

Colonisation and the Involution of the Maori Economy

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In 2001, international research by the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, found Maori to be the most entrepreneurial people in the world, noting also that Maori 'played an important role in the history and evolution of New Zealand entrepreneurship'.¹ These findings beg a consideration of why the Maori economy, which was expanding vigorously in terms of value and in terms of international markets immediately prior to New Zealand's annexation by Britain in 1840, involuted soon after colonisation.

Before offering examples of Maori commercial practice in the period between initial European contact and colonisation, this paper will summarise some essential features of Maori society that underlay those practices. It will then consider how three broad aspects of the subsequent colonising process impacted on these practices during its first twenty five years. These aspects are: Christian beliefs and values, the ideologies of the newly emerging 'science' of Political Economy; and the racial attitudes and political demands of an increasingly powerful settler government. It is acknowledged that the nature of Maori commerce varied according to regional resources, the timing and degree of exposure to foreigners, local politics, individual personalities, and many other factors. There was no one Maori practice or experience, but the examples offered, which arose in a study of Maori flourmill and trading ship ownership, are intended to show how these facets of colonisation interwove to encourage a narrowing and contraction of Maori commercial endeavours.

Traditionally, Maori society was made up of hierarchical, kin-based communities under the leadership of chiefs. A study of prehistoric Hawke's Bay has demonstrated that the chief with access to the most productive land and a strong defence capability was likely to attract and command a stronger labour force and consequently greater power and resources. Family groups could opt for a more autonomous and mobile existence, but would face greater vulnerability to violent attack or food shortages. The additional labour demands of group membership might have been considered a reasonable price for access to the resources of a strong community.²

The *mana* (power and authority) of the chief was much enhanced by an ability to husband and manage communally-owned resources for maximum benefit to the community, these benefits being realised by the distribution of wealth. One early European trader explained:

In the disposal of lands, [the chief] rarely reserves to himself any share of the payment

The grand consideration in bestowing the payment among the minor claimants is to obtain a name for generosity, and dignity, that could not descend to dispute for objects of barter. This has often been turned to political advantage, as a tribe has gained accessions of strength by the reported generosity of the chief, and at a siege, the assailed have surrendered at discretion, for the same reasons previously charmed by the merciful character of their assailant.³

The flexibility of the social structure and the inherent links between individuals, extended families, *hapu* (smaller tribal groups), *iwi* (larger tribal groups) and *waka* (confederations of tribes), allowed for a variety of regroupings in the face of social, political, or economic stress. Strategic political marriages between prominent families could unite tribal groups, and the granting of land use rights with reciprocal obligations could extend tribal strength. Conquest was a means of extending territory and resources as well as labour, the vanquished adding to the labour pool as slaves.

From the time of Captain Cook's arrival in New Zealand, Maori demonstrated eagerness to trade and considerable enterprise. Anne Salmond has suggested that a number of specialist traders were located around the Cook Strait area, acting as middlemen in the exchange of South Island for North Island products, and that European goods such as nails offered them exciting new opportunities.⁴ Totara-nui's location as a key staging point for journeys across Cook Strait and close to the sources of argillite and greenstone (jade), meant that a number of tribal groups had occupied

¹ *New Zealand Herald*, 15 Nov 2001, p.D5.

² Mark W. Allen, *Pathways to Economic Power in Maori Chiefdoms: Ecology and Warfare in Prehistoric Hawke's Bay*, *Research in Economic Anthropology*, Greenwich, 17, 1996, pp.215-7

³ Joel S. Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, Vol. II, London, 1840, pp.158-9.

⁴ Ann Salmond, *Two worlds: first meetings between Maori and Europeans, 1642-1772*, Auckland, 1991, pp.70-71.

it over the generations, leaving small groups of descendants behind.⁵ One such entrepreneur may have been Te Wahanga who supplied Cook's *Resolution* with fish in early 1773 and reappeared with his family when Cook revisited Totara-nui in November carrying greenstone chisels and hatchets. Having learned of the ship's arrival, Te Wahanga, who calculated that greenstone would prove a far more valuable item of exchange than fish, made a six day round trip to acquire a worthwhile stock.⁶

Although accomplished fishermen, Maori had not been whalers, but eagerly joined whaling ships as soon as they appeared in New Zealand waters, becoming much sought after as crew.⁷ By the 1790s, Maori were travelling overseas and engaging even more directly in international trade. Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century journeys to the Pacific Islands, Australia, North and South America, Asia, and Europe familiarised Maori with overseas markets, products, and economic systems. But such travellers rarely broke ties with their kin groups in New Zealand and typically brought presents for their relatives and chiefs to reaffirm relationships on their return.⁸ They also brought innovations such as wheat cultivation and commercial dairy farming, which were first established in New Zealand by northern chiefs. That Maori pioneered these enterprises before Europeans attests to their ability and willingness to seek out and master new technologies to enhance their economic position.

Opportunities for export were avidly pursued by tribal leaders who travelled overseas seeking diplomatic and trading alliances with monarchs, governors, and merchants. In 1805, Te Pahi became the first influential Maori leader to visit New South Wales, expressing keen interest in cultural and technological exchange and welcoming Governor King's plan to settle a party of official observers under his protection at the Bay of Islands. His son, Matara, met George III on a visit to England shortly after.⁹ In 1820, Hongi Hika was introduced to George IV as was Te Pahi about five years later. Others sent gifts to reigning monarchs. This was a Maori response to the new environment, seeking alliances with leaders and communities perceived to have the greatest power internationally.

Some, such as Haupokia and Te Waru from the Waikato, sought partnerships directly with prominent businessmen. Their promise of abundant flax supplies and offer of a home and store for his agent enticed Joseph Montefiore to visit the west coast in 1830 where he established two traders.¹⁰ Like other Sydney and Hobart merchants, Montefiore and Company placed agents throughout New Zealand, supplying them with trade goods to purchase prepared flax.¹¹ Such traders remained under the protection and patronage of local chiefs, usually sealing their alliance by marriage to a member of the chiefly family. The many Maori women who managed tribal business interests and ensured optimal economic opportunities for their communities through the traditional mechanism of marriage alliance with foreign traders epitomised politico-economic relationships at the local level. The partnership of Ruawahine of Ngai Te Rangi and her husband, John Lees Faulkner, for example, ensured that Ruawahine's people obtained the goods they required while her status gave John the protection and sponsorship needed for his business to prosper. From the

⁵ Ibid, p.65.

⁶ Ibid, p.91.

⁷ A Maori recorded as 'John Begg' was engaged as pilot and boat-steerer of the *Mermaid* at Rio de Janeiro in February 1796. (W. H. Dawbin, 'The Maori Went A-whaling – and Became one of the World's Best Whalers', *Pacific Discovery*, 7 (4), 1954, San Francisco, p.19).

⁸ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: racial 'amalgamation' in nineteenth century New Zealand*, Auckland, 1973, pp.17-18.

⁹ Angela Ballara, 'Te Pahi', in Claudia Orange, ed, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vol. 1, Wellington, 1990, p.475.

¹⁰ N.a., 'The Early Traders on the West Coast', *Journal of the Auckland-Waikato Historical Societies*, 1976, 28, p19, & John O.C. Ross, 'William Stewart, Sealing captain, trader and speculator', Canberra, online, 1987, available at: <http://george.mdt.net.au/~waiti/Burns/Darling.htm> (7 Apr 2001)

¹¹ William L. Williams, *East coast (N.Z.) historical records*, Gisborne: [Reprinted from the *Poverty Bay Herald*], 1932, p.5.

trading post they established on her land at Otumoetai, they transported cargoes of flax, pigs, wheat and other produce to Kororareka and Auckland, as well as New South Wales.¹²

Maori eagerness to trade was remarked on by a number of observers.¹³ Robert Jarman, who reported a great many Maori in Sydney when he visited in 1833, described Maori generally as 'industrious, intelligent, bold, and enterprising'. He predicted that the size of their country, the productiveness of its soil, the spirit of its inhabitants, and its convenient situation for trade with Australia, Tahiti, and Hawaii, would cause it to become 'a place of considerable importance'.¹⁴

Maori were keenly sought after as trading partners. Pigs and potatoes, introduced by Cook and others for the convenience of western seafarers, proved lucrative trade items, but indigenous products such as flax were also in demand. 1831 was the peak year for the flax trade, 1182 tons being exported to Sydney, 800 of which had been contracted by the British Navy Board.¹⁵ Flax, hand-prepared by Maori, was particularly highly valued. According to Bishop Williams, people so eagerly threw themselves into the business that, for several years, the cultivation of crops and other occupations were very seriously neglected.¹⁶ By 1833, timber had replaced flax as the Maori's greatest export earner but the trade was not sustainable long-term and may have encouraged an intensification of agricultural production. Extractive industries such as sealing, whaling, flax and timber, rose and fell with the demands of an international economy, but the fluidity of Maori society and the negligible capital investment required for profitable participation, allowed Maori to adjust quickly.

In 1830, 28 ships averaging 110 tons made 56 voyages between Sydney and New Zealand carrying Maori grown potatoes and milled grain,¹⁷ and, although statistics vary greatly between sources, they all agree that 1831 saw a very healthy trade surplus.¹⁸ However, it must be remembered that Britain was not the Maori's primary customer prior to annexation. The early trade in sealskins was largely for the Chinese market, American ships outlasting those from Australia and Britain in this trade, and visiting whalers and trading ships also came increasingly from America.¹⁹ Other vessels came from France, Tahiti, Brazil, Portugal, the Netherlands, New South Wales, and Tasmania, and spars were destined for India and China.²⁰

Their economy was flourishing, but, in the face of commercial success, Maori also perceived the need for protection under international law. In 1830, the Hokianga-built ship, *Sir George Murray*, with chiefs Patuone and Taonui on board, was seized in Sydney for not flying a national flag. They were also concerned by rumours that France had designs on New Zealand, which

¹² Laurie Barber, 'Faulkner, Ruawahine Irihapeti', in Claudia Orange, ed, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vol 1, Wellington, 1990, p.119.

