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BRETT'S HISTORICAL SERIES

EARLY HISTORY
OF
NEW ZEALAND

FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO 1840, BY R. A. A. SHERRIN.

FROM 1840 TO 1845, BY J. H. WALLACE.

EDITED BY THOMSON W. LEYS.

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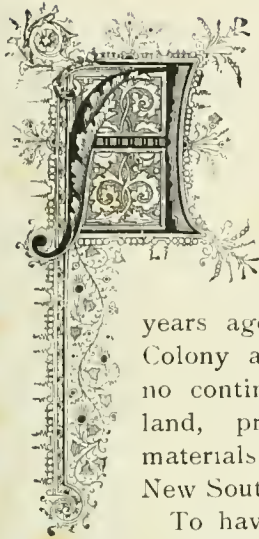
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PREFACE.



WELL-INFORMED writer in one of the principal newspapers of the colony, some three years ago, said, "To this day it is most difficult for any one who wishes to follow the course of events from the foundation of the colony to the present time to know where to begin to look for the information."

The colony was founded in 1840, but the English-speaking people began to frequent the harbours of New Zealand soon after the settlement at Port Jackson was established, one hundred years ago; and to understand the history of New Zealand as a British Colony an acquaintance with its early annals is imperative. There being no continuous narrative of European enterprise and adventure in New Zealand, prior to the year 1840, this volume seeks to fill the blank with materials which have been carefully gathered from many sources both in New South Wales and in this colony.

To have broken off the work, however, at the point when the operations of the New Zealand Company and the action of the British Government changed the current of New Zealand history, and introduced a series of occurrences of a most interesting and important character, would have seriously detracted from the usefulness of the volume as a souvenir of the Jubilee of the Colony. In the second part of the work, equally with the first, the main purpose kept in view has been to set down the facts accurately, and with as little bias as possible, together with an indication of the authorities upon which they are given. Thus a sound basis has been laid for more critical histories. But while quoting official documents and independent accounts which tend to throw light upon historical events, the authors have not hesitated to express their own opinions whenever such comment appeared desirable either to explain, illustrate, or emphasize the narrative.

Considerable assistance has been received from many quarters in a task that was beset with not a few difficulties, owing to the meagreness and conflicting nature of the materials which are available to the historian. Acknowledgments will be found scattered through the book, but many old settlers unnamed have contributed, who are really entitled to more special acknowledgment than we can make here. Mention must also be made of the assistance given to the author of the first part of the work by many members of the New South Wales Civil Service when he was searching for information in the parent colony of Australasia.

It is earnestly hoped that the work will not merely realise its purpose as a comprehensive history of the period to which it relates, but that it will stimulate historical research in New Zealand and inspire a deeper interest in this singularly favoured land.

ERRATA.

GEORGE BRUCE. — In our account of the wanderings of George Bruce, who married Te Pahi's daughter, it is stated (page 129) that Bruce and his wife were never heard of after their arrival at Bengal. This statement proves to be erroneous. In the 'Sydney Gazette' of March 10th, 1810, appears a notice of the death of Bruce's wife, which occurred at Sydney on the 2nd of March. The notice states that Mr. and Mrs. Bruce came back to Sydney from India in the 'Union,' and were awaiting a chance of returning to New Zealand, when Mrs. Bruce took ill and died. The notice adds: "Mrs. Bruce left a fine infant, which Mr. Bruce intends to take with him to New Zealand in the 'Experiment.'"

FIRST EUROPEAN BOY BORN IN AUCKLAND. — In a statement made by the late Captain Williams (page 547) it is said that Mr. James Coates was the first European boy born in Auckland. Captain Williams evidently had in his mind at the time Mr. William Hobson Coates (a brother of Mr. James Coates), who was the first boy entered upon the register of St. Paul's Church. He was not born, however, until May, 1842, while Mr. C. B. Stone was born in Auckland on March 27th, 1841, and was, there is little doubt, the first European boy born in the city.

MR. PREECE. — On page 379, Mr. James Preece, a catechist of the Church Missionary Society, is erroneously described as a wheelwright. Mr. Preece had not engaged in any business prior to his departure for New Zealand, but as a young man had been specially prepared for the mission work, in which he was so successfully employed during his life in New Zealand.

