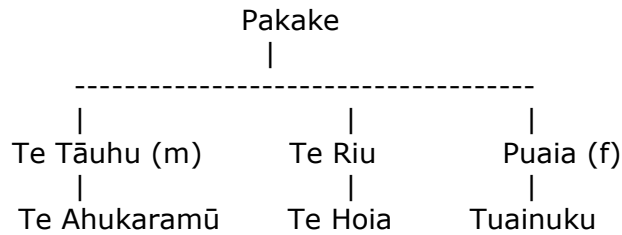


7.0 Appendix: A Biography of Te Ahukaramū



Later, Te Ahukaramū was to have a close relationship with Tuainuku as his mother, Te Ahukaramū's mother, Kaitāwhara, was a sister to Tuainuku's father, Te Ruru.

Although no proof exists, it is clear that Te Ahukaramū was educated in the traditional *whare wānanga* or centre of higher learning of his people. One can deduce this from his personal prominence in the history and activities of his people, a position he would not have attained without the appropriate education. A more explicit piece of evidence is a manuscript that was dictated by him in 1856 containing histories and traditions which were standard curriculum in the *whare wānanga*.¹

At Maungatautari, tensions had arisen with the people of Waikato and various battles had taken place. It appears that these battles had been taking place over several generations² leading up to the time of Te Ahukaramū so that he was born in a time of turmoil. Hence, it is recorded that Ngāti Raukawa were defeated at a pā called Hangahanga. A Te Arawa chief named Te Wehi-o-te-rangi³ was killed at this pā. Following this, further skirmishes took place and again Ngāti Raukawa asked Te Arawa for support. Te Ahukaramū was sent to petition for their assistance. They came and again were defeated at a pā called Ōtautahanga.⁴

7.1 Te Tuarānui-o-Pakake

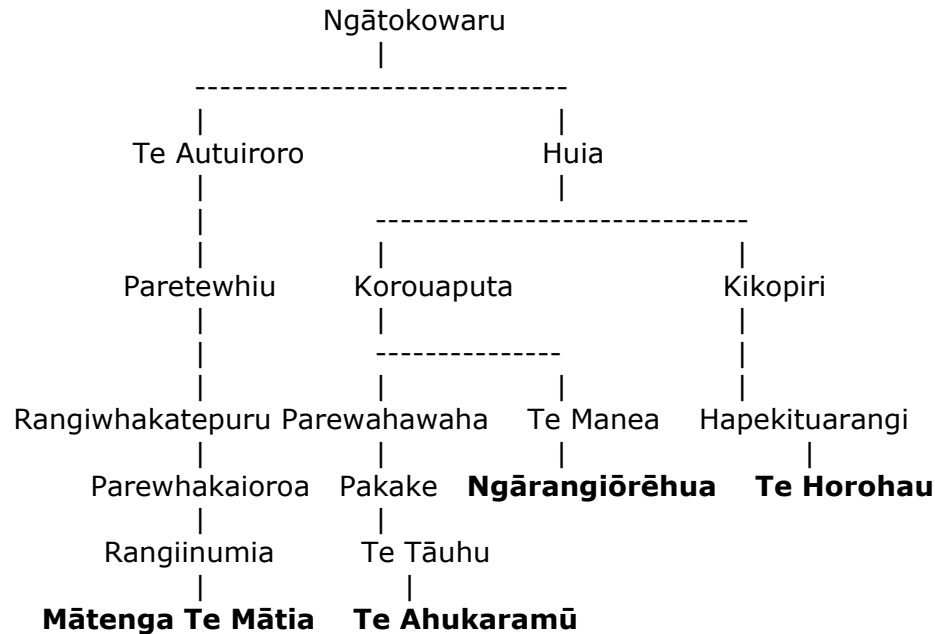
Perhaps Te Ahukaramū's most famous entry into the history of his people can be found subsequent to the Ngāti Toa migrations from Kāwhia to the Kapiti region. Certain sections of Ngāti Toa, particularly the family of Te Rauparaha, were closely related to Te Ahukaramū and his people and word arrived at Maungatautari stating that Ngāti Toa had perished in the south. Te Ahukaramū was to learn that the calamity that had befallen his Ngāti Toa relations was the death of Te Rauparaha's children at Te Wī in Horowhenua. A *tauā* or war party was convened and it included Te Horohau, Mātenga Te Mātia, Ngārangiōrēhua and Te Ahukaramū.

¹ See Hūkiki Te Ahukaramū 1856.

² See, for example, the battles between Ngātōkōwaru and Ngāti Māhanga on the Waikato river and the subsequent campaign by Tāwhiakiterangi of Ngāti Mahuta against Maungatautari. See Te Hurinui Jones and Biggs 1996, pp. 294 - 301.

³ Possibly father of Rākapa Kāhoki and husband of Rangi Topeora of Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa.

⁴ See JPS Volume 16, 1907, p. 76.



There are numerous descriptions of these events and all vary slightly in different detail. Tāmihana Te Rauparaha includes the following entry in his “History of Te Rauparaha”,

Katahi ka haere mai a Te Ahu. I tika mai i Otairi ma Roto a Ira mai, Tika mai ki Rangitikei Hokorima te teretere a Te Ahu. E rua te kau nga pu. Ka tae mai ki Kapiti, i tikina ma e nga waka ki Waikanae, hoehoe atu ai e nga waka - ka noho i te kainga o Te Rauparaha i Rangatira. Tae atu, e tangi ana.

Ka mutu te tangi, ka whai korero a Te Rauparaha. Ka maioha ki Maungatautari, ki Kawhia, ki nga tupuna. Ka mutu a Te Rauparaha, ko Te Ahukaramu e korero ana, maioha ana...⁵

Te Ahukaramū then journeyed to the south via Ōtāiri, Te Roto-a-Ira and Rangitikei. There were 100 within his group and they had 20 guns. They arrived at Kapiti, obtained some canoes and journeyed (to the island) to stay at Te Rauparaha’s home at Rangatira. When they arrived, they mourned for the dead.

Afterward, Te Rauparaha addressed Te Ahukaramū and his group and spoke affectionately of Maungatautari and Kāwhia and their ancestors. When Te Rauparaha finished Te Ahukaramū spoke in a similar fashion...

In some versions, this group is referred to as “Te Heke Karere” or “company of messengers”. Tāmihana uses the term “teretere” which is a company of travellers. John Te Herekiele Grace writes that the group arrived at Ōtaki in 1825 and met with Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa at

⁵ “History of Te Rauparaha” by Tāmihana Te Rauparaha

Rangiuru Pā, which is at the mouth of the Ōtaki river. Oral testimony questions whether they met at Ōtaki or at Kapiti. This will be discussed shortly.

McDonald and O'Donnell cite the year as 1825 - 1826.⁶ They continue by saying that "The words used at this historic and momentous meeting have been carefully preserved by the Ngāti Toa tribe. The visitors, as hospitality demanded, were sumptuously feasted, and then when a sufficient time had elapsed... the formal meeting took place on the *marae*."⁷

There is a tradition maintained within Ngāti Raukawa concerning Te Ahukaramū's subsequent agreement to migrate to the south. It said that when Te Ahukaramū met with Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa, he, along with the other rangatira were petitioned by Te Rauparaha himself. These invitations were ignored and it was only until they were addressed by Te Rauparaha's sister, Waitohi, that they finally agreed.

