

to the white man's rule, & was although
unacquainted only with the consequence of breaking
the laws - unwritten - of his own hapu or tribe. Land
to the natives had value in the usage of it alone.
If unoccupied it was free to ^{be occupied} occupation by
anyone desirous of utilising it & was able to main-
tain possession of it by force. It was neither
bought nor sold. Use was its only value, as
"Man change but the land lines for ever" was
an old native proverb that conveyed a deep
meaning. When a man dies his authority to direct
regulate or control land should cease. The natives
did not understand that a payment in money meant
the parting in perpetuity of their lands. Soon however
they were made to realize the meaning of British
law and once understood the chiefs & the hapus
of the several tribes began to realize that the parting
with lands meant to ~~say~~ their own impoverishment
& final destruction. It was the realization of the
certain effects of selling their lands that brought the
land league into existence and the subsequent appoint-
ment of a King to regulate their interests seeing
that no form of ^{British} control had been considered
necessary for the natives. Those who understand native
customs and authority know how wide the difference
between native government & that of the government intro-
duced by the appointment of a Governor. It shows how
little the people of Great Britain realized under how
what was required in order to bring under the rule

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3 of a British sovereign a people accustomed to methods of rule & ways of living entirely different from themselves. As fresh privileges were conceded to the new settlers in the country, the natives came to understand the meaning of some superior authority beyond the seas, controlling and allowing the introduction of things that were not at first permitted. The natives saw how much consideration was given to the promotion of the wellbeing of the settlers, & at the same time not a thing was done for the benefit of or the uplifting of the natives. The only thing attempted was in the matter of lands. The government were willing to buy lands but no attempt was made to assist the natives in any way likely to benefit them educationally or socially. The land trouble began in the Hutt Valley & at Taranaki & it subsequently spread over the whole of the N. Island. Renata Tamakiterangi of Ngapier wrote a letter to the Superintendent in which he said: "All our troubles have arisen from the improper manner of conducting land purchases. Whenever the government shall here laid down some equitable system of land purchase & when calm is again restored the tribes who wish to sell will dispose of their land under a properly regulated system." p. 358. It is interesting to note that the election of a Maori King - Potatau I - at Tihora in 1857 by the representatives of natives, ^{for the whole of the N. I.} was not to oppose their allegiance to the sovereign or their obedience to their representative in the country. A general Assembly had met in Auckland in May 1857, the representatives of the Upper & Lower houses being solely made up of Colonials.

4. The natives are not only an observant
race but they are ^{not} imitative, and they recognized
that government by the Europeans is good. The Natives were
not jealous of the course adopted in calling a general
Assembly, but the great Chiefs wondered why
so much was being done for the Colonists &
why they ^{so little} had been neglected. They naturally infer-
-red that the government considered the natives
should govern themselves in their own way, ^{as both the} seeing
that hitherto this had been fully recognized. And
Sir G. Grey when ~~in 1850~~ ^{in 1850} he was at Takawa ^{in 1850} talked
with the great Chiefs ^{than those of the other} who assembled to do him
honour & suggested something for their benefit as to govern-
ment there is every probability that his words would
have guided their future actions. He does not appear
however to have spoken about government & merely
waited for the Chiefs to introduce matters of their
own accord. In any case at this time the natives
had a great respect for the Governor and had he
outlined a plan of local government or suggested
a course of action to them it is likely that the
choice of a King seven years afterwards at the same
place of ^{meeting} assembly would not have been ^{originally} made. Every
step taken by the Colonial government appeared to
throw back the interests and general welfare of
the natives and on the breaking out of hostilities
in Taranaki & the Waikato there had grown
among the natives a sense of injustice and
(despair) ^{hopelessness} ^{some} ^{of} ^{the} ^{most} ^{despair}.
The events connected with the Waikato war, the outcome

of the natives' refusal to permit the formation of roads through the Waikato district either through lands sold to Europeans or to native owned lands brought on the Waikato War in 1862. So, too, the Taranaki war began in 1860 in consequence of the natives refusing their own people the right to sell lands to the Government or permit the survey of lands under any conditions. The defeats experienced in Taranaki & Waikato drove the natives to a state of desperation, following a temporary success at Ahuahu in Taranaki, a number of religious fanatics arose led by a certain chief named Te Ua who is said to have been insane. Here the natives killed Captain Lloyd of the 57 Reg. with two other officers Grant & Kelly. Their heads were all decapitated & the deed was the delight of the rebels that they drank the blood of the captured & afterwards buried both the bodies & heads. Following the orgy that took place, Te Ua gave out that he had had a message from the angel Gabriel, he had been ordered to exhume the heads, have them cured in native fashion & use them as an intermediary of communication between the ^{high priest} Te Ua & his friends & Jehovah.