TRANSPOSITION. — On page 88 a transposition of four lines occurs, thirteen lines from the bottom of the first column. After the word "opportunity," read the four lines commencing "to land."

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EARLY HISTORY
OF
NEW ZEALAND.

BY R. A. A. SHERRIN.

FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO 1840.

Early History OF NEW ZEALAND.

CHAPTER I. EARLY DISCOVERIES.

Evidence that New Zealand was known before Tasman's Visit—Its outlines shown on early maps and charts—The Voyage of Sieur de Gonneville—Tasman's voyage—Discovery of Van Diemen's Land—New Zealand Sighted—Tasman's boat attacked by Maoris—Cruise along the coast—Futile attempt to obtain fresh water—Departure from the country without landing.



THOSE who have paid attention to the subject are aware that there are several reasons for believing that the islands of New Zealand were visited by Europeans before Tasman anchored in Cook Strait. History has hitherto given no explicit warrant to the belief, but there are certain recognised facts which cannot be either well understood or explained under any other hypothesis. In 1486 the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered by a Portuguese mariner named Bartholomew Diaz. In the year 1513 Vasco Nunez de Balboa saw from a mountain top in the Isthmus of Panama the eastern shores of the largest ocean on the globe. Thirteen years later Magellan described the southern limit of the American Continent; and remembering the enthusiasm these and other almost contemporaneous discoveries evoked, it seems somewhat difficult to believe that during the period extending from 1486 to 1642 the date of Tasman's visit, none of the adventurous spirits who came to the South Seas chanced to have touched at New Zealand in their wide wanderings.

Before the discovery of De Balboa was known,

however, a rumour had travelled to France of a people inhabiting a land in the South Seas, which subsequent discoveries caused several to believe indicated the country of the Maori and the Moa. There was published in Paris, in the year 1643, a book dedicated to Pope Alexander the Seventh, bearing the title, "Memoirs relative to the establishment of a Christian Mission in the third world, otherwise called the South Land; by an ecclesiastic, a descendant from the natives of this same land." The memoirs are comprised in a small duodecimo, and recommend to His Holiness the case of the "poor miserable Australians who had groaned for so many ages under the tyranny of Satan." It appears that early in the sixteenth century some French merchants equipped a ship to prosecute a voyage to the East Indies. She departed from Honfleur in the month of June, 1503, under the command of the Sieur de Gonneville. The writer of the memoirs, the Abbe J. Paulmier, says: "Storms near the Cape of Good Hope caused them to lose their route, and in the end abandoned them to a wearisome calm in an unknown sea, where they were consoled by the sight of many birds, which were observed to come from and to return towards the south, and made them conclude there was land in the south, and steering in that direction, they came to a great country which is not very distant from the direct

navigation to the East Indies, and to which M. de Gonnevillle and his company gave the name of Southern India. . . . The land was inhabited, and the Europeans were received by the inhabitants with veneration and treated with friendship. Their sojourn there was six months, in which time they sought to make up a cargo of the produce of the country wherewith to return to France, for the crew refused to proceed further under pretext of the weak and bad condition of the ship."

In the "*Histoire Abrege de la Mer du Sud*," the author, the Abbe de la Borde, sets forth the theory that De Gonnevillle had touched at New Zealand, and other writers before and after his time have held the

compiler of the traditions of the voyage, was, we are told, a descendant of Essemoric, and claimed for himself the honour of being the elder branch of the first Christian of the *Terre Australe*. He was Canon of Lisieux, and subscribed himself J.P.D.C. Prestre Ind. et Chanoine de l'Eglise Cathedrale de S.P.D.L. It was the Abbe's lot to be the last survivor of his southern progenitor, as two of his brothers, both younger than himself, died without issue.

The story of this old wandering is found in full in Callander's compilation, and the careful observer cannot but note how many details in the narrative are applicable to New Zealand; and how probable it is that superfluous and erroneous statements may have



Tasman's Anchorage, Pelorus River Entrance, Admiralty Bay.

