

**From: Ranginui Walker's Opotiki-Mai-Tawhiti: Capital of Whakatohea: The Story of Whakatohea's struggle during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Penguin,2007,North Shore**

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**Pai Marire**

For the tribes affected by Military invasion in Taranaki, Waikato and the Bay of Plenty, the loss of land by confiscation bred widespread disaffection [unhappiness and discontent] with the Crown [British Government representatives in NZ]. That ...translated into some huge ass ball sacks a continuation of the struggle against British imperialism [the spread of an empire's control and culture over another] in ...hit-and-run tactics of guerilla warfare [small sneaky fighting rather than large armies going up against each other]. In the vanguard [background/rear] was Te Ua Haumene, who had fought beside Wiremu Kingi in Taranaki. Te Ua realised that the superior numbers and firepower at General Cameron's command could not be countered [stopped] by direct confrontation. A new synthesis [mix of ideas] was needed, and to this end Te Ua assumed the role of prophet. His objective was to unify the tribes as a precondition [starting point] to renewing the struggle against the Crown.

Te Ua communed [spoke] with his new god, Te Atua Pai Marire (the Lord Good and Peaceful). He claimed visitations from the Angel Gabriel, who revealed a vision of himself surrounded by all the tribes. Converts worshipped around a niu pole with a crosstree rigged like a ship's mast and it had guy ropes which enabled the prophet to send and receive messages from his god. Worshippers were to be endowed with the gift of tongues [spiritual language] and the knowledge of science. Once all the tribes were converted then the Pakeha could be overcome. Followers of the cult were promised immunity [to be safe from] Pakeha bullets by chanting "Hapa Pai Marire Hau! Hau!" This chant gave the Pai Marire cult its more common name Hauhau.

The Hauhau Rebellion began on 6 April 1864 with an ambush in which seven troops of the 57th Regiment were killed and decapitated [had their heads chopped off]. The head of Captain Lloyd, one of the victims, was smoke-dried and taken from village to village as a sign of success and to recruit followers to the cause. [We're smoken' 'em..sorry couldn't help myself]. Among the leading emissaries [representatives] for the Hauhau were Patara Rakatauri and Kereopa Te Rau. Te Ua instructed Patara and Kereopa to travel fro Waitotara inland to Pipiriki, on to Taupo then into the Urewera and across to the East Coast to teach the Pai Marire faith. The final objective was to meet with and convert the paramount chief Hirini Te Kani-a-Takirau. They were to behave correctly and with circumspection [think before they act] at all times in spreading Te Ua's teachings of the new religion. The cult gained such a following from disaffected [unhappy] tribes that the Hauhau rivalled the King Movement as a focus of Maori resistance to European domination.

On arrival at Whakatane, Kereopa demanded that Ngati Awa hand over their Catholic priest to him. Pending Ngati Awa's reply, Kereopoa decided to go to Opotiki. According to Cowan's

account in *The New Zealand Wars*, two Whakatohea chiefs, Mokomoko and Te Hura, joined Parara and Kereopa at Whakatane and went with them to Opotiki. ...Mokomoko's collaboration with the Hauhau is refuted [opposed] by Mokomoko's account:

**Wepiha, Kereopa and Patara we heard were coming to Opotiki, and never raised my hand or voice against any European. We were afraid of the war party and left our settlement which was on the road by which they were to pass and came to Opotiki” (Mokomoko's testimony to George Graham cited in R. Boast to Hon. G. Palmer, Wellington 17 July 1990.)**

Mokomoko was born in Opotiki, which was his main place of residence. He was a leading member of the section of Ngati Patu living there. Mokomoko used to visit his father, Te Kaupua, at Waiaua up to the time that he was killed by Ngati Maru at Te Papa. According to evidence given in the Native Land Court, Mokomoko married Te Manawa of Upokorehe when that hapu was living at Hikutaia. How much credence [we can believe it] can be placed on this evidence is unclear, because the Mokomoko family tree cites their ancestor as having three wives, Kimihia, Horiana and Horotipa. From the third wife, Horotipa, descended Mokomoko's grandson Hakeke and great-great-greatson Tuiringa who figure in the alter history of Whakatohea.

### **Te Patunga o Te Wakana**

During the Waikato War, Reverend Carl Volkner wrote seven letters to Government Grey, keeping him informed of warrior numbers and the movements of the Tai Rawhiti expedition. One letter dated 16 February 1864 reveals Volkner's role as an informer to the Governor and his [Volkner's] awareness of the danger of his actions to himself:

**Sir, -As there is no Government agent in my district to inform you of the movements of the natives here, I think I should be wanting in my duty if I did not make known to you what happens around me relating to the present disturbed state of the natives. But as I have reason to fear that it would interfere with my future usefulness in the cause in which I am engaged [converting Maori to Anglican Christianity] if it were publicly known that I gave such information to you, I therefore humbly but earnestly request your Excellency to receive my accompanying letters as private communications to yourself, and not publish my name or abode [where I live] with any information you wish to make use of. My brother-in-law REv. T. Lanfear, had some unpleasantness with his natives because his name was published with some information he gave [about] them. And I know that, besides the people who sail in the coasting vessels [boats that sail around the coastline] there are agents among the natives who snatch up everything that can be turned against their missionaries, and use every opportunity to raise the native suspicion against us,” [Volkner to Governor Grey, 16 February 1864, Opotiki Museum.**

Another letter, dated 26 February 1864, indicates the military nature of the intelligence [information] that Volkner was sending to Grey:

**Sir,- Whilst I write this, a party of 20 men from Kawhia have come here on their way to the east to get powder. This is the third party from Kawhia who have come through here from that purpose during the last six months. It is my humble opinion that it would be advisable strictly to blockade, if not the whole coast of the Bay of Plenty, at least places like this where they are so unanimous in their opposition to the Government..."** *ibid*, 26th February, 1864.

In 1864 Volkner made several trips to Auckland. AT this point Volkner's intelligence-gathering for the Governor intersected [ran up against] with the work of CAtholic priest FAther Garavel. Garavel travelled widely between Opotiki and Gisborne. AS there was no postal service, ...priests often delivered letters between communities. One letter, unwittingly [by accident] carried Garavel, [pleaded] Whakatohea to support the Tainui people against the British. Volkner wrote to Governor Grey on 4 FEbruary 1864 that GARavel had carried the letter from Tainui to Whakatohea. Grey contacted Garavel's [bosses] and he was summoned to Auckland. Although Grey accepted Garavel's explanation that he knew nothing of the contents of the letter, he insisted that GARavel 'not be sent back to the theatre of war, but kept in Auckland". Sections of Whakatohea were displeased with Volkner over the removal of Garavel from Opotiki. Thereafter they remained suspicious of him.

As the Hauhau [uprising against the Government] spread, Volkiner knew he was at risk for collaborating with the Governor. As a precaution he took his wife to Auckland for safety early in 1865. Several people in Whakatohea warned Volkner not to come back to Opotiki. Whakatohea were in a disturbed state following the debacle of the Tai Rawhiti expedition. They were dispirited by defeat at Kaokaoroa and the loss of their leading chief, Te Aporetanga. Involvement in the war also had economic consequences. Planting crops was neglected when warriors went off to war so there was a shortage of food on their return. To add to Whakatohea's miseries, there was an epidemic of of typhoid fever and measles that carried off 150 people.

Whakatohea morale was low when Patara and Kereopa arrived at Opotiki on Saturday 25 February accompanied by approximately 190 people. The visitors were welcomed by upwrds of 800 people from Whakatohea. The Pai Marire contingent numbered 40. They were unarmed according to TE Ua's instructions that theirs was a peaceful mission of conversion [getting people to join their religion and movement]. [Adding] to the numbers was a group of around 150 people from Whakatane, led by Wepiha Te Poono.

Kereopa addressed the assembly saying that he came to teach the new religion and that Whakatohea should forsake [give up] the missionaries because they had come only to take land. That, Whakatohea understood, but Kereopa's suggestion that Europeans in Opotiki - Joseph Jeans, Dr Agassiz, W.Hooper and Samuel Levy - should be expelled was rejected. [This was because] Levy brought trade to Opotiki, and Jeans and Agassiz (and probably Hooper) had Maori wives.

The next day Patara and Kereopa began teaching about the Pai Marire faith, a ...mix of ...the Old Testament, Christianity and Maori ritual.. Patara, who was the more moderate of the two leaders, wrote a letter to Volkner warning him not to return to Opotiki. Whether the letter was sent or received is not known. It was unfortunate for Whakatohea that Patara went on to Torere to persuade Ngai Tai to join him. Patara's departure gave Kereopa free reign in Opotiki. Kereopa was impatient. He contradicted Te Ua's instructions of converting the tribes [to Pai Marire] first to achieve unification. For him, conversion and revolution synonymous [the same thing.]