Te Ua reported that on the exhumation of the heads, that of Lloyd spoke to him & appointed him as high priest of a new religion, with Heapania, Rangitauria, Kereopa, Paton & several others as assistant priests. Then followed the instructions:

- (a) Your followers shall be called Pai Mārire (speak gently - soft)
- (b) All will be protected by the angel Gabriel & his legions
- (c) The Virgin Mary will always be present with us.

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d. The religion of England as taught by Scriptures is false.

(e) The Scriptures must all be burnt.

f. All days are alike & no notice sh be taken of the Mean Sabbath.

g. The priests are given superhuman powers & can give victory by using vigorously the word Hau - one of their gods.

Then followed the statement that the followers of the New Religion shall drive out the Europeans from the country. When this takes place men will be sent from heaven to teach the natives all the arts & sciences now known to the Europeans.

The power of the priesthood was given the power of teaching the English language in one lesson under certain conditions: thus,

(a) All must assemble at a certain time.

(b) In a certain manner.

(c) Near a playground of a certain height.

(d) Which must bear a flag of a certain colour.

Tiv-priest

Taken from Jox's book p 126

This new religion known as Pai-Mariné or later Hau-Hau-ism under men like ^{Hepa-papa} Tarnapa Patara & Kenerpa was like a war flame throughout the Bay of Plenty & the East Coast. (Kelly's head was carried to the East Coast & subsequently was brought to Tapanui) "When the worship of the priests was practised in Poverty Bay, it was followed by a most bitter lamentation, unlike anything ever witnessed before. It was a mourning on account of those who had been slain in the war with the English & for the land which had been taken from them in the Waikato. It was commenced by the Iroaiki natives but the effect was overpowering upon the bystanders who joined in it by degrees until there were very few who did not unite in the chorus. There was a chord touched

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which vibrated in the native breast. It was
the "Arohi Ki te iwi" 'amos' 'festiva' & they could
not resist it. In their 'karanges' the evils of their
condition were magnified to the utmost & the sympathies
of the people were enlisted to such an extreme degree
that they seemed to be hurried along as if by a mighty current.

The Hau Hau priests began their ^{fanatical} Crusade against the
Europeans in the early part of the year 1865 following their
reverses in the Waikato. They kept in two separate
~~parties~~ ^{parties} one of which was directed to proceed by way
of Taupo, Whakatane, Opotiki & the East coast ^{thence} ~~thence~~
to Poverty Bay. The other by way of Tautakuna & Wairoa the
parties to meet in P. Bay. They carried with them the
heads of Captains Lloyd & Grant & Kelly. These were to be
delivered to Hiviri Te Kani the Matapimono P. Bay
Chief at the time.

The purpose of the mission was at first merely
to gain a combination of forces ^{among the natives themselves against the European forces} but at ^{the} ~~the~~
the Mangonui river this purpose was altered
& they ^{emerged} ~~arrived~~ ^{determined to} at the destruction of ^{Whakane etc} ~~any~~ of the missions
they might catch by the way. The defeats ^{at Whakane & the Waikato} of the natives
were considered ^{by the natives} in many quarters as the result of
~~strong~~ teaching by the missionaries & the giving inform-
ation to the English soldiers. Patara & Kereopa made
known their purpose when at Whakatane where the two parties
intending to meet again at Poverty Bay. Up to this time
although there had been many signs of discontent among the
many natives of the East coast in consequence of the separate
factory positions of the land ^{the natives} ~~the natives~~ there had been no

