

Bitter Recollections?

THOMAS CHAPMAN AND BENJAMIN ASHWELL ON MĀORI FLOURMILLS AND SHIPS IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY



ALTHOUGH IT IS WIDELY RECOGNIZED that Māori invested heavily in flourmills and trading ships during the mid-nineteenth century, these enterprises, like other aspects of Māori commercial enterprise, have received little serious attention. The result has been a tendency to apply a limited range of characterizations which trivialize the phenomenon and discourage closer examination. These characterizations, which are inter-related, have three main aspects. First, that Māori purchased ships and flourmills for reasons of mana in the sense of status symbols, so that more were purchased than was economically prudent. Because these items were symbols of prestige, a second characterization has been made: that inter-hapū rivalry ruled out co-operation in their purchase. Thirdly, it has been argued that Māori were driven by a love of novelty; consequently ship and flourmill purchases represented fevers, rages, or manias and, as such, were neither well-considered nor well-maintained.

Among the implications of these judgments is that being mere 'fads' or driven by non-economic motives, Māori ships and flourmills were not, or were unlikely to have been, viable investments. Yet, there are strong arguments that they were, in most cases, economically prudent undertakings given the circumstances of the time, driven by considerations of economic and material benefit rather than competition for status or a desire for novelty. Despite frequent statements that inter-hapū rivalry ruled out co-operation in their purchase, many of these assets were either owned or contributed to in some way by more than one hapū. Where there is evidence of contribution between groups, it seems to have been related to whose ship or mill was more productive rather than how many a particular group owned or how big the mills and ships were.

So where do the negative characterizations originate and is there is any substantive evidence to support them? This essay will argue that they are based very largely on a limited number of statements by two Anglican missionaries: Benjamin Ashwell and Thomas Chapman. A few key quotations appear to have had a strong influence on the historiography of nineteenth-century Māori commercial enterprise and are worth quoting as a starting point for a reconsideration of the influence of economic motives in Māori investment in flourmills and trading ships:

Tribes have scraped flax and fatted pigs for perhaps two years, to purchase a patched up vessel, which has soon become unserviceable or sooner wrecked.¹

It is characteristic that the New Zealander will for a time devote his energies to anything which may strike his fancy. Ships. Flour Mills, etc. were for a season quite the rage.

Each little petty Tribe must have a Mill. Even now it is very much the case. Two good Mills would grind all the Wheat on the Waipa and Waikato rivers and there are now Six already erected and another to be built in a few months.²

The little party inland of this place — Tumuika — or Pukemaire — are collecting money for one there — when the eighth of the time of a mill, would grind more wheat than they will ever grow.³

and:

The Pukemaire folks are determined to have a Mill also. I have tried to persuade them to join the natives of Otamarora [Matatā] — but, Nohea [no chance]! Stupid fellows — really they are strange folks. Why one Mill would grind four times the Wheat all of them together will ever grow.⁴

Some historians have quoted Ashwell or Chapman directly. Don Stafford, for example, wrote that:

The flour mills were never utilised, however, to anything approaching their full potential. Thomas Chapman had remarked . . . that a single mill would be more than adequate to grind all the wheat that was likely to be grown. There is little doubt that a flour mill had become something of a status symbol and most of the tribes aspired to own one.⁵

Anton van der Wouden recounted that:

In 1859 the Rev. Thomas Chapman attempted to get the natives at Te Umuhika and Matatā to build a jointly-owned mill, but tribal feeling prevented this.⁶

And Philip Andrews appears to have melded quotations from Ashwell and Chapman:

Buying a coastal vessel for trading became fashionable. This could involve up to two years of scraping flax and fattening pigs to purchase a patched-up vessel which soon became unserviceable, if not wrecked.⁷

A combination of these sources also occurs in Ann Parsonson's chapter in the first edition of *The Oxford History of New Zealand*. Her remark that 'the flour-mill fever which began in the late 1840s seemed vivid evidence of the deliberate dissipation of hapu wealth', continued: "Each little petty Tribe must have a Mill . . ." the missionary Benjamin Ashwell wrote in 1859. "Two good Mills would grind all the Wheat on the Waipa and Waikato rivers and there are now Six already erected . . ." And at Rotorua the Tarawera river people had plans for a mill so large that Thomas Chapman was "quite sure that a mill one-eighth the size of the one they intend building would grind more wheat than they are ever likely to grow".⁸

A number of other similar remarks, while not necessarily referenced, have also left a trail that appears to lead back to Chapman and Ashwell. For example, in 2001, Gavin McLean referred to the 'schooner mania, as Monin calls it' becoming 'an extension of traditional inter-hapu rivalry'.⁹ Paul Monin, on the

other hand, quoted from James Belich to argue that ‘large capital assets were . . . especially important as currencies of rivalry between chiefs and groups’, before adding that ‘Schooners were 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 ‘[t]he speed with which the Maori passion for schooners spread from Auckland to the East Coast amounted to a fever’.¹⁰ Although the remark concerning ‘successive fashions or minor currencies of rivalry’ is not referenced in Monin’s source, *Making Peoples*, a comment concerning Pākehā being ‘the new currency in an old game’ in Belich’s contribution to *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand* appears to have derived from Parsonson’s ‘The Pursuit of Mana’.¹¹ As already noted, Ashwell and Chapman were Parsonson’s key sources for these points so their opinions appear to have gained strength with each reworking.

It is true that mana, or spiritual authority and power, was the fundamental basis of chiefly leadership in Māori society. Because they represented the most direct lines of descent from the ancestor gods, first-born children typically succeeded to leadership, but effective leadership could pass to a junior sibling if the first-born lacked the appropriate attributes. Mana, therefore, could be inherited or acquired through achievement.¹² At its most pragmatic level, mana is about the control of resources. The distribution of wealth was essential to gaining and maintaining mana but also — on the basis of utu or reciprocity — to creating obligations, a credit balance that could be cashed in at a later date.

The ability to provide ample food supplies was also a fundamental underpinning of mana, intimately connected with their liberal distribution within the group as well as through manaakitanga or the provision of hospitality. Entertaining guests lavishly was a matter of pride and prestige for the host group, recipients of such largesse being motivated by recognition of the chief’s high rank as well as the desire to gain favour and elevate their own mana, to respond with abundant counter-gifts of food. This in turn enabled the chief to extend still greater hospitality and ensured that both internal and external cycles of reciprocity were continuous. These principles continued to be applied after European contact in the context of Māori alliance-building with the British. Māori leaders went to great lengths to secure supplies of superior food to offer early missionaries and other Pākehā who were granted the status of honoured guests. Obligations of manaakitanga towards Pākehā more generally following the Treaty of Waitangi may also have lain behind Māori wheat cultivation and flour production. The ability to supply settlers with their staple food — and one to which contemporary Christian teachings imputed considerable connotations of sanctity — would be in line with the exercise of mana and hospitality.¹³

Status, wealth and political power were co-dependent. So, if mana in Māori society was related to the distribution of wealth and Māori were benefiting materially from their investment in ships and flourmills — which they appear to have been until at least 1855 — there must be a logical connection. Neither consumption nor distribution of wealth could take place unless that wealth had first been accumulated and the acquisition of mere symbols, lacking the power

to increase wealth, would be counterproductive. Hori Haupapa's message to Ngāti Whakaue appears to have been typical: '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'.¹⁴

The evidence indicates that Māori investment in flourmills and trading ships was intended to produce wealth — in terms of a reliable food supply as well as cash or goods, but also, simultaneously, to build mana: not only within Māori society, but, perhaps just as importantly during the two or three decades following the signing of the Treaty, with government and the settler community, who were rapidly gaining political strength. As producers of the staple food in the Pākehā (and, increasingly, the Māori) diet, and as operators of the principal means of communication and foremost contributors to the customs' revenue (leaving aside revenue derived from land sales), Māori could well have expected to gain mana with Pākehā as well as their own material betterment.