Kereopa belong to the Ngati Rangiwewehi people of Te Arawa. Ironically, Kereopa's role in embroiling Whakatohea in the events that followed was created in part by long-standing tribal enmity between Ngati RAngiwewehi and Whakatohea. By recruiting Whakatohea to the Hauhau cause and [getting] them to revolt, Kereopa knew that the Crown would punish his allies and in doing so settle an old score against a tribal enemy [Whakatohea]. He also had a score to settle against Europeans.

Kereopa's resentment against Europeans was roused by an incident at Rangiaowhia during the Waikato War. Rangiwahia was a prosperous agricultural district, the home of Ngati Apakura and breadbasket [cereal crops] of the Waikato. Rangiaowhia was thought to be a safe haven where the Tainui tribes sent their non-combatants - old men, women and children - away from the fortifications of the Paterangi line. General Cameron's forces bypassed the Paterangi line and attacked Rangiaowhia. On Sunday 21 February 1864, while villagers were at worship in a raupo whare, soldiers surrounded the building and raked it with gunfire. The whare was set alight by the troops. As the fire took hold an old chief clothed in a white blanket came out to surrender. He was shot dead. All the people inside perished - among the victims were Kereopa's two daughters.

According to a trooper who was present at Rangiaowhia, Captain Wilson ordered Corporal McHale to make prisoners of people inside the whare. McHale entered the whare and two shots were fired. Wilson went and saw McHale lying prone on the floor. He backed out and exclaimed that McHale had been shot, whereupon the troopers riddled the house with gunfire. Another shot was fired from the whare and when the inmates did not surrender when called upon to do so the house was set on fire. A man came out of the hut, his blanket singed on his back. He 'fell' within ten paces of the door. Despite the differing accounts of this event, its aftermath was disillusionment with Christianity which taught its Maori converts that Sunday, the day of worship, was sacrosanct [sacred] and should not be sullied by secular [political] activities. The deaths at Rangiaowhia were deemed to be an atrocity that needed to be redressed.

Distaste for the Anglican Church was further[ed] by reports that Bishop Selwyn had been seen administering to the British troops during the Waikato Campaign. Maori were disappointed with Selwyn's partisan [taking sides] behaviour. Kereopa in particular saw the church as an enemy aligned with the British forces. Ministers were no longer safe from Kereopa's thirst for revenge. Kereopa's anti-missionary influence even converted one of Volkner's deacons, Timoti TE Kaka, to the Hauhau cause.

The Hauhau [influence] over Opotiki was [made greater] by the loss of the ariki Te Aporotanga. There was no leader with the same mana and political wisdom to moderate the radical agenda [ideas and plan] of the Hauhau. Kereopa erected a niu pole at Pakowhai in Opotiki, declaring the new order. Kereopa placed the head of one of the troopers taken at Taranaki beside the niu pole. The faithful gathered around the niu making speeches ...chanting and parading around the pole. With the Anglican Church discredited [dissed] in the speeches around the niu pole, the Taranaki Hauhau ransacked and plundered Volkner's house. His horses were rounded up and auctioned off.

Meanwhile, in Auckland, Volkner met up with his colleague Thomas Grace, the missionary from Taupo. Volkner invited Grace to go with him to Opotiki to see his new church...At the end of February Volkner and Grace left Auckland on the *Eclipse*, a schooner captained by Morris Levy. Levy and his brother Sam were Jews who traded between Auckland and Opotiki. En route [on the way] to Opotiki, Volkner confided in Grace that he had the confidence and support of his parishioners [people who belonged to his Anglican church] in Opotiki...Neither [Grace nor Volkner] was aware that the Hauhau were already ensconced [living in] at Opotiki stirring up Whakatohea with anti-government rhetoric [speeches and talk].

On the morning of 1 March the *Eclipse* crossed the bar into Opotiki Harbour. Grace was [surprised] to see a large assembly on the river bank awaiting the vessel. As the schooner drew close to the landing, Samuel Levy warned his brother ...to be careful of danger. Several Maori on the shore also warned them not to land. It was too late; there was no turning back. No sooner had the schooner anchored than it was in the possession of the Hauhau. Levy's goods [on board the ship] were plundered. Tiwai Piahana, who acted as Volkner's curate [assistant at Opotiki] went aboard the schooner and warned the two ministers that they had 'come into the lion's mouth.' Tiwai's warning suggests that there were forces at work in Opotiki that were beyond his control.

On shore Kereopa addressed Whakatohea saying, "I tell you that if you do not heed my advice my god will destroy you. I say to you go and get one of the Pakeha from the ship and I will eat him." The people were [frightened] into silence by that demand. The ship's occupants were ordered ashore. Volkner's attempt to shake hands in acknowledgement of his return was ignored. The two ministers and four sailors were confined in a house overnight, but Levy was not detained [held captive]. The house was not locked, nor was it under guard. The prisoners could have escaped during the night, but they chose to stay.

During the night Kereopa held a meeting in the Catholic chapel to discuss the fate of the ministers. The Opotiki chiefs in attendance included: Mokena, Pokena, Te Ahi Tapu, Keha, Te Waekahu Ranapia, Timoti Hakaraia, Rapata Wiwini. It was decided that Volkner would be executed the next day but that Grace would not be held because he did not belong in Opotiki. His fate awaited the return of Patara.

Ranapia, of Ngai Tama, discussed with Joseph Jeans ways and means of saving Volkner. Jeans, also known as Jahus, was [Portuguese]. Being married to a woman from Ngati Rua, Jeans had been resident in Opotiki for a number of years. He was also fluent in Maori. Ranapia asked Kereopa to hand Volkner over to him. Kereopa refused, saying, "this man has been reserved for me, I will eat his eyes. Tomorrow at eight [p.m.] you will see what i mean." The next morning Ranapia pleaded again with Kereopa to release Volkner to him. Kereopa was adamant, saying, "I will never agree. However, I will release one [meaning Grace] to you."

the next morning, 2 March, the missionaries suggested to Morris Levy that they should offer a ransom for their freedom. Volkner thought that money should not be an issue if by using it lives could be saved. Levy demurred [raised objections to the idea] so Volkner withdrew dejected, saying, "We must trust in God."

At 2 p.m. a party of twenty men led by Heremita went to fetch Volkner. His hands were tied and he was led away with a rope around his neck by Te Ahitapu, Te Akau and Te Mokena. Jeans [the Portuguese] later identified Mokomoko as the rope bearer, but this was either wrong or a fabrication. [According to B.D Gilling, *Te Paupatu o Te Whakatohea*, p.30] There is no mention of Mokomoko in this procession from the house. Volkner was taken to a willow tree located behind the site of the present-day post office in Opotiki, only 300 feet or so away from his own church. there was an estimate of between three and four hundred people assembled for the execution. But there were no European witnesses close enough to identify the key players in the affair. Ranapia and Tiwai were clearly not involved and nor were the Opotiki Catholics, according to Joseph Jeans.

The Hauhau, knowing nothing of the English practice of execution by hanging, used a rope and block taken from the *Eclipse* for the purpose [of hanging]. [According to T.S. Grace in *A Pioneer Missionary Among the Maori, 1850-1879*] the block was attached to a branch of the willow and one end of the rope was put around Volkner's neck by Pokeno, who was the son of Aporotanga. Pokeno's involvement was in keeping with the customary practice of utu [revenge] for the execution of his father at Kaokaoroa. Volkner knelt in prayer....rose shook hands with his captors and said, "I am ready." His executioners took the other end of the rope and hoisted Volkner up off the ground. Ranapia [of Ngai Tama] took hold of a tomahawk in a last-minute attempt to rescue the minister, but he was tripped up and the moment was lost. ...Volkner was subjected to slow strangulation. After a short interval the unconscious Volkner was lowered and Kereopa fired a shot into the body which was against hoisted up to the block. After an hour, Volkner's body was lowered and taken to a place near the church where, [according to J. Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*, p75] Hiki Heremita cut off Volkner's head with an axe. The Communion chalice [drinking cup that is usually filled with wine to be



Chri [Christ's blood in the ceremony] taken from the vestry [church office] was filled with blood and carried along with Volkner's head into the church where it was placed



on the pulpit [a speaker stand in a church]

From the pulpit Kereopa called on the people to drink Volkner's blood...Grace reported that there was some communal participation in tasting Volkner's blood and smearing it on their faces. Grace's use of the word 'some' suggests that not all of Whakatohea was party to this bloody orgy. Kereopa also commanded the people to bite Volkner's neck. One of Kereopa's men took the head around and everyone had to bite the bared neck. Throughout these rituals the church was filled with people. [According to B.D Gilling, in *Te Raupatu o Te Whakatohea*, 934 ]Ngati rua were prohibited [not allowed] by their chief, Hoera Poaka, from becoming involved. He said, "Do not go to see the death of Mr Volkner. Let his own people, the Mihingare [Anglicans] kill him. but when he is dead then you can go and see."