Te Rauparaha then addressed the gathering. His words, and those subsequently spoken by his sister Waitohi and Hūkiki Te Ahukaramū, have been recorded in various forms over the years. Whilst they do vary, their intent was the same. Added to this, it is important to take into account the various oral traditions that as these give us clues to the enduring views held by the various families since that time, views and understandings that may not have made their way into the written record.

Once again, according to McDonnell and O'Donnell, Te Rauparaha said the following:

Kia Te Ahu Karamu, kia Ngarangiorehua, kia Te Horohau.. e aku tuakana teina kua kite nei koutou kei te ora ahau, Ara Ngati-Toa. Teni(sic) taku kupu kia koutou. Haere e hoki ki te tiki ia Ngati-Raukawa kia haere mai ke(sic) konei ke(sic) te noho i te whenua i taroroa e aku paihau ki taku rakau na e takoto nei haha te whenua. Harere mai! Haere mai!

*To Te Ahu Karamu, to Ngarangiorehua, to Te Horohau... my elder brothers and my younger brothers; you see I am still alive, and with me Ngati-Toa. This is my word to you: Go back and get the Ngati-Raukawa. Come down to settle on the land I have laid bare with my spear. Come! Come!*⁸

McDonnell and O'Donnell then go on to describe Waitohi, a sister of Te Rauparaha, standing and extending her invitation in support of her brother. The sense here is that Ngāti Raukawa were attracted to Te Rauparaha's invitation. However, Ngāti Huia oral tradition, of which Te Ahukaramū was a part, states that Ngāti Raukawa were not supportive of the proposal at all and it was only through the intervention of Waitohi that

⁶ McDonald and O'Donnell 1979, p. 14.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

they changed their minds. McDonnell and O'Donnell records Waitohi's words as follows:

Haere ki aku werewere haere-mai hei noho i taku whenua e takoto nei i te takutai moana atu anō i Kukutaueki puta noa ki Rangitikei. Ka mutu aku kupu. Haere-mai! Haere-mai!

Go to the heirs of my body (the whole of my relatives) and bring them down⁹ to settle on the land which lies along the sea-shore from Kukutaueki... to Rangitikei.¹⁰

It was following Waitohi that Te Ahukaramū rose to speak.

Tenei te tuara nui o Pakake he whakawha mai ia Ngāti-Raukawa ki runga i to one noho ai to iwi.

Here is the broad back of Pakeke(sic)... which will carry the Ngāti-Raukawa down to settle on your soil.¹¹

Various versions of this statement exist. Kipa Roera Te Ahukaramū, a grandson of Te Ahukaramū writes, "mā te tuarā mātotoru o Pakake"¹² (by the thick back of Pakake). This statement was to be a turning point in Ngāti Raukawa history as it was to catalyse the migration of many sections of Ngāti Raukawa to the south. However, it needs to be carefully considered. Whilst it has been recorded in many forms and in many publications, none analyse the statement in terms of the set of responsibilities it then established for Te Ahukaramū and Ngāti Toa.

It is the Ngāti Huia view that Waitohi was asking Ngāti Raukawa to come to the south to avenge the murders of Te Rauparaha's children. Should Ngāti Raukawa be successful in obtaining sufficient retribution for their deaths then certain lands will be ceded to them. Hence, Te Ahukaramū was accepting a heavy burden on behalf of his people, a concept well captured in the "tuaranui-o-Pakake" expression. The burden is great hence the "back" being strong enough to cope. Pakake was Te Ahukaramū's grandfather, hence, Te Tuarānui-o-Pakake is a poetical expression for the descendants of Pakake of which Te Ahukaramū was a member. Te Ahukaramū and his family were capable of meeting the responsibility of seeking retribution for the deaths of Te Rauparaha's children and were willing to settle upon land given to them.

The connection between Te Ahukaramū's statement and the death of Te Rauparaha's children is made more apparent when we consider Tāmihana Te Rauparaha's account of the event:

⁹ It is clear that this was translated by McDonnell and O'Donnell as the concept of coming "down" the island is European in origin. In the Māori mind, proceeding in a southerly direction is considered to be movement in an upwards direction.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Manuscript in private possession.

...No te ahiahi ka whaowhina ki te whare o Te Rauparaha. Ehara i tera whare i a "Kaitangata", he kainga ke tera, ka mahuetia ko Waiorua ke tera. Ko "Te Umu ki Ohau" tenei whare. Ko te whakamaoritanga o tenei ingoa o "Te Umu ki Ohau", he whakamaharatanga mo te umu i taona ai ana tamariki e Muaupoko ki Ohau. He whakairo katoa nga poupou, me te katoa o tenei whare e kapi ana i te whakairo o waho, o roto. Me te nui hoki o taua whare...¹³

In the evening, the people gathered in Te Rauparaha's house known as Te Umu-ki-Ōhau. This is not to be confused with the house known as Kaitangata which stands at Waiōrua which was abandoned. Te Umu-ki-Ōhau was constructed as memorial to the earth ovens in which his children were cooked by Muaupoko at Ōhau. This house was completely carved inside and out, and was very large...¹⁴

Tāmihana does not record Waitohi's speech, however, the tradition relating to her address can be found in both oral and written records. See, for example, the following statement made by Te Manahi of Ngāti Huia:

We came at the desire of Waitohi... Had Rauparaha called, the people would not have assented. It was at the word of Waitohi...¹⁵

Following this exchange, Te Ahukaramū and his group return to Maungatautari where their proposals are not supported. Te Ahukaramū spent much time trying to persuade his people but to no avail. As a result, Te Ahukaramū sent his own people to burn down the pā at Maungatautari. Grace writes:

Te Ahu Karamu returned to Maungatautari only to find his people just as reluctant to leave as when they had been first approached by Te Rauparaha. This attitude displeased him, and, to show that he was not to be trifled with, he ordered that all their houses be burned and destroyed, saying that it was the will of the tribal gods...¹⁶

The idea that Te Ahukaramū's actions in burning the pā at Maungatautari was influenced by an *atua* or tribal "god" is also raised in *Old Manawatu* by Buick. Here he states:

*His ambitious designs in this direction were nearly thwarted by the persistency with which the tribe clung to their northern home, in spite of his threat to invoke the wrath of his *atua*.¹⁷*

7.2 Te Whānau-a-Te Ahukaramū

Te Ahukaramū's wife was a close relationship of his. Her name was Manumea and her whakapapa is as follows:

¹³ "History of Te Rauparaha" by Tāmihana Te Rauparaha.

¹⁴ My translation.

¹⁵ Carkeek 1965, p. 23.

¹⁶ Grace 1959, p. 344.

¹⁷ Buick 1903, p. 99.

From May 5th to June 8th 1842, Te Ahukaramū accompanied a New Zealand Company Surveyor named Charles Kettle on an expedition through the Tararua and Ruahine mountains to Wairarapa. Given Te Ahukaramū's earlier exploits in seeking out land for him and his people, there is some irony in his assistance offered to Kettle. Little did Te Ahukaramū know of the impact that such surveying activities were to have upon the land of his people. Kettle kept a journal recording his journey and the relevant sections were published in "The Journal of the Early Settlers and Historical Association of Wellington".