Wheat was being grown in many areas by the early 1840s, but although small steel handmills were widely used to produce flour for domestic consumption they were labour intensive, and many communities found them uneconomic for processing wheat on a large scale. Richard Taylor reported from Pipiriki in 1848 that: 'Hori Patene & Hamuera took me to see a spot on the other side of the river which they thought was suitable for a mill which they are most anxious to have, finding already how tedious the steel [hand]mills are'.¹⁵

Handmills also posed maintenance problems. The construction of water-powered flourmills not only improved efficiency but also ameliorated the considerable transportation problems faced by inland and west coast communities while overland communications remained undeveloped. Processing wheat locally added to the value of surplus production and reduced its bulk for conveying to the new towns for sale. Moreover, the mechanical problems that arose could usually be dealt with on site by the miller.

As to claims that the competitive nature of Māori society ruled out inter-hapū co-operation, there is ample evidence of co-operation in the acquisition of both flourmills and sailing ships. Some of these assets were financed by the sale of land and a proportion of the capital was often raised by government loan. However, funds for their purchase were sometimes raised by a system referred to as 'similar to a joint stock company' or, in other instances, by subscription. Contributions from several hapū and often several iwi appear to have been a usual circumstance under either system.

One early flourmill project at Ōtaki was funded by the 'joint stock company' system, the £300 cost being made up of 30, £10 shares. According to Lieutenant McKillop, the greatest number held by one individual was three shares and although some held two, the great majority of shareholders held single shares. Some of these, held in the name of individuals, were nonetheless 'subscribed for by the hapus, or subdivisions of tribes of which they [were] chiefs'.¹⁶ Where the subscription system was used, it appears to have been common practice to record the details of each contribution. A published list of subscribers for a Ngāti Hikairo mill at Kāwhia records contributions from individuals and other tribal groups including Ngāti Waitapu, Ngāti Matenui, Ngātitiaroa [sic], and Ngāti Maniapoto.¹⁷

Māori Land Court minutes provide further evidence that hapū combined their efforts and that contributions, participation and proprietary rights were negotiated with regard to each new project. Kamariera Heretaunga, who was sent to Auckland in 1858 to purchase millstones on behalf of Ngāti Huri, Ngāti Kapu and Ngāti Hineone, recounted that all ‘the Ngati Raukawa hapus were coming to build a mill at Waotu’.¹⁸ Another mill at Otorohanga, managed by a member of Ngāti Uekaha and Ngāti Pakau, involved other Ngāti Maniapoto hapū including Ngāti Hinewai, Ngāti Rungaterangi, Ngāti Kinohaku, Ngāti Rereahu and Ngāti Rora.¹⁹ Missionary writings record that Anglicans, Wesleyans and Roman Catholics united to erect a mill at Rangiaowhia, people from Waikawa and Ōhau had an interest in the Catholic mill at Ōtaki, and a party of 200 people from Kāwhia and Aotea helped cut water courses for the mill at Rangiaowhia.²⁰ These and many other examples make it quite clear that flourmills were jointly-owned and supported by different hapū, different religious denominations and groups from different locations. But Richard Taylor’s remark that he visited different ‘encampments of the natives’ before going to see the Pipiriki mill in the Whanganui area indicates that, although they combined their resources, such groups preferred to retain their separate identities and autonomy.²¹ In other words, the evidence indicates that independent groups did not feel that their mana was compromised by this type of co-operation. Moreover, as hapū co-operated in the financing and building of mills, so they co-operated in their use. When Taylor visited the Kawana Kerei mill in 1857, he found it grinding wheat for a hui at Pipiriki as the mill dam there had been carried away by flooding.²² Similarly, with regard to a dispute over the Pāpāwai mill, a witness to the Native Land Court in 1888 claimed that Ngāti Kahui had not objected to Ngāti Patehika building a mill there because it was ‘for the general benefit of all the people living in the Wairarapa’.²³

In 1849, the *New Zealand Spectator and Cook Strait Guardian* reported that the funds for Ngāti Maniapoto’s planned flourmill at Mohoao-nui had been raised by a general contribution, ‘to which each hapu supplied its quota’ and that one chief had contributed £7.²⁴ Larger contributions from those in positions of leadership might be expected according to customary practice, but there is also evidence of consultation between hapū concerning the degree of their contributions to such collective investments. The missionary Seymour Spencer assured George Grey that his ‘timely letters’ had renewed the enthusiasm of the people of Tarawera with regard to building a mill and that two of their principal chiefs had visited settlements on other small lakes in the vicinity to ascertain what share they would take in the work.²⁵ Contributions of labour, building materials, marketable produce and cash were a means of reinforcing existing or forming new alliances on a basis of reciprocal obligation; participation was negotiated on a basis of community consensus.

Evidence for co-operative ownership of trading vessels, while not absent, is comparatively scarce. This may relate to the nature of the sources because missionaries, whose writings have provided considerable detail about flourmills, were less involved in ship purchases, and because wheat cultivation was more relevant to Native Land Court cases. On the other hand, it may indicate that joint-ownership of vessels by several communities was less viable, given

that their purpose was to provide convenient transportation from the point of production. Monty Soutar recounts that Ngāti Porou hapū combined in the purchase and use of trading ships and Judith Binney's research concerning the life of Te Kooti reveals at least one example of co-operative ownership involving Ngāti Porou and Rongowhākāta. Ngāti Porou's Waaka Puakanga was involved in running the schooner *Adah* together with Te Kooti and Rāharuhi Rukupō of Rongowhākāta.²⁶ The 20-ton schooner *Mereana*, on the other hand, was owned and operated by the people of Horoera in the East Cape area and ownership by district might be inferred from the names of some other mid-nineteenth-century schooners: *Kororareka*, *Marae Nui*, *Ihi Keepa* (East Cape), *Whakatane*, *Queen of Maketu*, *Paraninihi*, *Waiapu* and *Te Mahia*, to name just a few.²⁷ Joint-ownership by more than one hapū is also suggested by the fact that, among the relatively small proportion of Māori-owned vessels that were officially registered, a number were registered under multiple names — up to the maximum allowable six.²⁸ It seems likely that each name represented the trustee for an independent hapū or other unit of a larger corporate group.

Ownership by several hapū or distinct communities was also evident when communally-owned trading ships were subject to the practice of *muu* or punitive confiscation — as in cases of adultery. Under customary law the perpetrator's wider family group was implicated in the crime and liable to a joint penalty. By the 1840s, however, the most important asset of an individual or kin group might be their share in a vessel communally owned by several hapū, or both victim and perpetrator might constitute just two shareholders in a more widely 'owned' asset. For example, in a dispute that arose in 1849, a magistrate deemed that Ngāti Umutahi had greater ownership rights to the schooner *Rebecca*, by right of their more substantial contribution to its purchase price. In this case, all parties apparently agreed that the matter would be resolved if Ngāti Umutahi repaid Ngāti Paeko and Ngāi Tonu's contributions, plus interest for the time they were unable to use the vessel.²⁹ Thus, the apparently smaller and less powerful tribal groups were bought out.³⁰

There were a number of economically sensible reasons for co-operation with regard to shipping. Tribes with *mana whenua* or authority over coastal areas were not only at an immediate advantage in the era of international trade but could also gain further benefits from granting access rights to other areas. Some groups purchased ships to avoid the costs and political implications of having to negotiate access, while others sought to circumvent the monopoly of a local Pākehā trader. As early as 1843, Edward Shortland remarked that Bay of Plenty Māori had purchased two small schooners with which they intended trading directly with Auckland because '[t]hey have imbibed a suspicion of all European traders, they are aware that they have often been cheated and not knowing the real value of their property fear to ask too low a price for it and in their turn use every act to impose on Europeans'.³¹

Thomas Chapman was aware of these attitudes and he reported being asked to weigh flax for Māori sellers, who distrusted the trader's scales, while funds were being raised for a flourmill at Te Ngae in the early 1850s.³² Owning their own vessels allowed Māori entrepreneurs to deal directly with major markets such as Auckland, where competition between merchants optimized the income

from their production and provided access to a wider range of better-priced goods for purchase.

