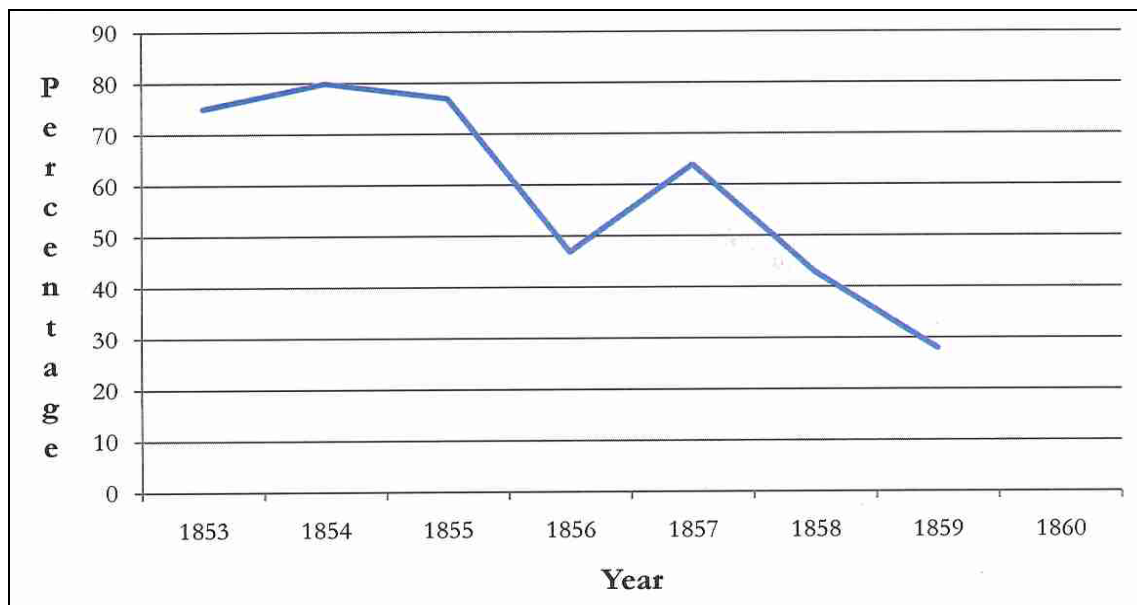
²³² Statistics from RP Hargreaves, 'The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', p.75.

²³³ Dr Johnson's 'Notes From a Journal', *New Zealander*, 6 November 1847, p.3, quoted in KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris, and 'civilization' p.129.

²³⁴ See Keith Sinclair, 'Maori Nationalism and the European Economy, 1850-60', *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand*, 5: 18, May 1952.

that they had hitherto reached. From a Rohe Potae Maori perspective, the economic downturn had dire consequences as they were a large producer of agricultural goods – one sector which was particularly hard hit. These suggested reasons require discussion and assessment.

Fig. 10: Auckland Province Wheat Exports as a Percentage of Total New Zealand Exports, 1853-1860



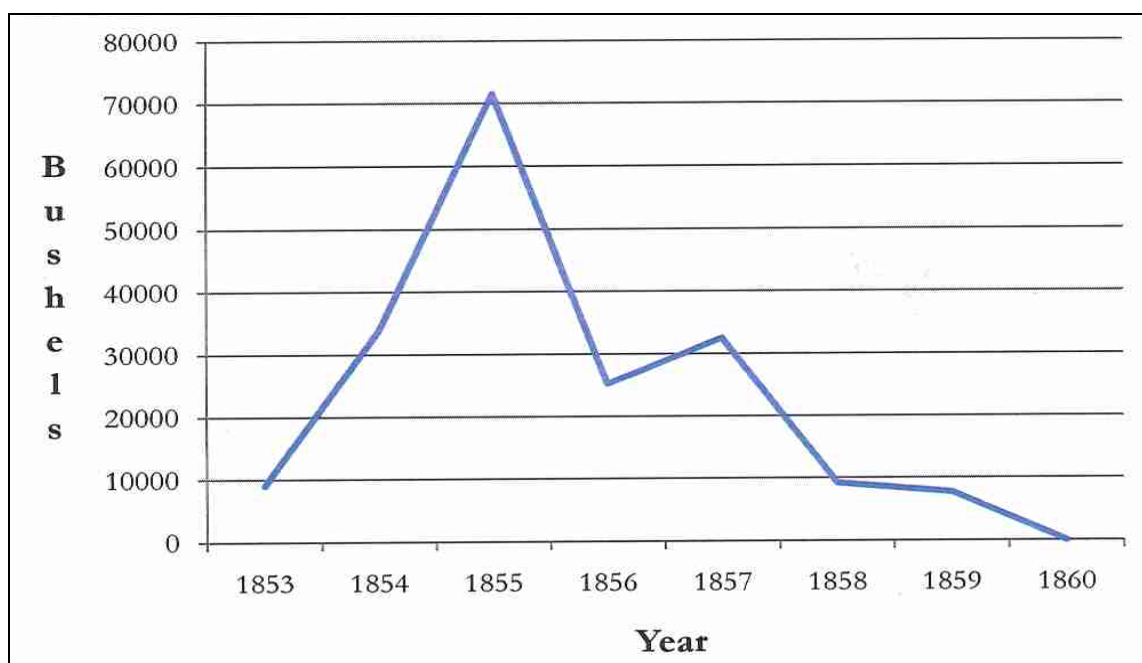
Note: No percentage was given for 1860

Source: RP Hargreaves, 'The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 68: 1959, p.75.

As already mentioned, returns suggest that the region, certainly as an agricultural production and export centre, was in decline well in advance of the outbreak of conflict. Though the canoe trade to Auckland cannot be said to have been major it is still worth noting that the canoe maize trade fell from 1,398 bushels in 1855 to just 774 in 1856. The wheat canoe trade remained stable throughout this same period, but there was a marked drop in produce arriving at Auckland via coastal vessels. A high of 82,228 bushels of wheat shipped via coastal vessels in 1855 was met with a drop to 56,930 bushels the following year, a drop of some 25,298 bushels, or over thirty per cent. Likewise, maize shipments via coastal vessel dropped from a high of 29,250 in 1855 to just 7,873 the following year. This represents a drop of over seventy per cent. It should be noted, however, that this fall is accentuated by the rapid rise in maize

shipments via coastal vessels in the years prior to 1855; going from just under 11,000 bushels in 1852 to the 29,250 high three years later.²³⁵

Fig. 11: Auckland Wheat Exports (per bushel), 1853-1860



Source: RP Hargreaves, 'The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 68: 1959, p.75.

There was, however, still enough activity around Raglan harbour to warrant the appointment of Dr Walter Harsant, colonial surgeon and resident magistrate at Te Awamutu, to the position of collector of customs or 'coastwaiter' at the port in November 1860.²³⁶

Certainly those touring the district in the late 1850s and early 1860s noticed a change in appearance. Francis Dart Fenton, in his capacity as Resident Magistrate for Waikato, recorded on his tour of 1857 that 'The Natives about here have planted little wheat this year. They say the old stock is unsold, and prices are too low to remunerate them for their labour.'²³⁷ He continued: 'The stacks of wheat on the river are numerous, but will not be threshed during the continuance of the present low prices, although many of them, from insufficient thatches, are growing.'²³⁸ Fenton recorded the effect that falling produce prices were having in the district:

²³⁵ RP Hargreaves, 'The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', p.74.

Hargreaves' statistics are taken from the *New Zealand Government Gazette, Province of New Ulster*, 1852-1853; *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 1853-1856; and the *New Zealander*, 1853.

²³⁶ *Te Awamutu Courier*, 9 February 1962 found in ARC 2056 Historical Society Proceedings Book, Te Awamutu Museum, p.115.

²³⁷ Reports from Mr Fenton, RM, as to Native Affairs in the Waikato District, AJHR, E-1C, 1860, p.24.

²³⁸ Reports from Mr Fenton, RM, as to Native Affairs in the Waikato District, AJHR, E-1C, 1860, p.18.

Poverty is a great nuisance. Every plough has its coulter worn out, and the ploughing consequently is wretched. They say they cannot afford the journey to Auckland. I have been calculating that each Maori does not at present average an annual receipt of more than £7. No wonder money is so scarce. In times of poverty and distress all peoples are prone to disaffection. A speedy return of high prices of agricultural produce would do much to extirpate King.²³⁹

A speedy return to high prices was unlikely at the time. As a result, more land was neglected. Fenton was anxious that the former flourishing Maori economy resumed as swiftly as possible. ‘The quantity of cultivated land’, he noted,

annually allowed by the Maories to return to a state of nature, or to become occupied by a lamentable crop of noxious weeds, cannot be estimated at less than 5,000 acres. If, instead of this abandonment they were instructed to sow grass seed and introduce sheep, who can tell how soon the plains of Waipa would be a vast meadow, increasing the happiness of the owners, and adding to the resources of the Colony.²⁴⁰

Maori here were hard hit because, as Fenton wrote:

Every article of export from Auckland is the product of labour, and almost entirely of Maori labour. And now that our markets have failed, men begin to cast about for some staple article of export, which not being liable to the fluctuations so peculiarly characteristic of colonial markets, may offer a constant and increasing source of income to the colony.²⁴¹

To gain an accurate assessment of the extent to which the region’s trade had contracted, Fenton suggested that the government request the

owners of the vessels (only two I think), that ply between Onehunga and Waiuku to keep accounts of what they carry, they will have most complete statistics of the produce of this river and district, as nothing goes to town (except pigs) by any other means. Considerable quantities of flour are now consumed in the district by the natives themselves.²⁴²

What is not clear by this last statement is whether the ‘considerable quantities’ of flour was locally-grown or whether this was already, as early as 1857, flour being imported into the district. If the latter was the case then this illustrates quite markedly the decline of the area’s agricultural output.

²³⁹ Reports from Mr Fenton, RM, as to Native Affairs in the Waikato District, AJHR, E-1C, 1860, pp. 23-24.

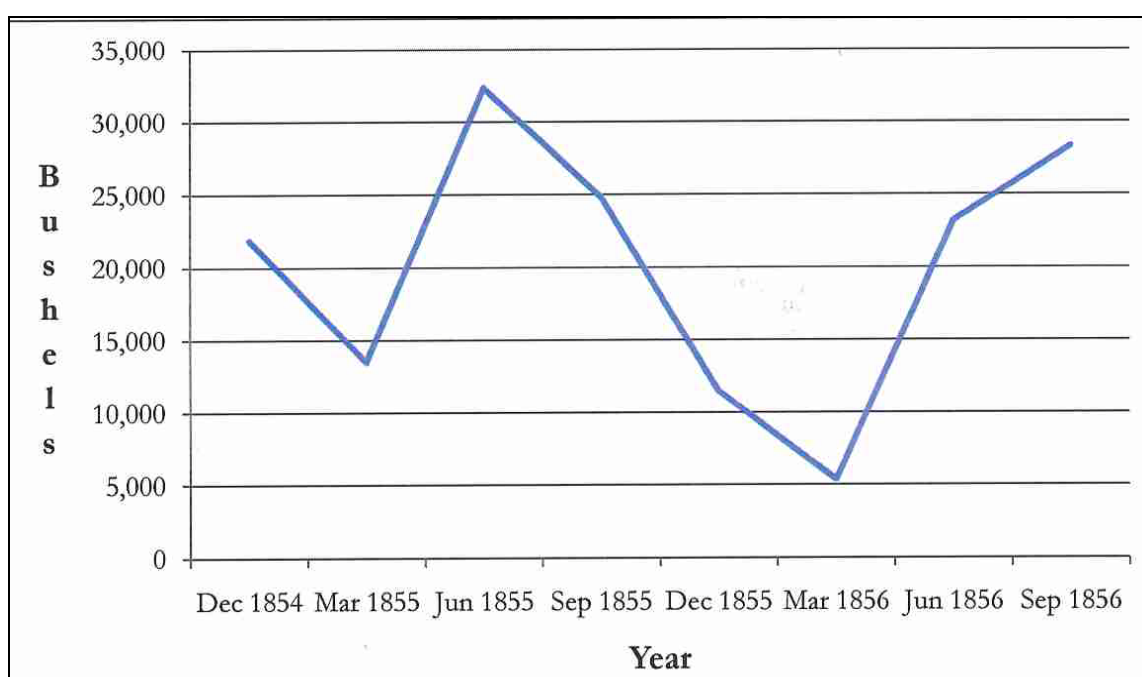
²⁴⁰ Reports from Mr Fenton, RM, as to Native Affairs in the Waikato District, AJHR, E-1C, 1860, pp.8-9.

²⁴¹ Reports from Mr Fenton, RM, as to Native Affairs in the Waikato District, AJHR, E-1C, 1860, p.8.

²⁴² Reports from Mr Fenton, RM, as to Native Affairs in the Waikato District, AJHR, E-1C, 1860, p.18.

It was reported by March 1856 that Maori were stacking their wheat and holding back for higher prices. The *New Zealander* suggested that '[Maori] can readily appreciate a rise, but to a falling market they turn a dull, an obstinate, and an unwise ear.' One editorial stated that Maori were 'so little conversant with the fluctuations and necessities of commerce as not to perceive that very essence of their own wealth and prosperity of New Zealand rest in their ability ... to undersell all competitors, whether Australian, Tasmanian, Californian, or Chilian.'²⁴³ According to Sinclair, smaller amounts of wheat were arriving in Auckland because few would sell at the

Fig. 12: Total Wheat Imports (per bushel) into Auckland via Coastal Shipping, December 1854-September 1856



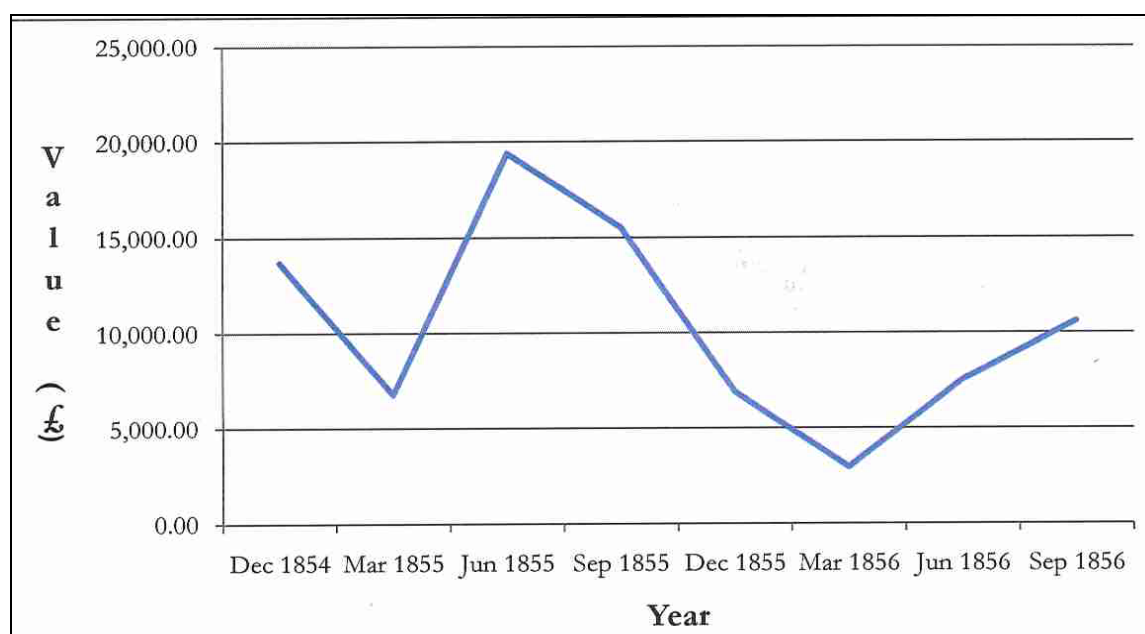
Source: Hazel Petrie, *Chiefs of Industry*, p.172, taken from *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 1855 and 1856

prevailing prices which, by that stage, were between eight to ten shillings per bushel. The charts here reflect both the fall in production and prices, the latter falling from a high of twelve shillings to a low of just over seven. It is uncertain whether Maori were, as suggested by the *New Zealander*, unappreciative of the vagaries of the European economic system and the consequent fluctuations of decline and growth, or whether they simply refused to sell at a price which would realize little or no profit. What is clearer is that as war elsewhere continued, and the possibility of conflict in the region drew closer, agricultural exports through Auckland suffered.