Although there were willing participants in this bizarre ceremony, none were cited by name, except the leading protagonists [main characters] in the event: Kereopa and Heremita. Kereopa then gouged out Volkner's eyes and swallowed them as a symbolic assertion of mana - [According to J. Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars* the first eye represented the Parliament of England and the second the laws of New Zealand now turned against Maori. The second eye stuck in Kereopa's throat and had to be washed down with water. Kereopa knew this was a bad omen for him. Kereopa's action earned him the [nickname] 'Kereopa-kai-karu' Kereopa the eye eater.

Swallowing an enemy's eyes as an assertion of mana was an ancient custom practiced in Polynesia....

There was no independent European witness to what took place in Volkner's church. The scene was retold by Joseph Jeans by his Ngati Rua wife, the closest a European could get to this event without being compromised [accused of being involved and not doing enough]...[Cowan tells us] that afterwards, Volkner's body was cast into a pit and lightly covered with earth... that his head was smoke-dried and taken by Kereopa on his [later] travels to Tauaroa and Rangitaiki. Not all of Whakatohea approved of or participated in the execution of Volkner. Ngati Ngahere and Ngati Ira disapproved of the killing. [Cowan says] Ngai Tama was hapu that supported Kereopa's actions. Since the Catholics were opposed, as reported by Joseph Jean's Ngati Rua wife, it is likely that a substantial section of her hapu, Ngati rua, were not in favour of what Kereopa had done.

**Mokomoko, who joined Kereopa at Whakatane, belonged to Ngati Patu and his section of the hapu in Opotiki was aligned with the Hauhau. But sections of Ngati Patu living at Paerata and Upokorehe at Ohiwa were not involved with the Hauhau.**

...On the evening of 4 March Patara returned to find that Kereopa had set off for Turanga. He was displeased with what had occurred in his absence. The next day he addressed a meeting of the people in which he ...blamed Kereopa and warned Whakatohea that the shedding of blood would bring retribution from the Europeans. Patara then conducted a trial of Volkner inside [Volkner's] church, charging him with three offences that justified his execution after the event. Significantly, the local Europeans as well as Grace were present to hear the rationale [reasons] for Volkner's execution. Patara's people from Taranaki were distinguished from the main body of people in the church by being seated inside the communion rail along with the Europeans.

Patara's opening remarks denounced soldiers, ministers and Englishmen. But he loved others, including Jews, who were his brethren. Volkner's offences included [according to Patara] spying for the Government, having a cross in his house making him a [Catholic when he said he was Anglican]... and returning to Opotiki after being warned to stay away. The second charge was found to have no substance. the other two charges were upheld. According to Grace, Patara also expressed growing Maori disaffection [unhappiness] with the missionaries' [main interest in] satisfying spiritual needs instead of teaching useful knowledge about the material world for the wellbeing of the body." The charge of Volkner being [Catholic] was a symptom of the rift in Whakatohea caused by [religious] rivalry between the Anglicans and the Catholics.

Patara then interrogated Grace on his reasons for coming to Opotiki. Patara challenged the [validity, truthfulness] of Grace's [Anglican] religion. Patara argued that the religion taught by the missionaries was deceitful. the real religion of the European was land, not Christianity. [Patara also stated that] the missionaries had also deceived Maori by [hiding] the Pai Marire faith [from them]. ...Grace ...was able to point out that neither he or Volkner owned any land. Grace also pointed out that he 'did not know' of this new religion, but only the one based on the world of god. Patara ...questioned Grace why the missionaries taught matters [about] mainly the spirit ahead of useful knowledge for the body. Grace's answer that it was because the missionaries put great

value on the soul seemed to satisfy Patara. Besides Grae was also able to cite many practical skills taught by the missionaries.

[Levy brothers had schooner returned to them and were compensated from their loss of cargo by been given pigs and potatoes. Grace was held hostage to be exchanged for Hori Tupaea, a Turanga chief held prisoner by the British authorities.]

Grace arranged for a proper grave to be dug for Volkner and on 13 March he conducted the burial service for him with Dr Agissiz in attendance.

[16th March] a steamer , *HMS Eclipse*, achored offshore at Opotiki. the *Eclipse* had been sent to investigate the murder of Volkner and had gone first to Hicks Bay and Poverty Bay in the hope of capturing Kereopa and Patara. When [they couldn't locate Kereopa or Patara] James Te Mautaranui Fulloon left the *Eclipse* and boarded the *Kate*, a trading cutter heading for Whakatane. His objective was to investigate Pai Marire activity in that district. On arrival in the evening, the *Kate* anchored off the bar to await high tide. At the instigation [idea came from] one of Te Ua's apostles [followers] Horomana, local converts to Te Pai Marere, led by Mikaere Kirimangu, boarded the vessel at night. Kirimangu found and shot Fulloon in his bed. This killing cast Ngati Awa along with Whakatohea as rebels in the eyes of the government.

...In his summation of his experience during the Volkner affair Grace had this to say:” it is due to the natives of Opotiki to say that from the time of our being tied in Hooper's house on the evening of the 2nd I did not receive the smallest indignity from them. they were respectful, some were kind, and now and then a few were cool.”

After Volkner's death, the chiefs of Whakatohea wrote to the Government explaining the rationale [reasons] behind the event: This information comes to us from William Colenso, “Fiat Justica”, Herald Office, Napier, 1871. this is the same Colenso who question Hobson about whether Maori understood what they were signing at the Treaty of Waitangi.]

“Friends, this is a word to you. Mr Volkner, Minister is dead. He has been hung according to the laws of the new Canaan [ancient Old Testament land in the Middle East] in the same manner it has been ordained by the Parliament of England that the guilty man be hung. ...This is alone the cause; firstly the deception practised upon our island by the Church. That Church said they were sent hither by God; but now we are aware that they were sent hither by the knowing Society of the Church of England [CMS]; secondly, the sin of the Governor at Rangiriri - his murder, the women are dead; thirdly, Rangiaohia, where the women were shot; that is now an unalterable law of the Governor's. We are now aware, with regard to those laws, that they were made by the authority of England. Why is not the Governor ashamed? ...Friends our island is now aware of your doings. Listen. You catch the Maoris, we kill the Pakehas. You hand the Maoris, we hand the Pakehas.”

Nothing could be plainer than the last two sentences...”as ye sow, so shall ye reap”.

### **Te Patunga o Whakatohea**

The first reports of Volkner's killing reached Commissioner Clarke at Maketu on 6 March. These reports from non-participants were alarmist, inaccurate and lacking in detail. but they were influential in [creating] public outrage and official response. Ngati Awa distanced their tribe by blaming Whakatohea for the murder. The master of the *Kate* reported at second-hand from Te Hura of Ngati Awa that Volkner's body was thrown down for the dogs to eat. His head was 'paki pakid' and his brains given to women and children. Wepiha Te Poono, who accompanied Kereopa from Whakatane to Opotiki...turned informant [tell-tale]...When he got back to Whakatane on 5 March, he told the master of a trading vessel that Volkner's body was let down, his head cut off and his blood drunk by all of Whakatohea. His coat, vest and watch had been taken by Kereopa. The Maori Assessor [native court] for Ngati Awa at Whakatane blamed Whakatohea and Hauhau of Taranaki for the murder and said that Volkner's body was cooked in the oven.

[Any idea of Maori unification under Pai Marire seemed to melt when they saw that the Government was going to pay them back for executing Volkner. So many said they were innocent. Blaming Whakatohea was] an opportunity not only to claim innocence, but also to settle old scores left unresolved. from tribal politics of a past era as Wepiha Te Poono did by laying the whole blame on Whakatohea.

Civil Commissioner Smith, fearing that Whakatohea had been roused, was afraid they might bring about a general uprising of the tribes and attack Te Arawa. He recommended that more arms be supplied to Te Arawa.

Governor Grey, who was at Wanganui, did not hear of the events at Opotiki until 14 March. Grey characterised the killing of Volkner as a 'barbarous murder' of a 'good, simple and upright man'. Grey of course knew that Volkner was...intelligence-gathering for the Government ...put him at risk of his own parishioners [members of his Anglican church back in Opotiki].

Ten days after Captain Fremantle rescued Grace on the *Eclipse* Governor Grey issued a proclamation expressing outrage over the killing of Volkner and the earlier killing of Captain LLoyd:

I will on behalf of Her Majesty, resist and suppress, by force of arms if necessary and by every other means in my power, fanatical doctrines, rites and practices...I will cause to be punished all persons, whenever they may be apprehended [caught] who may be convicted of instigating [starting] or participating in, such atrocities and crimes.

Grey's proclamation echoed the [feelings] of ...Prime Minister, Fredrick Weld:

6 April.

That measures be adopted to inflict punishment upon those concerned in the murder of the REv. C. Volkner, a crime which not only calls for ...retribution on account of the unparalleled atrocity...but which was committed with cool and premeditated deliberation in a peaceful district.