But as well as joint ownership and negotiated access, other forms of accommodation could be reached in connection with shipping. For example, Ngāti Porou vessels en route to Auckland had been taking shelter at Hārataunga (Kennedy's Bay) in the Coromandel for about ten years when, in 1852, Te Rakahurumai asked Ngāti Tamaterā's Pāora Te Putu for an area they might use permanently for this purpose.³³ Pāora acceded to the request in order to seal an alliance with the well-armed Ngāti Porou.³⁴

There is no evidence that owners' pride in their ships and mills overruled economic prudence but rather that material and political advantages were the primary intentions. They came through clearly in Wiperahama Pūtiki's letter to the Māori newspaper *Te Karere o Poneke*, which boasted about the productive capacity of Ngāti Raukawa's flourmill at Ōtaki and the consequent economic advantages to its owners: 'Publish my report in your newspaper, so that my Māori friends will be aware of the wheat from Ōtaki ground by machine, [and] so they will also know of the money received from the grinding of their wheat. 736 sacks of wheat, 2,208 bushels, produced £56.17s.9½d; £9.11s.6d of which went to the blacksmith [miller or millwright?]. This tribe, Ngāti Raukawa, are very pleased with this facility.'³⁵

Precisely how the writer intended these figures to be interpreted is unclear as the cost of grinding flour for others ought to have produced a much larger sum than this, and the income from the flour's sale considerably more again, but Pūtiki made it clear, nonetheless, that the owners considered they were making a good profit from their investment.

Both Chapman and Ashwell became critical of Māori commercial endeavours.³⁶ Believing that Māori need to be Christianised in order that civilization might follow, Ashwell considered his flock's enthusiasm for commercial pursuits had encouraged indifference towards religion.³⁷ But, contrary to the suggestion that mills were uneconomic, he previously complained that the extensive commerce had driven up the price of provisions to the point that the viability of his mission was endangered, and he became resentful that the small area of indifferent land available to his station precluded his access to the same level of government assistance as John Morgan and Robert Maunsell had received in the form of ploughs, horses and wages for a ploughman.³⁸ Moreover, if Ashwell's assertion that 'Two good Mills would grind all the Wheat on the Waipa and Waikato rivers' was a valid point (though I argue it was not), it imputes no culpability for an overly large number of mills to the missionaries, Governor George Grey, land purchase agents, or other Pākehā who encouraged or benefited from these Māori enterprises.³⁹ Indeed, when a number of Pākehā settlers petitioned the Auckland Provincial Council for a cart road from Rangiaowhia to Te Rore in 1854, they pointed out that the area was home to 'from 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'.⁴⁰ Signatories included the miller Patrick Brosnan, and millwrights George Walker and Alexander Culbert, but other Pākehā who

were earning or had surely expected to earn their livelihood from flourmills in this region included the millers John Ferguson, George Gage and Louis Hetet, and millwrights John Chandler, William Culbert and William Gibson. Another miller, A. Aubrey, was also in the district when he signed a subsequent petition concerning postal communications to Rangiaowhia in January 1855 and he was still operating a Māori-owned flourmill, that at Ōtipa near Te Teko, until it was abandoned after an attack by anti-government forces in 1869.⁴¹ The long-term employment of so many Pākehā in these Māori-owned enterprises attests to their confidence in the viability of the mills, and the wording of the petitioners' request for a road implies that they expected their engagement in flourmilling to be viewed positively as a long-term benefit to the provincial economy rather than an expensive, passing fad.

Chapman's antagonism was also long term, so it is worth returning to his statements about the people of Pukemaire and Otamarora (Matatā) and considering his frame of mind when he wrote that:

the little party inland of this place — Tumuika — or Pukemaire — are collecting money for one there — when the eighth of the time of a mill, would grind more wheat than they will ever grow⁴²

and:

The Pukemaire folks are determined to have a Mill also. I have tried to persuade them to join the natives of Otamarora . . . one Mill would grind four times the Wheat all of them together will ever grow.⁴³

Not only did the second statement concerning the refusal to co-operate alter the oversizing from eight times to four times (which, in itself, suggests loose exaggeration), but a glance at remarks immediately before the second example, which followed others regarding the Rotoiti people's grievances concerning their mill, also helps to explain his exasperation concerning the Pukemaire project. Chapman complained of a general 'kuwaretanga' (ignorance) in mill matters and 'foolish manner' of working.⁴⁴ His disapproval and impatience with such matters were often evident, especially in 1855 when he had decried the 'expensive' appointment of Henry Boyton as the government's Inspector of Native Mills which, he claimed, had been necessitated by Māori 'engaging with unprincipled men' and their 'non-fulfilment of engagements'.⁴⁵ Chapman had long been inclined to report negatively on communities disinterested in his teachings but his feelings towards the people of Otamarora were particularly clear when he recalled that: 'Paul seemed to have no pleasing recollections of "the Cretans". Those of Otamarora never fill me with any joyful anticipation as I near their kainga, and seldom (tho' I cease not to pray for them) do I find myself dragging "a lengthening chain" when I leave them.'⁴⁶ Chapman frequently complained about the lack of religious devotion among Otamarora people, their indifference towards building and maintaining their chapel, and the threat that commerce posed to their piety.

As for Chapman's suggestion that Pukemaire combine with Otamarora, it would seem that the latter mill was never built. The people of Otamarora,

which was on the coast, may have considered that purchasing their own ships and transporting unprocessed wheat to Auckland was more suited to their situation, but they may also have been wary that the slump in the wheat and flour market was showing no sign of recovery.⁴⁷ Whatever their reasons for not proceeding, Chapman's journal provides evidence that the would-be owners of the proposed mill at Otamarora had been very conscious of the desirability of co-operative ownership. He recorded that both the 'heathens' and the Christians of that settlement were anxious to build a mill, but because the non-Christians considered themselves insufficiently strong to undertake the project alone, they urged the Christians to join them in the endeavour. The Christians eventually agreed to do so after the non-Christian group promised to assist them in erecting a new chapel. An accommodation is also implied in Chapman's statement that a site decided upon was in 'the most central part of the settlement'.⁴⁸ The mill at Pukemaire, on the other hand, which was three hours upstream from Otamarora, prospered until war spread to the area in 1865.⁴⁹ A Pākehā millwright named Close, living at nearby Te Omeheu, asked his Māori neighbours to join him in building a mill on a site variously referred to as Pukemaire or Umuhika on the Rangataiki River near Matatā.⁵⁰ Having agreed to his proposal, they offered to provide the labour to build the mill and grain store and to grow wheat to augment the supply from Te Omeheu.⁵¹ It was agreed that income from the sale of any surplus flour would go to the people of Umuhika. A partnership for mutual benefit is certainly implied by these circumstances.