¹³ For example, see Polack, p.111.

¹⁴ Robert Jarman, *Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas in the "Japan" Employed in the Sperm Whale Fishery Under the Command of Capt. John May*, Beccles [England], 1838, p.149.

¹⁵ Williams, p.5.

¹⁶ Flax was the most lucrative product in this period but it was also a time of unprecedented Maori demand for muskets as a result of an arms race initiated by Hongi Hika's introduction of those weapons to New Zealand warfare in 1821. This abnormal demand for muskets was also a major factor driving flax production and causing the neglect of other pursuits. Williams, p.5. Flax was exported to Britain, France, America, and Sydney, and maize had been exported to Sydney and Adelaide in large quantities for a number of years prior to 1840 (Polack, pp.108-9).

¹⁷ Gordon McLauchlan, *The Farming of New Zealand*, Auckland, 1981, pp.64 & 66.

¹⁸ For example: Extract from Minute No. 66 Executive Council, 22 December 1831, CO. 201/221, Archives of New Zealand, Wellington; Ro Carrick, *Historical Records of New Zealand South*, Dunedin, 1903, pp.73 & 127; & A. S. Thompson, *The Story of New Zealand, Past and Present: Savage and Civilised*, Vol. II, p.324 (quoted in Muriel Lloyd Prichard, *An Economic History of New Zealand*, Auckland & London, 1970, p.16).

¹⁹ During the years 1833 to 1838, a total of 126 British whaling and 21 trading vessels visited the Bay of Islands, compared with 189 American whaling and 23 trading ships (List of vessels visiting the Bay of Islands supplied by James Busby to the Governor of New South Wales, cited in E. J. Tapp, *Early New Zealand: a dependency of New South Wales, 1788-1841*, Melbourne, 1958, p.177).

²⁰ E. J. Tapp, *Early New Zealand: a dependency of New South Wales, 1788-1841*, Melbourne, 1958, p.177; J. M. R. Owens, 'New Zealand before Annexation, in W. H. Oliver & B. R. Williams, eds, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Auckland, 1987, p.31; & Violet Ward, 'Immigrants and Immigration in the Auckland Province 1792-1876', MA thesis, University of New Zealand, 1943, p.16.

threatened their sovereignty - fears that were heightened by the arrival of the French vessel, *La Favorite*, in October 1831. Consequently, in late 1831, a number of northern chiefs petitioned King William IV for an economic and defence alliance. Their address, citing sales of timber, flax, pork, and potatoes to British traders, and claiming that his country was the only one well disposed to them, was laid before a meeting of the New South Wales Executive Council on 22 December 1831.²¹ Governor Darling and his successor, Major-General Sir Richard Bourke, stressed the importance of Maori trade to the colony of New South Wales and Great Britain. Bourke expressed eagerness to ‘conciliate the good will of the Chiefs’ and encourage the production of goods needed by Britain and New South Wales.²² Trade figures supplied by the Sydney Customs House, showing imports from New Zealand to that town with a declared value of £34,282 12s 0d and exports to New Zealand valued at £30,760 2s 9d between 1 January and 8 December 1831, were also laid before the Council. On the basis of these documents and representations made by missionaries and Sydney-based merchants, James Busby was appointed British Resident in 1833.

In March 1834, Busby convened a meeting of Maori chiefs to deal with the difficulties faced by Maori and European-owned shipping in international waters and problems with Sydney’s customs regulations.²³ The first New Zealand flag was selected on this occasion and, in the following year, a Declaration of Independence was signed by the Confederation of United Chiefs for the purpose of framing ‘laws for the dispensation of justice, the preservation of peace and good order, and *the regulation of trade*’ [Italics added]. Maori were strengthening their alliance with Britain but staunchly maintained their autonomy and continued to seek economic opportunities in traditional ways.

It seems likely that most overseas enterprises conducted by Maori prior to 1840 have gone unrecorded, accounts being more readily found of entrepreneurs who died in violent circumstances. Among these was a man identified as ‘Menini’ of ‘Woahoo’ (Waihou?), who traded with Wallis Island (Uvea) for some considerable time before he and his crew were killed in the early 1830s, and a group of five Maori whalers who established trading operations at Ponape in the Caroline Islands.²⁴ Little detail is available concerning Menini’s demise, but the Ponape group had married local women and formed such a relationship with the indigenous people that, when they killed two rival European traders who had planned to kidnap their wives, they were placed under the protection of the local chief and guarded by a force of fifty.²⁵ This implies that the principles of *mana whenua* (local authority) and reciprocal obligation formed the basis of their relationship.

Few records exist of how these businessmen conducted their enterprises, but an example from 1864 includes many features that suggest traditional systems operated more easily and for a longer period between Pacific peoples. In a venture that combined trade with politics, Ngati Whatua chief, Paora Tuhaere, took his 56-ton schooner, *Victoria*, to the Cook Islands that year, apparently seeking to encourage their annexation to New Zealand. After renewing an old acquaintance with Rarotongan chief, Kainuku Tamako, Tuhaere was honoured with an *ariki* (chiefly) title and allocated land to cultivate tropical crops for export back to New Zealand. The relationship was further strengthened by marriages between his party and the Cook Islanders.²⁶

Commerce between Maori and European required a greater degree of adjustment, but even the most fundamental of Maori cultural injunctions were flexible enough to facilitate interaction with those who did not share them. This is perhaps most evident in cases where non-Maori transgressed

²¹ Manuka Henare, ‘The Changing Images of Nineteenth-Century Maori Society – From Tribes to Nation’, PhD thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 2001, p.127.

²² Extract from Minute No. 66 Executive Council, 22 December 1831, CO. 201/221, Archives of New Zealand, Wellington.

²³ Manuka A. Henare, ‘The Changing Images of Nineteenth-Century Maori Society – From Tribes to Nation’, PhD thesis, Victoria University, 2001, p.130.

²⁴ Jarman, pp.148-150.

²⁵ Dorothy Shineberg, ed., *The Trading Voyages of Andrew Cheyne, 1841-44*, Wellington & Auckland, 1971, pp.286-7; & David Hanlon, *Upon a Stone Altar: A History of the Island of Pohnpei to 1890*, Honolulu, 1988, p.64.

²⁶ *Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri*, 27 June 1863, pp.1-2; Dick Scott, *Years of the Pooh-bah: a Cook Islands history*, Rarotonga, c1991, p.29.

the fundamental code of *tapu* (ritual prohibition). Incidents, such as touching the head of a chief that may have resulted in death for another Maori were excused in the case of outsiders if commercial advantage was perceived to be gained from a more diplomatic resolution.²⁷

But while some entrepreneurs established businesses overseas and others met with kings, governors, and merchants, still others sought alliances with missionaries to enhance their economic opportunities. Reverend Samuel Marsden, resident in Sydney from 1794 to 1838, had taken a particular interest in the evangelisation of Maori. Te Pahi had discussions with him on a visit to Sydney in late 1805 and early 1806, but plans to establish a Church Missionary Society station under his protection were foiled by the massacre of a ship's crew for which Te Pahi was, probably unjustly, held responsible.

At his home in Parramatta, Marsden provided instruction to visitors in fish-curing, ropemaking, brickmaking, and agriculture, together with moral and religious lessons.²⁸ Among a group that visited in 1814 were Hongi Hika who studied the mechanical arts, and Ruatara, who studied agriculture. When taken to see the process of weaving stockings on a loom, Ruatara remarked that Maori wanted hoes. They could do without stockings, but they did want bread.²⁹ Indeed, Ruatara went further. Because wheat was very scarce at Port Jackson at that time, he decided that on his return to New Zealand, he would cultivate surplus crops of wheat for export to Australia. He told Marsden that this venture would enable him to buy hoes, axes, spades, tea, and sugar and that New Zealand would consequently become 'a great country'.³⁰

Ruatara offered protection to the first missionaries in New Zealand but died shortly after their arrival. Hongi Hika, who subsequently took over the role of patron, staunchly defended missionaries and seamen alike against his own people, knowing that a reputation for peace and security would encourage traders, but he was equally determined to contain their activities within his territory.³¹

Initially desired for the economic benefits associated with their residence, missionaries gained prestige during the 1830s for other reasons. A decline in Maori health and population due to dietary change, lack of immunity to new viruses, and the adoption of European clothing, gave credence to missionary assertions that theirs was a superior god. This, a desire for literacy, and their role as peacemakers during a time of unprecedented violence, increased rates of conversion and widened the acceptance of Christian tenets.³²

In 1840, the relationship between Maori and the British was further strengthened when over 500 Maori signed the Treaty of Waitangi, a formal alliance with Queen Victoria, under which Britain would have *kawanatanga* (governance: administration and law) of New Zealand and Maori retain their *rangatiratanga* (chieftainship). Maori understood the arrangement to be one of partnership, reciprocal obligation, and mutual benefit with the guarantee of *rangatiratanga* ensuring autonomy over their own affairs.

²⁷ R. P. Wigglesworth has argued that Maori were initially quick to punish breaches of *tapu* but that instances diminished as trade with Europeans became more established ('The New Zealand Timber and Flax Trade 1769-1840', PhD thesis, Massey University, 1981, p. 231). Specific examples are described in Frank Rogers, 'Ranulph Dacre and Patuone's topknot', *Stout Centre Review*, 5, 1, Mar 1995, p.17; Williams, p.5; & W. H. Gifford & H. Bradney Williams, *A Centennial History of Tauranga*, Dunedin, 1940, p.162.

²⁸ G. S. Parsonson, 'Marsden, Samuel' in Claudia Orange, ed, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vol. 1, Wellington, 1993, p.272.