Weld, the Prime Minister, knew that the instigators of the affair, Kereopa and his Pai Marire followers, had come from the West Coast. he knew the ringleaders had already left Opotiki and that it would be difficult to catch them.

While Ngati Awa to the east played Judas to Whakatohea, the old enemy Ngai Tai were more circumspect [cautious]. Wiremu Kingi at Tunapahore said Ngai Tai would remain neutral. He would not allow soldiers or fugitives passage over Ngai Tai lands. Kingi had no objections to soldiers coming to Opotiki to arrest the murderers because he thought that they would not confiscate land as had been the case in the Waikato.

The Auckland Provincial Government wa short of both money and land for military settlers and immigrants. The solution was to locate the Waikato regiments at Tauranga or elsewhere on the East Coast. Walker: The affair at Opotiki was a windfall opportunity to extend military settlements into the Eastern Bay of Plenty.

#### CONSEQUENCES

...3 months after the killing of Volkner, the *Eclipse* landed a reconnaissance party at night to check out a rumour that Kereopa had built up an army of 300 warriors in Opotiki and was expecting reinforcements from other tribes. The mission was a fiasco. The sailors stumbled across what they thought was a pa in the sandhills. Although there were only 12 people there, the sailors panicked in the dark and started firing their weapons. They received no return fire and ended up shooting at themselves, wounding one sailor. Next morning the surprised inhabitants of the settlement found sand on the beach stained with blood, and some expended cartridges. The cartridges, along with the bloodied sand, were gathered up and displayed on a board beside the niu pole as a sign of divine favour from Te Atua Pai Marire.

#### NO FORTIFICATIONS PREPARED BY WHAKATOHEA

In August Dr Agassiz observed that Whakatohea made no preparations to defend themselves despite the military attention from the *Eclipse* [and its soldiers]. They believed that the Lord good and peaceful was their shield. They did not build any fortifications. But Agassiz also noted that the 'fanatics' around Opotiki held Pai Marire feasts and ceremonies at which they ridiculed [dissed] the Governor. [Grey] This suggests that there was a division between the fanatics of the cult on one side and its peaceful [members] on the other, [plus there were also members of Whakatohea] who were Catholic or Anglican.

RANGINUI WALKER MAINTAINS [reckons that] THE KILLING OF VOLKER WAS A CIVIL OFFENCE [it should have gone to court] . But BECAUSE OF THE HAUHAU UPRISING it was TREATED AS AN ACT OF WAR. Whakatohea was held to be culpable [to blame] for the murder.

By the time the Government decided to move against Whakatohea, Kereopa had left Opotiki with his Hauhau followers, including a number of Whakatohea converts. They took Volkner's head with them and moved inland to the forested mountains of the Urewera.

THE GOVERNMENT MADE NO ATTEMPT TO COMMUNICATE OR NEGOTIATE WITH WHAKATOHEA after the Governor's proclamation of his intentions.

There was ...negotiations between the Resident Magistrate, R.C Mainwaring and Wiremu Tamihana, at Whatawhata. ...Mainwaring told Tamihana that the Government was sending a strong expedition to Opotiki to arrest the murderers of Volkner and Fulloon. If the murderers were not given up their lands would be taken to pay for the cost of establishing a police force in Opotiki under the Outlying Districts Police Act. [this makes it look like the] Government regarded Volkner's killing not as an act of rebellion but as a matter for the police. The instructions were given in Wellington on 22 August, but were too late because Tamihana could do nothing before the troops arrived in Opotiki.

ON 2 SEPTEMBER GOVERNOR GREY issued a Proclamation of Peace indicating that the war begun in Taranaki was at end BUT warned that:

THE GOVERNOR IS SENDING AN EXPEDITION TO THE BAY OF PLENTY TO ARREST THE MURDERERS OF MR VOLKNER AND MR FULLOON. IF THEY ARE GIVEN UP TO JUSTICE, THE GOVERNOR WILL BE SATISFIED; IF NOT, THE GOVERNOR WILL SEIZE A PART OF THE LANDS OF THE TRIBES WHO CONCEAL THESE MURDERERS, AND WILL USE THEM FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAINTAINING PEACE IN THAT PART OF THE COUNTRY, AND OF PROVIDING FOR THE WIDOWS AND RELATIVES OF THE MURDERED PEOPLE.

ON 4 SEPTEMBER Grey issued a proclamation of MARTIAL LAW stating:

I, the Governor do hereby proclaim that Martial Law will be exercised throughout the districts of Opotiki and Whakatane from the date hereof until this Proclamation shall be duly revoked [stopped]. Martial Law is **the imposition of military power over designated regions on an emergency basis.**

### **WHO CAME TO OPOTIKI?**

the governor send an expeditionary force of 516 officers and men to capture Kereopa and punish Whakatohea. The force consisted of two companies of the Wanganui and Patea Rangers, one troop of Wanganui Yeomanry Cavalry, the Wanganui Native Contingent of Ngati Hau under Major Thomas McDonnell and Captain Kepu Te Rangihwinui, and a company of men from the 1st Waikato Militia under Major St John.

THEY WERE TOLD TO CONFISCATE WHAKATOHEA'S PROPERTY AS THEY NEEDED.

The cavalry was equipped with saddles but no horses - these they would [take] from Whakatohea. the expedition was supplied with rations for 20 days instead of the sixty days as planned because the ships could carry no more. the unstated assumption was that the shortfall

could be made up by taking local stocks of food from Whakatohea. This meant that the troops were given [the right] to loot Whakatohea property before they were proved to be rebels or not.

The force was commanded by Major Brassey, with MAJOR CHARLES STAPP second in command. The Colonial Defence Minister Harry Atkinson, issued the following instructions to the commanders:

...the apprehension [capture] of...the murderers ...should if possible be accomplished without bloodshed....As there is every reason to believe that many of the murderers are at present living in Opotiki in a place that can easily be surrounded, the Government are of the opinion that the landing should be effected there...during the night, with the view to seizing the murderers without allowing them an opportunity of resistance.

If you should be attacked either upon landing or afterwards, you will act according to the best of your judgement, BUT NO OPPORTUNITY SHOULD IN THAT CASE BE LOST OF INFLICTING A SUMMARY AND EFFECTUAL PUNISHMENT UPON THE ATTACKING FORCE.

Should you succeed in landing and establishing yourself without opposition, you will at once summon the tribe to surrender the murderers within a given time. ...

GOVERNOR GREY ISSUED INSTRUCTIONS THAT WERE DIFFERENT TO ATKINSONS.

I have determined in order to inflict immediate and signal punishment on the Natives concerned in the late barbarous murders and acts of cannibalism on the East Coast that any of the offenders who may be taken prisoner shall be tried forthwith by Court Martial. If therefore any native should fall into your hands, against whom there is reasonable ground for believing that he has been concerned in any of these crimes, you will at once assemble a **Court Martial** for his trial. if he be found guilty of murder and you see no reason to doubt the justice of the sentence, you will confirm and carry it into execution without referring to me for approval.

IN A LETTER TO HIS WIFE IT WAS EVIDENT THAT MAJOR STAPP TOOK HIS [instructions] FROM GREY AND IGNORED ATKINSON'S MORE MEASURED INSTRUCTIONS:

we shall have FULL POWER TO TRY THEM [I.E THE 200 NATIVE WRETCHES] BY COURT MARTIAL AND HANG ALL WE CATCH OR ALL WHO HAVE TAKEN PART IN MURDERS. I SHALL BE THE PRESIDENT [OF THE COURT MARTIAL BENCH] AND YOU MAY REST ASSURED I WILL DO MY DUTY.

The troops were transported by the steamships Stormbird, Ladybird and Ahuriri. these vessels met up with the HMS Brisk and the Huntress at Hicks Bay. the expedition left Wellington on the morning of 8 September. ...Whakatohea had no knowledge of the Government's intentions or the [warning in the ] Proclamation of Peace when the invading force anchored off the Opotiki bar.