²⁴³ *New Zealander*, 29 March 1856, quoted in Keith Sinclair, 'Maori Nationalism and the European Economy, 1850-60', p.128.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, there were concerns that some Maori were beginning to divert their attention away from their cultivations. There are a number of reasons why this may have been so: the threat of war became more realistic and therefore more potent; Maori felt disheartened and suspicious because their produce was no longer fetching the prices to which they had been accustomed; it was because they found the continued growth of European settlement destabilizing; possibly, as Sinclair suggested, they rejected European agricultural techniques in support of the King Movement;²⁴⁴ possibly they had simply lost interest in agriculture as a source of income, or a combination of the above.

Fig. 13: Total Value (in £) of Wheat Imports into Auckland via Coastal Shipping, December 1854-September 1856



Source: Hazel Petrie, *Chiefs of Industry*, p.172, taken from *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 1855 and 1856.

As discussed earlier, one aspect of European farming methods that appears not to have been embraced by Maori agriculturalists was the use of fertilizers to enrich the soil. While ploughs and harrows were taken up and adapted to traditional ways, Maori continued to prepare the ground for planting in the customary way – by burning areas of bush and scrub.²⁴⁵ One observer touring New Zealand in the 1830s noted:

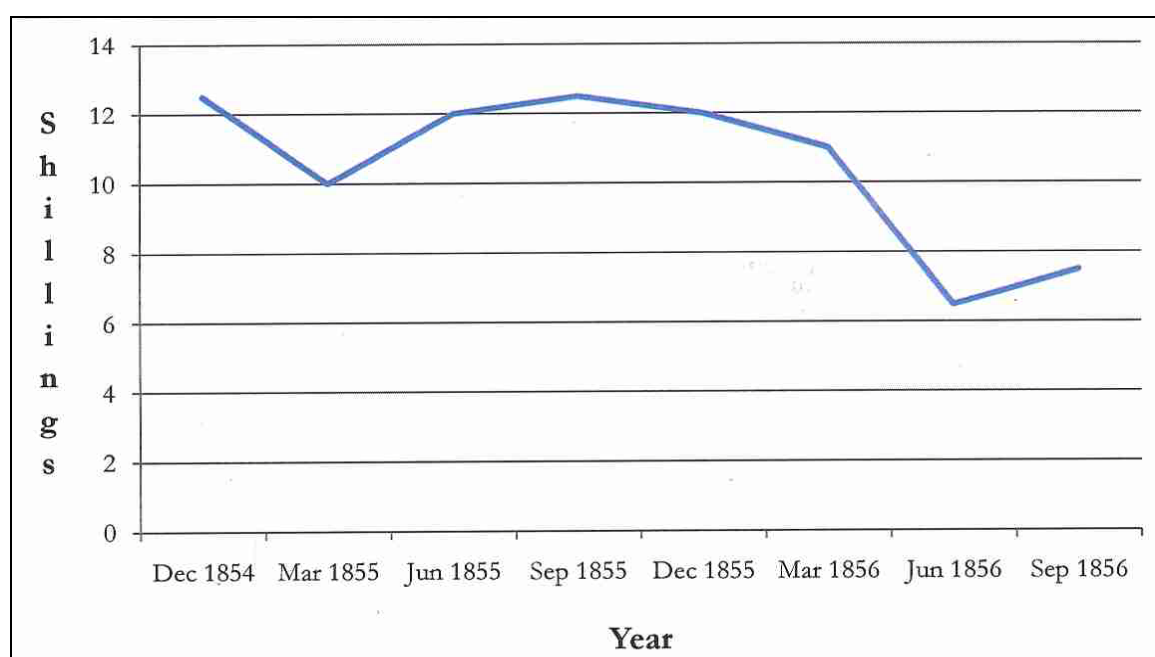
[Maori] differ from all agricultural races [by] their non-usage of all and every kind of manure ... But their whole inner-man revolted at such a thing; and

²⁴⁴ See Keith Sinclair, 'Maori Nationalism and the European Economy, 1850-1860', p.131.

²⁴⁵ HW Petre, *An Account of the Settlements of the New Zealand Company From Personal Observation During a Residence There*, London: Smith, Elder & Company, 1842, p.51.

when the early missionaries first used such substances in their kitchen gardens it was brought against them as a charge of high approbrium. And even in their own potato planting in after years they would not use anything of the kind, although they saw in the gardens of the missionaries the beneficial effects arising from the use of manure; and as the potato loves a virgin, or a strongly manured soil, the Maori chose rather to prepare fresh ground every year ... rather than to use the abominated manure.²⁴⁶

Fig. 14: Average Value (shillings) per Bushel of Wheat Imports into Auckland via Coastal Shipping, December 1854-September 1856



Source: Hazel Petrie, *Chiefs of Industry*, p.172, taken from *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 1855 and 1856.

Rather than using manure, Schaniel argued, Maori preferred to allow the fields to lie fallow for several years. Schaniel argued that while hoes and spades were adopted, they were applied in a Maori way, by squatting; a rejection, wisely it seems, of the stooping position, and to the lifting of heavy spadefuls of earth, as necessitated by the huripoki or turning over method of digging. Maori did not, he concluded, conceive of the introduced technology in a European scientific framework, but rather in their traditional framework.²⁴⁷ Perhaps the non-adoption of European-style fertilization methods was a further example of Maori disinclination to appropriate every western technique on offer. It should be considered here that if the non-adoption of fertilizers

²⁴⁶ William Carl Schaniel, 'The Maori and the Economic Frontier', p.249.

²⁴⁷ William Carl Schaniel, 'The Maori and the Economic Frontier', pp.251-252.

continued throughout the 1850s it may have at least contributed to the poor harvests that beset the district.

Observations had been made as early as 1852 of the failure by Maori to rotate their crops. David Rough recorded his journey through the district:

At the end of the village there is a mill dam – and a flour mill, which is a rather poor looking affair, considering the large sum we were told it had cost the natives [A 1993 *Footprints of History* article surmised that this was the Pekapekarau Mill]. We observed great numbers of horses and cattle, besides carts, drays, ploughs and all the usual implements of agriculture, and we were told the natives had obtained five crops of wheat in succession from the same land, which is proof of the excellent quality of the soil, although it does not indicate great intelligence in their system of farming. There are a few European settlers in the village who trade with the natives, but they are not numerous in the district.²⁴⁸

Though by no means representative of the entire area, Rough's description does allude to the practice of intensively farming one piece of land without rotating the crops which could potentially lead to poor quality crops in the future. Without nourishment, the soil would become exhausted therefore would yield poor quality crops – in the case of wheat outbreaks of the disease smut became more common – in future harvests.

This seems, from the evidence, to have been the case during the late 1850s. Hargreaves noted that by the mid-1850s weeds were frequently allowed to grow among the crops, and in the wheat fields, drake and darnel grass were milled together with the grain collected, making the milled flour unwholesome.²⁴⁹ He noted also that Maori persevered with the same wheat seed on an annual basis without purchasing new stocks or ensuring that the seed being used was clean. As a result, Maori flour began to realize lower prices at market. In 1859 fine flour sold for £22 per ton, with second grade flour selling for £17 per ton; Maori flour realized between £15 and £18 per ton.²⁵⁰ With finer quality settler-produced or imported flour being guaranteed it is little wonder that flour exports from the district began to suffer. As Hargreaves noted:

While cultivation did not entirely disappear it no longer provided the food supply of European settlers, it did not play a part of any importance in the export trade of Auckland, and for many tribes it provided no more than a bare subsistence. Rather Maoris worked more and more for the Europeans

²⁴⁸ 'An Aucklanders Describes His 1852 Jaunt to the Waikato', p.240. See Supporting Document 37.

²⁴⁹ RP Hargreaves, 'The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', p.67.

²⁵⁰ *Maori Messenger*, 15 January 1859, p.8.

in the bush, on the gum fields and on public works, and purchased much of their food for cash from the white settlers.²⁵¹

There were, of course, some circumstances that were beyond the control of both Maori and Pakeha producers and traders. The expansion of Australian agriculture followed the decline in the Victorian gold rush in the late 1850s, and with it came a dramatic fall in agricultural prices both in Australia and New Zealand. Sinclair noted that the ‘effects of the decline of the Australian market ... were small in New Zealand, if they are measured in terms of exports and imports, because the simultaneous expansion of wool exports more or less balanced the losses of agriculture ...’²⁵² However, in areas where there were large numbers of Maori who were also producers of considerable quantities of agricultural produce – which was surely the case in Waikato and the King Country – there was a marked decline. While Sinclair made the point that both Auckland and Taranaki Provinces ‘still possessed the bulk of the best land, and in agriculture they had a long start on the colonists, who depended almost entirely on Maori produce in the first years of settlement’, the decline in the wheat industry, among others, was still quite startling.²⁵³

As a result of a decline in exports from the Province, there was a rapid increase in the level of wheat imports. In part this was to combat the lack of Maori production, but it was also to cater for an increasing European settler population, the demands of the expanding military forces, and the needs of the Maori population. As a consequence, Auckland Province wheat imports escalated from just 1,775 bushels in 1859 to 45,348 the following year, 55,910 in 1861 and 188,931 bushels in 1862.²⁵⁴ The same could also be said for potato production. John Morgan recorded in 1854: I am sorry to say that the potato crop in New Zealand has failed this year, from the very dry weather ... Our wheat crop on the School farm has also failed this year, partly from the dry weather and partly from the sourness of the new land.²⁵⁵ Potato crops, both Maori and European, suffered from wireworm, a pest which eats away at root vegetables. While settlers took preventative action, Maori, according to Hargreaves, continued to sow the same seed, resulting in a portion of their crop never being of sufficient quality to interest Auckland’s market traders. For those employed as farm labourers belts were being tightened. Morgan informed

²⁵¹ RP Hargreaves, ‘The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century’, p.78.

²⁵² Keith Sinclair, ‘Maori Nationalism and the European Economy, 1850-1860’, p.126.

²⁵³ Keith Sinclair, ‘Maori Nationalism and the European Economy, 1850-1860’, p.126.

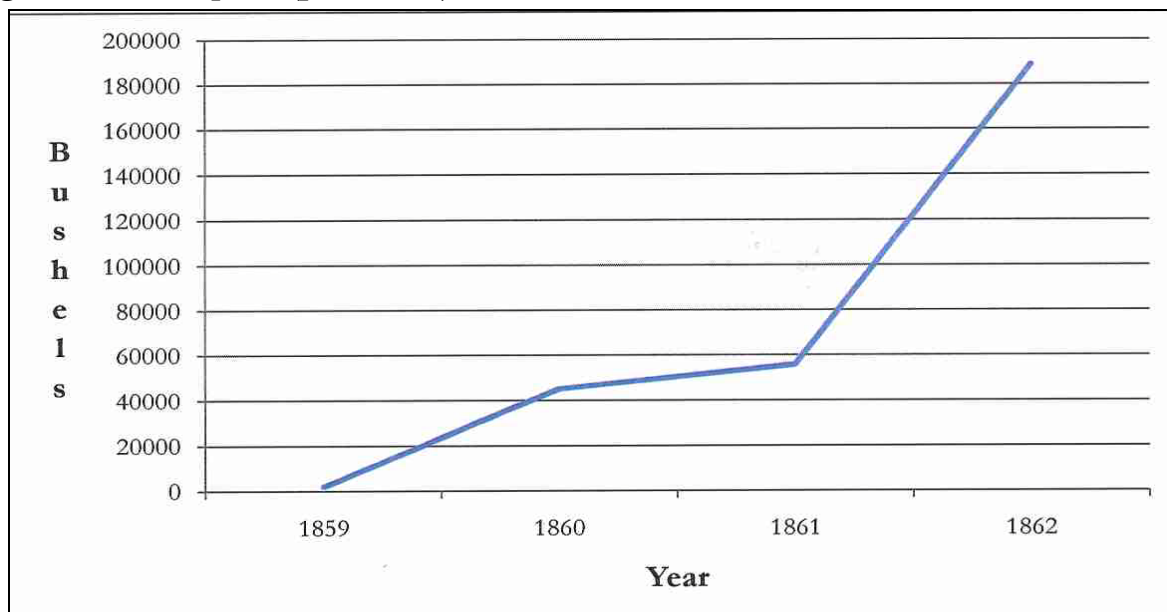
²⁵⁴ RP Hargreaves, ‘The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century’, p.75.

²⁵⁵ John Morgan letter to CMS London, QMS-1392, ATL, 22 February 1854, pp.587-588. See Supporting Document 17.

London in 1857 that farm labour for ‘common men is now 5/s and 6/s per day and until lately it was 6/s to 8/s.’²⁵⁶

Evidence suggests that the effects of war in Taranaki were having an effect on the demeanour of those involved in agriculture in the northern reaches of the Rohe Potae. Morgan wrote to the CMS in London in August 1860 to inform it that wheat planting was being neglected as Waikato Kingites travelled to Taranaki to fight.²⁵⁷ By September 1861 the *Taranaki Herald* was reporting that ‘The Natives in Upper Waikato are applying themselves generally to

Fig. 15: Wheat Imports (per bushel) into Auckland Province, 1859-1862



Source: RP Hargreaves, ‘The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 68: 1959, p.75.

labour, and a very considerable extent of land is being sown with wheat. William King himself is engaged in this peaceful pursuit. In those places where there is less industry, the Natives make excuses for their idleness by saying that as it is probable that they may soon be killed cultivation is a waste of labour.’²⁵⁸ The writer observed that by this stage comparatively few of the chiefs or people of the Upper Waikato were now visiting Auckland. The reason given was that:

A feeling of distrust exists in the mind of some of these people, caused by mischievous fabrications and evil reports which have been industriously promulgated for some months past by certain Natives of Lower Waikato, for the express purpose of deterring the Natives from other parts from bringing down produce for sale, a bit of commercial policy by which they

²⁵⁶ John Morgan letter to CMS London, QMS-1392, ATL, 18 August 1857, p.611. See Supporting Document 20.

²⁵⁷ John Morgan letter to CMS London, QMS-1392, ATL, August 1860 [no exact date], p.637. See Supporting Document 22.

²⁵⁸ *Taranaki Herald*, 14 September 1861, p.3.

hope to secure a readier market and a higher price for themselves. The tricks of trade are not unknown in Waikato and two or three schemers squatting over the embers in a Maori hut can often devise a little plan of “rigging” the market which would not discredit the ingenuity of a higher civilization.²⁵⁹

Morgan saw the situation in very disheartening terms. Again, writing to London in July 1862 he recorded that:

Prayer has been neglected, and with it the cultivation of the soil. Politics have occupied the time and attention of the kingites, while the plough and the cultivation of the wheat has been neglected. The consequence is that the fields once covered with the golden grain are now beds of docks and other noxious weeds, while the people themselves are reduced to poverty. Poverty brings in its train many other evils, but it is not my desire to darken the picture.²⁶⁰

While Hargreaves noted that the wars of the 1860s, rather than being the sole cause of the decline of Maori agriculture, ‘only gave the final death blow to an already waning industry’, the conflicts did influence considerably how a large area of the North Island’s agricultural economy developed.²⁶¹ Hargreaves noted that by 1861, with war in sight, acreages planted were less than they had been previously. In some areas of Waikato they dropped to one-tenth what they had been four years before.²⁶² This inaction in pre-war planting led to growing food scarcities, which merely added to the rising tension throughout the district.