²⁹ Salmond, p.443.

³⁰ J. R. Elder, *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden 1765-1838*, Dunedin, 1932, p.70.

³¹ Angela Ballara, 'Hongi Hika', 'Ruatara', & 'Te Pahi', in Claudia Orange, ed., *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vol. 1, pp.201, 376, & 475. When Marsden visited the Hokianga in 1819, local leaders were anxious lest they incur Hongi's displeasure. When Marsden confirmed that he had consulted Hongi, who had sent his son as guide, they remarked that because his party had come 'without invitation, the chiefs had no ground to be offended with them' (J. R. Elder, *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden, 1765-1838*, Dunedin, 1932, p.189).

³² Michael Jackson, 'Literacy, Communications and Social Change' in I. H. Kawharu, ed., *Conflict and Compromise: Essays on the Maori since Colonisation*, Wellington, 1975, pp. 30 & 34; & Judith Binney, 'Christianity and the Maoris to 1840: A Comment', *New Zealand Journal of History*, II, October 1969, p.153.

However, the economic benefits expected to flow from this were short-lived as the imposition of customs duties encouraged shipping to divert to duty free ports overseas and Maori were no longer permitted to levy anchorage fees on shipping.³³ Revenues from the Port of Russell, which rose temporarily from £1,085 17s 8d in 1840 to £3,301 19s 6d in 1842 before dropping to £1,459 9s 11d in 1844, reflect the fortunes of Northland's Ngapuhi tribe which also suffered from the relocation of New Zealand's capital to Auckland in September 1840. Ngapuhi chief, Hone Heke, who protested the economic ill-effects of colonisation by chopping down the British flagstaff at Kororareka, turned to armed rebellion in 1845. Ngati Whatua and other groups near Auckland were now reaping the economic benefits of British settlement, but, as will be shown, these were also short-lived.

An immediate consequence of annexation was an influx of settlers, shifting the market focus from export to domestic consumption. As Charles Terry wrote in 1842:

At present there is no export of any consideration, and the few articles of native produce – pigs, maize, and potatoes, which of late years have been exported to Sydney, will now cease to be profitable and available for that market, on account of the wants of, and consequent good prices realised from, the new emigrants by the Natives, who are becoming daily more sensible of the value of their produce, and also of their labour.³⁴

Maori commercial behaviour prior to this is evidence that they had long been aware of relative values and were fully cognisant of an entirely new market situation. Whereas visiting ships had sought pork and potatoes for reprovisioning and flax and whale oil for on-sale, settlers wanted grain and fresh produce. During the early 1840s, European settlers at Auckland were able to obtain ample and inexpensive provisions from Maori traders. Pork, poultry, fish, potatoes, maize, melons, pumpkins, and other vegetables were initially brought from the Ngati Whatua cultivations at Orakei and Purewa about four kilometres away.³⁵ Other tribes, such as Ngati Paoa, who lived relatively close to Auckland, brought enormous quantities of produce by canoe.

Although the canoe trade remained important well into the 1850s, the purchase of trading ships to convey surplus production directly to centres of European settlement was a logical development, especially for tribes at a distance from centres of population.³⁶ But geography was significant in other ways. Edward Shortland described the people of Maketu as better fed and clothed than their neighbours because of their coastal location. By August 1843, they had already bought one schooner and nearly completed the purchase of another to expand their trade directly with Auckland and the Bay of Islands.³⁷ But Maori commerce continued to operate under its own laws and zones of authority were strictly enforced. Those wishing to take advantage of the geographical location or resources of other groups could secure access only by consent and by incurring reciprocal obligations, including military support for their hosts.

The agreement between Ngati Whatua and the Europeans to establish their capital in Auckland in 1840 is an important example of an alliance formed for the purpose of defence. Ngati Whatua benefited from this significant commercial opportunity and both parties gained security against potential aggression from the Ngapuhi tribe to the north.³⁸ Tribes from other parts of the country were invited to enter into such alliances or sought them more directly. With a journalistic

³³ Newspaper editor, Charles Terry, felt that a duty of £26.12s per ton for the protection of British shipping, was likely to encourage the 'surreptitious introduction into the Colony of oil and whalebone, from French and American whalers, when on the coasts (Charles Terry, *New Zealand: its advantages and prospects as a British colony, with a full account of the land claims, sales of Crown lands, aborigines, etc. etc.*, London, 1842, p.243).

³⁴ Terry, p.244.

³⁵ Russell C. J., Stone, *Young Logan Campbell*, Auckland, 1982, p.99.

³⁶ By the late 1840s, Maori control of the coastal trade was such that they no longer had any need for local European traders who were no longer able to make a living as middlemen (Ligar to Colonial Secretary, Enclosure in George Grey to Earl Grey, 15 Apr 1852, *Great Britain Parliamentary Papers, Colonies, New Zealand* (GBPP), Vol. 9, p110).

³⁷ Shortland to George Clarke, Chief Protector of Aborigines, from Akaroa, 14 August 1843 (Edward Shortland Manuscripts, MS86A, unpaginated photocopy, Auckland University Library).

³⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Orakei Claim*, Wellington, 4.1, 'The Treaty of Waitangi and Birth of Auckland', online, n.d., available at: <http://www.knowledge-basket.co.nz/waitangi/welcome.html> (3 January 2002)

sigh of relief, the *New Zealander* reported in 1846 that an anticipated visit of warlike intent had been prevented by amicable adjustment. Ngati Tama-Te-Ra's Taraia was instead coming for discussions with Ngati Whatua of Orakei. 'Some old family feud' was the reason given for pacifying and compensating Taraia who sought to gain a portion of Ngati Whatua land in order to raise produce for sale at Auckland.³⁹

Coastal groups could acquire sailing vessels to preclude making concessions or incurring obligations to their neighbours. Waitara, for example, bought the trading vessel *Hydrus* about 1845 to avoid having to cross Te Ati Awa territory to reach European traders at New Plymouth.⁴⁰ However, groups without an outlet to the sea could negotiate access. Ngati Whakaue from inland Tarawera, were obliged to trade through the coast dwellers who benefited from the arrangement. In order to deal directly with a European trader, they decided to encroach on Ngati Awa's territory at Matata, presenting a large war canoe to an unnamed chief at Waikato who they believed had enough influence to procure the required trader.⁴¹

But, while the old rules continued to have currency, missionary influence was considerably strengthened by annexation. The influx of predominantly Christian settlers and the establishment of an administration based on Christian values with the power to incorporate those values in legislation encouraged shifts away from traditional, flexible systems towards more rigid codes of behaviour based on scriptural interpretation and contemporary scientific theory rather than practical experience.

Although missionaries generally encouraged Maori commerce, this encouragement stressed agricultural production in the interests of their moral welfare and to avoid the racial extinction contemporary racial theory suggested was inevitable if they did not progress. Moreover, some felt that too much stress was placed on the material advancement of Maori at the expense of their spiritual advancement, and many discouraged involvement in shipping lest they be contaminated by exposure to the 'worst elements' of European society.⁴² Wheat growing and flourmills, however, received particular approval.

The Reverend John Morgan, stationed at Otawhao in the Waikato in the Waikato from 1841 to 1863, was especially convinced that wheat cultivation and flour milling were evidence of 'civilisation', a state that was necessarily concomitant with Christianity in the nineteenth-century European mind. For Morgan and others, wheat fields and flourmills were not merely symbolic but real signs of civilisation among Maori.⁴³ A symbiosis between Christianity and capitalism is clearly visible in contemporary thinking, especially among Protestants, as are conceptual links between biblical imperatives, 'civilisation', and the plough.

Allusions to ploughs, wheat, and bread are ubiquitous in missionary writings. Common figures of speech include comparing the good to the grain and the wicked to the chaff. Souls were to be 'harvested' and indigenous missionaries were referred to as 'leaven' among their people. Perhaps one of the most important biblical metaphors, from the settler point of view, was the injunction to turn spears into ploughshares. The government's Maori-language newspaper, *Maori Messenger*, which often used such metaphors, claimed that the warrior was indeed 'turning his spear into a ploughshare', the 'superstitious priest' was acquainted with Christianity, canoes were

³⁹ *New Zealander*, 4 Apr 1846, p.3. When George Grey left New Zealand in 1853, Taraia wrote: 'I am desirous to have some Europeans to reside on my land at Hauraki. ... Do not send them to Auckland, but let them reside with me' (C. O. Davis, *Maori Mementos: being a series of addresses, presented by the native people, to His Excellency Sir George Grey*, Auckland, 1855, p.61).

⁴⁰ N.a., 'Te Rerenga, Hone Wetere', in Claudia Orange, ed., *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vol. 2, Wellington, 1993, p.525.

⁴¹ Shortland to George Clarke, Chief Protector of Aborigines, from Akaroa, 14 August 1843 (Edward Shortland Manuscripts, MS86A, unpaginated photocopy, Auckland University Library).

⁴² William Williams persuaded a group of East Coast Maori to give up the idea of commencing an independent shore whaling operation on the East Coast (Harry Morton, *The Whale's Wake*, Dunedin, 1982, p.199).

⁴³ Kerry 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, University of Auckland, 1970.

being superseded by English vessels, the *pohue*⁴⁴ by wheat, and wealth was ‘found a more agreeable pursuit than that of war’.⁴⁵

For missionaries and others, the plough, as both object and concept, was a tool for assimilating Maori materially and spiritually. The Maori response, however, was primarily practical. From Hawkes Bay to Matata, when he needed to hire bearers, charter a ship, purchase a canoe, build a store at Matata, and a house at Tarawera, the Reverend T. S. Grace found ploughs the only acceptable tender. He stressed this essential practicality by explaining: ‘[t]hey will listen to theories with delight, but that is all. When they see a practical demonstration they get to work at once. This has been seen in the erection of flourmills.’⁴⁶ Assistant Native Secretary, C. L. Nugent’s request that wooden ploughs supplied to Maori be replaced by more durable iron ones implies a similar opinion: ‘if the Natives are furnished with Articles to which they may take an objection, they are very apt not to make use of them’.⁴⁷

In 1848, Tamati Waka Nene, who had opposed Heke during the Northern War of 1845-6, demonstrated his political astuteness by ordering machinery from Sydney to build a flourmill for Hone Heke’s people at Kaikohe. His offer to cover the cost by surrendering his government annuity for three years can be seen as an attempt to effect reconciliation between his people and Heke’s while simultaneously strengthening his reputation for peace and magnanimity with Europeans.⁴⁸ The desire for *mana* in both Maori and European worlds was a constant theme in chiefly undertakings.