Kettle begins:

I ascended the Manawa-tu river beyond Tara-rua and Ruahine mountains, and returned to Port Nicholson, passing down the valley of the Rua-mahanga to the head of the lake Wai-rarapa and entering the valley of the Heretaunga or Hutt at the foot of the Tararua mountains. I was accompanied... (by) Eahu.. chief of Ohau and six of his who went as guides... We left Karekare²¹ ...at Manawa-tu, on Thursday, May 5th, 1842, and arrived at Wellington on Wednesday, June 8th...²²

Te Ahukaramū makes an appearance in a few entries. The group had arrived at a Ngāti Rangitāne pā called Hahimate, high up the river. While they were there, they met a Ngāti Kahungunu chief named Kurupō who was travelling to meet with Te Whatanui in Horowhenua:

As soon as we entered the pa, a mat was placed in front of the chief's hot-house (whare-puni) for us to sit on. The natives informed me that Kurupo was in the house, I went to speak to him... Te Ahu-Karamu and Kurupo met on much more friendly terms than I expected, as their tribes have been at war with each other. I gave Te Ahu some flour that he might treat his friends...²³

Te Ahukaramū's next appearance in the journal occurs on May 14, 1842 when the group have travelled up the Moawhango tributary and meet with an old man named Takawa, whose identity is not explained in the text:

The old chief named Takawa who lives here, is of little importance; he made a long speech expressing his desire for white men to settle here. He was very glad we had come to see the country...The native who assisted us yesterday left us here. It appears that Te Ahu took him from the Ngati-Kahungunu when he was an infant, but has given him his freedom since he has been grown up...²⁴

²¹ Adkin states that the true name of this village is Te Karikari. See Adkin 1948, p. 178.

²² Kettle, "Report of Charles H. Kettle Assistant Surveyor, on the valleys of the Hutt, Wai-rarapa, and Manawatu."

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

The party move on and have some difficulty finding a path through Te Aputi, or the gorge through the mountains. Eventually, they find it emerge out the other side and find the Ruamāhanga plain in Wairarapa. Kettle says:

... shortly after, emerging from the bush, were delighted with the prospect that lay before us - large tracts of grazing land interspersed with groves of trees stretched to the distance of twelve miles...The path which we were following led to a pa which we saw about two miles distant. The Maoris discharged their guns. A man came running from the pa towards us and returned as soon as he ascertained who we were. The natives here belong to the Ngati-Kahungunu tribe, and Te Ahu was doubtful as to what reception he would meet with...

As we approached the pa, the shouts of "Naumai!" and "Haramai!" accompanied by a discharge of muskets became distinctly heard from the men who were assembled outside while the women on the roofs of the houses waved their mats as signs of welcome. As soon as we entered the pa, mats were spread for us to sit on and the slaves were immediately at work scraping potatoes for us. In a short time a repast of potatoes, Indian corn and pork cooked in fat was laid before us... As soon as the meal was finished the chiefs began to speechify... slept very little as they were talking to Te Ahu the whole night...²⁵

The following morning (May 20), Kettle attempted to enlist the help of a Ngāti Kahungunu guide as they were travelling into territory unfamiliar to Te Ahukaramū. He was unsuccessful, however, as it was Sunday and this was Christian pā. Nobody in the pā was willing to travel on a Sunday. The party continued and crossed many streams and rivers. On May 26, they arrived at the river called Te Wai-o-Hine which was swollen from copious rain. Here a number of Te Ahukaramū's party were reluctant to cross the river but were forced to by Kettle and his men. At the other side, they were bitterly cold and Kettle complains "I have not had dry clothes on for the last three days..."

The party proceeded further in a "miserable state", having suffered from constant inclement weather. Te Ahukaramū makes a few appearances in the journal usually for minor incidents such as ascending hills and saving food. On May 31, they arrived in the vicinity of Lake Wairarapa where again they have to endure a very wet night where the rain was so heavy they "were obliged to use our blankets for the roof of the hut." On June 1, Kettle writes:

Te Ahu informs me he went over into the Hutt from this place about twenty years ago. I am resolved to try this route, as he says he remembers it well...²⁶

He continues on June 1:

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid. Approximately 1822.

Left the camp early this morning, and very shortly after leaving the fern land fell in with the old track of Te Ahu's party... on ascending the hills lost it for a considerable time but again found broken twigs on the summit.²⁷ Here Te Ahu called our attention to a remarkable object at some distance from us; this was the top of a high precipice, down which he told us a small waterfall flowed, whose course he and his party had followed up, and by that means crossed the mountains...

... June 3... reaching the summit of this precipice...This place is called by the Natives Ko Te Hau. Crossed several hills, and to our great joy, from the summit of one of them Te Ahu descried (sic) the Pakurutahi - a stream which, he states, flows to the Hutt...

No more entries in the Journal mention Te Ahukaramū, however, they do describe an arduous journey into the Heretaunga and Te Awakairangi (Hutt) areas. The significance of the journey for the New Zealand Company and the settlers in general was immense. It confirmed to them that there was a great plain of land in Wairarapa and, to them, was available for settlement.

Following the party's arrival at Pito-one, they then travelled to Wellington. Along the way, they met with Edward Jerningham Wakefield, another New Zealand Company employee whose reputation is well-recorded in the alienation of Māori land in the 19th century. Wakefield writes, "I met with some of them on the road between Wellington and Petone..."²⁸ He then describes his impressions of Te Ahukaramū:

I made the acquaintance of the chief Ahu (Mr. Kettle's guide) during his stay of two or three weeks in Wellington, and joined him when he returned to his own residence on the Ohau river...This old chief is of the highest rank in the Ngatiraukawa tribe²⁹, being of an even older branch than even Whatanui, though of the same family. He had taken an eager part in the selling of Manawatu to Colonel Wakefield; being exceedingly anxious to obtain for his people the same advantages which were enjoyed by the natives in Port Nicholson from the proximity of white settlement.

I found him very fond of his rank and conscious of his authority as a great chief; but he had acquired many repulsive qualities as a cruel and merciless warrior, and a considerable share of arrogance and insolence from his early dealings with the rude traders and visitors of the time before us. His character and that of his family is best expressed by the names given to them by those of that rough class who most acquainted with them. They called Ahu 'The Badger', and Wara and Te Wainuku, his two nearest male relations, 'The Bully' and the "The Sneak"...³⁰

²⁷ This kind of pathway is called a "ara pāwhati". See Williams 1975, p. 274.

²⁸ Wakefield 1955, p. 243.

²⁹ Written in 1842.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 245.

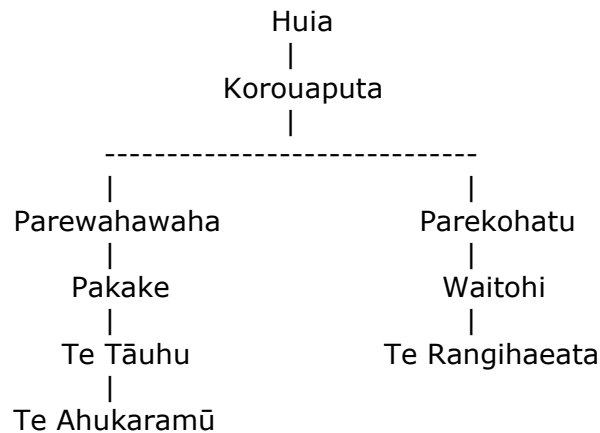
“Te Wainuku” is almost certainly Tuainuku, first cousin to Te Ahukaramū and “Wara” is possibly Waretini Tuainuku, son of Tuainuku:

Wakefield continues with his impressions:

He was easily impressed, however, with the behaviour which he must adopt in order to make himself agreeable to gentlemen. Whether by his conciliating manner towards them, or be the mere fact of his having bought the land and held out hopes that they should have white men amongst them, ‘Wide-awake’³¹ had become a great favourite with the chiefs of Ngatiraukawa during his negotiation with them at Ōtaki. Ahu, who had received ample payment for his men employed in ‘Wide-awake’s’ service, and who had enjoyed the unlimited hospitality of his house at Wellington, seemed determined to show me his gratitude, and always behaved to me as one chief to another...³²

It was at this time that the New Zealand Company was successful, or so it seemed, in purchasing the Manawatū area. Te Ahukaramū was centrally involved and gave his consent.