War in Taranaki, of course, had a more direct negative effect on Maori living on or near the Rohe Potae’s southern boundaries, but, at times, it seems that profits could also be realized. Paul Thomas notes in his Mokau report that Takere’s son, Hone Wetere, did not side with either the Crown or the Kingitanga forces, preferring instead to trade during the wars. Wetere, along with other Mokau Maori, operated the sixteen-ton schooner *Parininihi* and traded on a regular basis with Waitara and New Plymouth. That Wetere was trading with European towns suggests the possibility that he was also transporting other groups’ produce to market. If this was the case there is a distinct possibility, Thomas suggests, that the Taranaki war opened up new economic possibilities which Wetere was well placed to seize. Thomas quotes the *Taranaki News* which stated that in September 1860 the vessel sailed from Mokau to New Plymouth laden with four tons of bricks, 3,000 feet of timber, 388 bushels of wheat, ten bushels of maize and a quantity of

²⁵⁹ *Taranaki Herald*, 14 September 1861, p.3.

²⁶⁰ John Morgan letter to CMS London, QMS-1392, ATL, 1 July 1862, p.729. See Supporting Document 23.

²⁶¹ RP Hargreaves, ‘The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century’, p.76

²⁶² Hargreaves cites the *New Zealander*, 31 December 1862.

other items.²⁶³ The following month the same vessel carried 631 bushels of wheat and four Maori passengers. Again, in November 1860 it was recorded as carrying 4,000 feet of sawn timber, 3,000 bricks, six pigs, and 100 small kits of assorted produce. The schooner was also carrying produce in the opposite direction: it carried flour, salt, beer, sugar and ginger beer²⁶⁴

While trade may have been profitable for a short time in the southern districts of the Rohe Potae, it appears that by 1863 the northern areas were suffering. In 1863 John Elsdon Gorst, who was living in the district at the time, recorded his observations. It is unclear at what stage the war was at when he wrote, but what is clearer is that he painted a grim picture of an area already in decline, and possibly before the full effect of the war hit home. At Rangiaohia and Kihikihi, Gorst described the almost idyllic life of the 1850s and compared it with the settlements he now surveyed:

In those [pre-war] days the roads from Rangiaowhia and Kihikihi were frequented by drays carrying wheat, maize, and potatoes to a landing-place of the Puniu, a navigable branch of the Waipa, whence canoes used to go down to a creek near the mouth of the Waikato, two miles from the English village of Waiuku on the Manukau, and return laden with shirts, sugar, tobacco, and, too often, rum. But recently all this prosperity has vanished. The natives grow little more than is necessary for their own consumption; the mills are out of repair, the milldams breaking down, the traders gone, the bridges rotten; the roads deserted, except by armed men, and women carrying their baggage, or drays with food to be wasted at some great meeting for establishing that Maori nationality which is their one absorbing object.²⁶⁵

Gorst's descriptions were in stark contrast to many 1850s descriptions when produce was in abundance: 'There is very little in their villages which they would mind losing', he observed. Cultivations were, he recorded, 'poorly fenced, if at all, no grass paddocks enclosed, poor living conditions, potatoes, wheat and maize the only crops they store through the winter: potato crops kept in pits dug into the ground and lined with dry fern. In the summer, melons and pumpkins are raised, and eaten as fast as they ripen.'²⁶⁶

It is also worth considering the possibility, however, that the decline in agricultural production may have been overemphasized. Vincent O'Malley noted in his Waitangi Tribunal commissioned report on Rohe Potae political engagement prior to the war that mills were still

²⁶³ *Taranaki News*, 8 September 1860, p.3.

²⁶⁴ Paul Thomas, Wai 898 Mokau Report (draft at the time of writing), commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, Chapter Four, p.10.

²⁶⁵ John Elsdon Gorst, *The Maori King*, Auckland: Reed Books, 2001, p.13.

²⁶⁶ John Elsdon Gorst, *The Maori King*, p.14.

being erected in the latter half of the 1850s and, as late as November 1859, Benjamin Ashwell was still describing a thriving Maori economy.²⁶⁷ As mentioned above, there was still sufficient activity as late as November 1860 around Raglan harbour to warrant the appointment of Dr Harsant to the position of customs collector. Indeed, Ferdinand Hochstetter's much quoted observations of Rangiaohia in this period give no indication that produce was showing signs of slowing:

Extensive wheat, maize, and potato-plantings surround the place, broad carriage-roads run in different directions; numerous horses and herds of well-fed cattle bear testimony to the wealthy condition of the natives; and the huts scattered over a large area are entirely concealed among fruit trees. A separate race-course is laid out; here is a court-house, there a store; farther-on a mill on a mill-pond, and high above the luxuriant fruit-trees rise the tapering spires of the catholic and protestant churches.²⁶⁸

During the same 1859 trip Hochstetter also travelled west to the coast. On the Rakaunui River at Kawhia he recorded that the 'in the valleys and gullies leading to the creek, the villages of the natives lie scattered about, and luxuriant wheat and maize fields greet the eye. I reckon this country among the most charming and fertile districts that I have seen upon New Zealand.'²⁶⁹ As an aside, it is worth noting here that it was during this trip to the district that Hochstetter arranged for Mata Cowell's brother, Wiremu Toe Toe Tumohe of Rangiaohia, and Henare (Hemara) Te Rerehau of Mokau, to accompany him back to Vienna. There they stayed for nine months learning the craft of printing at the Imperial Printing House. Before leaving Vienna they were offered a gift of their choosing; they chose a printing press on which, after being shown how to operate it, they printed a message of appreciation in Maori and German.²⁷⁰ After meeting Emperor Franz Joseph I, Hochstetter accompanied them to London, where they were presented to Queen Victoria, before they set sail for home. The press, known as Te Hokioi, was taken to Ngauwawahia where it printed the first entirely Maori-owned and controlled newspaper, Te Hokioi E Rere Atu Na (The Warbird in Flight to You).²⁷¹

In his War and Raupatu report, O'Malley indicates the degree to which settlements including Rangiaohia, Kihikihi and Orakau were still busy economic centres on the eve of military invasion. The district had clearly been identified as a valuable resource for the invading

²⁶⁷ Vincent O'Malley, 'Te Rohe Potae Political Engagement 1840-1863', commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, December 2010, Wai 898 #A23, p.124.

²⁶⁸ Quoted in KR Howe, 'Missionaries, Maoris, and 'civilization'', p.110.

²⁶⁹ Quoted in May Bass, *Northwest King Country*, p.13.

²⁷⁰ George Howe, 'Johnny Cowell-Pakeha-Maori Trader', pp.16-17. See Supporting Document 28. Their full message can be found in the *New Zealand Listener*, 27 December 1957, p.8. See Supporting Document 25.

²⁷¹ Information supplied by Te Awamutu Museum.

armies. Seizing the area prompted Gustavus von Tempsky to record: ‘We had ... our knee upon the stomach of the enemy, by holding the whole breadth of cultivated country between the Waipa and the Horotiu’.²⁷² It was estimated that the stores of potatoes left behind after local Maori fled southwards across the Puniu River would be sufficient to provide a full ration ‘for the whole of the field force during the coming winter.’²⁷³ Mass looting of fruit, vegetables and belongings took place, while the *New Zealand Herald* was prompted to state: ‘The greatest ally we have is starvation.’²⁷⁴ Crucial for the economic future of the district, however, was the loss of

Image 12: Te Hokioi Press, Te Awamutu Museum. Willing assistants Jamaica and Kauri illustrate the press’s size.



Source: A Francis

places of such pre-war importance as Rangiaohia and Kihikihi. The sacking of these places in early 1864 brought two of the most prosperous pre-war Maori settlements close to destruction. The burning of the district’s economic infrastructure robbed residents of what had been established in the boom years of the 1840s and ‘50s. As a result, economic activity in this once highly prosperous district came to a virtual standstill. This was compounded by the confiscation of substantial tracts of land, some of it prime agricultural land, for military and, later, civilian

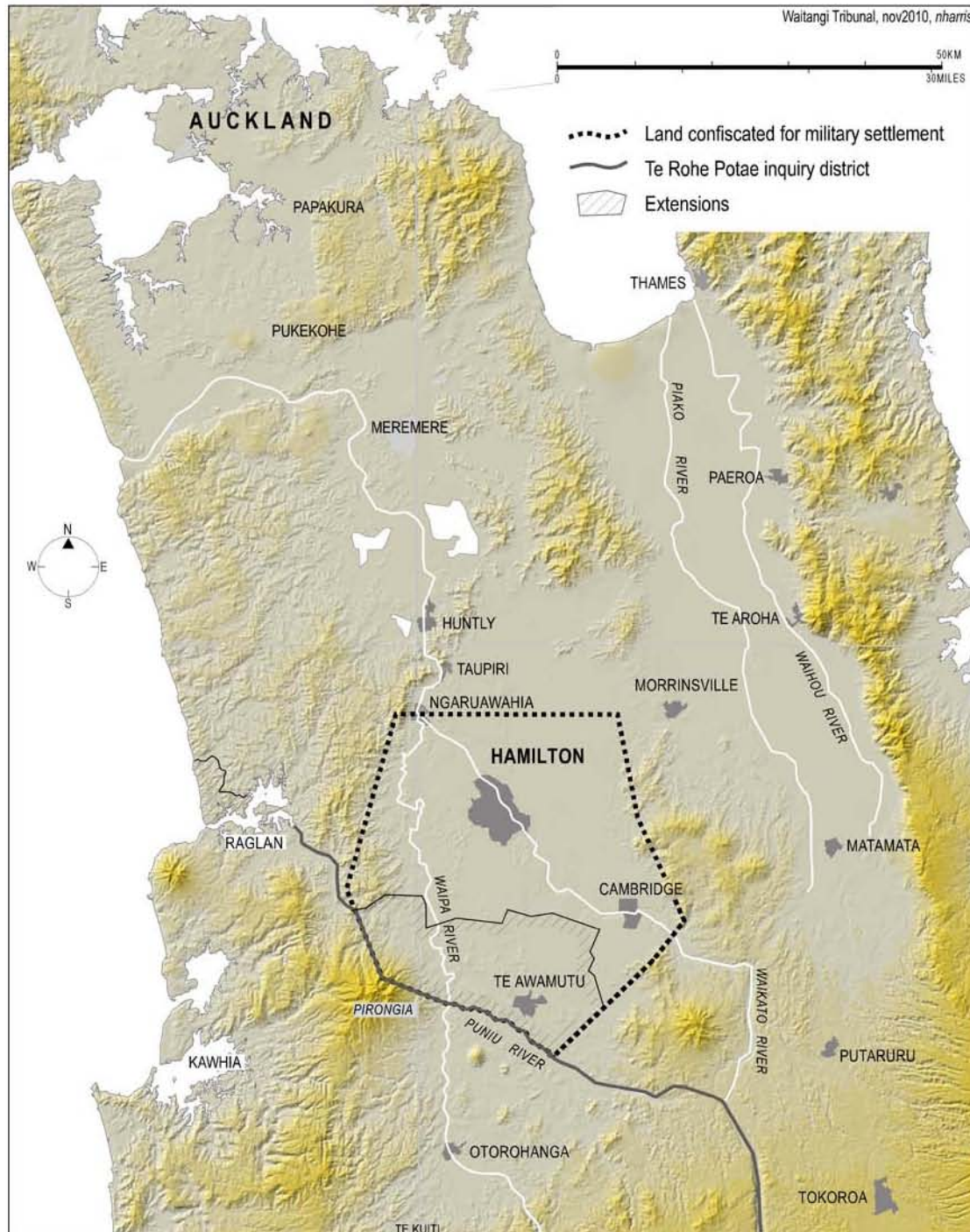
²⁷² Quoted in Vincent O’Malley, ‘Te Rohe Potae District War and Raupatu’ report, commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, December 2010, Wai 898 #A22, p.184.

²⁷³ DJ Gamble, Deputy Quartermaster-General, quoted in O’Malley, ‘Te Rohe Potae District War and Raupatu’ report, commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, December 2010, Wai 898 #A22, p.131.

²⁷⁴ *New Zealand Herald*, 1 August 1864, p.4, quoted in O’Malley, ‘Te Rohe Potae District War and Raupatu’ report, commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, December 2010, Wai 898 #A22, p.188.

settlement. This territory, taken under the New Zealand Settlements Act of December 1863, included fertile lands in and around Rangiaohia, Te Awamutu, and the eastern and western banks

Map 4: Land Confiscated for Military Settlement, December 1864



Source: Andrew Francis, Land Confiscation and the Compensation Court in Waikato, 1863-1867, Wai 898, Te Rohe Potae Inquiry, December 2009, p.17.

of the Waipa River. Ministers were more than aware, at the time, of the potential earning power of such agricultural heartlands. As well as the scheme being ultimately a failure, the land confiscations robbed Maori of their heritage, their economic powerbase, and, potentially, any

chance of a secure economic future. It can also be suggested that such a loss of land ensured that Maori would not again experience an agricultural boom such as the one they had enjoyed in the 1840s and '50s.

Conclusion

From the evidence consulted it could be argued that as an economically productive region, areas of the Rohe Potae did not, at least in the latter years of the 1850s and early 1860s, live up to their potential following years of prosperity from the mid-1840s onwards. For a variety of reasons it seems some local economies were already in decline in the years leading up to the wars. The economic potential which had been realized up to the mid-1850s was not matched by what followed, and there are a number of factors highlighted in this chapter which provide some insight into why the region did not flourish as it possibly should have done.

It is important to acknowledge that there were circumstances beyond the control of both Maori and European producers and traders. For example, by the late 1850s wheat was no longer fetching the prices farmers had previously enjoyed. One reason for this was that the boom in trade caused by the Australian and, to a lesser extent, Californian gold rushes in the 1850s came to an end. As Australian settlers turned their attentions to cultivating their own cereal crops, so the need for imported Maori-grown wheat lessened. It is clear from the evidence consulted that falling wheat prices were a major concern for producers. It gave rise to accusations that prices were being fixed in order to squeeze Maori out of the market, or at the very least, undermine them to the extent that they would become disenchanted with the industry and its associated unstable prices.

By the early 1860s, and before the wars, reports suggested that little or no wheat had been planted. Wheat had, as has been explained in the previous chapter, come to form the staple diet of many Maori in this region. Now, with fewer crops, wheat had been replaced by fern root, maize and potatoes.²⁷⁵ Reports also suggested that machinery had been left to decay, livestock had been disposed of, and the general appearance of areas such as Rangiaohia, which had once resembled an English village scene, was now one of increasing dilapidation and disaffection. Just as wheat exports to Australia declined, so did exports of pork, bacon and potatoes. The very salty nature of the meat which was due, allegedly, to the pigs being fed on fish and salt-water garbage, was one reason put forward why this particular export outlet declined. The quality of potatoes also declined: reports suggested that in some cases they were diseased and poorly

²⁷⁵ RP Hargreaves, 'The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', p.74.

packed which led to very few being suitable for export.²⁷⁶ This was exacerbated by crop failures, an inability to compete with cheaper and – gradually – better quality settler-produced goods, and, it has been argued, a rise in Maori nationalism as war grew ever more likely.