A large proportion of the missionary community encouraged Māori wheat-growing and flourmilling. A particular exception to the more antagonistic attitudes towards such enterprise was the Reverend T.S. Grace who keenly encouraged Māori commerce, including the building of trading ships, and sought to prevent the alienation of their land. Soon after his arrival at Tūranga in October 1850, Grace had upset local settlers by paying twice the usual price for potatoes and by advising the various hapū to charge 5s. a head per year for grazing rights in place of the previous annual rental of a calf.⁵² His quite different response to the Māori interest in matters temporal was evident in March 1852 when he described a hui 'to celebrate the "Harvest Home"'. Following the dinner, Grace's party were 'entertained with speeches, the tenor of which ran upon temporal advancement'. He reported positively on their appreciation of the 'advantages arising from the use of money' and cited their 'motto' as 'Ploughs, sheep and ships' as a basis for establishing a civilization like 'that of the Pakeha'.⁵³

Ashwell and Chapman belonged to the school of missionaries that held generally negative views towards Māori engagement in commerce on the basis that it diverted them from their spiritual duties. In the case of Chapman, a once positive attitude towards wheat-growing and flourmill construction seems to have soured over time. In a letter to the Church Missionary Society dated 28 February 1850, Chapman connected the then peaceful state of Tauranga with the greater importance being afforded to commerce, remarking that as 'sellers of Flour and wheat, in the Auckland and other markets, [Māori were] realising the blessings of industry and peace'.⁵⁴ However, within two years

he was censuring fellow missionary Morgan, at Ōtāwhao (Te Awamutu), for over-emphasizing civilization through agriculture. Chapman reminded him 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’.⁵⁵

Many missionaries, especially those belonging to the Church Missionary Society, promoted wheat-growing and flourmilling in the belief that such activities represented civilization and encouraged settled habitation. Ship-ownership, on the other hand, was more commonly discouraged for taking Māori away from mission influence and exposing them to godless Pākehā and other evils in port towns, although Chapman seems to have been unusually hostile to Māori shipping.

Poor maintenance was one aspect of Māori ship-management complained of by Chapman. He chastized the owners for failing to set aside contingency funds to pay for repairs when they became necessary. When his carpenter accused local Māori of having stolen 15 planks, he was in ‘no doubt where they [were] and what stolen for — the *British Queen* [wanted] repairing’.⁵⁶ Ships certainly caused anxiety for Māori owners; Chapman complained of being ‘pestered’ by his ‘lads worrying themselves about their kaupuke [ship]’.⁵⁷ Some insight into Chapman’s attitude can be gleaned from the comments of Captain John Wright, who brought the missionary to New Zealand in 1830. Wright admitted that his vessel had shipped a good deal of water on deck but resented Chapman’s criticism of it, claiming, ‘Mr Chapman is a very timid man at sea, and has given such an account of the *Active* to the missionaries that they are all afraid to go to any part of the coast in her’.⁵⁸ In 1852 Chapman claimed that ‘patched up’ vessels that had taken up to two years’ work to purchase were poorly maintained and frequently subject to wreck.⁵⁹ Yet Te Hāpuku and others, who wrote to Grey in December 1851 requesting a loan to purchase a ship, had stressed it should be a good, substantial one, not one with rotting timbers that would soon fall apart.⁶⁰ This and other examples belie Chapman’s claims that Māori had no such concerns.

Although there is no evidence that Māori ships were more subject to wreck than Pākehā-operated vessels, the loss of the ship which he referred to variously as the *Karoraina*, the *Kataraina* or the *Catherine* affected him particularly badly, as it carried a large consignment of his mail addressed to Thomas Smith.⁶¹ His surviving letters contain a number of references to this incident, which apparently occurred when a gale drove it onto rocks while the crew, who had borrowed the vessel to transport a cargo of wheat, potatoes and other produce from Maketū, were asleep ashore. Chapman referred to this as a common and unsound practice among Māori seafarers.⁶² In order to ‘impress upon the native mind the extreme folly of acting so carelessly’, Chapman composed a 12-verse ‘lament’, which he hoped might be published in the bilingual *Maori Messenger*.⁶³ This composition, which urged readers to:

Remember well the Catherine,
You’ll ne’er see her again

also contained the verse:

And if you should a voyage take
 Don't trust a native crew,
 Captain and men are all alike,
 They've so much sleep to do.

Other missionaries, such as Richard Taylor, spoke highly of Māori seamanship, and most were dependent on Māori shipping not only for their own transportation but also for sending and receiving mail and other supplies. When he needed to visit Auckland on business in March 1850, Chapman travelled on Ngāti Moko's vessel, *Harata*, as did his fellow missionary, John Wilson, in April 1852 when the cargo included 115 sheep and 1000 pounds of wool — goods that Chapman regularly exported during the 1850s.⁶⁴ Indeed, Chapman's complaint that the *Harata* was 'crammed with pigs below and natives above' indicates full utilization of the vessel and certainly suggests a viable operation.⁶⁵

In view of the impression so often conveyed that Māori flourmills were not viable enterprises, it is unfortunate that there have been no attempts to assess the economic or other benefits accruing from them *vis-à-vis* the capital investment and maintenance costs. Although the nature of contemporary communications appears to have been a crucial underlying factor, quantifying the monetary cost of these obstacles would be a formidable task for the twenty-first-century historian. Nevertheless, the Pākehā settlement of Bombay, situated much closer to Auckland than the Māori communities of the upper Waikato, did just such an exercise for themselves in 1872. At a meeting to discuss a proposal to construct a flourmill, estimated to cost £600, it was stated that: 'at least 200 tons of flour were brought up from Auckland every year, paying £3 per ton for cartage. Therefore the inhabitants taxed themselves to the enormous amount of £600 yearly in cartage to say nothing of the extra prices of flour, so that the amount for cartage alone if saved for one year would put up the mill!!'⁶⁶

It is interesting to note the parallels between the way this scheme was financed and the general pattern for financing Māori flourmills. Firstly, the promoters of the Bombay mill hoped to obtain financial support from the people of the nearby communities of Pukekohe, Pōkeno, Maketū and Tuhimata; the cost of printing a proposal was paid for by subscription in much the same way as Māori mill owners had subscribed to the cost of mills, threshing machines and other associated paraphernalia; supporters agreed to purchase £1 shares in the enterprise; and they proposed to ask government for a loan of £300 — arrangements paralleled by Māori communities. Even the 'mana' aspect was apparent when a subsequent meeting declared that: 'Instead of looking around to see whether other people were going to forestall them, it was deemed best to get their own shoulders to the wheel and not lose the credit which they had some right to claim of being the first in the field'. It was further suggested that rumours of a proposal to repair and reinstate the ruined Māori mill at Pōkeno may have reduced the ardour of some supporters of the new mill project, but the meeting saw no reason for this to interfere with their own proceedings,

saying: 'It might indeed save them some wholesome effort, but they would lose the profit and the credit.'⁶⁷

Transportation difficulties and their relevance to the number of mills erected were also implied at Bombay. With regard to the proposed reinstatement of the Māori mill at Pōkeno, the people of Bombay referred to the 'heavy inclines on the Razorback Hills [which marked] the separation of the two localities' to justify a separate mill, and at least two other mills were built in close proximity over a period of 19 years.⁶⁸ But these settler-owned mills were a short-lived phenomenon, too. Not only did grain production give way to dairy farming as oat and wheat crops fell victim to caterpillars and disease, but the availability of lower-priced flour from the city, once railway reduced communication costs, also appears to have affected the viability of local mills.⁶⁹ Pākehā experiences and responses mirrored those of Māori in many respects.

The cost of erecting Māori flourmills varied considerably, but Morgan's opinion that the 'size of the mills must vary according to the size of the village' does not appear to have been disputed by those whom he advised.⁷⁰ Although William Woon is reported to have 'commented tartly' on the Southern Taranaki mill, built for the people of Manawapou, Taumaha, Takiruahine, Ohangai, Pātea and elsewhere, calling it their 'new status symbol', Richard Taylor reported that the same mill was simple and worked well.⁷¹ Such contradictory evaluations underscore the importance of considering the bias of outside observers. Taylor's view was supported by a 1988 study of Taranaki flourmills by the historical archaeologist Robyn Oliver, who found that, although their technology was the same, 'Māori mills were cheaper and less sophisticated' than Pākehā ones.⁷²

Moreover, if it had been true that 'Each little petty Tribe must have a Mill', it would surely have followed that flourmills were scattered round the country, whereas the evidence shows that they were concentrated in certain areas, with ship-owning, generally speaking, located in others. This uneven distribution can be seen to relate directly to economic prudence, on the basis of communications between the owning community and the location of its principal markets.