Te Ahukaramū came into direct conflict with his relation Te Rangihaeata over the alienation of Manawatū. As it was, the sale was invalidated, but it did serve to strain relations between various sections of the family. Te Ahukaramū and Te Rangihaeata are closely related:



As this whakapapa shows, Te Ahukaramū was a nephew to Te Rangihaeata, however, it seems that this did not deter Te Ahukaramū from acting independently. Edward Jerningham Wakefield records a confrontation between the two following the Manawatū sale which took place at an inn in Paremata. One needs to read these words with some discretion as Wakefield is by no means a neutral observer. Indeed, Te

³¹ Edward Gibbon Wakefield, father of Edward Jerningham, and chief New Zealand Company land purchaser in the 1840s.

³² Ibid, p. 245.

Rangihaeata was to be continually demonised over his continual objections to land sales and Pākehā settlement as a whole:

(I arrived) at Toms's inn at Paremata. Rangihaeata was there, very noisy, asking for spirits as usual...He then went on storming about the land; saying that 'Wide-awake' and I should not have any more, and that he would never let white people come and live there...I found him calmer in the pa some little time afterwards, and he asked me whether Ahu was coming after me. When I answered that he was, he ran on about Manawatu, and Wanganui... and said he was very angry with the Ngatiraukawa for having sold Manawatu. 'You shall see,' said he, 'how I will boo-boo-boo at Ahu about it when he comes'...

... Rangihaeata...kept showing me the grimaces of defiance which he meant to make when Te Ahu should come... Te Ahu arrived in a canoe which had been sent for him. I then told him of the threat which Rangihaeata had made. He gave a low laugh, and said to me, 'Be a looker-on!'...

The greeting was a mixture of friendliness and distant pride, although the two chiefs were very nearly related... While the meal of hospitality was cooking in the iron pots, Rangihaeata rose to speak... He began by tracing his own descent and history, and saying all the land was his, and that the white men were greedy... He then warmed gradually up and spoke louder and more wildly, as he rebuked Te Ahu for having sold Manawatu of his own accord, without consulting him, who was the real owner, and for having invited white men to go and live there...

...Te Ahu then rose up, and answered him in a few, but calm, and convincing words. 'You have said that all the land is yours... I do not know; perhaps it is. You relate as an evil deed that I took upon myself to sell Manawatu to the white man. You say that it was not straight. Look at me! I Te Ahu sold Manawatu. I alone, of my own accord. I came not to consult you, I was not good to do so; I am still not good to do so. I care not for your thoughts on the matter. You have described your pedigree and spoken much of your great name. I too had ancestors and a father. I have a name. It is enough; I have done.'³³

One can almost detect Wakefield's glee upon hearing this speech by Te Ahukaramū. However, I suspect that the real meaning in this exchange between these chiefs is found in the words "You have described your pedigree and spoken much of your great name. I too had ancestors and a father. I have a name..." For this reason, it is a pity we do not have the Māori language original because undoubtedly Wakefield used this exchange, and even Te Ahukaramū himself, to further the interests of the New Zealand Company.

³³ Wakefield 1955, pp. 246 - 247

It is interesting to note that Wakefield follows this event not with a description of what follows but rather with the self-serving statement, "No one ventured to answer this claim, which I believe was true, to a higher descent than that of Rangihaeata whose fame arose rather from his constant companionship with Rauparaha³⁴ and his bullying and boastful demeanour, than from his rank by blood."³⁵ Indeed, Wakefield must have felt like Te Rangihaeata was in "check mate", a position he no doubt glibly accepted as true. As it turned out, Wakefield was to rue the speed with which he came to such conclusions in matters to do with tikanga Māori when, in 1842, the Spain Commission nullified the Manawatū "purchase" and left the New Zealand Company with only a few acres of land.

One interesting epitaph to the event is recorded by Wakefield. The group, including Te Rangihaeata and Te Ahukaramū, leave Taupō pā at Paremata and journey to Pukerua. The pā there was called Wainui:

We reached the pa towards dusk, and had just eaten our meal when the missionary bell rang for prayers. Te Ahu immediately got up, and told the boys to shoulder their loads. He said he could never sleep in this village, as he knew people would sing hymns and talk 'hanga noa iho', or nonsense, all night...³⁶

On the 17th of June 1843, an incident took place at Wairau which served to greatly heighten tensions between Māori and Pākehā. Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha, together with a party of Ngāti Toa, had journeyed to Wairau to oppose surveying that was taking place there. When they got there, a Pākehā man shot Te Rangihaeata's wife who, already greatly angry about Pākehā incursions upon Māori land, executed some 22 Pākehā including Edward Jerningham Wakefield's uncle, Captain Arthur Wakefield.

Word of the "massacre" spread like wildfire and Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha were once again vilified and demonised for their conduct. Edward Jerningham speaks about the incident in his book and Te Ahukaramū comes into the story:

I armed myself for the journey to Wellington³⁷ with a rifle, pistols, and cutlass; and we reached Rangitikei the first night. Here I found Te Ahu, Billy Whatanui, two or three other young chiefs, and about 12 other armed men, awaiting our arrival. We slept one night at Manawatu.... We reached Whatanui's settlement at Horowhenua lake... he spoke of the Wairau affair, and said Rauparaha and Rangihaeata had acted very badly....The next day, July 17th. I went on to Ōtaki, Te Ahu still escorting me with all his train...³⁸

³⁴ Another Ngāti Toa/Ngāti Raukawa rangatira unfairly demonised by the New Zealand Company and Pākehā settlers generally.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 247

³⁶ Ibid, p. 247

³⁷ He was returning from a trip to New Plymouth. He had spent the previous night at Whanganui.

³⁸ Wakefield 1955, p. 277 - 278

Wakefield continues his journey southward noting the excited nature of the various pā. Some are convinced he has come to “shoot” Te Rauparaha. He arrives at Ōhau, home of Te Ahukaramū:

In passing Ohau, I had been shown the house built by the natives for a Mr. White, whom Te Ahu had invited to come and squat with cattle near his settlement... (Mr. White) was now on his way from Wellington with 30 or 30 more (cows). Te Ahu and two or three other important chiefs of the Ngatiraukawa, were anxiously expecting him at the main pa...³⁹

This invitation from Te Ahukaramū to “Mr. White” caused a confrontation with none other than Te Rauparaha himself. Wakefield continues:

Early one morning, Mr. White came to Taylor’s, and said that Rauparaha had sent his men to drive the cattle back to Waikanae... he would have no white people at all there or at Otaki...The Ngatiraukawa chiefs were much surprised at this declaration, as they imagined they had a right to do what they liked with their own land. Te Ahu especially appeared to be quite amused... we sent down in a party, natives and white people... (Te Rauparaha) rose to speak. He began with a long history of himself and his conquest of Cook’s Strait... he was going on to relate all the circumstances of the Wairau affair, but I checked him. I told him I should leave the pa if he talked about Wairau; that I was come to only to hear about his right and his will to turn white people out of Otaki...