It is also necessary to consider that agricultural output, quality and efficiency was in significant part determined by the quality of the soil used and the techniques employed to tend it. If Dr Johnson's observation that Maori had an almost 'superstitious abhorrence to the use of manure' is correct, it may in part explain why the quality of produce supposedly declined over the years. A lack of crop rotation, the exhausting of one area of land, or poorly tended soil would have contributed to diseases like smut which began to affect Maori wheat supplies.²⁷⁷ The same could be said for the decline in fruit orchards: pre-war they had been in abundance; post-war the industry suffered from blight and other diseases. It is fair to say here, however, that neglect, through no fault of former Maori owners north of the Punui, was also a contributing factor.

Evidence suggests that cattle-farming had not yet been fully developed; while Rohe Potae Maori extracted milk from their cattle sufficient for their own needs, they did not appear to express any great interest in manufacturing butter or cheese on a commercial scale. Hargreaves noted that there was also a lack of interest in sheep farming as they required plenty of pasture, unlike pigs and cows, which could live in the bush.²⁷⁸ Evidence has also suggested that by the late 1850s Maori were devoting more time to politics rather than agricultural production, which, as a consequence, led to a decline in economic prosperity. Increasing pressure from European settlers to obtain more land, an alleged lack of government control, and discussions of conflict elsewhere in the North Island, did little to allay the fears of Rohe Potae Maori.²⁷⁹

Of course, the confiscation of a sizeable portion of land represented a huge blow. Even if it is correct that the lands lost were already being exhausted through over-production or poor maintenance, they nevertheless were prime agricultural areas which would eventually prove profitable for Pakeha settlers in future years. The approximately four to five years either side of the Waikato Wars were not, according to the sources, as agriculturally productive as perhaps they could have been, but the extent to which the war is to blame is open to interpretation. In a sense, commission question four – the extent to which the wars affected commercial activity in the short and longer terms – has been addressed while answering commission question seven – other factors affecting the economy of the region in this period – by arguing that though the

²⁷⁶ RP Hargreaves, 'The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', p.74.

²⁷⁷ RP Hargreaves, 'Maori Agriculture after the Wars (1871-1886)', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 69, 4: 1960, p.357.

²⁷⁸ RP Hargreaves, 'The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', p.68.

²⁷⁹ HCM Norris, 'Glimpse of Waikato History 1820-1870', p.22. See Supporting Document 30. Also see HCM Norris, 'Early Europeans in the Waikato', in DH Goodall (ed), *The Waikato: Man and his environment*, publication no.2, New Zealand Geographical Society (Waikato Branch), 1972, p.32. See Supporting Document 26.

wars were destructive and disruptive for the many communities involved, Maori agricultural production appeared to be in decline in advance of the wars. The wars and their aftermath, especially in terms of the confiscation of prime farming territories, dealt Maori a tremendous blow from which recovery would have been extremely difficult. However, while this may have been the case in some geographical areas in certain industries, Maori had nevertheless accumulated significant technical skills to adapt to the new post-war world and had demonstrated a co-ordinated, comprehensive ability to engage in productive commercial activity.

Chapter Four: ‘Sad Havoc?’ The Agricultural Economy of the Rohe Potae, 1866-1886

Introduction

This final chapter examines the two decades of Maori commercial activity between 1866 and 1886. This encompasses the period between the formal imposition of the aukati and the arrival of the Native Land Court in the district. Within these two decades there was, in some areas of the inquiry district, at least, a remarkable regeneration of commercial agricultural production. This report stresses that though production did not match the levels achieved in the 1840s and ‘50s, it recovered to the point that the district was able to not only feed its own people, but produce a surplus sufficient enough with which to trade. This chapter addresses the two remaining questions set out in this report’s commission. With the pre-war role of the Crown in providing economic incentives covered in Chapter One, this chapter discusses the extent to which there were present, apart from the earlier wars, any obstacles to post-war economic development as a result of the Crown’s actions or omissions. Secondly, it provides an examination of Maori economic activity during this period and the role played by the Kingitanga and tribal leaders in its continuation and development. It discusses the ways in which Maori and Pakeha traders and producers were able to circumvent the aukati in pursuit of economic gain. The aukati, rather than being perceived as a ‘Maori Iron Curtain’, did, in fact, present few obstacles to trade and commerce. This chapter illustrates how the Kingitanga and chiefly authority was at the centre of post-war economic activity, was instrumental in re-establishing trading links with Europeans, and was effective in discouraging trade considered detrimental to the economic and social rejuvenation of the region. In terms of the Crown’s role, this chapter highlights the financial and material assistance it provided in the post-war era through donating wheat, oats and grass seeds; the financial incentives it provided for the repair of mills or to have fences erected; gifts of agricultural tools; cash sums to influential chiefs to purchase sailing vessels and, in at least one instance, substantial financial debts cleared in order that trading could continue.

The post-war agricultural revival

The story of the Rohe Potae’s post-war commercial activity is one of particular interest, made more so depending on the areas one is discussing. For instance, the imposition of the aukati in 1866 separated those living on what were formerly prime agriculturally productive areas such as

Rangiohia, Kihikihi, and Te Awamutu from those who had withdrawn southwards into the rohe's heartlands. If studies conducted at the time are to be believed those living north in the confiscated zones witnessed considerable European settler immigration, poverty and disease, while their kinfolk south of the Puniu River experienced considerable economic and social progress free from European influence. Also, one should consider those Maori living in and around Mokau. Were there experiences of the establishment of the aukati, which was formally imposed in 1866, similar to those living in the northern reaches of the rohe? This chapter explores these and other themes to determine the extent to which recovery took place from the late 1860s onwards, the types of economic relationships that developed, and the opportunities that were afforded Maori in the region. As with many studies of mid-nineteenth century Maori society, there are conflicting opinions regarding its post-war prosperity and progress.

Obvious and fundamental differences in post-war society were the large-scale confiscation of previously fertile farmlands, the placing of European settlers on those lands, and the imposition of the aukati. It might be argued, at least at first glance, that these dramatic challenges to Maori society would prove insurmountable in the post-war era, that attempts to compete with European settlers armed with technological knowledge would prove futile. However, from the evidence consulted, what appears to have transpired was a regeneration of agricultural life and trading relationships from which Maori were able to prosper to a degree. Admittedly, this may not have been close to the levels enjoyed in the 1840s and '50s, but it was progress nevertheless.

One long-standing interpretation is that the wars destroyed Maori economic activity for many years afterwards. Sorrenson, for instance, noted that the intervention of the wars of the 1860s had disrupted Maori economic growth and it was not, he suggested, until 'well after' the turn of the twentieth century that Maori once again became important producers. Maori often failed, he argued, to produce enough to sustain themselves, let alone produce a surplus for sale.²⁸⁰ He added that in the post-war years there 'appeared no need to cultivate land when food and clothing were so easily obtained from the European.'²⁸¹ As late as 1880 politician William Moorhouse, Member for Ashley, explained the decline in Maori agricultural productivity in these terms:

As matters stand now the Maoris are living upon their estate, not upon income. Every man of them is a gentleman. There is no producer. There is no working-class among the Maoris. The Native will sit on a bank of a

²⁸⁰ MPK Sorrenson, 'The Purchase of Maori Lands, 1865-1892', unpublished MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1955, p.196.

²⁸¹ MPK Sorrenson, 'The Purchase of Maori Lands, 1865-1892', p.199.

stream and fish out an eel and cook it for his dinner, and be content; or he will go and sell a bit of his land and get drunk on the proceeds. He is not a producer ... It would be an advantage to the Native race if four-fifths of them were reduced to the necessity of working with their hands. We do not see a working-man amongst the Natives, and I am sorry for it. If they would work, the produce of their labour would swell the exports, and if they would realize four-fifths of their land for even a nominal consideration, those lands could be made to swell their exports also.²⁸²

With equal conviction, James Cowan painted a very grim picture, this time relating specifically to the post-war Rohe Potae. Looking south across the Puniu River Cowan observed:

... a land, too, of dread in the years of unrest, for there in the hinterland only a few miles from the border lived Te Kooti and his band and the hundreds of Waikato dispossessed of their good lands on which we pakeha families now dwelt. As far as the eye could range it was a land altogether given to the Kingites and the Hauhaus – an untamed country painted in the dark purple of the broken mountain ranges, merging into the vague, misty blues of great distance, the sombre green of ferny hills and plains, and the yellow and white of deep flax and raupo swamps. Clear dashing hill-streams and lazy swamp-borne water courses, alive with eels and wild duck, all carrying down their quota to feed the silently gliding Waipa ... The Contrast! On our side the green farms of the pioneer settlers, roads, villages – each with its redoubt as a rallying-place in alarm – churches, schools – primitive schools, maybe, in the early stages – the flag of British authority flying. So the border remained, the line of demarcation sharply defined by the confiscation boundary, the southern side inimical, sullen, waiting, for well-nigh twenty years after the final shots of the Waikato War.²⁸³

Cowan's observations regarding the 'inimical, sullen' south in the aftermath of war and the imposition of the 'line of demarcation' tell one story supported by Sinclair who remarked that the King and his supporters lived in 'hostile isolation'.²⁸⁴

It is certainly possible that these observations may have rung true elsewhere in the North Island indeed, likely even in areas unaffected by the wars, but it is not necessarily the case when discussing the post-war experiences of the Rohe Potae. Here, with the benefit of newspaper

²⁸² *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (NZPD), 4 August 1880, p.98. Moorhouse's comments were made during parliamentary discussions on the Native Land Sales Bill.

²⁸³ Quoted in May Bass, *Northwest King Country*, p.37.

²⁸⁴ Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, Auckland: Penguin Books (revised edn.), 2000, p.151. Sorrenson in his endnotes also attributes to earlier writers the phrases 'sullen isolation' and 'degenerate exclusiveness' when describing post-war King Country society, MPK Sorrenson, 'The Maori King Movement, 1858-1885' in *Studies of a Small Democracy: Essays in Honour of Willis Airey*, Auckland: Paul's Book Arcade, 1963, p.260.

reports, official government studies, statistical returns, and contemporary observations, another story emerges: one which involves a return to some level of economic prosperity, though admittedly not to the pre-war levels enjoyed; expressions of agricultural diversification; and a level of social support among Maori in the Rohe Potae which appears to have outstripped those north of the military settlement confiscation line.

Post-War Economic Recovery

Paul Thomas notes in his report on Mokau that Maori there lost the prominent role in the coastal shipping trade they had enjoyed pre-war. They had no ship to speak of, after the *Parininihi* was seized by Crown officials, and even if they had, they would most likely be unwelcome in European ports. In turn, Mokau Maori and the Kingitanga prevented European ships from trading within the aukati. When Civil Commissioner Parris visited Mokau in early 1871 he was struck by the sense of the district's poverty and economic isolation.²⁸⁵ In other areas within the aukati, however, some progress was evident. Most notably this seemed to be within communities where, under the King's instructions, Maori were retaining their lands:

The King natives are thriving wonderfully. They are reported to be healthier, and the increase in the number of children is noteworthy. They are cultivating more extensively than formerly ... their men and women ... live longer than those natives who frequent our towns ... and they frequently point to that circumstance ... as an argument in favour of King Tawhiao's jurisdiction.²⁸⁶

North of the confiscation line there, too, seemed to be progress. William Searancke reported that:

I am happy to be able to testify to the present improved and flourishing state of the district, the large amount of cultivation, the general content of the settlers, their increase in numbers of late, and the steady demand for labour, for both agricultural purposes, and also for its numerous flax mills. I cannot but believe in the present improved prospect of the district ... Confidence is felt in the peaceable professions of the Native King party and consequently in the cessation of those periodical panics which have hitherto so much retarded the advance of the district, and this feeling has been

²⁸⁵ Paul Thomas, Wai 898 Mokau report (draft at the time of writing), commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, Chapter Five, pp.1-2.

²⁸⁶ *Daily Southern Cross*, 22 February 1868, p.3.

increased by the (until lately) incessant flow and ebb of natives (Hauhaus) into this district and their invariably quiet civil and industrious habits.²⁸⁷

Similar contrasts were being reported elsewhere. The *Taranaki Herald* recorded Piniha's observations of the Rohe Potae after paying a visit to the Maori King at Tokangamutu in 1872. 'A great number of people', Piniha stated,

are living, apparently in great comfort, and supplied with many of the comforts and some of the luxuries of life. The live stock of cattle, sheep, pigs, peacocks, turkeys, fowls, geese, &c., appears ample, and they make very nice cakes from the fern root scraped, and mixed with milk, and baked. Here I stopped a month. The ancient style of living is adopted here, and I think it is very superior to any other that I have seen, and better than Europeans can see in any other native district. The King and his wife occupy a house in the centre of the place, the houses of the other natives surrounding it. Religious services are held daily. The King does not always attend. The whole of the natives are disposed to be friendly towards the Europeans, and will not interfere with the white people unless provoked. The natives are all busy planting their crops, and do not even dream of war ... The King people have plenty of clothes, food, and liquor, and are not at all like what could be expected in such an isolated place as Tokangamutu.²⁸⁸

The report indicates an air of industriousness about the region. The people seemed to be thriving both economically and spiritually, and, as it transpired, were beginning to introduce new cultivations both for their own consumption and for sale.

Hops were introduced to the King's lands at Te Kuiti in the latter half of 1872. They were supplied by a Scot, Charles Innes of Ngaruawahia, who explained the method of rearing them. 'Most New Zealand settlers', the *Taranaki Herald* stated, 'know that, as a rule, Maoris – men, women, and children – work in concert at their plantations; after this fashion the Kingites about Te Kuiti propose to cultivate hops extensively, and expect to make a good deal of money by selling the produce to Auckland dealers.'²⁸⁹ By the following June the *Waikato Times* was reporting on the successes of this new endeavour:

On Thursday six bags arrived from a place near Mokau, for which they received £15 and some odd shillings, being at the rate of half-a-crown a pound. They were so pleased with the result of their venture that they have

²⁸⁷ HCM Norris, 'Glimpse of Waikato History 1820-1870', p.24. Searancke issued the report in July 1870. See Supporting Document 30.

²⁸⁸ *Taranaki Herald*, 28 September 1872, p.2.

²⁸⁹ *Taranaki Herald*, 28 September 1872, p.2, also see *Waikato Times* of 7 June 1873, p.2. Charles Innes and his wife, Mary Jane, moved to Te Awamutu in 1874, Colin V Innes, 'Innes, Mary Jane, 1852-1941', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.2, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books and Department of Internal Affairs, 1993, p.239.

promised to grow large quantities next year, and have desired Mr Innes to send to Auckland for better plants, as somebody has told them that a larger sort can be procured there. The natives who have grown the hops are Kingites, and we have little doubt they at least are somewhat convinced of the advantage of peace over disturbance.²⁹⁰

While the story is somewhat tempered by the patronizing reference to Maori propensity for warfare, it does reveal Maori diversity in agriculture. Also introduced into the region were sow thistle and tobacco, though the latter was, at this stage, considered not of the highest grade and was grown mainly for local consumption.²⁹¹

Thomas noted that Mokau Maori took pride in their tobacco plantations. They cultivated enough to start sending to New Plymouth aside from what they were consuming themselves. Early samples received unfavourable reviews. One critic noted that it 'more resembles smoking hay than anything else; and is quite as hot.'²⁹² But within a year Wellington's tobacco cognoscenti were stating that they had received 'an excellent sample of tobacco, cured at Mokau ... of extremely good, mild quality.'²⁹³ Thomas records that Tikaokao, the Mokau and Kingitanga leader, had sent the tobacco via Taranaki Maori, who used their kinfolk in the capital to sell it to local Pakeha.²⁹⁴

The imposition of the aukati seemed no barrier to trade. William Cumming, proprietor of the newly-established Waikato Brewery in Hamilton East, reported that he was purchasing hops grown by Maori south of the aukati within the Rohe Potae. Cumming, who later sold his business to Mary Jane Innes, recorded that the hops were of good quality and well-dried, though their pressing was rudimentary. It was reported that Cumming had encouraged Maori to persevere with hop-growing in the hope that it would become firmly established and lessen the need to import extensively from England and Tasmania. 'We are informed', the *Waikato Times* stated, 'that there is a large tract of country in the Kingite territory which is peculiarly adapted for this product, and the ample female and youthful labor at the command of the natives supplies an important aid in the culture of the hop, which places them in a peculiarly advantageous position in comparison with the Europeans.'²⁹⁵

Progress within the Rohe Potae was reported in other areas of agriculture. Robert S Bush, Clerk to the Court at Raglan, informed the Native Minister that the 'kumera crop is a

²⁹⁰ *Waikato Times*, 7 June 1873, p.2.