With regard to missionary attitudes to Maori enterprise, Kerry Howe has argued that there was a double-standard; that Maori were supposed to be ‘comfortable’ rather than wealthy, and that when they began to amass too much wealth, ‘missionaries were the first to oppose them’.⁴⁹ Such attitudes were also evident among settlers and government officials.

From 1840, New Zealand mission stations operated in partnership with government, giving legal and other advice and disseminating printed material of a secular as well as a religious nature. The missionary, driven by biblical injunctions to make the land fruitful, and the politician by settler land hunger, each had an interest in encouraging Maori to adopt fixed habitations and intensive agricultural methods which would free more land for European settlement. The symbiotic alliance between missionary and administrator was particularly evident in the relationship between John Morgan and Governor George Grey. One sought material support for mission development, the other clerical support for political agendas. In 1853, Morgan suggested to Grey that valuable, fixed property, such as flourmills, barns, and churches, could not easily be removed from the line of fire in time of war, and the potential loss of such assets would dissuade Maori from armed rebellion.⁵⁰ He also felt that good relations between Maori and government would hasten their adoption of European lifestyles and that settled habitations would allow both missionary and government better control of the Maori population. But fixed property and settled habitations diminished the flexibility inherent in earlier, more fluid patterns of domicile, and the adoption of European-style homes and clothing increased living expenses. Grey’s strategies to bring Maori into the capitalist fold, strengthen their bonds with government, and lessen inclinations to war, commonly known as his ‘flour and sugar’ policy, included provision of grants and loans for the purchase of ships, flourmills, and agricultural implements. However, these were only available to influential chiefs who supported his government and were willing to sell land.⁵¹

⁴⁴ A name given to several trailing or climbing plants.

⁴⁵ *Maori Messenger* (MM), 31 Oct 1856, p.2.

⁴⁶ 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, pp.62-63.

⁴⁷ Nugent to the Colonial Secretary, 20 Aug 1851, Maori Affairs Dept Series 4, Outward letter books 1840-1916, Archives of New Zealand, Wellington.

⁴⁸ *New Zealander*, 8 Apr 1838, p.3.

⁴⁹ Howe, p.92.

⁵⁰ Morgan to Grey, 3 Jan 1853, Grey Collection, GLNZM44, Letter 19, Auckland City Library.

⁵¹ The importance of influence is clearly demonstrated by a note from Donald McLean, who became Chief Land Purchase Commissioner in 1853, appended to a letter requesting a plough with which to grow wheat to supply their

The extent to which Maori were genuinely absorbing western religious, social, and economic ideas is difficult to assess. Letters and speeches suggest that many were, but it might equally be the case that these professions of support were politically motivated, given the likely rewards in terms of material assistance. Conceptual links between flourmills and peace were particularly evident at times of tension, as when Acting Governor Wynyard visited the Waikato following a hostile incident between tribal groups. Each of the thirteen Maori speakers stressed a desire to cultivate and remain at peace, but their understanding that land sales were essential for obtaining assistance is also evident. Arama Karaka confirmed his promise to sell six blocks of land to Grey: 'I will fulfil my promise, and then cease with land; then I will live in peace. All the chiefs of Waikato wish for mills, so that we may have food for our children'. Moki responded: 'we will have a mill. ... Arama said he had sold six blocks of land and would sell no more; let him cease, I will sell the rest.' Yet another pledged: 'I will only fight with a mill. My head shall be down and my heels up in working at a mill. Give a mill, a mill.' Only two of the thirteen did not specifically ask for a mill.⁵²

One month before hostilities broke out between their neighbour, Te Hapuku, and the Europeans, a group of Heretaunga chiefs wrote to the *Hawkes Bay Herald*, welcoming European settlement in their region, expressing a desire to follow 'those pursuits that will tend to advance and improve our condition; such as the erection of flour-mills, the production of food, the breeding of sheep, and so forth', and adding: 'Were we to turn upon the Pakeha, we should be shutting up the road by which we receive all these advantages...'.⁵³ Their message contained all the essential elements for success: they were influential chiefs, loyal to government, intimating that they would make land available for settlement, and cognisant of the philosophical link between flourmills and peace. Six years on, they publicly welcomed Europeans and Maori to opening celebrations for their flourmill at Pawhakauro, the real purpose of the gathering being to assure settlers of their peaceful intent while fighting raged elsewhere.⁵⁴

But biblical imperatives had been gaining allies from the world of science as well as politics. Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, a leading figure in the British abolitionist movement, came to be recognised as an expert on the needs of Africans. He argued that European discoveries concerning tropical agriculture would allow African waste districts to be 'reclaimed' in half the time, and at half the expense, than it would cost the inhabitants. But he looked to the *moral* effects, claiming that those 'who carried the spade and the plough into barbarous countries were ranked with the deities'.⁵⁵ His ideas became so widely accepted by Europeans that they were applied to 'uncivilised' peoples more generally and gave the notion of plough-as-civiliser a significance beyond the clergy.

Ideas from the newly developing 'science' of Political Economy sometimes sat uneasily with those of the missionaries, but supported many of their prescriptions for Maori commerce. William Fox, who would become Premier of New Zealand on four, albeit brief, occasions, was described as a 'perfect disciple of Adam Smith [who] reduces everything in life to £.s.d. and Manchester opinions'.⁵⁶ In his book, *The Six Colonies of New Zealand*, a substantial piece of New Zealand Company propaganda, Fox explained that Maori depression was the result of contact with civilised men: the 'great ships that throng his harbours', the magnificent buildings, the colonist's watch, plough, axe and pocket-knife 'all declare in a language ... he cannot misunderstand, that it is a superior race which has come to share his country'. Hence, according to Fox, the 'savage' could

mill. It stated that although a 'well conducted and quiet body of people', the writers were of 'no great influence' (Hori Takeri [Takerei?], Maka Te Papa, Ngawena Tamarua, and Ngawaka to Grey, Manawatu, 20 July 1853, Grey MS Letters, GNZ MA683, Letter 411, Auckland City Library).

⁵² Enclosure 1 in Wynyard to Grey, 22 Feb 1855, GBPP Vol. 10, pp.86-90.

⁵³ Supplement to the *New Zealander*, 4 Nov 1857, p.2.

⁵⁴ *Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri*, 11 Jul 1863 p.3 & 25 Jul 1863, p.1 & pp.1-2.

⁵⁵ Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, *The African Slave Trade And Its Remedy*, London, 1840, p.339.

⁵⁶ John Miller, *Early Victorian New Zealand: a study of racial tension and social attitudes, 1839-1852*, London, 1958, p.170.

only ‘[sit] down and [brood] in silence until his appointed time’.⁵⁷ Given that he wrote in the year a partial crop failure in Australia and Tasmania caused flour to rise to the ‘famine’ price of 25s per hundredweight and bread to 6d for a two pound loaf,⁵⁸ Fox’s Maori ‘depression’ may have emanated from the realms of theory and wishful thinking rather than reality.

Fox had been heavily influenced by the political economist, Archbishop Richard Whately, who wrote prolifically on matters of theology, emigration, the nature of ‘savages’, and political economy.⁵⁹ Drawing on his writings concerning the alleged beneficial impact of civilised people on savages, Fox compared the mission settlements at Otaki and Waikanae unfavourably with another Maori community at Motueka, which he claimed had been subject to no missionary or government interference, but had a ‘close and harmonious’ intercourse with European colonists. On the basis of Sir Fowell Buxton’s deep study of such subjects, Fox invoked the use of the plough as the ‘best test of the progress of civilization among savages’. Using statistical data on the population of each settlement and the number of acres in wheat and other produce, Fox argued that far more cultivation took place on the ‘free intercourse’ or *laissez-faire* system which allowed colonists to employ Maori without the barriers imposed by the missionaries’ ‘separate system’.⁶⁰ But despite suggestions that Maori did not ‘fully understand’ market fluctuations,⁶¹ they were typically unmoved by the gospel of *laissez-faire*, being more inclined to protect communal interests by fixing prices for goods and services.⁶² Like missionaries, merchants, and other politicians, Governor George Grey, a protégé of Whately, was keen to instruct Maori in the ‘laws’ of political economy.⁶³

The first government-sponsored newspaper for Maori, *Ko Te Karere o Nui Tireni*, appeared in January 1842. In its various incarnations, *Te Karere Maori* or the *Maori Messenger* had a heavy bias towards matters of commerce and political economy, interspersed with Christian messages, lessons on childcare, appropriate work for women, and general knowledge. It typically contained lists of market prices, shipping movements, and agricultural instruction.⁶⁴ Particularly noteworthy, however, are a series of items headed ‘Origin of the wealth of the English people’, which appeared between February and March 1849. Covering subjects as diverse as the superiority of the English language and international shipping trade, the suitability of harbour areas for ship-building, and how occupational specialisation led to improvements in the design of ploughs and ships, these articles were undeniably derived from Adam Smith’s *Origin of the Wealth of Nations*.⁶⁵ The third instalment referred to the ship-owning Ngati Tama people of Golden Bay, claiming that they

⁵⁷ William Fox, *The Six Colonies of New Zealand*, London, 1851, pp.56-7.