Raymond Hargreaves, who noted that Māori-owned flourmills were heavily concentrated in the Waikato, whereas none were located in either North Auckland or the East Coast districts, accounted for their absence in Northland by the presence of the Waimate mission station mill, which ground considerable quantities of Māori-grown wheat. But he considered the lack of mills on the East Coast 'hard to understand, particularly as wheat production there was as great as in other areas'. Seventy thousand bushels were grown by Māori on the Gisborne flats during the 1854–1855 season.⁷³ However, although there were proposals for mills in this area and some were completed after 1860, the geographic distinction is not so hard to understand if contemporary conditions and the economic purpose of water-powered mills and trading ships are considered.

As Hargreaves noted, the greatest concentration of flourmills was in the upper Waikato. For those communities, it was not only a matter of conveying their produce north but also to the principal market of Auckland in the east,

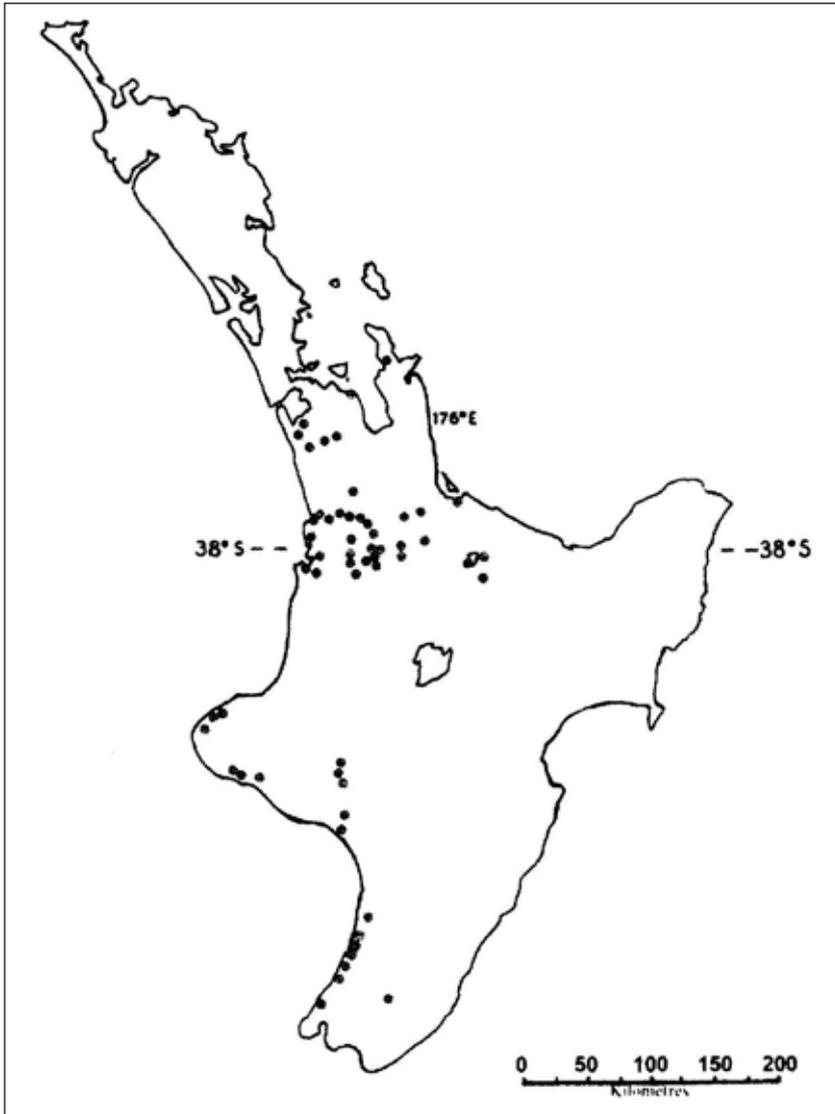


Figure 1: Māori-owned Flourmills. Adapted from Alan Grey, *Aotearoa and New Zealand: A Historical Geography*, Christchurch, 1994, p.202.

Note: Grey's map was based on a combination of two earlier ones by Raymond Hargreaves, which indicated three mills in unspecified locations in Taranaki, three in the Ahuriri District and one in the Whanganui area. The version shown here is an attempt to indicate these and other locations more precisely, but due to the incompleteness of the data and the compiler's lack of cartographic skills, it is intended as a rough guide only. Moreover, although Hargreaves contended that three mills were built in the Ahuriri area prior to 1860, no evidence has been located to confirm that any were in fact completed or operating prior to this date in that area. This map does, however, attempt to show the likely number of mills and approximate locations in the Taranaki and Whanganui areas prior to 1860.

necessitating long journeys over difficult terrain. Wheat went by dray from Rangiaowhia and Kihikihi, or by canoe from Ōtāwhao several kilometres up the Awaroa Stream before being dragged across a portage to Waiuku, from where it was ferried to Onehunga then overland to Auckland. John Morgan, the missionary stationed at Ōtāwhao, who was particularly zealous in promoting flourmills among Māori, referred to the implications of these difficulties in 1846, explaining: ‘it is seldom, except on the coast, that a native possesses more than a blanket, and in the interior in order to procure this trifling article of clothing, they have generally to spend three or four weeks in performing a journey to Auckland, driving the pigs of a European trader’.⁷⁴

That same year, when the mill at Ōtāwhao was in its planning stages, Morgan mentioned plans to make a road, which would reduce travelling time and bring Ōtāwhao within nine hours of Kaitotehe, where another mill was to commence construction at the end of 1848.⁷⁵ Raureti Te Huia explained that the people of Rangiaowhia earned £200 to finance their mill at Pekapekarau by raising pigs and growing vegetables, which they carried overland on their backs for sale at Auckland.⁷⁶ That communication difficulties were not only hindering Māori commerce but also lessening its benefits to the colonial economy is shown by Grey’s initiative when he visited Rangiaowhia in February 1849. The Māori community there was apparently ‘delighted’ when he offered to place the schooner *Albert* on the Manukau in order to run a twice-weekly service between Onehunga and the Awaroa at rates considerably lower than the 30s per ton then charged for the 40-km crossing.⁷⁷ By 1852 the same community was preparing to construct a 4-m wide bridge over the Mangaoi River’s 15-m span to enable carts from Rangiaowhia to proceed directly to canoes in the Pūniu River over 11km away.⁷⁸ Pākehā interest in facilitating Māori commerce was evident again in 1854, when at least 26 residents petitioned the Auckland Provincial Council for a cart road from Rangiaowhia to Te Rore ‘to facilitate the transportation of Māori produce to the Auckland market’. Their presentation pointed out that over 100 tons of flour was then detained in Rangiaowhia, owing to the low level of the Pūniu Creek.⁷⁹ But transportation overland from the Waikato to Auckland remained a difficult and treacherous undertaking, expensive in terms of time and labour, which effectively reduced profit margins. Thomas Chapman, who wrote: ‘tis a tiresome thing to be living so far inland’, also made a number of requests for assistance, including one for a road between Rotorua and Maketū.⁸⁰ With reference to two active mills in the Rotorua district, he asked for £60 towards the completion of bridges and a cart track to Ōhinemutu pā, promising that Māori would provide the labour and that he would superintend the work.⁸¹

Similar difficulties had been faced by Pākehā farmers in the Auckland region before overland communications were developed. In November 1844, a Tāmaki resident, using the pseudonym ‘Triptolemus’, wrote to the *Southern Cross* newspaper bemoaning the lack of either a corn market or flourmills within easy reach of Tāmaki farms: ‘water carriage is by far the least expensive’, he argued, adding that: ‘if there was a granary and mill at Auckland, [the farmer] could send wheat in large quantities by boat at very small expence [sic]; but he must now cart his wheat to the Epsom mill, which will occupy his team of four bullocks and driver a whole day to carry twenty bushels of wheat’.