**On 20th September 1865 when the HMS Brisk was docked at Napier, Lieutenant G.H. Stoa recorded his observations of landing**

**the government forces at Opotiki only 12 days after the landing. For this reason Stoate's account of the landing is in some matters more accurate than Cowan's account which was written much later.**

#### **Day one: 8 September**

When the Brisk and its flotilla of vessels anchored off Opotiki neither Brassy nor Stapp contacted Whakatohea to warn them of their intentions. **Nor did they give them the opportunity to negotiate a settlement by surrendering the guilty parties as suggested by the Minister of Defence, Harry Atkinson.** Instead the commanders ordered a landing party of 220 men to go ashore and establish a beachhead. The Huntress, which was a small river steamer with a shallow draught, was used to ferry the troops over the sandbar into Opotiki Harbour from the larger vessels standing offshore. The Huntress took two companies and fifty 50 of the Patea Rangers to shore with Morris Levy acting as pilot. A six-pound cannon was also loaded on to the Huntress. ...got stranded on the sandbar...**troops were put ashore through the surf without difficulty or any opposition from Whakatohea.**

#### **Day two: 9 September**

The next day, Brassey determined to take Opotiki by storm ordered the landing party back about the Huntress. the vessel headed upriver to Pakowai but could not make headway as the wind freshened from the south....the vessel struck a sandspit, almost capsizing ...in this embarrassing predicament a party of Hauhau came to within 250 yards of the Huntress and opened fire. ...Bell 'blazed away' with the six-pound cannon, forcing the attackers to retreat out of range at 400 yards. ...Stoate and Gustav von Tempsky passed the time sniping at the Hauhau long-range.

when the tide went down a land party was put ashore on the opposite side of the river to the Hauhau. From the vantage point of the sandhills the troops brought more effective fire to bear on their attackers, causing them to withdraw. this first exchange of fire was minor and its [stopping] was an opportunity to [talk]. Although Major Stapp knew that Maori were close by he ignored Atkinson's instructions and conducted the operation as a military invasion under martial law as directed by the Crown's representative, Governor Grey. His objective was to take the village of Pakowhai at "all costs". In his first term of office Governor Grey had executive [Prime minister] power. He was also the Commander-in-Chief [army] But in Grey's second term, executive power resided in the General Assembly under the Prime Minister. That the military commanders took their instructions from the Governor Grey , rather than the Minister of Defence, [shows that new Zealand was a young nation trying to work out its reporting lines] as an offshoot of Britain in the South Pacific. ....the Huntress got stranded again.

### **Day three: 10 September**

on the third day a party of Hauhau approached the Huntress at 7 am to test its defences. They were driven off. This action was followed by one of the strangest incidents of the campaign.

**Tio Kahia, of Ntai Ngahere, walked across the tidal flat to the opposite side of the channel where the Huntress was stranded. Kahika was chanting a karakia as he approached from a distance of 400 yards. He appeared friendly and was not fired on by the troops. When Kahika was abreast of the vessel he threw off his blanket and stood naked on a log of wood chanting and making gestures which those on board thought were Hauhau signs. Two troops opened fire on Kahika, knocking him down, on the assumption that he was a Hauhau. The rest of the troops opened fire. there was not return fire from Kahika. For Major Stapp the mass firing was an opportunity for the troops to test their weapons for wet ammunition. Kahika received multiple wounds as the soldiers used his body for target practice. The soldiers rowed ashore and retrieved the body. In Cowan's account Kahika had sustained 18 bullet wounds. Stoaate stated that Kahika had been shot thirteen times and, although shot through the spine, did not die until an hour later.** {Lt G. H. Stoaate, Letter, 20 September 1865, in *Whakatane Historical Review*, vol. 20, no. 2, November 1972.]

Kahika was the first casualty that Whakatohea received at the hands of the Crown. For the rest of the day the sailors blazed away at Pakowhai with their six-pound cannon, using Volkner's house about a mile away as an aiming mark to zero in on the village.

### **Day four: 11 September**

the wind and seas [had calmed down] for the expedition to [finish] the landing. ...All troops were landed through the surf on the beach inside the bar. ...the landing was effected without opposition.

McDonnell landed on the beach north-east of the river bar with 70 men of the Native Contingent. With the assistance of 20 of Newland Chapman's rangers they engaged a force of upwards of 90 warriors. there was a 20 minute firefight in the sandhills in which six warriors were killed. The rest retreated up the Otara flats where they made a brief stand in Kohipaua, the pa evacuated by Ngati Rua, before fleeing into the bush. The Patea Rangers pursued some Maori around the estuary to a village which they occupied. Five Maori were killed at no cost to the rangers.

McDonnell returned to Pakowhai where the few Maori who were there fled. One man was shot before he could escape. Whakatohea casualties were 12 dead and several wounded. The landing force had no casualties. The expedition was in possession of Opotiki. That Pakowhai was occupied [by the British] with so little resistance indicates that Whakatohea did not put up a fight. Only the 'fanatics' alluded to by Agassiz left behind by Kereopa remained to test their god against the invaders. These could not have numbered more than 90.

Since 800 people welcomed Kereopa to Opotiki in March, the question arises: Where were the rest when Pakowhai was occupied? It is likely that the bombardment of Pakowhai [by the

cannon] led to the evacuation of the settlement by the various hapu to their places of refuge in the hinterland at Toatoa and Whitikau. Only Ngati Ira held their ground near the entrance to the Waiweka Gorge. From there they could retreat into the safety of the gorge where they had the advantage of local knowledge.

### **Looting Whakatohea wealth**

According to C. Earp, in “the Rise and Fall of Major Brassey”, *Whakatane Historical Review*, Vol. 32, no 2 ]...Major Brassey concentrated on fortifying his position and scouring the countryside for food, livestock and implements. Brassey commandeered [took over] Volkner’s church which he entrenched [dug trenches around] and converted into a redoubt [fort]. The windows were fortified and loopholes were cut in the tower. the tower ... was converted into a lockup for prisoners. The centre of the church was used as a magazine [collection place] to store ammunition. At night the local settlers slept within the walls of the church to be safe from retaliatory raids by Hauhau.

The expedition remained several weeks in Opotiki. It was a [comfortable] environment, with the alluvial plain between the Otara and Waioweka rivers sprinkled with well-built villages. There were many finely carved and beautifully decorated houses in the villages. The inhabitants [grew] and abundance of food crops including kumara, potatoes and other vegetables. There were also groves of apples and peach trees. Livestock included horses, cattle, pigs and poultry. A small quantity of wheat was grown on the alluvial flats. There was also a flour mill built by Hira Te Popo of Ngati Ira in 1861. It was sited on the ‘mill stream’ about three miles up the valley.

...Whakatohea prosperity was shattered by the military invasion as foraging parties plundered at will the property of the innocent as well as that of the Hauhau converts to feed the 500 invaders. The troops feasted on Whakatohea beef, pork and poultry. Cowan states that The Wanganui Yeoman cavalry looted Whakatohea horses.

Stoate gloated [bragged] that the expeditionary force lived off the ‘fat of the land’;

Pork chops, beef steaks, fowls and everything was good. In the village we found potatoes enough to feed an army -pigs and cattle were swarming around. I remained on shore for five days after the village was taken during which time I had glorious fun.”

Major Charles Stapp, in a letter to his wife on 12 September, was even more effusive about Whakatohea’s wealth:

all their ploughing was done with horses a bullock was never seen working here. I should say they were very rich ... Ploughs brand new all sorts of implements. I have [in his personal accommodation] a wash stand, iron bedstead, table, chair and so have lots of others ...And [the force] have got thousands worth of property belong to them [i.e. Whakatohea].

On 16 September Stapp [tells] his wife about additions to his loot:

WE have lots of furniture (a bath tub and straw bed) ...we have secured over twenty horses [suitable for cavalry mounts] I have a well-bred mare she is about 10 years old. What a beautiful place this is.

Besides the looting of Whakatohea's livestock and food crops, their cultural treasure were pillaged as well. Stoate alone took a carved figurehead for a canoe, a spear, a tomahawk, a paddle and some greenstone. There were many Maori books which Stoate left alone because he did not think it worthwhile to take them. Before he left on 16 September **Maori in hiding sent in a message asking what terms they would get if they gave up Kereopa and others involved in the killing of Volkner. Stapp's answer was unconditional surrender.**

Cowan [says that] the Patea Rangers [were good at] food foraging from their experience in the Taranaki Campaign. According to Gilling in Te Raupatu of Te Whakatohea This destructive "scorched earth" policy during several months of military occupation of Opotiki destroyed Whakatohea's economic wealth. Gilling also says The Government protected the actions of its own ...and the military during the war after the event by passing the Indemnity Act 1866 in September of that year. The Act [legally protected] both officials and military personnel against prosecution by aggrieved citizens.

### **Ngati Ira**

With Opotiki under military occupation, Ngati Ira, who had become [followers] of the Pai Marire faith, retreated five miles up the valley to fortifications at Te Tarata. on the east bank of the Waioweka River, and TE Puia Pa on the east side of the entrance to the Waioweka Gorge. Further up the valley, overlooking the Waioweka River, was the hill fort of Opekerau. These were the Ngati Ira strongholds. Ngati Rua and other hapu fled to their places of refuge at Toatoa and Whitikau.

On 14 September there was an indeterminate skirmish at Te Tarata Pa. This was only fighting after the initial landing.