⁵⁸ *Southern Cross*, 25 Feb 1851.

⁵⁹ He had come under the influence of Whately while a student at Oxford University and also had social connections with him (James Bertram, ed., *The Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger: (1850-1900)*, Auckland, 1980, p.85).

⁶⁰ Fox, pp.77-81. In an appeal to Earl Grey, urging restoration of their ‘privileges of self-government’, the Settlers’ Constitutional Association reiterated Fox’s argument concerning the higher levels of civilisation among Maori on the southern shores of Cook’s Straits versus the northern. They mentioned Te Puni being the only Maori on the northern side known to use the plough and suggested that Sir George Grey’s trust in Hone Heke and Te Rauparaha had been misplaced due to ‘the practice of estimating their civilization by false tests’ (GBPP Vol. 7, p.94).

⁶¹ MM, 31 Jul 1856, pp.3-4.

⁶² See for example: Monty Soutar, ‘Ngaati Porou Leadership – Raapata Wahawaha and the Politics of Conflict’, PhD thesis, Massey University, 2000, p.150; & Rev. Charles Baker, entry for 4 Nov 1850 (Papers of Rev. Charles Baker, Journal Jan 1849-1858, Auckland Institute and Museum Library, MS22). The Rangiaowhia *runanga* (committee) passed a law to prevent the sale of produce to Europeans in order to secure supplies for Maori and raise prices (*Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR) 1862 E no. 9 Sec. III, p.12) cited in Howe, p.178), and Heretaunga *runanga* fixed prices for sheep shearing (*Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri*, 17 Oct 1863, p.2).

⁶³ Whately had an undeniable influence on George Grey, firstly as his teacher and later as his mentor. He was instrumental in Grey’s 1841 appointment as Governor of South Australia and continued to correspond with Grey as Governor of New Zealand (George Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, New York & London, c1987, p.85).

⁶⁴ As a correspondent to the Wellington *Independent* noted, the information offered to Maori in such papers was ‘interspersed with useful, moral, amusing and interesting lessons suited to their comprehension and *adapted to the wants of the colony*’ [Italics per in original] (*Wellington Independent*, 21 July 1849, p.2).

⁶⁵ MM, 1 & 15 Feb, & 1, 15 & 29 March 1849. The second part of the series, which reiterated Smith’s arguments concerning the benefits of the division of labour in terms of efficiency, was repeated in government-sponsored newspapers during 1860 and 1875 (January 1860 p7-8; & *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani*, Vol. 11, No. 11, 25 May 1875, pp.103-4).

previously cultivated only potatoes and maize, but had become wealthy from large-scale wheat cultivation and extensive trading operations. Wheat was portrayed as the initial step to success, and vessels to transport it, the key to maximising profit levels.⁶⁶

Issue after issue of the *Maori Messenger* extolled the virtues of wheat compared with the longer-standing crop of potatoes. Its messages, which combined imperatives from the Bible, the 'laws' of Political Economy, and the demands of the colony, insisted that wheat would not only make Maori materially wealthy, but enrich them morally and spiritually. An item addressed 'to the Maories of New Zealand' and sub-headed 'a few words of political economy', contains a number of frequently repeated themes. Beginning with an explanation of the laws of Progress, including the idea that to be inactive was to retrograde and that to retrograde was to perish, readers were exhorted to 'emulate the Pakeha [European] in the honest, industrious pursuit of wealth' and to note that it was not enough to grow potatoes for their own consumption but to:

Become agriculturists in the true sense of the word. GROW WHEAT. You will thus become rich, and, with the precepts of your Missionaries and friends to guide you, you will also become happy. Bread, from the earliest ages, has been the staff of life. The most distinguished nations of the earth have always, from time immemorial, cultivated wheat as their principal article of food. Heathens deified corn. Christians regard it as a blessing only second to Revelation. Potatoes have only been known by civilised nations for about three hundred years. ... Experience has taught us that from its exclusive use as food an infinite variety of social evils will always spring.⁶⁷

The ideological basis behind the ardent promotion of wheat growing and flourmill construction during the 1840s and early 1850s⁶⁸ was to be underscored by European prescribers' refusal to change tack when the market collapsed in 1855.⁶⁹ Factors leading to this state of affairs had been predicted by Charles Terry in 1842 in response to suggestions that New Zealand might become the granary of Australia. He correctly noted that 'the prices of wheat and flour, fluctuate considerably in [Australia]' and that New Zealand producers would face fierce competition from South America and Tasmania.⁷⁰ When that slump eventually occurred, Maori were chastised for not understanding market forces, for withholding supplies in hopes of obtaining 'famine prices', or for their 'childishness' and 'lack of manly forethought' in abandoning wheat cultivation when prices fell.⁷¹

A more comprehensive lesson in political economy was offered in an 1851 translation to Maori of Bishop Whately's *Easy Lessons on Money Matters*.⁷² Like most settlers, missionaries, and administrators, Whately argued that to ensure the proper cultivation of land, it had to be private property. References to the Bible and 'half-savage' Tartars, supported his contention that a nomadic lifestyle and insecurity of tenure made cultivation unthinkable 'when another might reap the harvest'.⁷³

⁶⁶ MM, 15 Feb 1849, p.2.

⁶⁷ MM, 14 Aug 1851, p.3. The nature of these 'social evils' was not explained but was likely to have been a response to the Irish potato famines of the 1840s.

⁶⁸ For example, *Ko Te Karere o Nui Tireni*, 1 Nov 1844, p.56; *Maori Messenger*, 14 Aug 1851; p.2; 17 Jun 1852, p.3; 1 Jul 1852, p.2; and 15 Jul 1852, p.3.

⁶⁹ Exports of grain fell from £82,000 in 1855 to £24,000 in 1856 or from 22% of exports to 8% with the end of the Australian goldrush (Prichard, p.81).

⁷⁰ Terry, pp.253-257.

⁷¹ For example, MM, 31 Dec 1859, p.3. In 1857, Resident Magistrate, F. D. Fenton, had reported from the Waikato that '[t]he 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. It is an admitted fact that agriculture does not pay a European, and 3s. a bushel is certainly a small price even for a Native' (AJHR 1860 E No. 1c, p.24).

⁷² There were many in Britain who felt that educating the population, especially the working classes, in political economy, would help to counter the rise of Chartism. *Easy Lessons on Money Matters: For the Use of Young People* was first published in Ireland in the 1830s. The chapter 'On Value', translated into Maori, also appeared in two parts in the *Maori Messenger* on 28 Feb & 15 Aug 1857.

⁷³ Richard Whately, *He Pukapuka ako tenei i nga ritenga pai e-maha, o roto o te taonga nei o te moni, i nga tikanga pai hoki, o te hokohoko, o te aha, o te aha ...*, translated by Henry Tacy Kemp, Auckland, 1851, p.62.

The political economic and Christian beliefs of the mid-nineteenth century supported the process of colonisation by promoting the individualisation of Maori property and the ethic of individual effort. A desire for individual wealth was expected to elevate ‘intellectual and moral perceptions’, and the desire for better houses, more suitable clothing and greater cleanliness to assist Christian civilization’.⁷⁴ Communal ownership of land, on the other hand, was said to cause quarrels and bloodshed, and prevent Maori from advancing in civilisation, industriousness, and prosperity.⁷⁵ To foster Maori industry and ‘hasten on the period when ... imports [would] no longer exceed ... exports’, awards were offered at regattas and exhibitions,⁷⁶ including prizes for the best plough and pair of horses and the best plough and pair of bullocks, being the ‘property of one person’.⁷⁷ However, a report concerning Auckland’s 1854 Anniversary Regatta casts doubt on the potency of such incentives. Lamenting the lack of interest shown by Maori and Europeans in small canoe races unless ‘tempted by Prizes to an amount which the Committee did not feel warranted to offer’, the report admitted there was ‘no lack of enthusiasm or exertion’ for the large canoe race involving crews of about fifty men.⁷⁸

There were many ironies in European criticisms of Maori social organisation. On the one hand, Maori were urged towards individual ownership of property, on the other, tribal groups were criticised for not combining in the purchase of ships and flourmills.⁷⁹ These criticisms may have been based on a misunderstanding of Maori systems because *hapu* clearly did combine resources to purchase these assets, presumably under traditional understandings of reciprocity and obligation.⁸⁰ This would make it likely that contributions came from allied *hapu* rather than neighbours in dispute over territorial boundaries, for example. An 1849 argument over proprietary rights to a trading ship suggests a hierarchical arrangement of kin groups in communal ownership.

This dispute, which involved Te Kawhia of the Ngati Paeko tribal group, his brother, Manuera, of Ngai Tonu, and Ihaka Tupou, leader of Ngati Umutahi, arose when a married woman from Ngati Umutahi ‘conceived a passion’ for Manuera and went to live with him. Compensation was demanded and Ihaka received a double-barrelled gun, but his missionary subsequently advised him not to allow the others to have anything to do with the communally-owned schooner, *Rebecca*, and to refund their contribution. Te Kawhia listed the goods he contributed as 20 large pigs, 10 baskets of corn, 20 baskets of flax, and 250 baskets of potatoes. Ihaka disputed the number of pigs and baskets of potatoes paid, but added significantly, that ‘the potatoes, flax etc. given to me by Te Kawhia’s party were grown on my land’. We must assume that this was not an issue when the vessel was purchased and is, therefore, an intimation that Ihaka had greater *mana* or authority over communal land. Ihaka affirmed his status further by stating that he had paid over the total price of £253, including Te Kawhia and Manuera’s contribution valued at £23.15s. The case was peacefully resolved by a European magistrate who ruled that Ihaka pay Te Kawhia his money back, plus interest for the two years he had no benefit from the *Rebecca*, and that they make no further claim on the vessel.⁸¹ This decision would seem to have met the demands of European justice while simultaneously reinforcing the traditional hierarchy.