He then went on to repeat the prohibition which we had heard this morning, saying that all the land was his alone... I now turned to Te Ahu and the other chiefs, and asked them if it were true that all the land belonged to Rauparaha alone. I reproached them with dishonesty in selling the Manawatu and parts of the Ōtaki district as though it were their own. I reminded Te Ahu, too, that he had often shown me how much land he possessed about Ohau, and that he invited Mr. White to settle there; and that no one had ever said before that it belonged to Rauparaha...

Te Ahu answered me, that when the chiefs of Ngatiraukawa came down from Taupo, they had chose the district out of Rauparaha’s conquest in order to sit upon; and that, while peace lasted, nobody had though of Rauparaha’s supreme control. They had learned to consider the land their own; they had even laughed as at the remonstrances of Rangihaeata about selling Manawatu; and they wished to get white men amongst them. He even said, that while there was no anger, Rauparaha’s claim would not be acknowledged. But the riri or ‘anger’, he said, had made a great difference; and the land was gone back to him who had first taken it...

³⁹ Ibid, p. 279. In an earlier edition of this book, Wakefield says that the pā was Rangiuuru, which is near the mouth of the Ōtaki river. Other chiefs who were there included Mātenga Te Mātia, Te Puke and Kiharoa. See Wakefield 1971, p. 372.

And then he rose to endeavour to persuade Rauparaha to change his determination. He reminded him of 'the war-parties which he had brought him on his back'⁴⁰, to assist him against his enemies, through dangers and troubles more than he could count'. He related how 'he had burned the villages of the tribe of Taupo to make them come with him to be by the side of Rauparaha on the sea-coast'. He counted 'how many time they adhered to him in his feuds with Ngatiawa', and described 'how much blood of the Ngatiraukawa had been spilt in his name'. Te Ahu had now warmed to his subject, and was running up and down, bounding and yelling at each turn, and beginning to foam at the mouth, as the natives do when they mean to speak impressively. 'Let the cows go!' he cried; 'let them go to my place!'

Rauparaha seemed to consider that Te Ahu's eloquence was becoming too powerful, and he jumped up too. They both continued to run up and down in short parallel lines, yelling at each other, grimacing and foaming, and quivering their hands and smacking them on their thighs, with staring eyes and excited features. As they both spoke together, it became difficult to hear what they said, but I caught a sentence here and there which gave me the sense of the argument. 'No!' cried Rauparaha; 'no cows; I will not have them.' 'Let them go!' yelled Te Ahu. 'Yield me my cows and my white men; the cows will not kill you.' 'No cows, no white men! I am the king! Never mind your war-parties! No cows!' answered Rauparaha. 'The cows can not take you,' persisted Te Ahu; 'when the soldiers come we will fight for you, but let my cows go!' 'No! no! no indeed!' firmly replied the chief, and he sat down.

Te Ahu remained standing. He took breath for a minute; then he drew himself up to his full height, and addressed his own people in a solemn kind of recitative. 'Ngatiraukawa,' he sang, 'arise! Arise, my sons and my daughters, my elder brothers and my younger brothers, my sisters, my grandchildren, arise! Stand up, the families of the Ngatiraukawa! To Taupo! To Taupo! To Maungatautari! To our old homes which we had burned and deserted; arise and let us go! Carry the little children on your backs as I carried you when I came to fight for this old man, who had called us to fight for him and given us land to sit on, but grudges us white people to be our friends and to give us trade. We have no white people or ships at Maungatautari, but the land is our own there. We need not beg to have a white man or cows yielded to us, if they should want to come. To Maungatautari! Arise my sons, make up your packs, take your guns and your blankets, and let us go! It is enough! I have spoken!' As he sat down, a mournful silence prevailed. An important migration had been proposed by the chief, which no doubt would be agreed to by the greater part of Ōtaki, Ohau, and Manawatu natives, on whom was Rauparaha's chief dependence for his defence.

⁴⁰ This is a reference to "Te Tuarānui-o-Pakake" which is mentioned earlier.

I noticed that he winced when he first heard the purport of Te Ahu's song; but while Te Ahu continued, his countenance gradually resumed its confidence. Much as I abhorred his character, I could not but yield my unbounded admiration to the imperious manner in which he overthrew the whole effect of Te Ahu's beautiful summons to the tribe.

Instead of his usual doubting and suspicious manner, his every gesture became that of a noble chief. He rose with all the majesty of a monarch; and he spoke in the clearest and firmest tones... 'Go!' said he; 'go, all of you! - go, Ngatiraukawa, to Maungatautari! Take your children on your backs and go, and leave my land without men. When you are gone, I will stay and fight the soldiers with my own hands. I do not beg you to stop. Rauparaha is not afraid!'

'I began to fight when I was high as my hip. All my days have been spent in fighting, and I by fighting I have got my name... I am the king of all this land. I have lived a king, and I will die a king, with my mere in my hand. Go! I am no beggar! Rauparaha will fight the soldiers of the Queen when they come, with his own hands and his own name... You are children! It is not for you to talk. You talk of going here, and doing this and doing that. Can one of you talk when I am here? No! I shall arise and speak for you all, and you shall sit dumb; for you are all my children, and Rauparaha is your head chief and patriarch...' One of the highest chiefs said to me, 'It is true, Tirawake! He is our father and our ariki...Rauparaha is the king of the Maori, like your Queen over the white people...'⁴¹

This dramatic encounter had taken place after the Wairau incident where a number of Te Rauparaha's family, including Te Rangihaeata's wife Te Rongo, had been unfairly killed. Their response was to execute approximately 20 of the Pākehā that were there. Wairau was fresh in Te Rauparaha's mind when the above incident took place and certainly would account for his reluctance to allow Pākehā settlement at Ōhau. However, Te Ahukaramū was clearly reminding Te Rauparaha of certain obligations that Te Ahukaramū felt was owing to him. Either way, the encounter is a clear description of the machinations of *rangatiratanga* in action. One does get an uneasy feeling, however, knowing that it is Edward Jerningham Wakefield who is recounting this incident. To his credit, he does acknowledge Te Rauparaha's extensive debating capabilities.

Wakefield then moves to describe a very one sided account of the Wairau incident, he was by no means a neutral party in the affair. Again, with a self-serving purpose in mind, he reiterates the following:

I must also mention, that Te Ahu and various other natives told me that Rangihaeata had used another argument to persuade Rauparaha that the white chiefs should be killed. When he saw the nine or ten dead bodies of the labourers who had been shot in fair fight, he said to Rauparaha, 'We shall be sure to be killed for this, some day; the

⁴¹ Ibid, pp. 279 - 283.

*white people will take utu; let us then have some better blood that that of these tutua (common men). We are chiefs; let us kill the chiefs and take utu beforehand for ourselves.*⁴²

This is such a mischievous remark to make for it slowly clearly trivialises the depth of the issues that came to a head in Wairau. The death of Te Rangihaeata's wife at Wairau must be cast in the same light as other tragedies that had befallen them, where members of the family had been wrongly killed. The deaths of Te Rauparaha's children at Te Wī at Ōhau is an example. Here Te Rauparaha's wrath was never ending and it is difficult to accept that Te Ahukaramū, knowing intimately of these events would have made such a statement to Wakefield.