probability of the opinion being well founded. De Gonnevillle left the land he discovered on the 3rd July, 1504, inducing a native to accompany him, who is said to have been named Essemoric. The race is described as a simple people, desiring to lead a life of happiness without much labour. De Gonnevillle and his officers drew up a declaration of their discovery, and lodged the document in the Admiralty office at Paris. Essemoric never had an opportunity of returning to his native land, and his kinsmen must have mourned him as dead. He was admitted into the Catholic church and married into De Gonnevillle's family. The Abbe Jean Paulmier, the

crept in, seeing that the original records of Gonnevillle's voyage have been lost. We cannot, however, help putting on one side the French claim to discovery, because the natives of De Gonnevillle's land are represented as boiling water and cooking food in earthen vessels. The art of making pottery, even of the most primitive description, was totally unknown among the Maoris. Still, the fact remains that in 1504 the French navigator did discover a country in the South Pacific, and left a description of the inhabitants, which, as it has been transmitted to us by Abbe Paulmier, corresponds in various respects with what we now know of the

Maoris and their tribal customs; and the doubt that exists regarding the identity of this country illustrates the manner in which the traces of some of the early discoveries were wholly obliterated or only preserved in doubtful indications on old charts or indistinct allusions in the writings of subsequent discoverers and authors.*

Juan Fernandez in 1576 is stated to have sailed some six weeks towards the south-west from South America, and to have found some brown men wearing cloth garments on a fertile shore in the Pacific. The natives he described as being well disposed, civil, and of largestature.

Cruise relates how at Hokianga in 1820 a remarkably old man mentioned a tradition related to him by his father, how a boat full of white people armed with *muskets without locks* came into the river a very long time ago. When it is remembered that the match-lock was in use about the end of the fourteenth century, and the wheel-lock early in the sixteenth, approximate data for the comparative period when the wanderers came to Hokianga are within the grasp of inquiry. Experience has taught the trusty character of Maori tradition.

There appears on the Admiralty chart of the Indian Ocean of 1827 the following note:—"New Zealand discovered and named by Tasman 1642, but whose eastern coast was known to the Portuguese about 1550." Against Cook Strait are placed the words, "Gulf of the Portuguese, 1550."

William Bleau, a Dutchman, who was born 1571 and died in 1638, published an atlas in fourteen volumes folio. In the chart showing the land in these Southern Seas the outline of Australia is not completed, and the end merely of Van Diemen's Land is seen in the far ocean shaded off into vagueness. But for a century afterwards it was not better represented on our maps, and it surprises one that in so early a publication as that of Bleau, says a late writer, any faint image of New Zealand should be given—an indistinct line of coast with the name 'Zelandia Nova.'

There seems to be clear evidence that portions of the Middle Island coast line are

* Rusden in a note, says, that De Gonneville had not been to New Zealand was deducible from his own tale. According to it, the natives used the sound of the letter *s*, and had bows and arrows, both of which statements (vol. i. p. 64) were inapplicable. With regard to the use of the letter *s* by the Maori, it will be sufficient to remember that for many years Hongi was written "Shongi," and Hokianga "Shukeanga." The argument about the bow and arrow also lost some of its strength when arrow heads made of chert were found in the isthmus connecting the "Miramar Peninsula" with the mainland in the vicinity of Wellington.

to be found in Spanish charts at a comparatively early date, and in Callander's version of Tasman's journal a part of his entry on December 13th reads as follows:—"I found the variation 7° 30' E. In this situation I discovered a high mountainous country, which is at present marked in the charts under the name of New Zealand." The chart referred to is probably that of Bleau, before mentioned. Tasman called New Zealand Staten Land, but their High Mightinesses the States General, in their instructions to Tasman for his second voyage, call it Nova Zeelandia.

Burney writes wisely when he says, "It may be concluded that many discoveries were made of which no account was ever published; that of some every remembrance has died away, and the various indications that appear in the old charts to which no clue can be found, may be the remains, and possibly the only remains, of others."