Triptolemus claimed that the cost of sea transport between Hobart and Auckland was such that it ‘would be as cheap for the farmer . . . especially residing on the coast or on the rivers, to ship his wheat to that port to be ground and have the flour returned’ rather than ‘dragging his wheat through quagmires and swamps’.⁸²

The economic implications of the costs of communication influenced communal decisions to purchase either flourmills, trading ships or, in some cases, both. Kikikoi Ngakete of Kāwhia, for example, revealed an awareness of these costs when submitting his loan application for a ship: ‘I have placed my produce amounting to 5000 bushels in storage. The value is half a crown per bushel. I think this is a great quantity indeed to have on hand unsold. This has given me great concern. I resolved thus to address you at once — to supply us with the means of obtaining money for a vessel by which to convey our produce to Auckland.’⁸³

Ngakete’s valuation of 2s.6d. per bushel, or £625 in total, appears to have been very conservative. The previous month’s *Maori Messenger* had recorded that Pāora of Tokomaru had recently sold a shipment per the *Sarah Jane* for 5s.3d. a bushel.⁸⁴ Pāora’s wheat was said to be of especially high quality but the discrepancy may also have related to differences between prices offered locally and at Auckland.⁸⁵

Statistics for the three months to 30 June 1853 show that 12 tons of flour and 559 bushels of wheat entered Auckland from the port of Waitematā by canoe, compared with only 1 ton of flour and 353 bushels of wheat via the Manukau Harbour on the west coast. Figures are not available for coastal shipping into the Waitematā from east coast ports for the same period, but the Waikato-owned cutter *Harry Bluff*, which carried no flour, brought 504 bushels of wheat.⁸⁶ For the quarter ended 31 December 1853, however, coastal shipping brought 10 tons of flour, valued at £250, and 11,390 bushels of wheat, valued at £4556. Based on these figures, flour was valued at £25 per ton and wheat at 8s. per bushel. Given that a bushel of wheat weighed 60 pounds and produced 42 pounds of milled flour, it would have required 52,476 bushels of wheat, valued at £21, to produce a ton of flour worth £25, which gives a value-added margin of less than 20%.⁸⁷ Given also that trading ships often cost less to purchase than a flourmill and that the cost of running a ship was likely to have been less than that of carrying the equivalent amount of milled flour overland, it was more economically sensible for coastal groups to sell unprocessed wheat and for interior groups to reduce both the bulk and weight of the produce needing transportation and add value at the point of production. This was the pattern in Northland, at Golden Bay and on the east coast of the North Island south of Tauranga, where wheat was grown and ships were owned but no Māori flourmills were operating before 1860. This does not mean that coastal groups exclusively bought ships and inland groups flourmills. Ngāti Whakauae and Ngāti Pikiao, for example, bought both. However, as Shortland reported, inland groups had to negotiate coastal access or trade through their coastal hosts to the advantage of the latter, and the produce from inland cultivations needed to be transported overland to ports such as Matatā and Maketū.⁸⁸

To return to Hargreaves’s remarks concerning the lack of flourmills on the east coast, it is also relevant that coastal shipping was well established with

Auckland before the first wheat was grown in that area, whereas the opposite was the case on the west coast. Canoes were better suited to taking flour rather than wheat down river to Wanganui, but although flourmills were well established in the Waikato, Wellington, Wanganui and Taranaki areas by the end of the 1840s, very few coastal or international ships frequented the Manukau Harbour before 1852. Not only did the shifting sand banks in the Manukau, and harbour bars on other west coast ports, pose a serious threat to shipping, but there were no Pākehā-founded settlements on the west coast north of New Plymouth until Onehunga was established in 1847.⁸⁹ Even then, the population was never as great as at Auckland. It would not be until the mid-1850s that Onehunga's population surpassed 1000 souls, whereas Auckland's population had reached 3746 by 1846.⁹⁰ By 1853 the resident population within a radius of 22.5km of the town of Auckland was 9156.⁹¹

According to the *Maori Messenger*, it was not unusual for Māori to realize from £200 to £500 per trip for the produce they brought to market in their coastal vessels in the summer of 1854–1855.⁹² And to give some idea of the cost-effectiveness of purchasing a new ship at this time, a newly built 20-ton vessel cost £370 in 1854, although an East Cape group, who were able to supply the materials for their 18-ton vessel two years earlier, had paid only £100 cash for its construction.⁹³

Moreover, the size of Māori vessels correlated directly with the owners' physical distance from the principal market of Auckland. Those operated by Hauraki groups tended to be among the smallest, generally under 20 tons; those needing to travel the longer distances from ports between Gisborne and Tauranga averaged between 20 and 30 tons; and the largest came from Napier and Hokianga respectively. In other words, longer journeys required more substantial vessels. Statistics showing the quantities of Māori produce brought by coastal vessels and canoes must also cast doubt on the recent claim that Māori vessels were 'usually unproductive investments' and that schooners 'swung at their moorings while waka brought home the bacon'.⁹⁴

Auckland imports of selected Māori produce: 1852–1856

	Wheat (Bushels)	Maize (Bushels)	Potatoes (Tons)
1852 Coastal vessels*	30,633	10,959	188
Canoes	1674	2157	235
1853 Coastal vessels	37,541	14,556	850
Canoes	2454	4139	282
1854 Coastal vessels	65,833	18,569	535
Canoes*	3715	1123	94
1855 Coastal vessels	82,228	29,250	1175
Canoes	1372 bags	1398	212
1856 Coastal vessels*	56,930	7873	279
Canoes	3557	774	125

*These figures are incomplete. The 1852 return for coastal vessels covers only the six months from July to December, the 1854 return excludes canoe traffic from April to June, and the coastal vessel return for 1856 excludes October to December.⁹⁵

The demise of the Māori flourmilling and shipping industries began with the collapse of the wheat, flour and produce market in the summer of 1855–1856. Because wheat was the principal cargo and because the price of other produce, such as potatoes, slumped at the same time, shipping was equally affected. There is substantial evidence that levels of indebtedness among flour-producers and ship-owners began to spiral out of control from this time.

Although Chapman and Ashwell were consistently critical of Māori ship-owning, it is significant that their claims that there were too many ships and mills and that hapū were reluctant to co-operate in the purchase of these assets — on which later negative characterizations have been based — were uttered in 1859 and 1860. By this time, the flour and produce market had collapsed, sailing ships were being made obsolete by steam and many Māori communities were in serious debt. But more than that, racial tensions were high at this time, the missionaries' evangelisation project was frustrated, Pākehā feared the implications of the King Movement and the two peoples were on the brink of war. Indeed, in 1858, the year that the first Māori King was installed, Archdeacon George Kissling claimed that the Māori desire for 'responsible government, in imitation of our own' was simply a 'more recent paroxysm' of the same type as the earlier 'mania' for wheat growing and flourmill and ship ownership, which had resulted in the foolish misapplication or squandering of immense sums of money.⁹⁶ Given the practical realities, economic and otherwise, resulting from the lack of Māori political representation, Kissling's view reveals the jingoistic nature of suggestions that 'new-fangledness' or manias were characteristic of Māori. Like the acquisition of flourmills and ships, the desire for equitable political machinery was an entirely logical response to new circumstances, intended to improve economic, social and political security. Made with hindsight, Kissling's opinions, like those of Chapman and Ashwell, were not pertinent to earlier times. They are certainly not representative of the majority of Pākehā opinions during the period of economic boom, are not found in the Māori sources, and appear to be an unsound basis for judging the motivation or achievements of the mills' and ships' owners.