²⁹¹ RP Hargreaves, 'Maori Agriculture after the Wars', p.358.

²⁹² *Taranaki Herald*, 24 July 1872, p.2, quoted in Paul Thomas, Wai 898 Mokau report (draft at the time of writing), commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, Chapter Five, p.10.

²⁹³ *Taranaki Herald*, 22 October 1873, p.2.

²⁹⁴ Paul Thomas, Wai 898 Mokau report (draft at the time of writing), commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, Chapter Five, p.10.

²⁹⁵ *Waikato Times*, 9 September 1875, p.2.

prolific one; it will be their chief article of food this winter'. Within the aukati, the Aotea tribes' potato crops he noted had been 'an exceedingly good one. Their wheat cultivations are much more extensive than those of their Raglan relatives.' Rather than being in the position of growing only sufficient for their own means, Bush noted the level of trade that was undertaken, often, he thought, to their own detriment: 'I regret to say that a very pernicious system prevails amongst the majority of the Natives here, of selling the greater quantity of their produce as soon as it is ready for market, instead of storing it for the winter. Consequently they almost reduce themselves to the verge of starvation.'²⁹⁶ The following season Kopua Maori were selling 'excellent oats' at Alexandra for five to six shillings per bushel. It was reported that the seed had been supplied on the recommendation of Major Mair, and, due to its success, further tracts of land were being prepared for the following year. 'We trust', it continued, 'the time is not far distant where the Maoris will return to that state of things which existed before the war carried ruin and devastation throughout the country ...'²⁹⁷ The same year it was reported from Alexandra that in excess of twenty canoes had recently arrived from Te Kuiti deeply laden with produce. 'The place is alive, like a fair, with its tents and storekeepers', the report crowed.²⁹⁸

Bush's 1875 report was glowing:

Potatoes have everywhere turned out remarkably well, more especially those cultivated at Aotea, and at the North arm of Raglan harbour. At Kawhia, the grain crops were very, very large, the whole of which I understand have turned out well. On the whole, this year promises to be one of plenty; the kumaras being the only crop that has turned out indifferent.²⁹⁹

There were further reports on the heightened agricultural activity: 'We are glad to learn from a reliable authority', the *Waikato Times* stated,

that the Kingites are displaying most unusual activity in bringing down produce for the market. We are informed that the quantity brought in during the last fortnight alone exceeds that of all last season. The natives are carefully saving the proceeds of their sales for the purchase of agricultural implements, and appear to meditate agricultural operations on a scale of considerable magnitude, hop culture being one of the matters to which they are devoting special attention.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁶ Robert S Bush, Clerk to the Court, Raglan, to Native Minister, Wellington, 12 May 1874, no.11, G-2, AJHR 1874, p.11.

²⁹⁷ *Waikato Times*, 15 June 1875, p.2.

²⁹⁸ *Taranaki Herald*, 4 September 1875, p.3.

²⁹⁹ Robert S Bush, Government Interpreter, Raglan, to the Native Minister, Wellington, 5 May 1875, no.7, G-1, AJHR, 1875, p.9.

³⁰⁰ *Waikato Times*, 9 September 1875, p.2.

The same organ reported that ‘in the coming season the King Natives will double the extent of cultivation. At Kopua alone, upwards of twenty teams are engaged in ploughing.’³⁰¹ A theme running through some newspaper reports at this time was a wish to return to the pre-war trading days when ‘the natives cultivated extensive crops, and fleets of produce-laden canoes periodically visited Auckland, bringing back in exchange, clothing, tools, and other necessities.’ It is unquestionable that the wars proved highly disruptive for all concerned: traders, producers and consumers alike. ‘The old settlers’ it was reported, ‘sigh for a return to those Arcadian days, when a crowd of natives would enter a store and almost clear it of its contents, paying therefore in current coin.’³⁰²

The increase in production within the confiscation zone was significant enough for the *Waikato Times* to agitate for a cut in freight charges between the region and the growing city of Auckland:

The Waikato is the place from which Auckland should draw its supplies. Were there a railway through the delta at the present moment, there is little doubt that not a single quarter of wheat or oats would be imported into the province at the expiration of two years. The heavy rate of freight, although recently reduced, is sufficient to frighten any farmer from the district; this may not be the case at the present moment, but it must inevitably become so directly the productions of the Waikato exceed the consumption of the resident settlers. It is monstrous that the rate of freight is as high from the Waikato to Auckland as it is from any point in Great Britain. We feel convinced that a railway would have the effect of stimulating our farmers to action; our population would increase rapidly; in fact, it is impossible to estimate the benefits that carriage at a reasonable rate would confer upon the district.³⁰³

On this evidence it appears that production, north of the aukati, at least, was on the increase and had seemingly recovered from the disruption caused by the wars. Crucial to the development of the district as a whole was the extent to which production south of the aukati was mirroring what was happening northwards.

Writing to the Native Under-Secretary in May 1874, WG Mair, resident magistrate at Alexandra (Pirongia) recorded that ‘A number of Rewi’s people have come from Kawhia to form a kainga not more than two miles beyond the confiscation line, and he informs me that if things

³⁰¹ *Waikato Times*, 18 September 1875, p.2.

³⁰² *Waikato Times*, 9 September 1875, p.2.

³⁰³ *Waikato Times*, 17 May 1873, p.2.

go on smoothly he will next year live there permanently. Each year shows an increasing trade with the interior.³⁰⁴ Two years later Mair reported that:

A more industrious spirit prevails, and grain-growing has largely increased; unfortunately, the prices now ruling are unusually low, and the producers are somewhat discouraged. The desire to live nearer to European settlements is increasing; numbers, both of Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto, having moved down to Puniu, Kopua and other places in the vicinity of the Confiscation line, that they may be nearer to the market, and thus save carriage. Agricultural implements and machinery, and also flour mills, are much sought after.³⁰⁵

The same report observed that the section of Ngati Raukawa loyal to the King, living on the left bank of the Waikato River between Taupo and Maungatautari had engaged with considerable enthusiasm in trade and commerce:

[They] have become very friendly and industrious; to my own knowledge they have, during the last eight months expended more than £60 in the purchase of hand-mills for grinding their wheat. They have also commenced cattle-keeping on a larger scale than usual in these parts – Te Puke, one of their young chiefs, having got together not less than 180 head, which he tends with the greatest care.³⁰⁶

Alan Ward noted that given the range of economic activities in which Maori were involved ‘they were far from supine’. He noted that the King’s supporters ‘were trading increasingly across the aukati in wheat, hops, pigs and other commodities and using cultivating machinery obtained through government officers.’ Moving close to the confiscation boundary not only gave Maori better soil for grain cultivation, it also gave them easier access to Pakeha towns.³⁰⁷ It is also likely that Maori living in the central areas of the rohe were trading southwards towards Mokau. Though not as easily navigable as the Waiuku portage which separated the Waipa and Waikato Rivers route from Auckland, it was still feasible that produce could have been traded up the Mangapu River and into the Mangarama and Tanehopuwai Streams.³⁰⁸

Sorrenson noted the industriousness of the King’s supporters: large areas of bush were cleared; one, in 1868, was said to be ‘miles in extent’. In 1875, 600 Maori were seen felling bush.

³⁰⁴ WG Mair to Native Under-Secretary, 25 May 1874, AJHR, 1874, G-2, p.9.

³⁰⁵ WG Mair to Native Under-Secretary, 20 May 1876, AJHR, 1876, G-1, p.22.

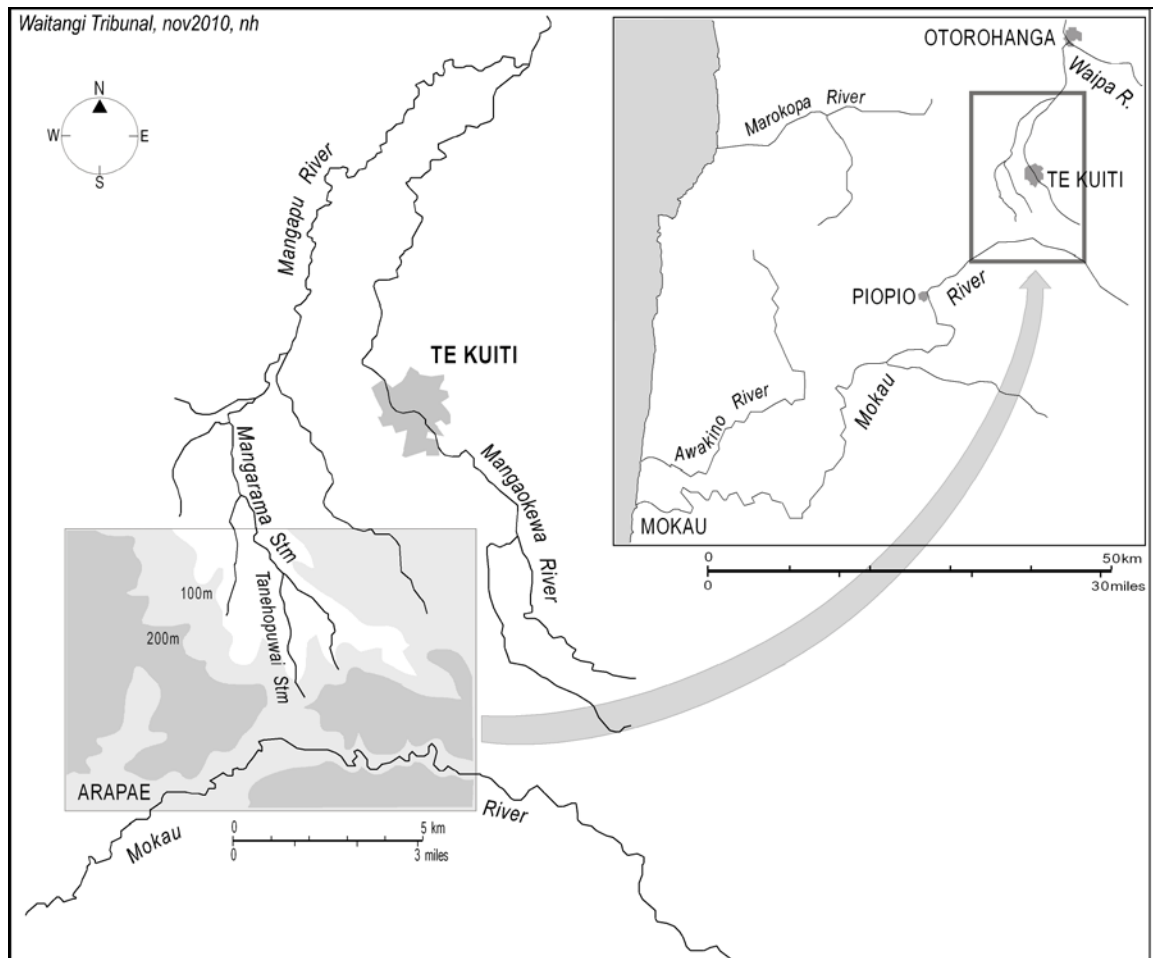
³⁰⁶ WG Mair to Native Under-Secretary, 20 May 1876, AJHR, 1876, G-1, p.22.

³⁰⁷ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial ‘amalgamation’ in nineteenth century New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995, p.265.

³⁰⁸ Also see Evelyn Stokes, ‘Mokau: Maori Cultural and Historical Perspectives’, p.36.

A variety of crops were sold in Alexandra in return for ploughs, other agricultural implements and clothing. The amount of produce sold was considerable. Sorrenson recorded that Lamb's mill at Ngaruawahia purchased 7,000 bushels of wheat in 1875, from a total harvest of between 30,000-40,000 bushels.³⁰⁹ Communal cultivations, he noted, provided for daily wants, and a surplus for the large King party gatherings as well as for trading across the border. Cash returns were used to purchase European implements to extend the area under cultivation.

Map 5: Map Showing Possible Trading Route Southwards to Mokau



Sorrenson concluded that the significant characteristic of King party farming in the 1870s 'was a progressive adoption of European methods, not a retrogression to outmoded pre-European means of subsistence.' While there was open hostility shown towards surveyors, purchase agents and prospectors, Sorrenson noted that cordial relations did exist between Crown officials and

³⁰⁹ MPK Sorrenson, 'The Maori King Movement, 1858-1885', p.51.

government agents. Resident Magistrate Mair, for example, was well received by the Kingitanga throughout the 1870s.³¹⁰

There were examples of government assistance to encourage Maori trade and commerce such as the erection of a 'native store' at Alexandra.³¹¹ Further financial assistance was provided for the rebuilding of disused or dilapidated flour mills, both north and south of the confiscation line. Where Maori were undertaking this work, the Native Minister, Donald McLean, subsidized them to the tune of £50.³¹² The Defence Minister (presumably this was John Sheehan) granted Ngati Hikairo chief, Hone Te One, £400 to purchase a schooner to run between Auckland, Kawhia and Aotea. Mr Ellis, owner of the Motakotako store travelled to Auckland to complete the purchase of the vessel but both were undone, it seems, by the King's refusal to allow trading out of his harbours.³¹³ Further press reports stated that Mokau Maori were in the process of asking the government for a subsidy to purchase the steamer *Maid of Mokau*, part-owned by Maori, which was to trade regularly between Waitara, Mokau and Kawhia.³¹⁴

It is likely that this was the same steamer as the *Hannah Mokau* whose maiden voyage was to Waitara in 1878. Paul Thomas notes that it was owned by Joshua Jones's consortium as part of a guarantee made that it would 'bring the steamers' to boost the region's trade. On its maiden voyage it transported Rewi Maniapoto and Wetere to Kawhia and became known as 'Mokau's boat'. Thomas notes that the subsidizing of the steamer was a major factor in George Grey (by this time Premier) and Native Minister Sheehan's commitment in dealing with Rewi and Wetere. The Crown subsidized running costs and purchased shares in the vessel. In 1879 the government invested further and paid off the steamer's substantial debts of £864.³¹⁵

There were obvious advantages here for both parties: Rewi and Wetere were spared the burden of operating the *Hannah Mokau* with heavy debts hanging over them – one consequence being the government took over the mortgage on the vessel – and, under the Grey-Sheehan partnership, the Crown had some form of access, albeit limited, to Maori trade and ports. The Crown-Maori partnership was short-lived, however, as the vessel ran into more financial

³¹⁰ MPK Sorrenson, 'Land Purchase Methods and Their Effect on Maori Population 1865-1901', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 65, 3: 1956, pp.196-197.

³¹¹ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice*, p.265.

³¹² Keith Sinclair, *Kinds of Peace: Maori People After the Wars, 1870-1885*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1991, p.27.

³¹³ *Waikato Times*, 10 February 1876, p.3.