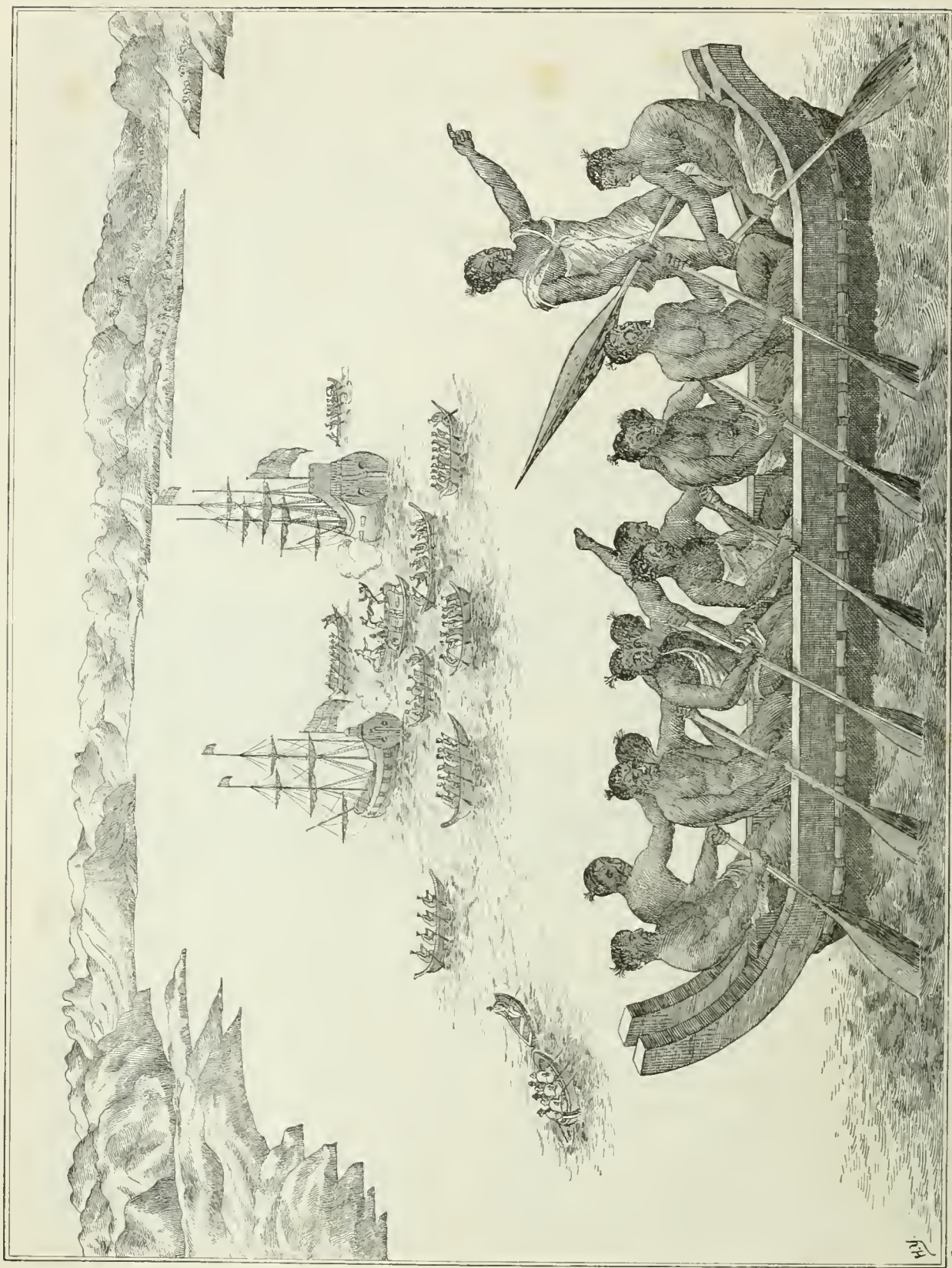
The diary of Tasman relative to New Zealand has been given nearly in full, it being the first of its kind, and only to be found in scarce and expensive works. Tasman returned to Batavia on the 14th June, 1643. The sketch of his route is to be found in a chart of Australasia in Thevenot's "Divers Curious Voyages, 1696," wherein an account of Tasman's voyage may be found. The Abbe Prevost tells us that the Dutch visited New Zealand again in 1644, but gives us no account of the captain's name nor any extract from his journal.

The Governor and Council of Batavia, in 1642, fitted out two ships called the Heemskirk and Zeehaan to ascertain the extent of the Great South Land Theodoric Hertoge had in 1616 discovered. The command of the expedition was given to Captain Abel Jansen Tasman, who published at Amsterdam, in 1674, a relation of his discoveries. The portion only relating New Zealand is reproduced. The longitude is reckoned eastward from the Peak of Teneriffe, which is 16° 46' W. of the meridian of Greenwich, and was nearly so estimated in Tasman's time. The distances are set down in Dutch or German miles, fifteen of which measure one degree. In the narrative the day begins and ends at midnight, but the reckoning of the ship's course is kept from noon to noon. His journal thus commences:—

JOURNAL OF DESCRIPTION BY ME, ABEL JANSZ TASMAN, OF A VOYAGE FROM BATAVIA FOR MAKING DISCOVERIES OF THE UNKNOWN SOUTH LAND, IN THE YEAR 1642. MAY GOD ALMIGHTY BE PLEASED TO GIVE HIS BLESSING TO THIS VOYAGE. AMEN.