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trading had been carried on throughout the whole
 of the extensive coast extending from Dauranga to H. Bay
 Bay, plain potatoes, maize being extensively produced by
 the natives & exchanged for clothing, spirits & such articles
 of trade, as were available at the time in ^{the place} from which
 the sailing vessels came. It was in a small ^{boat} that
 October that arrived at Opitiki, a change of Capt. Levy in March 1868
 just as the Pai. Mariri party from Wanganui were in the
 middle of their inland ^{landward} ^{journey} ^{to} Opitiki. The Revs. Volkner &
 Grace were passengers on board. ^{They} ^{were} ^{bound} ^{for} ^{Opitiki}.
 The ^{paid} ^{marine} ^{party} Volkner was ^{being} ^{to} ^{use} ^{it}
 from the Rev Mr Grace to ^{the} ^{Bay} ^{of} ^{George}. ^{That} ^{Mr} ^{Grace}
 told ^{me} ^{the} ^{version} ^{of} ^{the} ^{murder} ^{of} ^{Volkner}. ^{He} ^{says} ^{that}
 "Levy tried all he could to get the natives to hang
 him in ^{the} ^{place} as well as Volkner, because he would
 not sign a paper saying that Levy had lost £700 worth
 of goods." (July 5. 1870. ^{being} ^a ^{copy} ^{of} ^{the} ^{very} ^{fine} ^{evidence} ⁱⁿ ^{copies} ^{against} ^{the} ^{Kereopa} ^{tribe}.)
 The outline given above of the state of affairs along the
 Bay of Plenty & the E. coast shows that the natives were ^{entirely}
 the whole of the country at the time of Volkner's murder. ^{The} ^{natives}
 in the Waikeke & the fear of the encroachment of their lands
 had aroused the natives to a pitch of frenzy that could only
 be appeased by war & religious manifestations; and the
 first act of vengeance, ^{at} ^{Opitiki}, upon a missionary added fuel
 to the Pai. Mariri cause & converts flocked to the standard
 of Pataa & to that of Kereopa so that weeks before their
 arrival the one at ^{the} ^{Bay} ^{of} ^{George}, the other at Poverty Bay. The
^{new} ^{first} ^{majority} ^{of} ^{natives} were ready to cast in their lot
 & receive them, ^{with} ^{them}. ^{The} ^{Pai} ^{Mariri} ^{at} ^{the} ^{time} ^{was} ^a ^{religious} ^{crusade} ^{like} ^{that} ^{started} ^{by} ^{the}

And the incidents ^{concerning} the erection
 of redoubts the drilling of recruits are unusually
 interesting. ^{The fighting along the coast} I am quite ^{from the names of which have not hitherto been made known to the public} from
 Aug 10. 1862. About 8 o'clock this evening an orderly came
 up from Napier ^(Waipukurau) with a despatch telling William
 to call for volunteers to start for the East Cape ^{the morning}
 as the Marris had risen there. --- Orderly arrived 4 or
 5 hours after I had arrived at barracks - the order was "that I
 was to start at once for Napier." - Off to the front at last, is the
 remark closing this days diary.

11. Got to Lambert Redoubt (M.S. Camp) at 10 am. Found James
 & Genevieve just starting for Napier, en route for Waipuku, East
 Cape. with 50 men, all in high spirits at having a go at the
 "reggers at last." .. Found to my great disappointment married
 in Napier that I was not to go to East Cape but had to take
 Command of Lambert Redoubt - Iuko being laid up with the
 "snot". Was very much knocked up being ridden over 100 miles, since
 upon the previous day there being not much to eat on the road. - Changed
 into mufti, rode round to the Spit to see the fellows off - Found
 I was exceedingly drunk when I got there. Placed under arrest.

Got a terrible wiggling from Major Lambert, was allowed to go to ^{my} Cannon
 & found letters from James & Genevieve. In the latter fine one "Black
 Bess" in case he is knocked over at the front. In this
 case says the writer - I hope I shall not get her. This is the spirit
 that runs through the transactions between these humane officers
 15. Saturday. ^{was at the time the late Lord} At this time ^{the late Lord} had to take duty
 at the redoubt & on this day it is said: Oswald came up on duty.