³¹⁴ See *Taranaki Herald*, 25 June 1878, p.2, and 29 June 1878, p.2;

³¹⁵ Paul Thomas, Wai 898 Mokau report (draft at the time of writing), commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, Chapter Six, p.28.

difficulty the following year. This time the vessel was seized and on the orders of John Bryce, the new Native Minister in the Hall Government, was sold amid protests from Grey and Sheehan.³¹⁶

Thomas's report goes into considerably more detail than is laid out here, but it is sufficient to record that albeit for predominantly political reasons, the government was offering some form of funding during the 1870s. Further state assistance provided wheat, oat and grass seeds, and the erection of fences round Maori crop areas where a road traversed the plantations.³¹⁷ In the financial year 1874-1875 the government spent £774, 7s, 3d on a variety of agricultural implements including ploughs, harrows, carts, and threshing machines which were then passed on to numerous Maori groups, irrespective of their loyalty to the Crown.³¹⁸ It is difficult to ascertain the extent to which government assistance aided Maori agricultural advancement beyond the confiscation line, but what seems evident is that some funding was available. Encouraging the reconstruction of mills, the planting of new crops, and the erection of a 'native store' suggests that the government was concerned that those areas of the North Island ravaged by war did not languish. A revitalisation of the agricultural (and later pastoral) economy, especially in locations of former boom such as the Upper Waikato would, in the long run, benefit the colonial economy as a whole.

The fear that the economy would falter was exacerbated by the failure of the military settlement exercise. For a number of reasons, large areas of land were left abandoned. In his *Pakeha Rambles through Maori Lands*, written in 1873, Lieutenant-Colonel St. John observed that:

There are to be found thousands of acres, formerly supporting a large population and producing corn in abundance, which have once more returned to a wild state. After confiscation they were allotted to military settlers, who sold them for mere songs to speculative buyers ... In the twenty or thirty miles ridden over really good country ... I do not remember having seen a dozen settlers.³¹⁹

St. John's statement alluded to another difficulty for the post-war agricultural economy: the mass movement of Maori fleeing warfare. While exact figures for those entering the district in the wake of the war are almost impossible to assess, partly because census enumerators were kept out of the district until 1886, it seems clear from anecdotal evidence that the population entering the Rohe Potae increased dramatically. Vincent O'Malley compiled statistics (by his own admission

³¹⁶ Paul Thomas, Wai 898 Mokau report (draft at the time of writing), commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, Chapter Six, p.29. The Hall Ministry took office in October 1879.

³¹⁷ RP Hargreaves, 'Maori Agriculture after the Wars', p.363.

³¹⁸ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 1875, p.155, also see RP Hargreaves, 'Maori Agriculture after the Wars', p.363.

³¹⁹ Quoted in LH Barber, *The View From Pirongia*, p.30.

not exact) suggesting that the inquiry district's population doubled as a result of a mass influx of war refugees from Waikato.³²⁰

The burden placed on the permanent resident population was considerable. Therefore, resurrecting an economy south of the aukati sufficient to feed the grossly increased population made the feat all the more remarkable. This is not to say, however, that all was plain sailing. There were food shortages caused by poor harvests in 1875 and 1876 which led to sickness and a number of deaths, and other periods where, according to newspaper reports, agricultural output in the district was negligible. The *Taranaki Herald* reported in March 1872 that:

Intelligence from the head-quarters of Maoridom, in Auckland, is to the effect that there is an almost entire failure of crops. The natives have sown for a second planting, but it is feared the yield will be small. Many anticipate great suffering amongst the Kingites during the ensuing winter from this cause, and as the supply of food is altogether inadequate to last through the season, unless it is augmented in some way, absolute starvation will not improbably be the result. Many of the natives have manifested a desire to obtain employment upon public works. Between 300 and 400 natives could be induced to take employment upon railway works.³²¹

Two years later the same journal reported that 'a great many natives are passing *en route* from Te Kuiti to Waiuku, for fishing. They report great destitution amongst the Kingites.'³²² In early 1881 the *Waikato Times* correspondent reporting from Alexandra (Pirongia), noted that:

...never was business at so great a standstill as at present since the foundation of the settlement. There is literally nothing doing in the stores and hotels ... I have only just returned from a trip to the King Country ... crops of all kind are very poor indeed, and general apprehensions are expressed as to where they would get food during the winter for their subsistence. At Hikurangi especially, where the bulk of their potato crop has been planted, a great proportion of the crop is rotten in the ground, caused, they say, by the unusually wet summer we have experienced. At Kopua reaping has commenced, and exceedingly light crops are only to be seen. As a rule, the natives here generally go in for better living than usual at harvest time, by additions of European food, purchased at the stores, to their usual rations. But this season there is nothing of the kind, as they have no money amongst them. This state of affairs is opening the eyes, however, of the

³²⁰ Vincent O'Malley, 'Te Rohe Potae District War and Raupatu' report, commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal December 2010, Wai 898 #A22, p.202. For further information on population growth and decline see pp.199-206.

³²¹ *Taranaki Herald*, 27 March 1872, p.3.

³²² *Taranaki Herald*, 21 October 1874, p.2.

great majority of them to the loss that they are sustaining through their isolating themselves from the pakeha.³²³

As with all groups engaged in agricultural production over a sustained period, Rohe Potae Maori were no more immune to economic growth and downturns than were Pakeha settlers moving into areas north of the confiscation line at an ever growing rate. Increasing Native Land Court activity immediately outside the Rohe Potae made it more likely that at some point the land might be opened up to European settlement. Until that point came, however, notwithstanding periods of poor harvests, food shortages, and the inevitable downturn in health, substantial trading and commercial advances were made.

Throughout the latter half of the 1870s newspapers reports commented on the vibrancy of economic activity both south and immediately north of the confiscation line. Aside from wheat, kumara and potato cultivation, the sale of pigs was also a commercial feature. While it is unclear whether this activity reached the sort of numbers Maori enjoyed pre-war, pig sales nevertheless were taking place at Raglan. It was reported that King supporters at Kawhia had sold upwards of fifty in one visit during the winter of 1873.³²⁴ Wheat, maize and oats production, too, was on the increase, exciting the storekeepers of Alexandra and elsewhere.³²⁵ 'Large quantities of maize, wheat, and oats' were arriving by river at Alexandra, for which Maori received five shillings for wheat, four shillings for maize, and three shillings for oats.³²⁶ It was recorded at the beginning of 1874 that 'there is no news from Kuiti. The natives are busy harvesting, and the crops are turning out well. They will have large quantities of wheat for sale.'³²⁷ The following month the *Waikato Times* reported that 'a number of natives are ... down with wheat for sale, and are receiving 6s per bushel.'³²⁸ Robert Bush's 1876 report on the state of affairs in and around Raglan and Kawhia recorded a noticeable upturn in production:

The crops throughout the district are more extensive, and have turned out better than they have for several years past. If the pernicious system of large gatherings amongst the Natives could be abolished, most tribes would have plenty for their own wants, and also some for the market. Hone te One has purchased a one-horse-power threshing machine at a cost of £36. It would be a good thing for the Native race if more men of rank like Hone displayed the same amount of industry in agricultural pursuits as he does.³²⁹

³²³ *Waikato Times*, 27 January 1881, p.2.

³²⁴ See *Waikato Times*, 17 May 1873, p.2, and 17 July 1873, p.2.

³²⁵ *Taranaki Herald*, 14 and 18 March 1874, p.2.

³²⁶ *Waikato Times*, 7 September 1876, p.2. It is assumed that these prices were per bushel.

³²⁷ *Taranaki Herald*, 21 January 1874, p.2.

³²⁸ *Waikato Times*, 14 February 1874, p.2.

³²⁹ Robert S Bush, Raglan to Native Minister, Wellington, 25 May 1878, no.10, G-1, AJHR 1878, p.9

To this point many newspaper reports concentrated on wheat production rather than the selling of flour; in fact, few references to milling have been sighted for this period. But from the mid-1870s onwards there was discussion about new mill construction. After a meeting held at Waitomo in September 1874, attendees proceeded to Kawhia to collect mill-stones for a flour mill to be erected at Te Kuiti.³³⁰ The *Waikato Times* reported

From everywhere we hear of increased activity in preparations made for agricultural enterprise made by the natives ... a very large breadth of wheat will be sown by the Ngati Te Kowhera natives at Tutu Tawa, whose chief has just ordered a six horse-power windmill and dressing machine from Mr Richardson, millwright of Cambridge. Mr Richardson's windmills, which may be seen in various parts of the district, used either for water lifting or driving power ... are very simple and easily managed and correspondingly cheap; and these advantages have not escaped our astute Maori neighbours. Produce is once more coming in freely from the native country above Alexandra, principally wheat and maize.³³¹

The same editorial issued a rebuke to the *Weekly Herald*, a rival periodical which suggested that trade was not as active as the *Waikato Times* had suggested. The latter newspaper stated that:

The up-country natives ... have recommenced the exportation of grain from the Maori King Country ... The truth is, our contemporary's semi-political semi-news gathering correspondent at Alexandra limits his vision to what goes on amongst only a section of the natives, the restless and discontented Waikatos, who are a leaven of mischief working amongst the Ngatimaniapoto and other more industrious tribes.³³²

In his 1875 report to the Native Minister, Robert Bush wrote from Raglan that 'The Kawhia and Mokau Natives have purchased one or two flour mills; others are applying to me to procure mills for them, all to be paid for by them. These people are at present engaged in gathering fungus, for which they receive twopence per pound. A great deal has already been shipped from here.'³³³ From the evidence sighted it can be argued that despite the privations brought about by the wars of the 1860s – the loss of prime agricultural land, the loss of men in battle, and the influx of refugees from north of the confiscation line to name three – considerable advances were made in agricultural and industrial output in what could loosely be termed 'the era of recovery'. Maori living both sides of the aukati in the northern reaches of the rohe suffered the exigencies of war in different ways, but it seems that those living south made

³³⁰ *Taranaki Herald*, 5 September 1874, p.2.

³³¹ *Waikato Times*, 7 September 1876, p.2.

³³² *Waikato Times*, 7 September 1876, p.2.

³³³ Robert S Bush, Government Interpreter, to Native Minister, Wellington, 5 May 1875, no.7, G-1, AJHR, 1875, p.9.

significant gains in revitalizing economies which two decades earlier had been so vibrant. Consequent to this were the improvements in health experienced by Rohe Potae Maori in comparison with Maori north of the confiscation line.

The health aspect is covered in Helen Robinson's health report for the Te Rohe Potae district inquiry, but it is worth noting here government officials' and contemporary newspaper reports which highlighted the advances made by many Maori during the 1870s and onwards. Within two years of the official imposition of the aukati in 1866 the *Daily Southern Cross* recorded that:

The King natives are thriving wonderfully. They are reported to be healthier, and the increase in the number of children is noteworthy. They are cultivating more extensively than formerly ... their men and women ... live longer than those natives who frequent our towns ...³³⁴

A decade later the *New Zealand Herald* recorded:

The difference between the Kingites and the Maoris that Europeans are accustomed to see is very marked. The men and women are healthy looking, while the number of children playing about, and of fine stout infants to be seen in the arms of their mothers, is remarkable. It is sad to think that those natives who have least to do with Europeans are in every respect the best of their race; but so it is.³³⁵

Sorrenson argued that the depopulations and outbreaks of sickness experienced in Maori communities was more a consequence of land alienation than it was to do with the wars.³³⁶ As a result, those living north of the Puniu, in the confiscated lands area, fared worse than those 'defeated' tribes south of the aukati, who eschewed contact with Europeans and, in particular, did not involve themselves with selling land to the European settlers. Land sales were confined to 'friendly' Maori territory in the North Island. It was these communities which decreased in size rapidly after the wars.³³⁷ Maori who refused to sell their land continued to fare better until they, too, began selling their land in the late 1880s.³³⁸

³³⁴ *Daily Southern Cross*, 22 February 1868, p.3.

³³⁵ *New Zealand Herald*, 9 May 1878, quoted in MPK Sorrenson, 'Land Purchase Methods and Their Effect on Maori Population', p.195.

³³⁶ MPK Sorrenson, 'Land Purchase Methods and Their Effect on Maori Population', p.184.

³³⁷ MPK Sorrenson, 'Land Purchase Methods and Their Effect on Maori Population', p.184. For population figures see p.193.

³³⁸ The *New Zealand Herald* of 3 May 1877 noted 'Before the Maoris could draw upon their lands as upon a bank for money they had a fair prospect of enduring. The last generation have simply been living on the proceeds of their land sales, and killing themselves off with easy got money. Only the Kingites, who are not gradually selling land and drinking the proceeds, are not rapidly decreasing in number.', quoted in Sorrenson, 'The Maori King Movement', p.51

In the meantime, social cohesion, gradual agricultural and economic progress, and relatively rude health further accentuated the differences between those north and south of the border. With an extensive border trade in progress, and regular visits north to attend agricultural shows or European race meetings, the social and economic dislocation endured north of the Puniu would have become known to King adherents in the Rohe Potae heartlands. King supporters were noted for their abstinence and lack of ‘demoralization that characterized neighbouring groups who were involved in land selling and in contact with European settlements.’³³⁹ As WG Mair’s 1878 annual report noted, ‘The “Kupapa” or “Friendlies” are still a long way behind the Hauhaus in prosperity; they do not appear to be better circumstanced than they were ten years ago.’³⁴⁰

It is evident that Maori were eager to trade with Pakeha in the post-war years, and the aukati was not going to dissuade them. In June 1876 a hui involving between 1,200 and 1,400 Maori took place at Mokau. The hosts included Wetere and Te Kooti. The scale was such that the *Taranaki Herald* was prompted to argue that such gatherings were economically unsustainable, an observation made elsewhere by Crown officials. Paul Thomas noted that the purpose of the hui was to strengthen relations not only with Taranaki Maori and Ngati Tama, but also to re-establish economic and personal ties with Pakeha. As a result, a number of settlers from New Plymouth and Urenui were invited. The newspaper reported that there was great eagerness on the part of Maori to engage Pakeha in the wheat and pig trade. The *Taranaki Herald* recorded that improved economic relations would benefit all: ‘This is the reason why the natives are anxious about the opening up of the river to trading vessels. With regular communication they would get better prices for such commodities they had to spare.’³⁴¹

In other locations progress appears to have been maintained throughout the early 1880s. The *Waikato Times* recorded that ‘The native cultivations on the Waipa, in the neighbourhood of Kopua, are pretty extensive this year, and the yield of all kinds is likely to be large ... The country about the Upper Waipa is looking extremely well just now. Numerous crops in the Alexandra district are very promising.’³⁴² There were also reports of forward planning for large-scale meetings. Again, the *Waikato Times* noted that Tawhiao, Rewi and Wahanui, with some 200 followers, had visited Alexandra with Major Mair. ‘Tawhiao’, it recorded, ‘is going in for cultivation near the settlement and several teams are busy at work. Mr J D Hill has given over his

³³⁹ Ann Parsonson, ‘The Pursuit of Mana’ in WH Oliver with BR Williams, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981, p.193.

³⁴⁰ WG Mair, Resident Magistrate, Waikato to Under-Secretary, Native Department, Wellington, 4 May 1878, G-1, no.7, AJHR, 1878, p.7.

³⁴¹ *Taranaki Herald*, 3 June 1876, p.2, quoted in Paul Thomas, Wai 898 Mokau report (draft at the time of writing), commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, Chapter Six, p.3.