The first entry is as follows:—

"August the 14th we set sail from the road



From an old plate.

Murder of Tasman's boat's crew at Massacre Bay.

of Batavia in the yacht *Heemskirk*, in company with the fly-boat the *Zeehaan*,* for the Strait of Sunda; and it was resolved in council to sail from the said strait S.W. by W. to 14° south latitude, afterwards to steer W.S.W. to 20° S., and afterwards due west for the Island Mauritius."

After discovering Van Diemen's Land, which Tasman named after his patron, Anthonie Van Diemen, the Governor-General of Batavia, he steered east; and on the 13th December, 1642, he discovered New Zealand, to which he gave the name of Staten or State-Land, in honour of the States General. In the chart showing Tasman's route along the west coast of the two Islands will be seen the places he visited and named. The New Zealand portion of his journal is thus printed:—

"13. December 13, lat. 42° 10' S., long. 188° 28'. Towards noon we saw a large high land about fifteen miles S.S.E.† from us. We steered towards it, but the wind was light and variable. In the evening we had a breeze and steered E.

"14. At noon we were about two miles from the shore, lat. 42° 10' S., long. 189° 3'. This is a high double land. We could not get sight of the tops of the mountains for dark clouds. We sailed along the coast to the northward, so close that we could see the waves break on the shore. We had soundings at two miles distance, 55 fathoms, grey sand. In the evening and night it was calm, and a current set from the W.N.W., which made us approach the shore, so we anchored with our stream anchor in 28 fathoms, muddy bottom.‡

"15. In the morning, having a light wind, we weighed and stood farther from shore, and then kept our course northward. At noon our latitude was 41° 40' S., longitude 189° 49'. We did not perceive any people or the smokes of fires upon the land; and we could see that near the sea coast the land was barren.

"16. Little wind. Latitude at noon 40° 58' S. At sunset we found variation 9° 23' north-easterly. The northern extremity of the land in sight bore E. by N. from us. We steered towards N.E. and N.N.E. In the second watch we had soundings at 60 fathoms, fine grey sand.

* *Seahen*.

† In Callander's edition, the journal reads thus:—"I found the variation 7° 30' E. In this situation I discovered a high mountainous country, which is at present represented and marked in the charts under the name of New Zealand."

‡ An old chart preserved among the archives of the Dutch East India Company indicates Tasman's place of anchorage to have been about two miles to the N.N.W. of Separation Point in Massacre Bay.

"17. At sunrise we were about one mile from the shore, and saw smoke rising in different places. At noon, latitude by account 40° 32' S., longitude 190° 47'. In the afternoon we sailed E. by S., along a low land, full of sandhills, having sounded, at 30 fathoms depth, black sand. At sunset we anchored in 17 fathoms, near a sandy point of land, within which we saw a large open bay, three or four miles wide. From this sandy point a shoal or sand bank runs off a mile to the E.S.E., which lies under water, with six, seven, and eight feet depth. When you have passed this shoal you can enter the bay.*

"18. In the morning we weighed anchor, and stood into the bay, our shallop and a boat of the *Zeehaan* going in before us to look for good anchorage and a watering place. At sunset it was calm, and we cast anchor in 15 fathoms, good muddy ground. An hour after sunset we saw several lights on the land, and four vessels coming from the shore towards us. Two of these were our own boats. The people in the other two called to us in a strong rough voice. What they said we did not understand. However, we called to them again. In place of an answer they repeated their cries several times, but did not come nearer than a stone's throw. They sounded also an instrument which made a noise like a Moorish trumpet, and we answered by blowing our trumpet. This was done on both sides several times. When it grew dark they left off, and went away. We kept good watch all night, with our guns ready.