Te Ahukaramū's final entry into Wakefield's book appears on page 304 where he states:

*Te Ahu, and many other of the chiefs of Otaki, who were most friendly to me and the white people generally, did not disguise their utter contempt of the unwarlike habits of the pakeha...*⁴³

Te Ahukaramū attended a meeting in 1848 held at Te Awahou pā near the current township of Foxton. The meeting was attended by a large number of chiefs from Ngāti Raukawa, Rangitāne and Ngāti Apa. The purpose of the meeting was to settle a dispute over land at a place called Ōmarupāpako, however, its final outcome was to agree to secession of land from Ngāti Raukawa to Ngāti Apa on the northside of the Rangitikei river. This settlement was part of an extensive Ngāti Raukawa plan to settle competing tribal disputes over land in Rangitikei, Manawatū and Horowhenua. Subsequently, the Crown was able to exploit differences between the various competing iwi to secure the lions share of the land. Te Ahukaramū is reported as saying:

*Listen Omurapapako (sic) is the cause of this long talk. E ahu i te oneone mau omurapapako This is a great committee or meeting the cause of all our previous disturbances has been the want of such meetings. Mr. McLean⁴⁴ the boundary is Rangitikei a boundary formed and made by God, the other side is for the Queen, and the Governor, if you wish for this side, let us go to the Governor, and declare in the open day that we shall fight for it in open daylight when the sun is shining...*⁴⁵

7.4 The King Movement

Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, son of Te Rauparaha, returned from a visit to England with the idea of establishing a "King". He was by no means the only person to think of such an idea, however, his return was the catalyst that eventually saw, after much time, the establishment of the King Movement in Waikato.

⁴² Ibid, pp. 290 - 291.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 304.

⁴⁴ Donald McLean, then Inspector of Police, later first Minister of Native Affairs.

⁴⁵ MLC Wanganui OTI 68, p. 63

Tāmihana's nephew, Mātene Te Whiwhi saw the potential in the idea and became centrally involved in the journey which petitioned many *rangatira* throughout the country to become King. Mātene convened what has been described as a "college of heralds" who were whakapapa experts. Te Ahukaramū was one of these experts. The other expert, in recorded history, was a man named Te Whioi of Moutoa on the Manawatū river.

Pei Te Hurinui records the following information:

*Te Hukiki and a fellow tribesman named Whioi, from Moutoa on the banks of the Manawatu river, were both selected by the sponsors of the Maori King movement to be a "College of Heralds" because of their profound knowledge of genealogies...*⁴⁶

Mātene convened his group and they journeyed throughout the country. The narrative relating this journey is extraordinary and many different versions exist. Most note the travel from Ōtaki to Whanganui to Taranaki to Taupō to Rotorua to Te Tai Rāwhiti and so on. Many important chiefs were nominated including Te Heuheu Iwikau of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Te Amohau of Te Arawa, Te Hāpuku of Ngāti Kahungunu and Te Kani-a-Takirau of Ngāti Porou. When they arrived at the East Coast and petitioned Te Kani-a-Takirau, another chief by the name of Karauria was also there. Pei Te Hurinui takes up the story:

*There was a chief there by the name of Karauria. Everybody present agreed he was a powerful chief, and it was about to be decided to place the kinship on him. All the chiefs of the country who had spoken had agreed. Only one word remained. The word was a question, and the question was: "If there be a tribe or a man who objects, they should do so now. If not the King is set up." (Now) there was a man there of Ngati Raukawa whose name was Te Hukiki and (he stood up and spoke) his word, saying, "I do not agree that this man be made King. But (I ask you) to return the kingship to Te Heuheu III." After he had spoken his word he collapsed. The kingship was then returned to Te Heuheu and Matene te Whiwhi. Te Heuheu and Matene te Whiwhi then thought (it was time) to offer it to Potatau...*⁴⁷

Eventually, Pōtatau Te Wherowhero was appointed the first Māori King.

7.5 The Kohimarama Conference

In 1860, the Government convened the now famous Kohimarama conference in Auckland. Chiefs from all the over the country attended the hui and Ngāti Raukawa sent a delegation which included Te Ahukaramū, Mātene Te Whiwhi, Tāmehana Te Rauparaha, Parakaia Te Pouepa, Moroati

⁴⁶ Te Hurinui 1959, p. 191. See also McDonald and O'Donnell 1929, p. 115. Here Te Ahukaramū is described as a "fine looking, very fair skinned, but tattooed old man." The appointment of Te Whioi and Te Ahukaramū followed a large hui that took place at Ōtaki to discuss the idea of a King.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 190.

Kiharoa and others. The Conference proceedings also note the presence of "Wi Paiaka". The minutes of the Conference were published in the Government's newspaper entitled *Te Karere Maori* and they contain the most extensive record of Te Ahukaramū's speechmaking. His entries are as follows:

Wednesday, 11 July 1860

Tena koutou e nga Pakeha. Kia korero atu ahau i aku whakaaro ko te pai tenei o te Pakeha ki taku whakaaro koia tenei ko tana homai i te Rongo Pai. Ko aku tenei i pai ai moku. Ko te Atua te tuatahi, ko te Kuini te tuarua, ko te Kawana te tuatoru. Kia kotahi te Kuini mo tatou. Whakamaramatia mai nga ture katoa kia noho ai tatou i roto i te ture kotahi.

I salute you. O ye Europeans! Let me utter my thoughts. The good point in Europeans, according to my mind, was the fact of their introducing the Gospel. These are the things I desire. First, God; secondly, the Queen; thirdly, the Governor. Let there be one Queen for us. Make known to us all the laws, that we may all dwell under one law.⁴⁸

Monday, 16 July 1860

Ko taku whakapono i ruritia mai ano i Ingarani, ka u, ko Otaki te unga ki uta; kei kona e takoto ana nga ture kotahi tekau. He tauhou hoki ahau ki tenei taone; engari ko Otaki ko Poneke te putanga o nga ture. Kotahi tekau kei Otaki, kotahi tekau kei Poneke. E kore au e mohio ki enei e korerotia nei e te katoa; kotahi taku kupu, ko te Atua te tuatahi, ko te Kuini te tuarua, ko te Kawana te tuatoru. Ko te whakaaro a te Rangitake e kore e kitea e ahau. Ka noho tonu ahau ki runga ki enei mea e toru. Ko taku hoa ko Potatau nana i whakapai te Kuini me te Kawanatanga. E mea ana koe kia wehea nga tangata o te Kuini; ki te mea ka whakatu kingi etahi iwi, me wehe ratou i runga i te mana o te Kuini.

The Christianity which I have adopted came in its completeness from England, and landed at Otaki. There are the commandments - ten of them. I am a stranger in this town; but I know that at Otaki there are ten commandments, and at Wellington there are ten commandments. I do not understand these things (t)hat all are speaking about. All I have to say is this: - God comes first, secondly, the Queen, thirdly the Governor. I cannot see the thoughts of Te Rangitake. I shall continue to be faithful to these three (viz. God, the Queen, and the Governor). My friend Potatau respected the Queen and the Government. You say let the Queen's men be separate. If any of the tribes should set up a Maori King, then let them be separated from the Queen's "mana".⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *Proceedings of the Kohimarama Conference* etc. in "Te Karere Maori" Volume VII, no. 13 p. 20. Translations taken from "Te Karere Maori".