HAZEL PETRIE

The University of Auckland

NOTES

- 1 Thomas Chapman to Church Missionary Society (CMS), 7 January 1852, Thomas Chapman Letters & Journals, Vol.2, MS 56, Auckland War Memorial Museum Library (AIM).
- 2 Benjamin Ashwell to CMS, 21 July 1859, Benjamin Ashwell Papers, MSS & Archives A-172, University of Auckland Library (UAL).
- 3 Chapman to Smith, 7 November 1859, Folder Nos 9–10, T.H. Smith papers, MS 283, AIM.
- 4 Chapman to Smith, 3 February 1860, T. H. Smith Papers, MS 283, AIM.
- 5 Don M. Stafford, *The Founding Years in Rotorua: A History of Events to 1900*, Rotorua, 1986, p.91.
- 6 Anton van der Wouden, 'Flourmilling in the Eastern Bay of Plenty', *Historical Review*, 32, 2 (1984), p.86. Van der Wouden also wrote that: 'mills were tribally owned and were built to enhance the mana of the tribe rather than for economic reasons' (p.76).
- 7 Philip Andrews, *Ko Mata: The Life in New Zealand of Anne Chapman*, Rotorua, 1991, p.61; *No Fear of Rusting*, Rotorua, 2001, p.18.
- 8 Ann Parsonson, 'The Pursuit of Mana', in W.H. Oliver with B.R. Williams, eds, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Auckland, 1981, p.153.
- 9 Gavin McLean, *Captain's Log: New Zealand's Maritime History*, Auckland, 2001, p.51.
- 10 Paul Monin, 'Maori Schooners: Issues of Economics, Culture and Agency', paper delivered at the NZHA Conference, Christchurch, December 2001.
- 11 James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Auckland, 1996, p.216; 'The Governors and the Māori', in Keith Sinclair, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*, Auckland, 1993, p.81.
- 12 Māori Marsden, 'God, Man and Universe: A Māori View', in Michael King, ed., *Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On*, Wellington, 1975, p.193; Pat Hohepa, 'My Musket, My Missionary, My Mana', in Alex Calder, Jonathan Lamb & Bridget Orr, eds, *Voyages and Beaches*, Honolulu, 1999, p.196.
- 13 The sanctity of bread is frequently implied in the Bible, the Lord's Prayer and Christian ritual, but articles in Māori newspapers and comments in missionary journals did likewise. For example, Chapman described a scene at a Bay of Plenty pā in 1848: 'Turning the corner there stood a new patent Flour Mill, just purchased, having a pack of dirty, very common playing cards, lying carelessly on its top', *Journal*, 21 June 1848, Chapman Letters & Journals, Vol.1, MS 56, AIM.
- 14 *New Zealander*, 18 November 1857, p.3.
- 15 Richard Taylor *Journal*, 29 February 1848, MS 302, AIM.
- 16 Lt. H.F. McKillop, *Reminiscences of Twelve Months' Service in New Zealand*, London, 1849, pp.256–9.
- 17 *Maori Messenger: Te Karere Maori* [MM: TKM], 1 February 1855, p.12.
- 18 Kamariera Heretaunga, 11 May 1883, Waikato MB No.11, p.195, Arepro 4711/672, Archives New Zealand, Auckland.
- 19 Otorohanga Block, evidence of Arapiu Whakataha, 20 August 1888, Otorohanga Minute Book 4 (Rohepotae), pp.286, 293, MLC, Auckland University Library Microfilm 97-263. Finn Phillips claims that Ngāti Huia were also involved, 'Otorohanga's First Industry', *Waitomo News*, 19 April 1983, p.8.
- 20 John Morgan to Grey, 20 November 1849, postscript to Enc. 5 in No.33, Grey to Earl Grey, Great Britain Parliamentary Papers [GBPP], Vol.6, p.108; 'Report No.3, Otaki, Manawatu, and Rangitikei Districts', 10 March 1850, GBPP, Vol. 7, p.236; Morgan to Grey, 16 May 1853, MS GLNZ M44 (22), Auckland City Library (ACL).
- 21 Taylor *Journal*, 24 December 1857, Vol. 10, MS 302, AIM.
- 22 *ibid.*, 23 December 1857.
- 23 Evidence of Hemi Epinihia, 10 July 1888, Wairarapa MB No.8, pp.6–7, Microfilm Reel 211, AUL.
- 24 *New Zealand Spectator and Cook Strait Guardian*, 28 November 1849, cited in Raymond Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, Wellington, 1959, p.448.
- 25 Seymour Spencer to Grey, 22 April 1850, MS GLNZ, S34 (2), ACL.
- 26 Judith Binney, *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*, Auckland, 1995, pp.19–20.
- 27 Bob McConnell, *Te Araroa: an East Coast Community: A History*, Te Araroa, 1993, pp.201–2.

28 Examples of ships registered with multiple owners can be found in M.N. Watt, *Index to the New Zealand Section of the Register of All British Ships 1840–1950*, [1963], Pt 2. Unfortunately the index and original registers list only the personal names of owners so information concerning hapū affiliation must be obtained elsewhere. There are also other problems relating to the use of official registration records. For a more extensive discussion concerning why these records may not always reflect the effective ownership of the vessels concerned, see Hazel Petrie, “‘For a Season Quite the Rage’? Ships and Flourmills in the Māori Economy 1840–1860s”, PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2004, pp.271–4.

29 *Maori Messenger* [MM], 11 September 1851, pp.1–2.

30 Chapman had direct involvement in a similar case between different communities that also occurred in 1849 but which was settled through the mediation of Te Arawa chief Tohi Te Ururangi (Chapman to Alfred Brown, 19 October (?1849), Chapman Letters & Journals, Folder 4, MS 56, AIM). For further details of this case see Petrie, pp.248–50.

31 Edward Shortland, ‘Evils’, Shortland Papers, MS 20u, n.p., UAL.

32 Andrews, *No Fear of Rusting*, p.232.

33 Monty Soutar, ‘Ngāti Porou Leadership – Rāpata Wahawaha and the Politics of Conflict’, PhD thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North, 2000, pp.155–6.

34 Ranginui Walker, *He Tipua: The Life and Times of Sir Āpirana Ngata*, Auckland, 2002, p.41.

35 *Te Karere o Poneke*, 10 May 1858, p.3. My translation.

36 Parsonson, ‘The Pursuit of Mana’, p.153.

37 Ashwell to CMS, 28 July 1851, Benjamin Ashwell Papers, MSS & Archives A-172, UAL.

38 Enclosure with Ashwell to the CMS, 28 July 1851, said to have been sent to George Grey ten months previously, Vol. 1, MSS & Archives A-172, UAL.

39 Ashwell to the CMS, 21 July 1859, Benjamin Ashwell Papers, MSS & Archives A-172, UAL.

40 Provincial Council Records, 827/54, Session 2 Petitions: traffic between Auckland, Western Districts, Petitions: Rangiawhia-Waipā cart road, Box 3, Folder 8, NZ MS 595, ACL.

41 *Auckland Provincial Gazettes*, 1855–1857; Duncan Waterson, ‘Notes compiled for the Auckland Provincial History Project’, 1959, Reference File 185, ACL. Waterson appears to have incorrectly transcribed the date from the transcript of a radio talk by W.T. Parham, ‘Digging up a Flourmill’, *Historical Review: Bay of Plenty Journal of History*, 48, 1 (2000), p.5.