A similar remark occurs ^{the 18th of 21st} in the letter ^{occurs}
 "We returned here about midnight, occurs, Oswald ^{in the 21st} a
 great part of the night off of the boat, as well as her letter.

25th Feb. On the 25th a report reached the camp to the effect that Superintendent W. W. Biggs & a lot of the N.B. Volunteers had been killed in a fight between them & the Haukangs at Wairapu; these the Kaffies destroy under Superintendent Donald W. W. ^{for the 1st time} comes into touch with the natives.

But the distrust continues with that confidence he ^{shows} in his own people ^{with} the remark; "There is not much likelihood this being true as the report can be traced to Maori sources."

Another report states that Pataro the rebel chief had had an engagement with our native allies at Wairapu & had thrashed them. On the following day the entry occurs: "I have just heard that Jones & Biggs have had a brush with the Kaffies at Wairapu & have killed 30 with only three or four wounded on our side. I am afraid that this is too good to be true."

On Friday the 28th Ormond arrived at the Redoubt & brought a newspaper with an account of the skirmish. This is pasted in the diary. It states "the Haukang losses were 19 killed & many wounded & on the Government side one native was killed & four wounded, also one military settler Walter Laurie wounded in the neck."

Of the Officers & Volunteers, it says: "Mr. Bright's Co-operation was most effective. Cap. Jones showed plenty of courage tempered with sound judgment & no fault of his. Biggs & Cassique was that they showed too much pluck & that Luke is said to have all the makings of a good officer."

This it sh^d be remembered was the 1st occasion in which the officers & men were under fire on the E. coast ^{As to Major Jones it is pleasing to note that there are officers who did not in the future for help & Eccard is of with us & would get the best of it.}

August 12. Saturday. Very more fighting at Mangapapa, ^{the natives of Whakatane have succeeded in driving the Whites from this place} ^{is only two days march from Jones's camp}

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at Waiapu. The query is made - I wonder whether

he will march there? - No news from him yet.

On the following days occur the words: - A report this evening that James & Gueoique are taken prisoners by the Ua-hauas, "I don't believe it," is added with evident emphasis.

^{At this time there was} The St Kilda steamer was expected hourly at Napier but no appearance at the time expected. Our district is very anxious & "hopes that nothing has happened to James."

The Maori say he has met a reverse; "this is the mouth that the Maori prophet said 'the natives here would not exterminate us.'" It seems odd, ^{adds the writer} "but the fact here put on a patrol in Napier & doubled the local police (18 Aug) as they evidently ~~do not~~ think that we are quite free from attack."

^{16. viii.} Read the correspondence between Sir George Grey & the General. It states that the General has behaved very badly in the matter. He had no right to impute selfish motives to the Colonel. "Weld Ministry to Petter" in the way he has done. - Hence the remark is made: "I really think that judging from the way the war has been

carried on hitherto that we can do better without the imperial troops." This opinion shows the confidence of the settlers in their own ability to cope with the native difficulty in their own way even in 1865 when but a mere handful of Europeans dwell here.

^{17. viii.} Heard this evening in Napier that 800 of the 70th were coming here, & 500 of the troops under Major Von Sempach, 100 of which are the Donald's Maori contingent. The St Kilda arrived from the ^{18th on} the 18th when news came of important successes under James & the Maori chiefs Moxon & Kopatu.

P. Kai Roma. Roma was captured & acts of great bravery are described. When the order was given to charge - the contingent

went forth - "Remember Volkes & down with the

Hauhaus!" The ground was soon strewn with the dead & dying - our fallen fellows of the ¹⁸⁴¹ M. L. A. B. Volunteers fighting as if the strength of ten men were in each. Down the Hauhaus went like buttocks under the pole axe & then three cheers were given which might have been heard for miles. Our native friends under old Mokena then came up & finished off what stragglers they could find. Old Porourangi the head man of the Hauhaus & a determined enemy of the Europeans was numbered with the dead, his double ~~barrelled~~ ^{barrelled} ~~gun~~ ^{gun} remaining in the hands of the fallen Warren R. M. who, as in every other fight he, proved himself a very ugly customer. In this encounter Capt Fraser had a near share of losing his legs. It appears that a native was just in the act of tomahawking the ^{captain's} ~~captain's~~ ^{gun} when Private Welfist, one of the military settlers, bayoneted the native on the spot.