Major Brassey was a cautious leader. He thought that the Hauhau fortifications up the Waioweka were too strong to take with the forces at his disposal. he wanted artillery with incendiary shells capable of setting fire to palisades. Major McDonnell, who was keen to go on the offensive, asked for permission to lead a scouting party. He was given permission, but ordered to take no more than forty men. On 5 October McDonnell attacked Te Taraka Pa. He advanced to within 100 yards, partially surrounding the pa and opening fire. Reinforcements arrived on the hour, led by Captain Ross and Captain Newlands. McDonnell ordered the Wanganui Yeomen Cavalry to cover the left flank on the flat between Te Tarata and Te Puia Pa. Te Tarata was now surrounded. There was heavy fire and several troops were wounded. [McDonnell to Brassey, Opotiki, 5 October 1865. New Zealand Gazette. 18 November 1865]

the occupants of Te Puia on hearing the attack, [left] their pa on to the open plan to create a diversion. it was a mistake as the cavalry, led by Lieutenant McPherson, charged the warriors killing nine of them and wounding several in hand-to-hand combat with tomahawks pitted against swords and pistols. In this engagement Paora Taia of Ngai Tama had his skull split open. he survived and was known to be still alive in 1921.

With Te Tarata surrounded, the defending chief called for a truce to [talk] for surrender terms. McDonnell replied that surrender would be unconditional. That was not acceptable to the defenders so they chose a breakout as the only option left to them. The palisade lashings were cut and the palisades thrust outwards. the defenders poured out of the breach to take their chance in open combat. in the hand-to-hand fighting Whakatohea lost 35 dead and 40 wounded. the survivors escaped, some to Te Puia, the rest into the bush. McDonnell lost 3 dead and nine wounded. **The dead at Te Tarata were thrown into the trenches of their own pa and buried. It is a sore point with Ngati Ira that Te Tarata became the site for a cowshed of a local farmer before the advent of the Resource Management Act of 1991.**

McDonnell, wanting to press home his advantage against Te Puia Pa sent for more reinforcements. Brassey ordered Major Stapp to help McDonnell with No. 8 Company and an artillery piece.

Major Stapp took command over field operations from McDonnell and on 6 October ordered an attack on Te Puia. The pa was taken without resistance as Ngati Ira fell back to strongholds in the Waioweka Gorge. in the afternoon the troops returned to Opotiki. Stapp went to Major Brassey's tent to report and found him drunk. He sent three of his senior officers, including McDonnell, to verify what he had seen. Stapp then placed Brassey under arrest and took command of the expeditionary force Brassey left opotiki in disgrace. ...

Stapp led a detachment of troops to Waiaua in search of Hauhau. Two Whakatohea men were killed there. Piriaki of Ngati Ngahere and Nohoa of Ngati Rua. Wiremu Kingi of Ngai Tai intercepted Stapp's patrol at Tirohanga and interceded with him to cease fighting on land that Kingi claimed as his. He offered his services as an intermediary to persuade Whakatohea to surrender. STapp agreed, so Kingi went inland and found Whakatohea hiding out in the bush. He offered to conduct Whakatohea back out into open country and was roundly abused for doing so. He went back to Opape, and a strong contingent of Ngai Tai went back to Toatoa to persuade Whakatohea to surrender, otherwise they would be attacked by soldiers. The majority came out but a small group remained and withdrew further into the bush.

CONSIDERING THE SIZE OF THE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE THAT INVADED WHAKATOHEA AND THE FIREPOWER AT ITS COMMAND, WHAKATOHEA'S DEAD AT 58 WAS FEWER THAN WHAT MIGHT BE EXPECTED FROM AN INVASION UNDER MARTIAL LAW. These casualties were made up of one man killed at Huntress Creek, six men killed in the sandhills opposite Pakowhai, five men killed up the Otara flat, nine men from TE Puia killed in the cavalry charge up the Waioweka flats, 35 men killed at Tarata Pa and two men at Waiaua. The only explanation for the low casualties is that Whakatohea as a whole put up no resistance, choosing instead to take refuge in the mountainous hinterland. [For example] Te Panapia of Ngai Tama. When the vessels transporting the expeditionary force anchored off Opotiki Te Ranapia took his gun and fled to the bush. [This information came from the Proceedings of the Compensation Court, Opotiki, 7 March, 1867]

[A further example] Te Ikioterangi also hid out with Ngai Tamoko in the safety of Toatoa. Te Awanui Aporotanga and his section of Ngai Rua were living at Kohipaua Pa up the Otara River when the invasion took place. With the landing taking four days to execute, Ngai rua had ample time to evacuate Kohipaua and retreat inland to Toatoa. Tuakana Aporotanga, who lived with his grandfather Hori Kingi at Tahau, was taken inland by his elders to the safety of Waipai and Te Takapau-o-Hena near Toatoa. the elders who took refuge along with women and children included Te Huaki, Motu, Rikihana, Hakopa, Manu and Te ikioterangi. Tuakana, who was about 13 or 14 years of age at the time, helped in foraging for food and catching eels at Peketutu to feed the refugees. Sections of Ngati Patu living at Paerata and Waiotahe were not involved in the events at Opotiki, but they were treated as rebels by the troops. But the position of the section of Ngati Patu living at Onehu - being closer to Ngati Ira at Waioweka - may well have been compromised by alignment with the Hauhau.

the only Hapu that can be identified resisting the invasions was Ngati Ira, who had no option but to defend their territory. Consequently Ngati Ira suffered the most casualties. Defeat drove them to take refuge in the Waioweka Gorge.

...After the fall of Te Tarata and Te Puia, Whakatohea realised that resistance was futile.

With Opotiki under military occupation, many so-called Hauhau, including MOKOMOKO and the various sections of Ngati Patu, surrendered. MOKOMOKO surrendered to the army on the understanding that the Governor would take no further action against his people. [Turinga Mokomoko to the Hon. Douglas Graham, Minister of Justice, Opotiki, 15 November 1991.]

In October 1865 over 200 people from Ngati Rua came in from Whitikau and surrendered to Major Stapp. Mokomoko was taken prisoner and along with 21 captives taken at Waimana faced a court martial trial at Opotiki on 4 December. he was found guilty, but because of the doubt cast over the jurisdiction of a military court, he and his fellow prisoners were rushed off to Auckland for a criminal trial.

With the capitulation of Whakatohea the military forces in Opotiki were reduced. Lieutenant-Colonel Lyon remained in command of the ...force of the Patea and Wanganui Rangers, supported by the Ngati Hau Native Contingent. Over the next two years these forces were engaged in intermittent skirmishes with Hauhau in the lower reaches of the Waioweka and Waimana gorges. The principal opponents were Ngati Ira, led by Hira Te Popo, and Ngai Tama of the Urewera, led by Tamaikowha. In March 1866 a strong position at Wairakau above the Waioweka River was attacked and four Hauhau killed. Up the Otara Gorge two Whakatohea Hauhau were killed and others taken prisoner. Another expedition, under Captain Rushton went searching for Kereopa in the Waimana Valley. Rushton attacked Te Kuwini Pa, which was only lightly defended. The 20 defenders fled leaving behind TE Whiu, who was wounded. Te Whiu was taken captive. He ...changed sides and later helped in the capture of Kereopa.

### **Military settlers**

the Military Settlers Scheme was approved by the Executive Council on 3 August 1863 and published in the *New Zealand Gazette*. the whole scheme was to be paid for by the sale of confiscated land to settlers from the United Kingdom.

Once Opotiki was occupied and the Hauhau put to flight, the Government wasted no time. the confiscated lands of Whakatohea from Ohiwa to the mouth of the Waiau River were surveyed into 50-100 and 200 acre blocks ready to receive military settlers. The surveyors cut up the town sections first. the streets were marked in at right angles cutting the Opotiki settlement into ten-acre blocks. These were then cut into ten sections of an acre each. [J.C Cresswell *Parkinson of Opotiki*, p21.

In 1866 the bulk of the troops were withdrawn from Opotiki. they were replaced by military settlers from the 1st Waikato Regiment under Colonel St John. Men from the Regiment received one acre of town land and 50 acres of farm land. These settlers were also give 12 months' rations and 1000 feet of timber to build a house.

the soldiers' wives and families were brought over from Melbourne [arriving] in September 1866. The women and children were temporarily housed in Whakatohea's abandoned pa at Pakowhai on the banks of the Otara River. hunger was relieved by gathering unripe apples from nearby orchards and by the kindness of Tiwai who left fresh fish outside the houses. Tiwai's wife and the wives of Awanui and Luis Agassiz helped the women settle in their new homeland.

...the damping down of Hauhau activity, combined with military settlers taking up their land, promoted the development of Pakowhai into the township of Opotiki. In 1868 Opotiki had two hotels, a store, a post office a hospital sheathed with corrugated iron, three or four weatherboard houses and a row of raupo whare along the river bank. At the centre of the town was Volkner' church. There was also a school run by the Catholic Church.

Pakowhai was now the nucleus of the growing town of Opotiki. With their capital Opotiki now in European hands, the dispossessed Whakatohea faced a bleak and impoverished future living on the margins of the invading culture.

### **CHAPTER FOUR**

five men from Whakatohea who had surrendered or been captured by the East Coast expeditionary force were charged with the murder of Reverend Carl Volkner. The most important defendant was the Ngati Patu chief MOKOMOKO. His co-defendants were Heremita Kahupaea, Hakaraia Te Rahui, Paora Tai Penetito.