³⁴² *Waikato Times*, 18 January 1881, p.2.

paddock here, which will be planted with potatoes. The old Pah, Mangapiko, will also be cropped to find food for the large meeting to be held here in April next.³⁴³

Production and trade were such that by 1884 there were calls for improved infrastructure in and around Kihikihi: 'The town board', the *Waikato Times* stated,

have interested themselves in getting up a petition to the Government to have a bridge erected over the Puniu river in the neighbourhood of Kihikihi. As the natives grow considerable areas of oats, maize, and wheat it will be readily understood that a bridge over this is an absolute necessity. At no point is there a bridge on the Puniu, and one somewhere in this neighbourhood is greatly needed. It would be a great convenience to the natives, and would most probably increase the business done here. At present when the river is flooded, pigs, cattle and any produce they may desire to sell must remain on their hands until the river is fordable, and as this town is growing importance I hope the Government will see their way clear to grant the prayer of the petition. The natives quite understand the great benefit they, in common with the pakehas, would derive from it, and are therefore greatly in favour of the scheme.³⁴⁴

One should not become carried away, however, with the extent to which the Rohe Potae revitalized its agricultural production and economic output during the two decades following the cessation of conflict. Although it is clear from the evidence presented that crop production and socio-economic progress may have been significantly more favourable than some commentators have suggested, it is highly doubtful that output reached anywhere close to their pre-war levels. The evidence presented suggests that the wars were not the deciding factor in the district's economic downturn, but merely one of several factors. That the district, under significantly more unfavourable conditions than those enjoyed in the 'boom years' of the mid-1840s and 1850s, managed to recover to a state ahead of mere subsistence levels is remarkable in itself. But this appears to have been unsustainable long-term as external pressures began to take their toll.

The industry that had provided Rohe Potae Maori with a substantial portion of their income – wheat – was, in this period, beginning to be grown in ever-increasing quantities elsewhere. There was a shift in Maori wheat production to other areas such as Hawke's Bay and, in particular, the East Coast and Eastern Bay of Plenty. In 1880 Opotiki Maori received over £4,000 income for their grain alone, and in 1886, almost ninety per cent of wheat grown by Maori was in this region.³⁴⁵ It also appears that Maori elsewhere were quick to embrace

³⁴³ *Waikato Times*, 6 October 1881, p.2.

³⁴⁴ *Waikato Times*, 31 July 1884, p.3.

³⁴⁵ RP Hargreaves, 'Maori Agriculture after the Wars (1871-1886)', pp.364-365.

pastoralism which realized healthy profits in a short space of time. Also, while only touched upon lightly in this report, the advent of steam shipping would have been unwelcome, or at least unattainable to many Maori. By the late 1870s steamships were transporting almost eighty per cent of coastal tonnage, severely limiting the schooner trade. In addition, the capital required to invest in steam shipping was far more than had been required for schooners. For example, Petrie noted that one steamship, the *William Denny* had cost £24,000 to procure, which required a subsidy of almost half that from the Auckland Province. ‘So’, she stated, ‘while Maori lacked the capacity to purchase their own steamships, they were nonetheless obliged to support their competitors through this subsidy.’³⁴⁶

Steamers such as the *Hannah Mokaui* were operating towards the end of the 1870s, and the *Go Ahead* was also operating in and out of Raglan at the same time. RT Vernon’s history of Raglan recorded that steam gradually replaced sail in the second half of the nineteenth century. Unloading and loading was a problem in the harbour as there was no deep water wharf. As a result, small ships would berth at the jetty and the goods transferred while the tide was high. Larger ships would anchor in the stream and be serviced by barges or small boats, until the long wharf was built in 1889.³⁴⁷ According to Belich coastal steamers first appeared in New Zealand in the 1850s and by 1870 there were sixty-one, averaging 100 tons, within a decade numbers had increased to 125 slightly larger ships. He noted that by the time of comprehensive returns in the early 1870s, there was in excess of a million tons of shipping entering and clearing New Zealand ports on an annual basis, and over the next quarter-century, coastal shipping volumes increased six-fold.³⁴⁸ While sailing ships were still important to coastal trade – their recorded numbers rose from 332 to 447 during the 1870s – Belich noted that coastal steamers were ‘disproportionately important because of their greater average speed and regularity.’³⁴⁹

To give some indication of their proliferation, steamers at this time provided two-thirds of the tonnage entering Auckland, and between seventy-seven and ninety-four per cent of tonnage entering Wellington, Lyttelton and Dunedin.³⁵⁰ It is difficult to ascertain, however, the number of steamers or the tonnage they carried into Rohe Potae ports. There are two points to consider here: if steamer trade with the rohe was minimal, the region’s economy would begin to suffer, especially given the growth in steamer numbers; secondly, if ownership of steamers became stifled as a result, and the short-lived operation of the *Hannah Mokaui* represented a high

³⁴⁶ Hazel Petrie, *Chiefs of Industry*, p.235.

³⁴⁷ RT Vernon, *Raglan*, p.20.

³⁴⁸ James Belich, *Making Peoples*, p.353.

³⁴⁹ James Belich, *Making Peoples*, p.353.

³⁵⁰ James Belich, *Making Peoples*, p.353.

point in Maori possession of this radical advance in trade and communication, the future would undoubtedly look bleaker.

End of the aukati

By the mid-1880s the aukati appeared to be in its final stages. The reasons for its demise are complex and fall outside the parameters of this report. That said, this report has highlighted that there was economic contact between Rohe Potae Maori and European traders throughout the post-war years despite the aukati being in place. The area may have been closed off to Government authority and control but this did not inhibit trade continuing and, in some areas, increasing. Throughout the 1870s there was considerable pressure from settlers to open up the district. Maori also saw the economic benefits of increased trade with settlers and the Government, in particular, through land leasing. Seeking new economic opportunities in this period was particularly important given the rapid decline, for example, in wheat production. Cathy Marr noted that leasing and developing land for ventures such as sheep farming was recognized as one way Maori could provide themselves with a sustainable income.³⁵¹

The Native Land Court by this period was operating on the fringes of the inquiry district. Kawhia, regarded by Bryce as ‘perhaps the best port on the West Coast of the North Island’ was slowly being opened up by 1883.³⁵² That year construction began on a road from the port to Alexandra; one consequence being the increased speed and efficiency with which Maori could transport their produce to market. Maori were told of the ‘mutual benefits’ that would ensue from further public works programmes being undertaken. By 1886 the Native Land Court was sitting at Kihikihi and later in Otorohanga³⁵³ While these developments to open up the Rohe Potae were taking place, trade continued. It is clear that the aukati presented definite challenges to the economic and social structures of Rohe Potae Maori, but the evidence sighted for this report suggests that Maori demonstrated an awareness of when to engage with or withdraw from commercial trading activity largely on their own terms. This ability to make such judicious decisions appears to have been an extension of the policy pursued by Maori when they first interacted with settlers, missionaries and traders half a century earlier.

³⁵¹ Cathy Marr, *The Alienation of Maori Land in the Rohe Potae (Aotea Block), 1840-1920*, Rangahaua Whanui Series, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 1996, p.9.

³⁵² John Bryce, Minister for Native Affairs, ‘The Opening of Kawhia Harbour’, 16 October 1883, AJHR, 1884, G-1, p.1.

³⁵³ Cathy Marr, *The Alienation of Maori Land in the Rohe Potae (Aotea Block), 1840-1920*, p.46.

Conclusion

The years from the mid-1860s onwards were years of recovery for Rohe Potae Maori. While recovery may not have been swift, Maori cultivations, refurbishing of flour mills, the purchase of farming machinery, and the purchase of schooners and then steamers all indicate a revival in the economy of the inquiry district.³⁵⁴ The imposition of the aukati proved no barrier to trade: commerce with Auckland resumed, not to the levels enjoyed pre-war, but they resumed nevertheless; and tribal leaders moved north towards the confiscation boundary to not only take advantage of the better soils, but to be closer to trading activity. Alan Ward noted that the hostelry and grain store erected by Waikato tribes at Onehunga in 1853 was again in use.³⁵⁵ The evidence consulted for this report points to a recovery that, given the devastating blow caused by the wars themselves, the subsequent confiscation of prime agricultural territory and the mass movement of refugees southwards into the Rohe Potae heartlands, seems quite remarkable.

Paul Thomas notes that the early 1870s were years of recovery for Mokau Maori. This period laid the foundation for the late 1870s and early 1880s, when Mokau Maori 'elevated their efforts to achieve productive ties with Europeans while safeguarding their lands and authority.'³⁵⁶ The same can be said for Maori living further north in the rohe. Maori had to demonstrate a fine balance between re-establishing trading relations or forging new trading links on the one hand, while still keeping Government officials and land speculators at a distance on the other. Evidence suggests that Rohe Potae Maori who did keep European contact and influence at a distance fared considerably better than their kin north of the confiscation boundary who had little choice. The Crown saw the benefit, as it had done in earlier years, to assist with subsidizing Maori commercial projects. McLean injected cash where mills were being refurbished, and the £400 Sheehan granted to Ngati Hikairo for the purchase of a coastal schooner indicates that Maori trade remained, albeit in a diminished role, an important feature of the colonial economy. And this is a point that needs to be considered: Maori economic advancement did not expand in the ways that many thought it should following the boom years of the 1840s and '50s, but it recovered sufficiently to be trading effectively by the mid-1870s.

³⁵⁴ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice*, p.265.

³⁵⁵ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice*, p.265.

³⁵⁶ Paul Thomas, Wai 898 Mokau report (draft at the time of writing), commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, Chapter Five, p.18.

Conclusion

The time period covered by this report – approximately the half century between the early 1830s and the mid-1880s – encompasses, undoubtedly, the period in which not only the Rohe Potae Maori commercial economy witnessed a considerable transformation, but so too the trading fortunes of New Zealand as a colony. The report commences with an account of early Maori-Pakeha trading relations centred around the coastal flax trade in and around the Kawhia settlement, and ends with a description of 1880s life where, despite major setbacks in the intervening years, some Maori communities had re-established trade and commercial activity by displaying fortitude, innovation and industriousness, qualities demonstrated when first dealing with European traders. This report has focused, where possible, on the key events, influential people, types of economic engagement, agricultural methods, modes of transport, collaboration and rivalry which made this period in Maori economic advancement so vibrant, industrious and dramatic.

The first commission question asked ‘What was the nature and extent of engagement by the hapu and iwi of Te Rohe Potae with the new settler economy from the arrival of Pakeha traders and missionaries in the 1820s and 1830s?’ This report has argued that though there was trade conducted with European traders prior to the late 1820s, this was minimal and sporadic. The Royal Navy’s desire for Maori-produced flax, and Maori early desire for firearms, transformed Kawhia into a centre for the flax industry. Forming relationships with Sydney-based traders had a number of consequences: it helped expand Maori horizons, not only in experiencing European-made goods, but by encouraging Maori to diversify in what they produced to attract further European trade; as trade developed it brought Maori into regular contact with European traders who, in a number of cases, at the behest of tribal leaders, settled within Maori communities; and European traders and Maori entrepreneurs alike found mutually beneficial reasons to seek new markets in the Rohe Potae interior bringing inland Maori and the North Island waterways of the Waipa and Waikato rivers into the trading equation. There is no evidence to suggest that, at this early stage in trading relations between Rohe Potae Maori and Pakeha, there was any formal relationship involving government authorities. This appeared to be a purely informal trading relationship in which goods were bought, sold and exchanged for the mutual benefit of both trading partners. And throughout this early period, the evidence sighted suggests that, apart from the work of church missionaries, it was very much a partnership on equal terms generally independent of external influences.

Question two of the commission asked ‘What commercial purposes did hapu and iwi of Te Rohe Potae put their land to before it was alienated through sale?’ This report has stated that

the work of the mission societies had an influential, positive effect on the region's commercial economy. Missionaries such as John Morgan (Otawhao), Cort Henry Schnackenberg (Mokau then Kawhia) and Gideon Smales (Aotea) all played a significant role in developing Maori agriculture, alongside spreading the Gospel among their respective parishes. Morgan's own district contained 2,500 Maori, 1,100 of whom lived near Otawhao and Rangiaohia. From here Morgan assisted Maori in developing land, planting new cultivations, preparing articles for sale at market, and raising funds to erect flourmills, as well as the many other services he provided. It was in this period that the district's agricultural output increased markedly. Smales assisted Maori with the erection of the district's first flour mill in 1845. Though short-lived, this mill signalled the first of many erected in the district over the following decade and a half. The proliferation of mills, in particular in the Upper Waikato district, transformed the area. According to a number of travelling observers, settlements took on the air of the English country village with Maori each tending their own plots of land for their individual as well as communal good. While European traders' and missionary support was highly effective in promoting the agricultural economy, it was Maori themselves who did most to generate their own trade and socio-economic advancement.

Question three of the commission asked 'How was economic activity managed and organised? Were new forms of commercial activity compatible with traditional forms of political economy? Were new industries organised under 'traditional' hapu or iwi authority, or along the same lines as Pakeha enterprise or as hybrids of different models?' It has not been possible to ascertain, with any degree of certainty, how Maori participation in the new industries of flax milling, flour milling, extensive crop cultivation, and coastal schooner operations was organized and how profits from these industries were distributed. It seems clear from newspaper reports, Morgan's correspondence with Grey, and the former's correspondence with the CMS in London that these industries still fell under the mana of chiefly authority. The sources note tribal chiefs' ownership of coastal vessels, and their names appeared in newspapers when mills were being erected or when discussions were taking place regarding inter-tribal collaborations. What is less clear, however, is how new-found material wealth was distributed throughout hapu and iwi. There has been no evidence sighted which gives clear indication as to how and when this was done.

In terms of economic structure, more can be said. It has been noted that to the point of the mid-1850s Maori competed 'favourably with settlers from their secure economic base: they controlled their land and resources, and worked as a productive labour force based on kinship

and collectivity.³⁵⁷ This may be true, but there were also Maori in and around Rangioahia and Otawhao who were embracing the individual land use system encouraged by Morgan. The extent to which this was done independently of communal tenure is open to interpretation but it seems that two different models – an individual system of cultivation and a traditional Maori system – did run parallel in some form with each other successfully for a considerable time. Paul Moon noted that ‘...Maori had developed their own economic infrastructure, which, in addressing the basic economic problems of what, how, and for whom to produce, was as advanced as any other system ever has been.’³⁵⁸ Moon noted that this emerging flexible Maori economic structure provided valuable – even life sustaining – assistance to the early settlers, and in the specific case of Rohe Potae Maori, settlers in Auckland. It is clear that wealth was being accumulated in the district through wheat production, milling, pig sales, potato crops etc. However, this wealth precipitated a move to a monied society which, Moon argued, went a considerable way towards breaking up the traditional patterns of Maori social and economic organisation.³⁵⁹ This is one interpretation, but another should be considered. From the evidence sighted it appears that Maori within the Te Rohe Potae inquiry district possessed the necessary flexibility to incorporate both the unavoidable changes to their economic frameworks brought about by a rapid increase in production, as well as adapting to the ‘monied society’ to which Moon referred. Neither, it could be argued, appeared to contribute, at least in the years covered by this report, to the decline of traditional social and economic patterns.

Question four of the commission asked ‘To what extent did the wars affect commercial activity in the short and longer terms?’ The effects of the wars and the subsequent confiscation had a considerable effect on the inquiry district. This report has highlighted that concern was raised by individuals like John Morgan that Maori were, in some instances, moving away from their cultivations as political events of the late 1850s and early 1860s took over. News of war in Taranaki had a detrimental effect on the economic relationship fostered between Rohe Potae Maori and European settlers and traders. Accusations that Maori producers were being systematically undercut increased suspicion which did little to aid general relations. The destruction and confiscation during the Waikato Wars of previously profitable areas like Otawhao, Rangioahia and Kihikihi had a widespread effect on the Te Rohe Potae economy. This was compounded by the passing of the New Zealand Settlements Act of December 1863 which stripped Maori of these and other previously economically profitable territories. It can be argued

³⁵⁷ Mitzi Nairn, *Maori Economic Prospects*, p.9. See Supporting Document 31.

³⁵⁸ Paul Moon, *Maori Social and Economic History to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Auckland: Huia Publishing, 1993, pp.87-89.

³⁵⁹ Paul Moon, *Maori Social and Economic History to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, p.89.

that by suffering such losses Maori would be in no position post-war to resurrect anything close to the boisterous economy the region had experienced previously.