⁷⁴ *New Zealander*, 18 Nov 1857, p.3.

⁷⁵ MM, 30 Jun 1857, p.1-2.

⁷⁶ *Southern Cross and New Zealand Guardian*, 17 Jun 1848, p.2.

⁷⁷ MM, 31 Jan 1850, p.1.

⁷⁸ *New Zealander*, 1 Feb 1854, p.2.

⁷⁹ Contemporary examples include Ashwell to the Church Missionary Society, 21 Jul 1859, Letters & Journals of the Rev. Benjamin Ashwell, Vol. II, p.313 (typescript), MSS A-172, University of Auckland Library. Similar criticisms continue to appear in historiography including in Paul Monin, *This Is My Place, Hauraki Contested 1769-1875*, Wellington, 2001, p.125.

⁸⁰ Numerous examples of such co-operation might be cited including the uniting of Anglicans, Wesleyans, and Roman Catholics to erect a mill at Rangiaowhia (Morgan to Grey, 20 Nov 1849, Enclosure 5 in No. 33 George Grey to Earl Grey, GBPP Vol. 6, p.108) and a party of 200 from Kawhia and Aotea were assisting local chief, Te Waru, to cut the water courses (Morgan to Grey, 16 May 1853, letter 22, Grey MS, GLNZM44, Auckland City Library, Auckland). A list of subscribers to Ngati Hikairo’s mill at Kawhia included Ngati Hikairo, Ngati Maniapoto, Ngatitiaroha [sic], the Matenui tribe, and Ngati Waitupu, as well as many individuals (MM, 1 Feb 1855, p.12.).

⁸¹ MM, 11 Sep 1851, pp.1-2.

But the position of slaves was another aspect of the social order seriously affected by colonisation and contemporary British sensitivities concerning slavery.⁸² One chief expressed his concerns to the Governor in early 1848, pointing out that his slaves were prisoners of war kept as payment for relatives who had fallen. Now, he claimed, they would not obey his orders to work and social disorder including theft and adultery had resulted.⁸³ Once again, a dispute over proprietary rights to a trading vessel reveals how the colonising process was altering social relations.

An incident involving a prominent Te Arawa chief and a Christian group, largely comprised of ex-slaves, concerned their refusal to comply with traditional law or chiefly direction by paying a horse as compensation for a case of adultery. The Christians' response included writing to the government-sponsored newspaper and sending a representative to visit the Governor. Ignoring the principal of common ownership, they claimed that the adulterer had contributed only £5 towards the total purchase price of £195, and questioned the justice of innocent people suffering for the misconduct of one – an allusion to European concepts of individual responsibility and proportional shareholding.⁸⁴ By aligning with Christianity and British law, this group were asserting their freedom and thumbing their noses at the traditional servitude of the vanquished.

Despite the opportunities available for individuals to opt out, traditional patterns of communal ownership, co-operative labour, migratory, and seasonal work continued throughout the nineteenth and well into the twentieth centuries. Those receiving wages or other individual earnings typically contributed to communal assets,⁸⁵ and although mid-nineteenth-century wheat fields were generally owned by extended family groups, they were worked by *hapu* or wider communities of inter-related families.⁸⁶ Work was performed by 'ohu' or working-bees, comprising the whole community or *hapu*, who moved from field to field until all the community's fields were finished. Workers were unpaid, expecting only to be fed. The laws of hospitality and *mana* ensured that the fattest of the family's pigs were reserved for the *ohu*.⁸⁷

Because flour, the European staple, had also become a popular food amongst Maori. The purchase of water-powered mills enabled communities to be self-sufficient in flour and maximise profit levels on their surplus production. Through the 1840s and early 1850s, wheat cultivation and mill construction expanded rapidly, especially in areas that enjoyed the Governor's patronage. The exact number of mills owned by Maori cannot be calculated accurately because they are not consistently classified or referred to.⁸⁸ However, a report from the Government Inspector of Mills

⁸² Evidence given to a British Select Committee on New Zealand in 1844 included Mr. Roebuck's statement that he had advised the first governor, William Hobson, to proclaim that slaves were to have their liberty and that 'the British flag never flew over a nation of slaves' (GBPP Vol. 2, p.21).

⁸³ Ngapora to Grey, 19 Feb 1848, Enclosure No. 7 in Governor Grey to Earl Grey, 3 Apr 1848, GBPP Vol. 6, p.19.

⁸⁴ The information concerning this incident comes from an unsigned letter addressed to the *Maori Messenger*, 18 Oct 1849, Grey New Zealand Manuscripts, Autograph Series Vol. 20, GNZMA 686, Auckland City Library; typescript letter to Rev. A. N. Brown from Ngae, 19 Oct [no year stated but presumed to be 1849], MS56, Chapman Letters & Journals, Folder 4, Auckland Museum Library; and translation of letter to the Governor from Tohi, Maketu, 15 Oct 1849, GBPP Vol. 6, p.107.

⁸⁵ For example, when the schooner, *Adah*, was damaged in 1858, members of the tribal group worked hard, pooling their individual earnings to pay off the debt owed by the registered owner (Judith Binney, *Redemption Songs: A life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*, Auckland, 1995, p.20); & men employed as government militia contributed a fixed proportion of their regular pay towards a community meeting house being built at Taheke, Rotoiti, in the late 1860s (Roger Neich, 'The Veil of Orthodoxy: Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving in a Changing Context', in S. M. Mead & B. Kernot, eds, *Art and Artists of Oceania*, Palmerston North, 1983, p.253).

⁸⁶ Soutar, p.145; Reweti T. Kohere, *The Story of a Maori Chief: Mokena Kohere and his Forbears*, Wellington, 1949, pp.28-9.

⁸⁷ Kohere, pp.28-9.

⁸⁸ References may be to the chiefly owner, such as 'Tamati Hapimana's mill', the tribal group, such as 'Ngati Hikairo's mill', or to the location. The last case is particularly problematic as there can be more than one mill at a given location - Rangiaowhia old mill, Rangiaowhia new mill, or simply 'the mill at Rangiaowhia', for example. Three mills at Kawhia, each occasionally known as 'the Kawhia mill', were also referred to as Mangapapa, Rangataiki, and Mahoe or Waiharakeke - Mahoe, the place (also spelt as 'Mahoi'), and Waiharakeke, the river, being the location of a single mill (Report from Government Inspector of Mills, *New Zealand Gazette*, Vol. IV, No. 22, 20 Jun 1856, p.134; & Letter from Kawhia mill-owners to Waikato mill-owners, MM, 31 Aug 1857, p.41).

compiled in June 1856 listed 29 plus 4 more 'about to be constructed' in the Waikato and Rotorua districts alone.⁸⁹ At least six operated in Taranaki during the 1850s, as well as others in Wellington, the Eastern Bay of Plenty, Heretaunga, and elsewhere

One advantage of Maori prosperity, which some sought to keep in the settler mind, was that they constituted a very significant market, not only for millwrights and shipbuilders, but also for British and Australian imports. Robert Fitzroy suggested that those who viewed Maori as 'impediments to the prosperity of British settlers' should consider that they were the settlers' best customers, paying 'in ready money', 'native produce', land, or labour, and that settlers consumed surprising quantities of Maori produce at low prices.⁹⁰

In 1848, George Grey suggested to Earl Grey that the Maori market for manufactured goods was already of considerable consequence to British merchants although, because much of it passed through Sydney, its significance may have been obscured by seeming to be trade with New South Wales. Grey also explained the decline in exports, which continued until 1849, as being due to the large influx of immigrants and Maori turning their attention to wheat and farm produce as the most profitable enterprise. He also added that local consumption of their produce 'merely renders the transaction so much more profitable for the country, as the cost of shipment and other charges are saved.'⁹¹ But Grey's pragmatism was to go even further the following year. Among reasons for not hurrying 'a contest with the natives', he sanguinely remarked that for 'each individual who fell in such a conflict, it might have been said that from his ignorance a man had been destroyed whom a few months' enlightenment would have rendered a good subject, a valuable consumer of British manufactured goods, and a contributor to the revenue'.⁹²

Advertisements in Maori-language newspapers and complaints from unsuccessful would-be suppliers attest to the importance of Maori custom in both New Zealand and New South Wales. But despite considerable public recognition of the value of Maori enterprise - by way of cheap foodstuffs, as customers for imported goods, and as contributors to the colonial revenue - there was also a more quietly expressed resentment that they were too successful for settler comfort.

Maori demand for trading vessels formed the basis of a local shipbuilding industry and their custom was eagerly sought.⁹³ Shipping agents, brokers, shipwrights, and engineers offered their services in Maori language newspapers as did millers, millwrights, and water surveyors. Yet Tizard Brother's, regular advertisers in the *Maori Messenger*, were insulted by the interest taken in their customers' enterprise. They complained that the organising committee of an 1857 exhibition considered 'vegetables, flowers, stuffed birds, ferns, and Maories' as of 'more importance than mill-castings' and suggested that their wares had consequently been allotted an unfavourable position.⁹⁴

The *Southern Cross* newspaper attacked the colonists' chauvinism on purely economic grounds. One editorial of this nature derided George Rennie for choosing to locate his 'New Edinburgh' settlement in the South Island because there were 'no natives' there. It suggested that Maori, 'if properly treated', would 'continue to be the [colonists'] greatest benefit' and supported the argument with a table comparing the costs of basic foodstuffs in Auckland, Nelson, and Wellington to show that prices were considerably lower in Auckland, being one of the advantages of residence near a large native population.⁹⁵

But, as early as 1846, there were signs that these advantages were not altogether appreciated and that political expediency may have seen short-term benefits overriding longer-term economic stability. One observer criticised what he believed to be precipitous land sales, which threatened to

⁸⁹ *New Zealand Gazette*, Vol. IV, No. 22, 20 Jun 1856, p.134.