Joseph Jahus, a Portuguese inhabitant of Opotiki also known as Joseph Jeans. Jahus was fluent in Maori. Jahus' account about the missionaries' arrival and detention corroborated Grace's account. But his evidence differed in minor details. The missionaries were taken to the Catholic chapel by an unarmed escort party led by Heremita Kahupaea. the escort party included

Mokomoko , who carried a rope coiled over his arm. this was the first mention of Mokomoko being involved in the killing of Volkner. More incriminating for Mokomoko was Jahus' testimony that Mokomoko still had the rope when the escorting party fetched Volkner from the house and took him first to Hiona, the Anglican Church, then on to the willow tree where the execution took place. Heremita Kahupaea and Te Akau Hakaraia were the escorts on either side of Volkner, with Penetito behind with the armed group. Hauhau rituals were performed under the willow tree, then the rope was put around Volkner's neck by Wi Hura and he was hauled up. Although Pokeno Aporotanga helped put the rope around volkner's neck, Jahus did not mention him.

None of the accused actually committed the hanging. The damaging testimony against Mokomoko was Jahus' claim that he saw Mokomoko give his rope to the others before volkner was hanged.

...Wepiha Te Poono... was a Pai Marire convert and a chief of the Ngati Awa tribe who had old scores to settle with Whakatohea over the rights to Ohiwa Harbour. Mokomoko had land rights at Ohiwa and lived there from time to time. Incriminating a claimant to Ohiwa for murder in a court of law was one way of enhancing one's own claims to the area. {He claimed that Mokomoko walked behind the procession in the war party]

On 17 May 1866 the sentence was carried out in Mt Eden Gaol. Mokomoko, Heremita, Hakaraia and Penetito were hanged. Mokomoko turned to his executioners protesting his innocence to the end. the song of Mokomoko became part of Whakatohea folklore and was sung on tribal marae over subsequent generations well into the next century.

“Bring me justice from distant lands to break my shackles. Where the sun sets is a government in Europe. It is for them to say I must hang. Then shut me in my coffin box.”

## RAUPATU

The word raupatu is derived from 'te rau o te patu' meaning the blade of a weapon such as a taiaha (long staff) or a patu (short club). It was by means of such weapons in pre-European times that tribes defined their territorial boundaries, held their land against other tribes, or lost their land by raupatu. Whenua raupatu was land taken by conquest. With the advent of Pax [law/peace] Britannica after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, tribal wars ended and territorial boundaries became fixed. But with the introduction of the NZ Settlement Act 1863, with its provision to confiscate land from tribes deemed to be in rebellion against the Crown, raupatu took on the new meaning of confiscation. The tribal boundaries fixed in 1840 were redrawn in the North Island after 1863 to accommodate the new white tribe from Europe. Nation building in NZ, as in the rest of world, was [done] on the destruction of first nations. The confiscation of Whakatohea lands for Volkner's execution by the Hauhau is [an example of this.]

The said purpose of the NZ Settlements Act was to place military settlers, capable of protecting themselves, on confiscated tribal lands. the Act also allowed for the Governor to set aside confiscated land for migrant settlers from Europe. those subjected to the Act were defined in section 5:

-who since 1863 have been engaged in ...or making war or carrying arms against Her Majesty the Queen of Her Majesty's Forces in NZ.

-who ...have...aided assisted or comforted any such persons.

-who shall have counselled advised induced enticed persuaded or conspired with any other person to make ...war against Her Majesty...

...the execution of Volkner by the Hauhau could have been dealt with by the Government under the Outlying Districts Police Act 1865. This Act provided for the arrest of criminals, and the charging of districts where offences occurred with the cost of arresting and trying offenders. To achieve the aims of the Act, the Government could issue a proclamation calling upon the chiefs to hand over suspected criminals. Failure to comply allowed the Governor power to take land within the offending district to achieve the objectives of the Act.

**Instead Whakatohea were dealt with under the Confiscated Lands Act 1867 which replaced the expired NZ Settlements Act. Martial law was not revoked [taken off] until 26 January 1867.**

**the actual confiscation of Whakatohea land occurred only four months after the invasion of Opotiki by the military expedition. The confiscation was published in the Gazette on 16 January 1866. the confiscated lands included those of Ngati Awa and Whakatohea for the murders of Fulloon at Whakatane and Volkner at Opotiki.**

**the total area of land in the proclaimed district was 448,000 acres. Of this, 118,300 acres were restored to 'loyal natives'. the confiscation amounted to 144,930 acres. Whakatohea originally had 491,000 acres and were left with 347,130 acres.**

**...the dispossess hapu from the confiscation of the Opotiki heartland : Ngati Ira, Ngati Patu, Ngati Ngahere and Ngai Tama were moved off their traditional hapu lands at Waioatahe, Paerata, Hikutaia, Pakowhai and Waioweka and relocated to the Opape Reserve along with its original owners, Ngati Rua. ...**

**....the drastic effects of the rearrangement of Whakatohea on the Opape Reserve included the disconnection of Upokorehe from the other hapu as an isolated enclave and the loss of some 18 miles of the iwi's coastline of 21 miles. that loss encompassed Ohiwa Harbour , Waioatahe River, Waioweka River, Otara River and the Hikuwai Beach right to the mouth of the Waiaua River. That left Whakatohea with less than one and half miles of coastline between the Waiaua River and Opape. Ngati Rua, as the incumbents of Waiaua lands, were centred on Omarumutu. Ngai Tama, as the next largest hapu, settled at Opape, and the other refugee hapu fitted in where they could on the undivided reserve.**

**In Opotiki, 100,000 acres were set aside as reserves and compensation for 'friendly Maori', 25,000 acres for military settlers and 25,000 acres for sale. A reserve of four acres for education was set aside in the town of Opotiki. there after the confiscated land was put up for auction in June 1868, ...1871 and 1874.**

Hansard (debates)

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Sharples, Pita: Mokomoko (Restoration of Character, Mana, and Reputation) Bill — First Reading

[Sitting date: 24 October 2012. Volume:685;Page:6187. Text is incorporated into the Bound Volume.]

Hon Dr PITA SHARPLES (Minister of Māori Affairs) : I move, *That the Mokomoko (Restoration of Character, Mana, and Reputation) Bill be now read a first time.* I nominate the Māori Affairs Committee to consider the bill. At the appropriate time I intend to move that the committee have the authority to meet at any time while the House is sitting except during oral questions, during any evening on a day on which there has been a sitting of

the House, and outside the Wellington area, and on a Friday in a week in which there has been a sitting of the House, despite Standing Orders 188, 190(a), and 191(1)(b) and (c).

Tuatahi, me mihi atu au ki a koutou kuahara mai neiitēneirangi, mō te pireneimō Te whānau ā Mokomoko. Nā reira, tēnā koutou, nau mai, hara mai. Whakatōheawhānui katoa mai, kuahara mai koutou ki te Whare Miereitēneirā, nau mai, hara mai. Hara mai me ā koutou tiniaituā, kia mihiā, kia tangihiarātou. Nā reira, ko te kōrerokuamihia, kuatangihia, haere, haere ā tātou mate. Kia hoki ki te kaupapa whakahirahiranei, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnātātou katoa.

*[Firstly, I extend salutations to you collectively who have arrived here today in respect of this bill about the Mokomoko family. And so, greetings to you collectively and welcome, welcome. To all of you Whakatōhea broadly, welcome, welcome. Come hither with your many, many deaths so that we can acknowledge and mourn them. Therefore, let it be said that they have been acknowledged and mourned, so depart, our dead, farewell. And so, in returning to this highly important matter, I extend greetings to each of you collectively and to us all.]*

This bill gives legal effect to the agreement to introduce legislation to give statutory recognition to the Mokomoko pardon signed by me on behalf of the Crown and Te whānau ā Mokomoko Leadership Group, along with many more whānau members, kaumātua, pakeke, and rangatahi, at Waiaua Marae on 28 September 2011. This bill will formally restore the character, mana, and reputation of their tipuna Mokomoko, a rangatira of Whakatōhea, who was executed by the Crown in 1866 for his alleged involvement in the murder of the Rev. Carl SylviusVölkner. You may recall that a free pardon was provided to Mokomoko in 1992 for his role in this event. There are significant unresolved matters related to the form and content of the free pardon that this bill is intended to rectify. I would like to pause here to acknowledge the passing of two esteemed kaumātua and members of the whānau leadership group, Matua Tuiringa Manny Mokomoko and Matua Matenga Biddle. Nā reira, okioki pai kōrua.