It is evident that the war's destructive nature had a devastating effect on the local communities and economy. However, in response to commission question seven, 'What other factors affected the economy of the region in this period?', this report has shown that there was a downturn in the Maori economy in the late 1850s which was exacerbated by the outbreak of armed conflict in the region. From the mid-1850s wheat and other commodity prices began to fall which led, according to reports, to Maori harbouring their produce and refusing to accept the lower prices that were being realized. As a result, production began to decline which coincided with increased competition from elsewhere, in particular, the Bay of Plenty and, later, Canterbury. This report has indicated there was a considerable increase in wheat imports into the inquiry district from the early 1860s onwards a sign that, it could be contended, production and economic prosperity were in decline. From this point the economic position Maori had attained during the 'Golden Age of Prosperity' began to diminish.

A number of further reasons have been posited for why this was the case: an increase in European settler numbers, the marked decline of the Australian market as agriculturalists there began to produce in substantial quantities, and a significant fall in wheat prices form one cluster of reasons. European farmers had, by this stage, taken on a more assertive role in producing and supplying cereals and other agricultural produce. This report has also considered the point that Maori were reluctant to use fertilizers on their land; they suffered from not resting the land, or at the least did not rotate crops to gain maximum efficiency from the soil. Where this was the case then it is probable that these practices contributed to the suspected downturn in quality of Maori produce, in particular wheat and potato supplies. One visible consequence was wheat, which had, in the boom years, formed the staple diet of many Maori, was replaced by fern root and maize. Orchards also allegedly suffered from neglect prior to, during and initially after the wars had ravaged much of the agriculturally productive areas of the district. While this was serious enough a concern in itself, there were other factors to consider: there was increased pressure from European settlers to obtain more land, a perceived lack of government control, and growing suspicion of European intentions which were exacerbated by rising tensions elsewhere in the North Island. The English village scene so commented on by successive European travellers was replaced by vistas of decaying machinery, exhausted land and deserted settlements.

This is what makes the region's subsequent economic history of particular interest. Those Maori engaged with the agricultural economy in the 1840s and 1850s had acquired the technical skills which, when combined with the need to continue feeding not only their own

people, but also to provide for an increased refugee population brought about by the war, made possible the remarkable post-war recovery. The confiscation of prime agricultural lands had a considerable effect on Maori. However, Maori industriousness, resilience, ingenuity and willingness to diversify and experiment with different crops, such as tobacco and hops, highlight the extent to which Rohe Potae Maori went to protect and develop what they had retained in the post-war carve-up. As stated in earlier chapters, the inquiry district's economic output may not have reached the levels enjoyed in the boom years, but production was such that a surplus was created inside the aukati with which Maori could trade.

Question six of the commission asked 'What can be said about the extent of commercial Maori economic activity in the district during the period of the aukati? What can be said about the role of the Kingitanga and of tribal leaders in relation to particular types of economic activity?' This report has highlighted that the aukati, which was officially imposed in 1866, presented little obstacle as farmers, traders, entrepreneurs and tribal chiefs sought new business ventures in the post-war world. The aukati was porous with tribal chiefs moving their cultivations and their bases up close to the confiscation line to take full advantage of rejuvenated trading opportunities. It seems clear from the evidence consulted that Maori economic authority was primarily invested in the tribal chiefs just as it had been prior to the wars. The Kingitanga and chiefly authority was central to the development of post-war economic activity, was crucial to re-establishing trading links with Europeans, and deterred Maori from engaging in trade perceived to be detrimental to the economic and social rejuvenation of the region.

A key feature of the role of the Kingitanga post-war is the manner in which it was able to keep European influence at arm's length during the 1860s and 1870s. In doing so Kingitanga influence not only gave Maori behind the aukati a level of autonomy and control not experienced north of the confiscation line, it also appears to have made a difference in the health and social welfare of the people under its authority. Keith Sorrensen, Ian Pool and Keith Sinclair all argued that Maori living within the aukati were among the healthiest and most economically successful of their era. This conclusion is borne out in the research conducted for this report. Controlled engagement with Europeans and, most importantly, the retention of traditional lands, were primary factors in why Rohe Potae Maori fared considerably better than did their kin living north of the confiscation line in areas which were characterized by excessive land confiscation, military settlement and growing European immigration.

Question five of the commission asked 'To what extent were any other obstacles to economic development a result of Crown actions or omissions?' This report has discussed the Crown's involvement with the Maori agricultural economy. No evidence has been sighted that

suggests the Crown had any involvement in either the early years of Maori-Pakeha coastal trade or when it moved inland to explore river-borne trading possibilities. However, it appears that the Crown did begin to invest in the agricultural development of the inquiry district by the latter half of the 1840s. George Grey's so-called 'sugar and flour' policy assisted Maori in obtaining loans to purchase coastal schooners, and provided gifts of agricultural implements and livestock to generate a rural economy, not just for sustenance purposes but also to create enough produce with which to trade. But given the early development of the colony, this should not be too surprising. The development of Auckland as a site for European settlement was rapid. The growing population soon depended on Maori produce to feed it. The bulk of these goods were provided by the Rohe Potae river canoe and coastal schooner trade which also developed rapidly as a result. Grey appeared to possess a genuine interest in the development of the inquiry district and his correspondence with Earl Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, illustrated his commitment to strategically assist key Maori personnel where he could.

As stated in Chapter One, the 1852 Constitution Act made provision in the Civil List budget for an annual grant of £7,000 to be set aside for Maori purposes. Aside from funding a number of programmes including education and health, the fund also allowed Grey and Gore Browne to administer gifts of seeds, agricultural equipment and livestock; it provided funds to support the running of mills, the paying of debts, and loans to Maori for the purchase of equipment or transport. The aim was to stimulate the Maori agricultural economy which would serve the colony as a whole. While no evidence has been sighted that suggests that Maori traders and agriculturalists did not welcome these gifts, it should be remembered that the 'Civil List for Native Purposes' appeared to be, as Bishop Selwyn recorded, an 'estimated portion of the Public revenue presumed to be contributed by the Natives themselves.'³⁶⁰ Governor Gore Browne stated in 1860 that Maori contributed over half of the colony's revenue;³⁶¹ bearing in mind also that Maori agricultural production was crucial to the development and settlement of the North Island economy, one could argue, in this context, that an annual grant of £7,000, of which only a proportion was set aside for Maori commercial activity, may have been less than should have otherwise been provided.

Nevertheless, it may have been assumed that in the aftermath of the wars, and with the aukati in place, the Crown would have withdrawn all financial and material support which previously encouraged Maori trade and commerce in the inquiry district. As it transpired, there was a resumption of a policy similar to that operated by Grey in the 1840s and '50s. As outlined

³⁶⁰ Cited in Donald Loveridge, 'Maori Lands and British Colonization 1840-1865 A Preliminary Analysis', report commissioned by the Crown Law Office, May 2001, Wai 903 #A86, p.37.

³⁶¹ Thomas Gore Browne Memorandum, 31 May 1856, encl.1 in Despatch 56, BPP 1860, p.228.

in earlier chapters, government assistance was forthcoming in a number of areas: wheat, oats and grass seeds were provided; fences were erected; Native Minister McLean provided financial assistance where mills, north and south of the confiscation line, were in the process of being repaired by Maori; a 'native store' was built at Alexandra; the 1874-1875 financial year saw the government spend £774 on a range of agricultural implements for a number of Maori groups; Ngati Hikairo chief, Hone Te One, was granted a considerable sum of money, £400, in order to purchase a schooner to trade between the Rohe Potae coast and Auckland; and the Crown also paid off the £864 debts accrued by the owners of the coastal steamer *Hannah Mokaui*. But it was not just with financial incentive that the Crown worked in partnership with Maori. There were many instances where Maori-European relations ran far from smoothly but, early in their relationship, Crown officials did ensure that Maori were not duped by unscrupulous prospectors. Takerei was deceived over his attempted purchase of the *Hydrus* yet it was on Governor FitzRoy's orders that the absconder was apprehended and restitution made. Likewise, the courts swung into action when Maori were 'fleeced' by the millwright McMullen over the non-erection of their mill.

While this report has highlighted to some extent the level of government involvement with Maori, it has not been possible to ascertain the degree to which there were informal leasing arrangements and agricultural joint ventures between Maori and Pakeha prior to the 1883 legislation which formally restricted such arrangements.

As mentioned at the outset, the aim of this report was to gain a greater understanding of the agricultural economy of the inquiry district from the 1830s to the mid-1880s and the final days before the Native Land Court arrived. It has examined the early contact between coastal and inland Rohe Potae Maori with European traders. It has charted the development of this trade from an early sporadic one based on bartering and exchange through to a more formal one as the canoe and schooner trade fed the growing population of Auckland. Maori production and trading developed significantly throughout the 1850s as further markets were found in Australia, California and South America. It has explained that, for a variety of reasons, output and profits began to diminish as war loomed. The war, of course, had a devastating effect on the region, but this report has argued that the economy was in decline well before military action intervened. It has also explained that there was a definite recovery from the late 1860s onwards. This may have not been anything close to what the inquiry district had enjoyed in earlier years, but it was, nevertheless, quite remarkable. The Kingitanga was effective in limiting European influence which, the report has claimed, was to the betterment of those living within the aukati. Finally,

evidence has suggested that the aukati, rather than being some form of Maori 'Iron Curtain' did not, in reality, hinder trade or contact with Europeans when it suited the King Movement.

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Appendix

Subscribers to Ngati Hikairo mill at Kawhia, February 1855, from *Maori Messenger*, 1 February 1855, pp.11-12.

Thomson 10s; Koka 10s; Roka 10s; Te Kenu 10s; Areta 10s; Metiria £2;
Marsden 10s; Rahera 10s; Pene 10s; Rapena 10s; Muirama 10s; Thomson 10s;
Rana 10s; Matthew £1; Ann Ngatiti £1; Kaitagata 10s; Tarati 5s; John Mapi 5s;
Mary 5s; Betsy 2s 6d; Ruth 2s 6d; Poharama 10s; Maiiri 10s; Tame Hape 10s;
Walter £1; Timon 10s; Marara £1; James 10s; Te Patu £1; Rangitoa £1;
Rohikua £1; Reweni 10s; Grace 10s; Malachi £1; Lavina £1; Lavinia; 10s;
Hero 10s; Te Karora 10; Brown 10s; Cotton 10s; Sophia 10s; Crook 5s;
Mary Paia 5s; Thomas 5s; Jane 5s; Huhana £1; Cook £1; John Rerea 10s;
Jemima 10s; Rona £1; McClean £1; Hamlin £1; McLean £2; Mary Tawa £1;
Ngawari £1; Kapere £1; Reuben 10s; Miriam 5s; Heperi 5s; Te Mapi £2;
Abraham 10s; Heta 10s; Hamlin £1; Elizabeth £1; Marsh £1; Ann Turner £1;
White £1; Grace £2; Street £2; Ann Raihe £1; Koia £1; Miss Selena £1;
Mary Ann £1; Totama £1; Perfume £1; Reuben £1; John Kongi 10s; Walker 10s;
Wellington £2; Rera £2; Rena £1; Joseph 10s; Havrit 10s; Jowett £2;
Keuma 10s; Henry 10s; John £1; Mary Paia £1; Broughten £1; Ripona £1;
Kipa 10s; Tamakawe 10s; William Ninen £1; Priscilla £1; Smith £1; Samuel £1;
Reka 10s; Hill 10s; Peter £1; Thomson £1; Ngaponu 10s; Wera 10s; Miss Newman 10s;
Ngatihikairo tribe under Makuare, William, Kana, Thomson, and Mary Anne £34;
Matenui tribe under Woon White and John Bumby £7 7s;
The Ngatitiaroha under John Te Aue and Bumby £15;
To the memory of Ngapeke and Thomson £3 15s 6d;
Ngatiwai tapu, and Ngatimaniapoto £7;
Turner £2; Reuben £2; Sarah Para 16s; Marian 4s; Mary Porter £1; and Miss Selena 2s 6d.
Total £162 8s

Commission



Wai 898, # 2.3.49

WAITANGI TRIBUNAL

CONCERNING the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

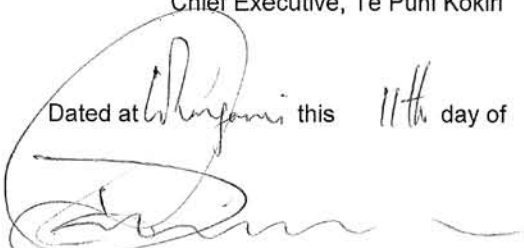
AND the Te Rohe Pōtae District Inquiry

DIRECTION COMMISSIONING RESEARCH

1. Pursuant to clause 5A of the second schedule of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, the Tribunal commissions Dr Andrew Francis, a member of the Tribunal's staff, to prepare a research report on the mid-nineteenth commercial economy of Māori of the Te Rohe Pōtae district for the Te Rohe Pōtae district inquiry. The purpose of this project is to provide an analysis of the commercial activities which evolved in the district during the period of effective Māori political control before the substantial arrival of the institutions of state from the 1880s. Activities to examine should include agriculture for market, milling, flax, and transport. It should address the following matters:
 - a) What was the nature and extent of engagement by the hapū and iwi of Te Rohe Pōtae with the new settler economy from the arrival of Pākehā traders and missionaries in the 1820s and 1830s?
 - b) What commercial purposes did hapū and iwi of Te Rohe Pōtae put their land to before it was alienated through sale?
 - c) How was economic activity managed and organised? Were new forms of commercial activity compatible with traditional forms of political economy? Were new industries organised under 'traditional' hapū or iwi authority or along the same lines as Pākehā enterprise or as hybrids of different models?
 - d) To what extent did the wars affect commercial activity in the short and longer terms?
 - e) To what extent were any other obstacles to economic development a result of Crown actions or omissions?
 - f) What can be said about the extent of commercial Māori economic activity in the district during the period of the aukati? What can be said about the role of the Kingitanga and of tribal leaders in this period in relation to particular types of economic activity?
 - g) What other factors affected the economy of the region in the period?
2. The researcher will consult with affected claimant groups to determine what issues they consider to be of particular significance to their claims in respect of the above matters and to access such relevant oral and documentary information as they wish to make available.

3. The commission commenced on 17 May 2010. A complete draft of the report is to be submitted by 29 November 2010 and will be circulated to claimants and the Crown for comment.
4. The commission ends on 18 February 2011, at which time one copy of the final report must be submitted for filing in unbound form. An electronic copy of the report should also be provided in Word or Adobe Acrobat format. Indexed copies of any supporting documents or transcripts are also to be provided as soon as it is practicable after the final report is filed. The report and any subsequent evidential material based on it must be filed through the Registrar.
5. At the discretion of the Presiding Officer the commission may be extended if one or more of the following conditions apply:
 - a) the terms of the commission are changed so as to increase the scope of work;
 - b) more time is required for completing one or more project components owing to unforeseeable circumstances, such as illness or denial of access to primary sources;
 - c) the Presiding Officer directs that the services of the commissionee be temporarily reassigned to a higher priority task for the inquiry;
 - d) the commissionee is required to prepare for and/or give evidence in another inquiry during the commission period.
6. The report may be received as evidence and the author may be cross-examined on it.
7. The Registrar is to send copies of this direction to:
 - Dr Andrew Francis
 - Claimant counsel and unrepresented claimants in the Te Rohe Pōtae district inquiry
 - Chief Historian, Waitangi Tribunal
 - Manager - Research/Report Writing Services, Waitangi Tribunal
 - Inquiry Facilitators, Waitangi Tribunal
 - Solicitor-General, Crown Law Office
 - Director, Office of Treaty Settlements
 - Chief Executive, Crown Forestry Rental Trust
 - Chief Executive, Te Puni Kōkiri

Dated at Whangarei this 11th day of October 2010.



Judge D J Ambler
Presiding Officer

WAITANGI TRIBUNAL