⁹⁰ Robert Fitzroy, *Remarks on New Zealand in February 1846*, London, 1846, p.67.

⁹¹ Sir George Grey to Earl Grey, 17 Mar 1848, GBPP Vol. 6, pp.103-4.

⁹² Sir George Grey to Earl Grey, 9 Jul 1849, GBPP Vol. 6, p.193. This despatch also remarks that 'there can be no doubt that they are, for warfare in this country, even better equipped than our own troops'.

⁹³ Waitangi Tribunal, *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Orakei Claim*, 4.1: 'The Treaty of Waitangi and Birth of Auckland', online, n.d., available at: <http://www.knowledge-basket.co.nz/waitangi/welcome.html> (3 January 2002)

⁹⁴ *New Zealander*, 14 Nov 1857, p.3 & 18 Nov 1857, p.3.

⁹⁵ *Southern Cross*, 20 Apr 1844, p.2.

leave Auckland's Fort Street without any access to the sea and thereby render the Maori marketplace inaccessible to canoes. '[W]hat [could] be more absurd than thus to prevent the convenient access of those, on whom the Town of Auckland is so dependent for its daily supplies of food', he asked.⁹⁶

George Grey shared such views, pointing out that Maori not only comprised the majority of the population but that their large contribution to the revenue was likely to increase to the point that the proportion paid by Europeans would form but a small part of the total. He added, prophetically, that there was 'no nation in the world more sensitive upon the subject of money matters, or the disposal of their property; and no people that I am acquainted with, less likely to sit down quietly under what they may regard as injustice.'⁹⁷

However, there were always those who considered that primacy in the market was a European right.⁹⁸ An 1848 editorial in the *New Zealander*, having affirmed that Maori were the largest purveyors of foodstuffs, added pointedly: 'so large indeed as nearly to monopolize the market and to exclude the European settlers from the field of competition'.⁹⁹ According to rival newspaper, the *Southern Cross*, it was thanks to the 'remarkable intelligence, docility, and acute commercial industry' of the 'native husbandman' that breadstuffs were not in even shorter supply. Indeed this paper regularly argued that the Maori population was 'one of the most available elements of European prosperity' and that the 'advantages of native labour, native production, and native expenditure' became more obvious every year [*Italics per in original*].¹⁰⁰

William Brown, prominent businessman, proprietor of the *Southern Cross*, and fierce opponent of the Grey and Fitzroy administrations, wrote privately that Maori cultivation and produce were 'a main source' of the 'prosperity which we enjoy'.¹⁰¹ His firm, Brown and Campbell, benefited from cheap Maori produce and from their custom. Having made profits from 20 to 75 per cent on blankets, they eventually opened a retail shop catering specifically for the 'native trade'.¹⁰² Brown's partner, John Logan Campbell, acknowledged the advantages of proximity to a Maori population, but still held Maori in contempt. When Hone Heke was indicating his dissatisfaction with British government by chopping down the flagstaff at Kororareka, Campbell, who referred to Maori as 'niggers', suggested that 'one good whipping' would turn them into 'good children'.¹⁰³ Such attitudes were manifesting themselves politically.

As Sir George Grey advised Earl Grey in 1851, New Zealand was then composed of six principal European towns, each carrying on an independent trade with Great Britain and the Australian colonies, but with 'hardly any interchange of commerce' between them, because their individual productions and requirements were virtually the same.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, argued Grey, the already considerable and increasing coasting trade, chiefly carried on in vessels owned and manned by Maori, was between Maori settlements and the principal European town from which they obtained their supplies.

An 1855 petition seeking to separate the Province of Auckland from the political hegemony of the southern provinces, argued the justice of its cause on the basis that Auckland's British and Maori population exceeded the total of all the other provinces and that she contributed four-ninths of the six province's total revenue.¹⁰⁵ The fact that Auckland's commercial dominance dissolved

⁹⁶ *New Zealander*, 11 Apr 1846, p.2.

⁹⁷ Extracts of a despatch from Governor Grey to Earl Grey, 3 May 1847, *Southern Cross and New Zealand Guardian*, 29 Apr. 1848, p.3.

⁹⁸ *New Zealand Gazette*, 11 Jan 1843.

⁹⁹ *New Zealander*, editorial, 14 Sep 1848.

¹⁰⁰ *Southern Cross*, 25 Feb 1851, p.2. Items of a similar nature appeared on many occasions, including the *New Zealander*, 13 Feb 1847; *Southern Cross* 13 May 1851, p.2; 2 Jan 1852, p.3. & 16 Mar 1852, p.2.

¹⁰¹ Brown to J. S. Adam, 30 April 1852, VII, cited in Pearson, M. N. 'Brown and Campbell in Early Auckland 1840-56', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1964, p.5.

¹⁰² Stone, p.133.

¹⁰³ M. N. Pearson, 'Brown & Campbell in Early Auckland 1840-56', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1964, p.21.

¹⁰⁴ Governor Grey to Earl Grey, 30 August 1851, GBPP Vol. 8, p.23.

¹⁰⁵ Petition of Auckland Provincial Councillors, Enclosure 1 in Wynyard to Grey, No. 54, 18 May 1855, GBPP Vol. 10, p.117.

by 1856, much the same time as that of Maori, supports the contention that Maori commercial enterprise was responsible for the prosperity the colony enjoyed in the 1840s and early 1850s.

However, as the European population increased and tension over the availability of land heightened, not only did their recognition of Maori contributions to development and government revenues diminish, but resentment also grew. Council control of Auckland's Native Hostelry was urged in 1852 on the basis that the Town Market would not be an adequate source of revenue unless 'native hawkers' were suppressed.¹⁰⁶

The dilemmas facing settlers in this period are evident in the response to a Taranaki merchant who petitioned the Provincial Council to rescind an order preventing harbour department vessels from going to Waitara to load Maori produce. He had pointed out that it would not benefit the department or the revenue 'to drive the natives to establish relations with the merchants of other places'. This produce was valued at £6,000, with £700 going to treasury, but the Provincial Treasurer feared that assisting Maori to profit from their production would only increase their determination to withhold land from sale to settlers. As the chairman noted '[i]t was Governor Grey's policy to cultivate friendly relations by assisting the natives with money, seeds, and flour mills, and that policy was almost invariably followed by the sale of native lands.'¹⁰⁷

As a consequence of inconsistency in statistics and logistical problems that hindered the compilation of accurate Maori population figures, it is difficult to estimate the extent of Maori production either overall on or a per head basis. However, Attorney General, William Swainson, stated that in 1857, the Mataatua and Tuwharetoa tribes, estimated at over 8,000 people, were reported to have upwards of 3,000 acres in wheat, 3,000 acres in potatoes, nearly 2,000 acres in maize and upwards of 1,000 acres in kumara. He added that they owned nearly 2,000 horses, 200 head of cattle, 5,000 pigs, four water-mills, 96 ploughs, 43 coasting vessels averaging nearly 20 tons each, upwards of 900 canoes, and that they supplied 46,000 bushels of wheat to European traders that year, having a market value of £13,000.¹⁰⁸ These figures support the contention of an 1847 *Southern Cross* reader, who claimed that Maori cultivated more land than the European population 'even reckoning man for man'.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, Swainson's figures for Maori rates of cultivation compare favourably with those for Europeans in 1870. His total of about 9,000 acres cultivated in crops by a population of 8,000 equates to 1.125 acres per head, compared with a rate of .915 acres per head for Europeans 13 years later, when the acquisition of Maori land, the decline in Maori production, the benefits of large war-time borrowing, and the more advanced stage of their settlement might be expected to have boosted European production.¹¹⁰

When the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852 established settler self-government, property qualifications effectively disenfranchised most Maori whose land was still communally-owned under customary title. The injustice of denying political representation to the group widely accepted as being the country's economic 'life blood' became increasingly embarrassing and the proportional contribution that Maori made to the economy a hotly contested issue.¹¹¹ In 1856, Thomas Gore Browne informed the Colonial Secretary that, based on population estimates and estimated customs revenue, North Island Maori contributed considerably more to the customs revenue than Europeans, at a rate of 51 to 36.¹¹² But less favourable estimates sought to disqualify Maori from equal partnership. In 1858, Colonial Treasurer, C. W. Richmond, provided estimates to 'entirely dispel exaggerated notions respecting the magnitude of the Maori contributions to the revenue' for the years 1853 to 1857. He also added the rather obscure reflection that 'in years such as 1854 and 1855, when agricultural produce was at an extraordinarily high price, [considerable advantage had] been derived to the colonial revenue by the *balance of the Maori contributions*

¹⁰⁶ *Southern Cross*, 9 Mar 1852, p.3.

¹⁰⁷ *Taranaki Herald*, 2 May 1855, p.3.

¹⁰⁸ William Swainson, *New Zealand and its Colonization*, London, 1859, pp.65-66.

¹⁰⁹ *Southern Cross*, 17 Jul 1847, p.3.

¹¹⁰ The European population was estimated at 248,000 in 1870 and their acreage under crop (excluding grasses) was 227,015 acres (Prichard, pp.97 & 403).

¹¹¹ *New Zealander*, 13 Feb 1847.