42 Chapman to Smith, 7 November 1859, Folder No.9–10, T.H. Smith papers, MS 283, AIM.

43 Chapman to Smith, 3 February 1860, T.H. Smith Papers, MS 283, AIM.

44 *ibid.*

45 Chapman Journal, 18 June 1855, Chapman Letters & Journals, Vol.2, MS 56, AIM.

46 *ibid.*, [13?] March 1857. This appears to be a reference to Titus 1:12: ‘One of themselves, even a prophet of their own, said, The Creteans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies.’

47 Chapman recorded negotiations between the people of Otamarora pā and a trader named White concerning the purchase of a vessel named *Ophelia* in December 1845, Chapman Journal, 8 December 1845. Ngāti Awa’s Rangipai commissioned the 13-ton cutter *Sarah* in 1847 and a number of other vessels appear in various sources as being owned by Māori in the Matatā area during the 1850s.

48 Chapman Journal, 28 July 1856, Chapman Letters & Journals, Vol.2, MS 56, AIM.

49 T. Thorne Secombe, ‘An Early Industry on the Rangitaiki Swamp’, [*Whakatane*] *Historical Review*, 6, 3 (1958), pp.95–96; Anon., ‘Additional information concerning Umuhika mill’, [*Whakatane*] *Historical Review*, 7, 1 (1959), p.47. Andrews, *No Fear of Rusting*, p.191.

50 The locations of Umuhika and Pukemaire, on either side of the Tarawera River, and their distance from Matatā are indicated on ‘Map 8: Ngāti Awa and Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau wahi tapu’, Ngāti Awa Raupatu Report, 9.10.3, p.115, available online at:

<http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports/nicentr/wai046/Chapt09.pdf>. It seems that some of the Christians from Pukemaire relocated to a new pā at Umuhika during the time Chapman was based at Maketū, Andrews, *No Fear of Rusting*, p.192.

51 Transcript of radio talk by W.T. Parham, ‘Digging up a Flourmill’, *Historical Review: Bay of Plenty Journal of History*, 48, 1 (2000), p.5.

52 Soutar, p.150.

53 S.J. Brittan and A.V. Grace, eds, *A Pioneer Missionary Among the Maoris 1850–1879 being Letters and Journals of Thomas Samuel Grace*, Palmerston North, 1928, p.31.

54 Chapman to the CMS, 28 February 1850, Chapman Letters & Journals, Vol.2, MS 56, AIM.

- 55 Chapman to Morgan, [?] January 1852, John Morgan Letters and Journals, Vol.3, MS 213, AIM.
- 56 Chapman to Brown, n.d. [probably late 1845], Chapman Letters & Journals, Vol.2, MS 56, AIM.
- 57 Chapman to Brown, [?] March 1847, Chapman Letters & Journals, Vol.2, MS 56, AIM.
- 58 John Wright to CMS, 11 September 1830, cited in Andrews, *No Fear of Rusting*, p.37.
- 59 Chapman, Annual report, 7 January 1852, Chapman Letters & Journals, Vol.2, MS 56, AIM.
- 60 Te Hāpuku & Others to the Governor, 18 December 1851, GLNZ MA 496 520, Vol.15, UAL.
- 61 Andrews, *No Fear of Rusting*, p.287.
- 62 For example, Chapman to Smith, 27 July 1858; 6 August 1858, Chapman Letters & Journals, Vol.2, MS 56, AIM.
- 63 Chapman to Smith, 6 October 1858, Chapman Letters & Journals, Vol.2, MS 56, AIM; Andrews, *No Fear of Rusting*, p.287.
- 64 *ibid.*, pp.120, 152.
- 65 Chapman Journal, 3 March 1850, Chapman Letters & Journals, Vol.2, MS 56, AIM.
- 66 A. Donovan, *They Came by Ship, 1865: Centenary of Bombay, Auckland, New Zealand*, Bombay, 1965, p.2.
- 67 *ibid.*
- 68 *ibid.*, p.4.
- 69 *ibid.*
- 70 Morgan to the CMS, [?] January 1849, Morgan Letters and Journals, MS 213, AIM.
- 71 Ian Church, *Heartland of Aotearoa: Maori and European in South Taranaki before the Taranaki Wars*, Hawera, 1992, p.97; Taylor Journal, 20 October 1854, Vol. 8, MS 302, AIM.
- 72 Robyn Oliver, 'The Flour Mills of Taranaki, New Zealand 1844–1935: A Small Industry Forgotten', MA thesis, University of Sydney, 1988, p.47. It is not clear from Oliver's text whether she defined cheapness according to the overall cost of erecting the mills or their operating costs.
- 73 R.P. Hargreaves, 'Māori Flour Mills of the Auckland Province 1846–1860', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* [JPS], 70, 2 (1961), p.229. Alan Grey, following Hargreaves, also expressed surprise at 'the absence of mills in heavily populated Northland and in Poverty Bay, which both grew much wheat', Grey, *Aotearoa and New Zealand: A Historical Geography*, Christchurch, 1994, p.204.
- 74 Morgan to the CMS, 11 March 1846, John Morgan Letters and Journals, Vol.1, MS 213, AIM.
- 75 Morgan Journal, 19 October 1846, 23 December 1846, Vol.2, MS 213, AIM.
- 76 Raureti Te Huia, 'History and tradition of the Tainui area', oral interview recorded by Leo Fowler, 1947, Tape 131.1.3, Archive of Māori & Pacific Music, UAL.
- 77 Morgan Journal, 22 February 1849, MS 213, AIM.
- 78 Morgan to Grey, 1 June 1852, GLNZ M44 (17), ACL.
- 79 Provincial Council Records, Session 2 Petitions: traffic between Auckland, Western Districts, 827/54, NZ MS 595, Box 3, Folder 8, ACL.
- 80 Andrews, *No Fear of Rusting*, p.97.
- 81 *ibid.*, p.179.
- 82 *Southern Cross*, 30 November 1844, p.3.
- 83 Kikikoi to Grey, 15 May 1852, Letter 398, GLNZ MA, ACL. The first two sentences are my translation. Due to lacuna, the balance is the official translation.
- 84 MM, 8 April 1852, p.2.
- 85 Official returns for the quarter ending 5 January 1853 indicate that H.M. Customs then valued wheat at 7s. per bushel, *New Zealand Government Gazette Province of New Ulster*, Vol.VI, No.4, 1 February 1853, p.31.
- 86 MM, 11 August 1853, p.3.
- 87 'Triptolemus's' letter claimed that wheat averaged 60 to 62 lbs per bushel, requiring 42 bushels to produce 1 ton (2000 lbs) of flour. The standard measurements were 60 lbs to the bushel (this was confirmed by *Te Karere o Poneke*, 19 November 1857, p.4) and 2204 lbs to the ton. This figure of 42 bushels to produce 1 ton of flour is also supported by modern producer organizations, for example: <http://www.texaswheat.org/Facts/facts.htm>.
- 88 Shortland to George Clarke, 14 August 1843, Shortland Papers, MS 86A, UAL.
- 89 T. Brian Byrne, *Wing of the Manukau*, Auckland, 1991, p.165.

90 Janice C. Mogford, *The Onehunga Heritage*, Auckland, 1989, p.28. There was a slump to 2813 by 1848 due to an exodus to the Californian gold fields, but Auckland's population largely recovered to reach 3444 by 1850, G.W.A. Bush, *Decently and in Order: The Centennial History of the Auckland City Council*, Auckland, 1972, pp.32, 33.

91 *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, Vol. II, No.10, 17 March 1854, p.65.

92 MM:TKM, 1 January 1855.

93 MM, 8 April 1852, p.2.

94 Gavin McLean, *100 Historic Places in New Zealand*, Auckland, 2003, p.57.

95 R.P. Hargreaves, 'The Maori Agriculture of the Auckland Province in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *JPS*, 68 (1959), p.74.

96 Kissling to 'The Honourable N.W.', 29 May 1858, *GBPP*, Vol.11, p.60 (76).