20th Aug Sunday. ^{Mr. George} The veteran read divine service in Napier on the Sunday & remarks: "Reading the life of Sir Charles Napier all day. What a splendid fellow he was. By Troc if he was here a month the war w^o be over." On the

21st Monday. The British came to Napier yesterday with 300 of the 70th. The headquarters are to follow in a few days. What are they going to do with so many troops here? I expect the regulars will Garrison Napier, Lambert Roberts, Waipawa & Mate ^{Wairarapa} & we will be sent to the E. Cape. I hope so." The native method of fighting was far from being understood, and it is doubtful whether more than a mere handful of natives, compared with the ^{large} ~~number~~ ^{number} of Europeans ^{at any time} engaged in fighting on the East coast outside the fighting post at Waipawa & Wairarapa.

Following the news from the North a Māori chief
half brother of Karitiana visited ^{by the} ~~Veteran~~ ^{of the} ~~Seigneur~~ ^{of the} ~~and~~
strong support for the pakeha but said that Hapuka
& Tereha are Hauhaus! Neighton had returned from Waipoua
& there was an order sent to ^{to the} ~~hardest~~ ^{to the} ~~Redoubt~~ ^{of the} ~~of which~~
Veteran was in command "Calling for Volunteers for
East Cape."

On Sept. Friday news arrived from E. Cape "that our
natives had taken another Hauhaus & killed 8000
with only a loss of 2 or 3." ^{by the officers} ~~It is~~ ^{the} ~~hope~~ ^{is} ~~expressed~~ ^{that}
^{that the rebels will not give in until I get a slap at the}

There was a chance that this would come about, as
"Jack" returned to camp the day previously, but in the
^{of the} ~~following~~ ^{of the} ~~Saturday~~ ^{of the} ~~the~~ ^{of the} ~~remark~~ ^{of the} ~~occurs~~ ^{of the} ~~Take~~ ^{of the} ~~went~~ ^{of the} ~~home~~
again he could not stand camp life with a lame leg &
so ^{of the} ~~Veteran's~~ ^{of the} ~~prospects~~ ^{of the} ~~of~~ ^{of the} ~~going~~ ^{of the} ~~to~~ ^{of the} ~~the~~ ^{of the} ~~E. Cape~~ ^{of the} ~~and~~
once more almost hopeless. That the Hauhaus rebels
were moving further southwards may be gathered from
the entry made on ~~Sept 8~~ ^{of the} ~~Friday~~ ^{of the} ~~as follows~~ ^{of the} ~~:~~

"Wilson arrived this morning ~~with me~~ ^{of the} ~~I~~ ^{of the} ~~went~~ ^{of the} ~~to~~ ^{of the} ~~Rapier~~
with me. He received orders to start on Sunday for Poverty
Bay (where the rebels have just broken out) with a detach-
ment of military settlers. My leave ^{of the} ~~was~~ ^{of the} ~~cancelled~~ ^{of the} ~~in~~ ^{of the} ~~order~~
today. On the 13th ^{of the} ~~Wilson~~ ^{of the} ~~was~~ ^{of the} ~~up~~ ^{of the} ~~early~~ ^{of the} ~~getting~~ ^{of the} ~~his~~ ^{of the} ~~detach-~~
ment off, ready to march for Rapier & embark for
Poverty Bay. On their arrival at the port at 11.15 am
the men embarked on the cutter Betsy & started at
once for Poverty Bay. "Wilson is a lucky fellow," says the
diary, to get a command ^{of the} ~~with~~ ^{of the} ~~two~~ ^{of the} ~~months~~ ^{of the} ~~of the~~

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his lieutenantcy & I have had mine two
years, & have but perhaps my turn will come soon
I hope so. I am sick of this eternal camp &
barrack life." Under the same date there is a
remark, "That acc^o to the Auckland papers, Major
Brouse had arrived at Opoitiki with 580 rank
& file, 120 of which are J. McDonnell's Katene
Contingent." At this time