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, Volume VII, No. 14, p. 17.

Wednesday, 18 July 1860

Whakarongo mai, a Ngatiraukawa, e Ngatitōa, e Ngatiawa, ko te kupu tenei e kimiha ana e tatou i nga tau kua pahure ake nei. Kua whakakitea mai e te Kawana tena kupu mo te ruri whenua. Ko ahea ra te kitea ai? Ko tenei mea kua whakakitea mai nei, ka toru nga tau e tatari ana, ko ahea ra ruritia ai nga whenua? Ko nga poaka kua oti te maka, ko nga kau, ko nga hoiho kua oti te parani. Ko taku ingoa ko Hukiki: ko te parani mo taku kau he HU pea. Ko te whenua kahore i paranitia. Ki taku whakaaro kia makatia te whenua. Ina hoki ko nga whenua e haoa ana e nga rangatira kia nui noa atu, kahore mo nga tutua. Kua homai nei e te Kawana ka tahi au ka mea kua tamaiti tatou ki te Kawana. No te mea e nui ana taku whenua, no reira ka mea ahau me hoatu ki a te Makarini raua ko te Kawana. Ko tenei whenua ka riro ki te ringaringa o te Kuini. I whakapuaki ai ahau i enei kupu kia rongorongo nga iwi katoa ki tenei whenua kua hoatu ki te Kuini. Kua tae ra tenei, a Ohau, kei Ingarangi.

Listen, people of the Ngatiraukawa, Ngatitōa, and Ngatiawa tribes. This is the word which we have been in search of in years that are past. The Governor has now revealed that word to us, about surveying our land, but when will it be put into effect? This has been shown to us; three years have we waited for it; but when will our lands be surveyed? Pigs have been marked, cattle and horses have been branded (referring to Crown Grants). According to my opinion the land should be marked. Because the Chiefs are grasping at great quantities of land, leaving none for the poorer people. The Governor has now offered it to us. Now therefore I say we have indeed become children of the Governor. Because I have a great deal of land, therefore, I have said let the land be given to the Governor and Mr. McLean; this land shall pass into the hands of the Queen. I have declared these words in order that all the tribes may hear that this land has been surrendered to the Queen. The offer of Ohau has reached England.⁵⁰

Tuesday, 24 July 1860

Na, e Te Makarini, whakarongo mai! Ka tika nga korero o Tamihana. Kua whakaaetia ano i mua ko te Pakeha hei tuakana mo matou mo te Maori. Ka whakaaro Te Wharepouri raua ko Te Puni kia tukua a Poneke. Muri iho ka kitea kei Waikanae. Tangohia ana ko nga pu ko nga paura. Muri iho ka tukua Manawatu. He mea runanga e matou: e toru rau o matou i taua runanga. Ka mea te runanga ko au hei kai tuku i taua whenua. Na ka haere au ki Poneke; ka kite au i a Wairaweke. Karanga mai ana tera, E hia au e pai ai? Ka karanga atu, He mea nga pauna, na, ka riro mai nga moni. Ka karanga ano ia, He aha tau e pai ai? Ka ki atu au, He pu; na ka tango au ki te pu. He aha

⁵⁰ Ibid, Volume VII, No. 14 p. 38.

ano tau e pai ai? Ka karanga atu au, He paraikete. Ka riro mai. Ka karanga atu au, Homai ano. Kahore i whakaae mai. Na, ka mea au, "Hanga he whare mo ou taonga. E kore ou taonga e riro. Kia rite mo nga rau e rua ka tahi ka riro te whenua." Ka hoki a Wairaweke. Na ka murua e etahi tangata nga taonga nei ka riro i a ratou. No muri ka tae mai a Kawana Kerei: tae mai ana ki Otaki. Na, takoto ana te kupu a Kawana Kerei o te tini o nga mea. Ka takoto i reira te tikanga mo Manawatu. Whakaae katoa ana nga tangata ki te tikanga a Kawana Kerei. Ka whakapuaki ano au i reira i taku kupu o te tuatahi. Ka whakaaro au ki nga paraikete ki nga pu i riro i nga tangata. Otira i whakaritea ano i reira, na takoto pai ana.

Na, kia korero au inaianei i taku korero mo Taranaki. Ka hoko a Te Teira i tona whenua, ka takoto ko te parawai hei tohu. Kahore a Wi Kingi i rere ki taua tamana tango ai, haere ana ia. E kore au e kaha ki te ki atu, Whakamutua te whawhai. Ma te Kuini e ki mai ki a Kawana, Whakamutua te whawhai - ahakoa he, whakamutua - ka tahi ano ka tika. Ka mutu aku korero i konei.

Mr. Mclean listen. Tamihana's speech is correct. It was an old agreement that the Pakeha should be our elder brother. Wharepouri and Te Puni consulted and sold Port Nicholson - after that Waikanae. Guns and Powder were received. After that Manawatu was offered. We considered the matter in a runanga of 300 persons. The runanga agreed that I should sell this land. I went to Port Nicholson, and saw Mr. Wakefield. He said to me, How much do you want? I replied, so many pounds, in money. The money was paid. He said, What else would you like? I answered, "Blankets" They were received. I requested more, but he would not consent. I then said to him, "Make a house for your goods; they will not be accepted. Let me receive sufficient to satisfy 200 claimants, then the land will be sold." Mr. Wakefield returned (to Wellington). These goods were taken by force by some men and appropriated to their use. Afterwards Governor Grey arrived. He visited Otaki. Governor Grey spoke on many subjects. This Manawatu affair was then arranged. All the people agreed to the arrangement made by Governor Grey. I at that time repeated what I have already stated. I thought of the blankets and the guns which had been taken by the people, but it was then arranged and settled amicably. I will now express my views about Taranaki. When Teira sold his land and laid down the parawai as a pledge, William King did not come to take up the challenge but went away. I have no authority to say, cease fighting. Let the Queen say to the Governor, "Cease fighting: although it is wrong, put a stop to it"; then it would be right. My speech is ended.⁵¹

Thursday, 26 July 1860

Ka korero ahau ki te Tiriti o Waitangi. Ahakoa ko taua Tiriti i Waitangi e korerotia nei e te runanga nei, ko te takenga mai ko Ngapuhi. Ahakoa he i a Heke, ahakoa he i a Te Rangihaeata, ahakoa he i

⁵¹ Ibid, Volume VII, No. 15, p 13.

Whanganui, ahakoa, he i a Te Rangitake, kahore e mahue i te Pakeha, e pai tonu ana ta koutou tikanga. I mahara ahau ko nga paraikete i kawea ake ki Otaki no taua Tiriti i Waitangi.

Kahore au e pai ki te Kingi Maori. Na, ka tae ake te Kawana ki Manawatu ka huihui ki te whare i te Awahou. Ka whakatika ahau ki runga, ka patai ahau ki a te Kawana, E pehea ana koe ki te Kingi e whakaturia mai e Waikato nei? Ka mea mai te Kawana, Hei aha ma tatou tena mahi tamariki? Waiho kia mahi ana tena mahi tamariki. Ka mea ahau, Koia ano. Kua nui tenei. E haere ana ki te pakeketanga, kua tupu nga niho.