¹¹² Enclosure 1 in No. 96, T Gore Browne to the Right Hon. H. Labouchere, 31 May 1856, GBPP Vol. 10, p.228.

remaining after defraying the expense of services for their special benefit.' [Italics added]¹¹³ This suggests that these expenses may have been deducted from the revenue he reported. Remarks by the Governor are appended to this memorandum to the effect that he saw no 'reasons to think the mode of calculation here adopted more correct than the estimate given in [his previous despatch] of 31 May 1858'. Native Secretary, Donald McLean, also argued that the Maori contribution had been downplayed:

In enumerating the causes operating to make the contributions in the northern island exceed, per head, those of the southern provinces, the large native population is omitted. It cannot be doubted that the produce of native labour, and the exports they mainly contributed to furnish, were not without considerable influence in causing the excess of revenue. It is believed that double the amount set down by the Ministers as the Maori contribution to the Customs would not be an over-estimate of the revenue accruing through their means, exclusive of the land revenue.¹¹⁴

Member of the House of Representatives, Francis Dillon Bell, having criticised previous government expenditure for Maori purposes, maintained that the benefit of loans for ships, flourmills, and agricultural implements 'should be grudged the less from the consideration of their large contributions to the revenue, and their having no representation in [the] House'.¹¹⁵

Increasing economic and political marginalisation and anxiety about their inability to stem the tide of immigration led to the rise of Maori nationalism.¹¹⁶ In the late 1850s, Wiremu Tamihana proposed the unification of tribes under a Maori king with the authority to implement a policy of withholding land from sale as a means of controlling and slowing the rate of settlement. Tamihana's choice of Waikato chief, Te Wherowhero, as the first king was endorsed by Iwikau Te Heuheu Tukino III in 1856. Commenting on the tenuous state of Maori loyalty to Government that year, Governor Gore Browne, warned that Maori were 'constantly advised and reminded of their power, and the large amount they contribute to the Revenue, by persons ... actuated by various motives, among which allegiance to Her Majesty is not always a prominent one.'¹¹⁷ However, when he later put forward a suggested solution to the 'Maori King difficulty' under which Maori would select a chief to oversee their interests, he justified financing the scheme from public monies on the basis that Maori were large contributors to the revenues of the country.¹¹⁸ Less inclined to have the machinery set up for them by Europeans, a number of tribal groups from the Waikato area formally installed Te Wherowhero as their king in 1858.

It may seem ironic that the idea of a Maori king found particular favour among the Waikato tribes who had built the greatest number of flourmills, but it underscores their loss of faith in these forms of economic development. Maori had formed what they believed was a reciprocal alliance with the British in expectation of mutual benefit. But, whereas early traders had largely conformed to that system, marrying into and merging with their hosts, later arrivals came with the view that colonisation was a capitalist venture required to yield a profit to the colonisers.¹¹⁹ The advantages of being colonised were to be reward enough for Maori in view of the European understanding that

¹¹³ C. W. Richmond, Memorandum by Responsible Advisers on Native Affairs, 29 Sep 1858, GBPP Vol. 11, pp.34-5.

¹¹⁴ Donald McLean, Memorandum of Assistant Native Secretary Relative to Native Territorial Rights Bill, 13 Oct 1858, GBPP Vol. 11, p.55.

¹¹⁵ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* 1856-58, p.272.

¹¹⁶ Although estimates of the Maori population vary considerably, they all agree that it was declining while European immigration was increasing so that Maori and European populations were approximately equal by 1858. Moreover, the European population, was estimated at 26,707 in 1851, had risen to about 56,049 by 1858, and to 98,915 by 1861. (Thompson, p.333; & Prichard, p.91).

¹¹⁷ T. Gore Browne to the Right Hon. H. Labouchere, Auckland, 21 Sep 1856, AJHR 1858, E5, p.5.

¹¹⁸ AJHR 1860, E no. 1c, p.4.

¹¹⁹ 'William Hobson wrote to his wife in August 1837 arguing that further British intervention was necessary to protect what he perceived to be an already considerable British investment of capital and labour in the colony.' (Paul Moon, *Hobson: Governor of New Zealand, 1840-42*, Auckland, 1998, p.41).

without knowledge of Christianity, civilisation, and access to their superior technology and education, Maori were destined to extinction.¹²⁰

But the antagonistic attitude of settlers towards Maori commercial success may also have been a factor in the rise of Maori nationalism. While acknowledging that the drop in market prices impacted considerably on Maori wheat production, Prue Toft has pointed to domestic demand being increasingly met by overseas imports to support her contention that settlers preferred to import rather than contribute to the economic growth and power of a people they would rather see dispossessed.¹²¹

The history of Maori flourmill ownership suggests that one source of livelihood, the land, was being exchanged for another, while their owners simultaneously gained *mana* from these visible symbols of material wealth and strengthened their alliance with government and settlers. Moreover, the planning, fundraising, building and operation of such projects might have been expected to reinforce group solidarity and discourage out-movement. But the market was unstable, flourmills did not endure, and the adoption of more expensive, European-style homes, clothing, and a greater dependence on imported manufactures increased the cost of living. As the Maori economy became depressed, efforts focused more on growing produce for their own consumption and expenditure was reined in.¹²²

Although tribal groups often combined to purchase and use vessels and flourmills, they were major investments which could take two to three years of selling pork and produce and undertaking contract work in European towns to pay off.¹²³ The investment in associated materials and labour costs was probably even greater than the cost of European contractors – a mill costing £300 in 1847 was valued at £700 after completion.¹²⁴ As Benjamin Ashwell wrote of his flock in December 1858: ‘They are so overburdened with Debt for their Mills Horses and ploughs, that it will be some time before they are free.’¹²⁵ More importantly the land sales associated with obtaining loans and other assistance had significantly weakened their ability to return to less intensive modes of agriculture when pastoralism achieved economic dominance in the later 1850s and 1860s.¹²⁶

The settlers’ seemingly insatiable demand for land, frustrated by Maori unwillingness to sell, had culminated in war in 1860. Wheat crops and flourmills, once considered signs of civilisation and loyalty, were now gleefully destroyed by government troops.¹²⁷ As a further punishment for alleged rebellion, a total of 1,610,718 acres was finally confiscated in the Maori wheat-growing and flourmill-owning areas of Waikato, Taranaki, Tauranga, and Opotiki under the

¹²⁰ The advantages of colonisation were explained to Maori in history lessons about how the British received its benefits from the Romans. See for example, *Ko Te Karere o Niu Tirenī*, 15 Jul 1845, pp.26-28; MM, 30 Aug 1856, pp.4-6; *Te Korimako*, 15 Aug 1884, p.13, & 17 Mar 1887, pp.7-9.

¹²¹ Prue Toft, ‘Modern Maori Enterprise: a study of economic adaptation’, MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1984, p.92.

¹²² Soutar, p.163.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p.152.

¹²⁴ *New Zealand Spectator and Cook’s Strait Guardian*, 17 Feb 1847, p.3; & *New Zealander*, 11 Jan 1854, p.4.

¹²⁵ Annual Report to the Church Missionary Society (CMS), 6 December 1858, Letters & Journals of the Rev. Benjamin Ashwell, Vol. II, p.311 (typescript), MSS A-172, University of Auckland Library.

¹²⁶ Bank inspector, John McMullen reported in 1860 that ‘[t]here can be no doubt whatever that as a pastoral country New Zealand for its extent is the best in the Southern Hemisphere and the rapidity with which every available are has been taken for runs ... while the large quantity of land purchased by settlers shows an intention to remain and gives New Zealand a character of permanence in its colonisation which does not pertain to any other of the Australian [sic] colonies’. (Sydney J. Butlin, *Australia and New Zealand Bank; the Bank of Australasia and the Union Bank of Australia Limited, 1828-1951*, London, 1961, p.163, cited in Prichard, p.86).

¹²⁷ European troops sent to locate and disable Maori flourmills in 1860 typically went much further. A party led by Captain Seymour smashed ‘the cogs and every breakable portion of machinery’ of the Werekino mill around 25 April; the Okea mill was burnt on 13 June; and those seeking the Warea mill were told it had already ‘fallen down’. (Robyn Oliver, ‘The Flour Mills of Taranaki, New Zealand 1844-1935’, MA thesis, University of Sydney, 1988, pp. 269, 274, & 279.) A ‘Narrative of the Expedition to Warea’, by Richard Brown, Captain of the Native Irregulars and principal guide to the forces, published in William Greenwood, *Riemenschneider of Warea*, Wellington, 1967, suggests a particularly gleeful approach to the destruction of mills, ploughs, harrows, and wheat.

New Zealand Settlement Act of 1863.¹²⁸ With the land had gone not only some of the most productive soil, but the opportunity to relocate within their own domain and to access alternate resources. The flexibility of the workforce had also been reduced by Christian ideologies concerning the roles of women and children, the loss of slave labour, and the availability of individual employment in distant towns.¹²⁹

It has often been considered that communal ownership, a lack of innovation, and an incapacity for deferred gratification were not only characteristic of kin-based societies like the New Zealand Maori, but constituted a barrier to economic growth and an impediment to extensive economic changes. However, the evidence pertaining to mid-nineteenth century Maori must throw serious doubt on this hypothesis. Maori proved to be highly entrepreneurial and innovative, husbanding and accumulating communal resources to maximise returns and expand their business interests. Heavy capital investment in a narrow range of products and in an unstable market was influenced by factors as distinct as biblical metaphors, the ideas of contemporary political economists, and the need for conducive political relations with an increasingly powerful settler government. In their frenzied scramble for land and impatient for expected domination, the colonists lost sight of the benefits of mutuality. Long-term benefits were ignored for the sake of political expediency, scientific theories disregarded practical considerations, and European laws lacked the flexibility of Maori systems. As a result, Maori trade that had been expanding, diversifying, and 'globalising' was involuted.

¹²⁸ M. P. K. Sorrenson, 'Maori and Pakeha', in W. H. Oliver & B. R. Williams, eds., *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Auckland, 1987, p.186.

¹²⁹ For example, *Ko te Karere o Nui Tireni*, 1 Aug 1844, p.40.

Colonisation and the involution of the Maori economy. Unpublished paper presented to Session 24 of the XIII World Congress of Economic History. H Petrie.Â The demographic side of this story is relatively straightforward and much of the technical background analysis is already available: how Maori numbers declined and recuperated, and, beyond the time-frame of this book, sustained rapid and then robust growth. Recent knowledge-gains in the field of health enrich the demographic data-base.