Major Lambert was in charge of the H.B. District
at this time & on Sep. 22. he visited the Lambert Redoubt
& informed ^{George} that he had rec^d order to send
^{him} George to the front at once but that this could
not be done till Duke was well enough to take up his
duties. 26th Fridy. Letters from George & Omond
were rec^d stating that they are anxiously awaiting more
troops at Waipuu. & that the Defence Force were under
orders to start for Waipuu or Poverty Bay on Thursday
under La Sene. As showing the eagerness of the Defence
Force detachment stationed at Waipukurau for active
duty, it is remarked "the detachment passed here at
3pm. - not had work considering that they did not get
the order until 2 o'clock this morning & the place is 50
miles off!" Then on the following day, is the entry "Huron
rec^d an order to hold myself in readiness to start on
a moment's notice to Poverty Bay - start to-morrow for
Cetani I believe.

30 Saturday, George marched down to Kapiti with
the Volunteers from the M. S. P. Bay Defence Force
embarked to day for P. Bay in the ship "Bumblebee".

...also embarked for Waiafuu. The Major
tells me I am to go up by first vessel. I am to
come back to duty on Monday next.

October 17: ^{S. George} ~~Volcano~~ had given over his charge to Lieut.
Tuke & awaiting the arrival of a ship to start for
P. Bay. During the interval a mail from Wellington
reached him in which were letters from Mrs Donnett
& his mother. He was told that the ^{Well} for
was out & the ^{Stefford} ^{Gov.} in. In the afternoon
he started for P. Bay with Corp Black & 3 Scouts.
Wednesday 18th Oct finds S. George at Inrangenui. The events

that follow are full of ^{incident} in connection with
the Hau-Hau movement & the activity of the colonists.
There had been ^{defects} ^{further} north the news of
which had not filtered through at this date
but many Hau Haws had hurried to P. Bay to take
part in the contest between the rebels and the
Volunteers & Militia. The life & soul of the movement
is the Superintendent ^{at} ^{the} ^{head} ^{of} ^{the} ^{Government}
Charge of Native Affairs ^{at} ^{the} ^{head} ^{of} ^{the} ^{Government}

La Serre & Wilson who really ^{are} in charge at here ^{are}
have confidence in the result of the coming contest.

There are many Hau Haws about but this fine little
trouble to S. George who with Wilson ^{are} to visit Archdeacon
Williams for the purpose of obtaining help in acquisition
greater familiarity with the Maori language.

There is the entry from this diary taken on the 19th Oct
the day following his arrival in P. Bay. Paua went to see
the Hau Haws & they told him that they will commence

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fight as soon as the *toru-bi*? so in

full bloom. I hope they may. There are here about
two thousand but they are not all in one place. The
largest number is about 200 as far as I can learn.
I believe with our present force we might take all these
places with the exception of the big one but La Serre's
orders are to act entirely on the defensive. There
has been trying to allow me to go reconnaissance but he won't
have it. At this time the whole of the place where
Gubonne now stands & all the country towards Makaraka
& thence into the back country was *manuka*, *toi-toi*
& swamp areas. La Serre & St George went with Reid
to his station? returned to Turangamutu by way of the
river. *OK*

Monday 23rd. Wilson rec'd a letter from ^{from E. Crow} *Therese Potee*, saying
that ~~the~~ ^{of taking the} *Ironer* had at *Waiapu*, 300 men & 200
women & children prisoners, & that he had sent 20
^{of the chief's} others with *Bigga* to *Napier*. There was information
that showed the *Waiapu* campaign headed by the
loyal native chiefs & ^{Major} *Ironer* had been entirely
successful. The following day further information
reached *St George* in connection with the victories
in the *Waiapu* district ^{and soon it was found that these victories had received a deadly blow along the coast}

The natives in the different places were evidently
disturbed at the news from the coast & meetings
were held to discuss the best course to adopt.

On the 28th 11 *kaupahi* from *Waerenga-a-tika* ^{was induced to leave his} *brother*
William's deserted *Miriam* station & gave in their
allegiance. On the following day (29th) letters to
all ^{was furnished with them of} *Waerenga-a-tika* ^{in their allegiance}

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