*[And so rest in peace, you two.]*

I would like to emphasise the significance of this bill to the descendants of Mokomoko. The bill progresses the Crown's express undertaking to restore the character, the mana, and the reputation of the tipuna Mokomoko, and of the whānau, by providing statutory recognition of the free pardon. It represents the efforts of the leadership group to bring the issue to the Crown's attention, to enable Te whānau ā Mokomoko to finally start their healing process. The bill is a sign of the Crown's commitment to restoring the relationship with the

whānau by expressing its regret that the shame and stigma carried by the whānau was not remedied by the pardon provided in 1992.

I was humbled by the welcome on to Waiaua Marae in September last year, where I met Te whānau ā Mokomoko, and we signed the agreement that underpins this bill. I was delighted to see large numbers of whānau present inside the whare tipuna, Rūāmoko, to witness the signing and demonstrate their support. Members of the wider whānau had, only weeks earlier, attended a series of hui in Wellington and Auckland, and at Waiaua, where they voted in favour of this legislation being introduced.

This bill marks an important step in restoring the relationship between Te whānau ā Mokomoko and the Crown, and I am pleased to be able to promote this bill today. I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the time and effort that Te whānau ā Mokomoko Leadership Group has put into reaching this milestone. I acknowledge the long path that the whānau have trodden, and the burden, the shame, and the stigma that they have carried in seeking justice for their tipuna Mokomoko.

It is now timely for me to provide some background to the events leading to the arrest of Mokomoko, and the Crown's earlier attempt to resolve this issue. The events surrounding Mokomoko's execution are a blot on the history of the Crown-Māori relationship. It is important to remember these events, so that we may acknowledge the sacrifices of their tipuna. I want to recount the story of events leading to the execution of Mokomoko in 1866, as I understand them.

On 1 March 1865 the Rev. Carl Sylvius Völkner arrived in Ōpōtiki despite the warnings of Te Whakatōhea to stay away because of the presence of Kereopa and other Paimarire prophets. Völkner had been accused of spying and relaying information about Mātaatua and the East Coast Māori seeking to assist Waikato in their fighting with the British Army. Rev. Völkner was taken from the ship he arrived on and held until his fate was decided by those present, including Mokomoko. According to kōrero from the whānau, when the decision to kill Rev. Völkner was made, Mokomoko departed. He later stated that he had tried to help the missionary escape.

In retaliation for Völkner's killing, the Government sent soldiers to Ōpōtiki to arrest his killers. The Governor, Sir George Grey, proclaimed that if soldiers encountered resistance, land would be confiscated. Some resistance was encountered and this was used by the Government as the basis for the raupatu, the confiscation, of tens of thousands of hectares of Māori land in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. Government soldiers mounted raids against Te Whakatōhea and other iwi in the region, as they sought out Mokomoko and his

co-accused. According to some accounts, many were killed, kāinga were destroyed, and Whakatōhea's shipping fleet—the entire fleet—was burnt. The kōrero of the whānau is that Mokomoko's wife, Kimohia, was repeatedly raped before being bayoneted to death by Government soldiers.

Mokomoko surrendered in October 1865 to stop the persecution of his people, but he maintained his innocence. In 1866 Mokomoko was tried and executed for the murder of Völkner, along with his co-accused from Ngāti Awa. Mokomoko was convicted on the basis that it was his rope that had been used to hang Völkner and on the basis of a supposed eye witness who claimed he was guilty. Following that conviction, two of Mokomoko's co-accused admitted their guilt; however, Mokomoko did not. Mokomoko was hanged, and he was buried at the old Auckland jail and courthouse. Mokomoko's remains were later re-interred in Mt Eden Prison in the 1890s. Before he was killed, he uttered the words: "E mate harakoreanaahau, tēnā koutou Pākehā, hai aha."

*["I die an innocent man, so thanks for nothing, Europeans."]*

In October 1989, 123 years after the execution, Mokomoko was finally returned home to his whānau, where he was re-interred at Waiaua Marae near Ōpōtiki.

Seeking and receiving justice for these horrible events has not been easy for Te whānau ā Mokomoko. The memory of the wrongs done to their tipuna has been burnt into the consciousness of each successive generation of the whānau. This is something that the Pākehā world often does not understand—how history still lives with us and is in our actions, in our minds, in our ambitions, and in our aspirations.

In 1990 Te whānau ā Mokomoko sought a posthumous pardon for Mokomoko and applied for the exercise of the royal prerogative of mercy. This application was initially declined on the grounds that the Crown considered there was no new evidence for the granting of a pardon on the basis that Mokomoko was wrongly convicted. The Crown later agreed that section 11 of the Te Runanga o Ngati Awa Act 1988 had the effect of pardoning Mokomoko's co-accused. The Crown subsequently agreed that for consistency Mokomoko should be afforded the same treatment and it issued a free pardon to Mokomoko. On this basis the free pardon was issued to Te whānau ā Mokomoko at Waiaua Marae on 25 June 1992.

The free pardon should have been a constructive step in the journey of the whānau. The Crown's intention was right, but the way in which the pardon was provided compounded the grievance in the eyes of the whānau.

Unlike the Ngāti Awa pardon, the pardon for Mokomoko did not expressly restore his character, his mana, or his reputation, and it read: “whereas it appears that one of the incidents of section 11 of the Te Runanga o Ngati Awa Act 1988 is to pardon the three persons convicted with Mokomoko of the murder of Carl Sylvius Völkner ... it appears to me just and expedient that a pardon should also be granted to Mokomoko.”

This bill acknowledges with regret that the free pardon granted to Mokomoko in 1992 did not expressly restore the character, mana, and reputation of Mokomoko or his uri. It also acknowledges the Crown’s regret that it did not consult with Te whānau ā Mokomoko about the wording of the free pardon.

The grievance of te whānau in relation to the 1992 pardon was considered by the Waitangi Tribunal as part of the Te Urewera inquiry, and it recommended that the terms of the free pardon be revisited by the Crown as a discrete matter, and that the statutory pardon should be granted. Unfortunately, the Crown is unable to reissue a free pardon once it is granted, but it can provide statutory recognition for an existing pardon, and that is what this bill will achieve. I just want to read this part of my speech. I am aware that the Waitangi Tribunal has also recommended that the Crown create some form of tangible tribute to mark the wrong done and demonstrate to all concerned that the blame for the raupatu did not and does not rest on Mokomoko or his descendants. I would like to assure the whānau that the tribunal’s recommendations on this point will be explored with them by the Minister for Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations and by me and our officials as part of the Whakatōhea historical Treaty settlement negotiations.

I would like to draw the House’s attention to some of the bill’s key features. The preamble is significant, as it acknowledges the long journey the whānau has had in seeking justice, and that is 146 years to date. The preamble records the background to the treatment of Mokomoko and the men of Ngāti Awa in relation to the murder. The preamble also sets out the Crown’s acknowledgments that the terms of the 1992 pardon did not expressly restore the character, mana, and reputation of Mokomoko and his uri. This acknowledgment is repeated in clause 3, which sets out the purpose of the bill, and clause 6, where the specific acknowledgment is provided of the Crown’s regret that the free pardon did not expressly restore the character, mana, or reputation of Mokomoko and his uri, and the Crown’s regret for the ongoing shame and stigma felt by the whānau. Clause 6 also provides an acknowledgment of the Crown’s regret that it did not consult the whānau about the wording of the pardon to specifically restore the character, mana, and reputation of Mokomoko and the whānau.

Clause 7 provides a statement that was lacking from the 1992 pardon. It reads: “It is declared that on and after the passing of this Act, the character, mana, and reputation of Mokomoko are restored and the character, mana, and reputation of his uri are restored.” I think that is really a vital clause in the whole thing. This is a

simple but significant clause, but I sincerely hope this will help lift the shame and the stigma felt by the whānau and be an important step towards restoring the relationship between the Crown and Te whānau ā Mokomoko.

As the whānau indicated in the agreement we signed, their journey to bring the matter to rest will be finally redressed by the Crown through their negotiations of the historical Treaty settlement.

Finally, I would like to note that this bill records the waiata composed by Mokomoko while in Mt Eden Prison. The first line of the waiata is now a whakatauākī for the whānau. The whakatauākī indicates how deeply the events surrounding the arrest, trial, and execution of their tipuna Mokomoko are etched on the collective memory of the whānau. The whakatauākī is as follows: “Tangohia te taura itakukakī, kia waiata au itaku waiata”, which has the meaning of “Have the strength to speak up, and the truth will not be silenced”.

I would like to take this opportunity to mirror the sentiments of this bill by expressing the Crown’s sincerest regret for the sense of shame and stigma that the whānau have carried in this period. I look forward to the bill being passed so that Te whānau ā Mokomoko can move on to the next stage of their journey without the shame and stigma they have carried for so long. The next stage will be to address the historical Treaty claims of Te whānau ā Mokomoko, and explore ways of providing an appropriate tribute, and also to resolve their wider grievances, some of which I referred to earlier in my speech, through the Treaty settlement process. For these reasons, I recommend that this bill be referred to the Māori Affairs Committee without delay, and be reported back to the House in due course. I commend this bill to the House.