Kua mutu tenei aku. Kei te kara tenei. E rua nga tangata i haere mai ki Ngaruawahia ki te tiki kara: ko Heremia tetahi, ko Hapi tetahi. Ka huihui matou ki te whare i Poroutawhao. Ko Matene tenei, ko Wi Tako tenei. Ka ki atu ahau ki aua tangata, E hoa ma, kua e mauria e korua te kara, kei tapatapahia e au ki te pake. He patai tenei naku ki te runanga o te Kawana: Ki te pai koutou ki te kara ra kia waiho ki reira tu ai, e pai ana.

Ka eke taku korero ki runga ki nga paura: kia whakapuaretia te ara mo nga paura. He kupu tenei naku kia tuhia nga ingoa o nga tangata o te Kingi, kei haere mai ki te hoko paura. Ko nga paura hei oranga mo nga wahine, mo nga tamariki; ko toku oranga tena ko nga manu. Ko te takotoranga o nga paura ki a Te Ropitini.

I will speak about the Treaty at Waitangi. That Treaty of Waitangi which has been referred to in this conference as having its root with the Ngapuhi, although broken by Heke, although broken by Te Rangihaeata, although broken by Whanganui and although broken by Te Rangitake, yet it is not ignored by the Europeans. Your manner of proceeding has been good. I supposed that the blankets which were brought up to Otaki were connected with that Treaty at Waitangi. I have no sympathy with the Maori King movement. When the Governor came to Manawatu a meeting took place in a house at the Awahou. I stood up and asked the Governor, What is your opinion respecting the Maori King the Waikatos are setting up? The Governor replied, Why should we concern ourselves about that childish work; leave them to their child's play. I answered, Ay, be it so. But it has now become large and attaining maturity, its teeth are grown.

I will not speak about the flag. There were two men who came to Ngaruawahia to fetch a flag: their names were Heremia and Hapi. We assembled in the house at Poroutawhao. Matene and Wi Tako were there. I said to those men (Heremia and Hapi) Friends, don't you two bring the flag, let I cut it to pieces with an axe.

I now put it to this Conference of the Governor, if you are willing that that flag should stand there, it is well.

I will not speak about the powder; let the restriction on the sale of powder be removed. I would suggest that the names of the King's

*men be written down, lest they come to buy powder. The powder is a means of procuring food for the women and the children, for birds form a part of my subsistence. The powder might be put in the charge of Mr. Robinson.*⁵²

Friday, 27 July 1860

Whakarongo mai e te runanga nei, he korero whenua taku - ko nga mahi a te Kuini raua ko te Kawana. He whakariterite tenei naku i nga utu o taku whenua ma te runanga o Te Makarini, o te Kawana; otira ma te runanga o Akarana. I puaki ai i a au tenei kupu, kua homai nei ki konei korerotia ai nga mea iti nga mea rahi. Ka karanga au inaianei, E toru tautini e rima rau; ma te runanga o te Kawana e whakaae. Ina hoki kua kitea e ahau te pauna o te witi; ko te peke o nga witi, ka whakarerea te taimaha o tera o te peke, ka rite ki o te witi, ka rite ona utu. Ka karangatia mo te poaka he pene-he-pene ka paunatia ka rite te taumaha ko tona utu; ka karangatia ki te poaka nui ake erua pene me te hapene, na ka paunatia ka rite ano ki tona utu. Ko tenei ka tohe au e toru tautini, e rima rau pauna; otira ma te runanga e ata whakarite marire.

*Listen this Conference. I am going to speak about the land, - about the work of the Queen and the of the Governor. I wish to arrange the payment for my land with this., Mr. McLean's and the Governor's Conference, or rather with the Auckland assembly. The reason why I mention this here is that great and small things have been brought here to be discussed. I now ask three thousand five hundred pounds; and it will be for the Governor's assembly to consent. I have seen wheat weighed; the weight of the bag is taken off and the wheat only is reckoned and paid for. The price of a pig is reckoned at (say) a penny halfpenny; the pig is weighed and paid for according to the weight. For a large pig, it may be twopence halfpenny; the pig is weighed and paid for at that weight. And now I shall press for three thousand and five hundred.; but it will be for the Runanga to arrange it (and fix the price).*⁵³

Friday, 3 August 1860

Ka whakaae au ki te korero a Ngatiwhakaue; kua whakakinoa au e toku iwi no te mea he tangata tuku whenua au. Ka timata te korero a Tohi i roto i te whare nei ka titiro matou ki te pai, ka nui te pai; ka tapoko ia ki to matou whare, ka patai atu au, "He korero tuku whenua tau?" Ka ki mai, "Ae, ka tuku ahau i te whenua." Ka ki atu matou katoa, "Kia kaha ki te tohe ki tetahi Pakeha hei noho mo te whenua." Ka ki mai ia, "Ka kaha au ki te korero." Ko tenei ka whakaae au ki te korero o Ngatitutanekai, o Ngatiwhakaue.

I approve of the words of the Ngatiwhakaue (chiefs). I am ill spoken of by own tribe because I am a land seller. When Tohi commenced

⁵² Ibid, Volume VII, No. 15, p. 34.

⁵³ Ibid, Volume VII, No. 15, p. 50.

speaking in this house we listened and his words were very good. Afterwards when he entered our house we said to him, "Is your speech in favour of land selling?" He replied, "Yes, I shall part with the land." We all said to him, "Be ear- in your application for Pakehas to reside on your land." He then said, "I shall speak with force." I now give my approval to the words of Ngatitutanekai, and of Ngatiwhakaue.⁵⁴

Wednesday, 8 August 1860

Whakarongo mai e te runanga nei! Ka korero ake nei au ki te kupu a Hoheka - kia haere matou ki Taranaki. Ka ki atu ahau ki a koutou, me whakaae katoa koutou ki runga ki tenei. Na tatou hoki te kupu nei, "Ka tomo atu ahau ki roto ki te mana o te Kuini, o te Kawana." Ka puta tenei kupu a tatou, ka karanga tatou ki te pakanga o Wiremu Kingi raua ko te Kawana kia whakamutua. Ka ki ahau i tenei kupu, kei a Wiremu Kingi, kei a te Kawana te whakaaro mo ta raua pakanga" Whakarongo mai, e Te Makarini! I to matou haerenga mai i runga ka huihui a Ngatiraukawa ki te poroporoaki ki a matou. Ka whakatika te tangata tuatahi ki runga ka ki, "Haere koutou, korerotia te pakanga a Wiremu Kingi - korerotia te tikanga mo te Kingi." Ka tu ahau ki runga ka mea atu ahau, "He kupu taimaha tena kupu - te kupu e tona na e koutou."

Listen, ye of the conference! I shall reply for the proposal of Hohepa that we should go to Taranaki. What I say is this, consent, all of the you, to this proposal. We have been saying, "I accept the authority of the Queen and of the Governor." Now if we (of the Conference) demand that the war between William King and the Governor be brought to an end, I shall say, "Let Wiremu Kingi and the Governor consider their own war." Listen, Mr. McLean! When we were coming away from the South, Ngatiraukawa assembled to bid us farewell. The first man rose and said, "Go, ye and arrange the war of William King, and discuss the matter of the Maori King." I then rose and said, "Those matters to which you refer are heavy (difficult)."⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Ibid, Volume VII, No. 15, p. 79.

⁵⁵ Ibid, Volume VII, No. 17, p. 28.