"19. In the morning, a boat of the natives, having thirteen men in it, came near our ship, but not nearer than a stone's throw. They called to us several times, but their language had nothing in it like to the vocabulary of the Solomon Islands, given to us by the General and Council at Batavia. These people, as well as we could judge, were of our own common stature, strong boned, and of a rough voice. Their colour is between brown and yellow, their hair black, which they tie up on the crown of their head like to the Japanese, and wear a large white feather upright in it. Their vessels were two narrow, long canoes, fastened together, upon which boards were fixed to sit on. Their paddles were more than a fathom long, and were pointed at the end. Their clothing seemed to us to be of mats, or of cotton, but most of them went with their breasts

* In a view given in the manuscript journal of the coast a remark is made that the shoal or bank extends three miles eastwards and southward from the sandy point.

naked. We showed them fish, linen, and knives to invite them to come to us, but they would not, and at length rowed back to the land. In the meantime, the officers of the *Zeehaan* came on board us, and we resolved to go nearer to the shore with our ships, as here was good anchorage, and the people seemed to be desirous of our friendship. Immediately after we had taken this resolution we saw several vessels coming from the shore. One of them, in which were seventeen men, came very quick, and turned round behind the *Zeehaan*. Another, with thirteen stout men, came within half a stone's throw of our ship. They called out one to another several times. We showed them, as before, white linen, but they lay still. The master of the *Zeehaan*, Gerard Janszoon, who was on board of our ship, ordered his boat, in which were a quartermaster and six seamen, to go to his ship to carry directions to the mates to keep on their guard, and that in case these people should come alongside not to allow too many of them to enter the ship at one time. When the *Zeehaan's* boat put off from our ship the natives in the *praves*, or canoes, nearest to us gave a loud yell to those who were behind the *Zeehaan*, and made a signal with their paddles, the meaning of which we could not guess. But when the boat of the *Zeehaan* had gone quite clear from our ship, the canoes of the natives which were between our two ships made furiously towards her, and ran with their beaks violently against her, so as to make her heel and take in water, and the foremost of these villains, with a blunt pointed pike, gave the quartermaster, Cornelius Joppe, a violent blow on his neck, which made him fall overboard. The others then attacked the rest of our boat's crew with their paddles and with short thick clubs (which we had, in the beginning, supposed to be clumsy *parangs*)*, and overcame them. In this scuffle three of the *Zeehaan's* men were killed and one was mortally wounded. The quartermaster and two seamen swam for our ship and we sent our boat which took them up alive. After the fight these murderers took one of our dead people into their canoe; another of our dead men fell overboard and sank. They let the boat go. Our ship and the *Zeehaan* fired at them with our muskets and guns, but we did not hit them, and they paddled away to the shore. We sent our boat to bring back the boat of the *Zeehaan*, wherein we found one of her men dead and one mortally wounded.

* *Parangs* are knives used in some parts of the East Indies for cutting wood.

"After this there could no friendly intercourse take place between us and the natives, nor could we hope to obtain water or refreshments here, so we weighed anchor and set sail. When we were under sail, twenty-two of the boats put off from the shore, and advanced towards us. Eleven of them were full of people. When they were come within reach of our guns we fired two shots at them, but without effect. The *Zeehaan* fired also, and hit a man in the foremost canoe, who was standing with a white flag in his hand, so that he fell down. We heard our grapeshot clash against their canoes, but we know not what the effect was, except that it caused them suddenly to retreat towards the shore, where they lay still, and did not come towards us again.

"We named this bay *Moordenars' Bay* (i.e., Murderers' Bay). The port in which we anchored was in 40° 50' S. lat., and in long. 191° 30'. Variations there, 9° 30' north-easterly. From *Moordenars' Bay* we steered E.N.E.; but during the night we sailed backward and forward, having soundings from 26 to 15 fathoms.

"This is the second land discovered by us. We name it Staten Land,* in honour of the States General. It is possible that this land joins to the Staten Land, but it is uncertain. It is a very fine country, and we hope it is part of the unknown South Continent.

"In the morning we saw land nearly all round us, so that we had sailed perhaps thirty miles into a bay. We at first thought the place where we had anchored was an island, and that we should find a clear passage eastward to the Great South Sea, but, to our great disappointment, we found it otherwise. The wind being from the westward we did all in our power to turn to windward to get back the way we had come. At noon we were in lat. 40° 51' S., long. 129° 55'. In the afternoon it was calm and the current ran strong into the bay. The land all round seems to be good. The sea coast is low, but the land within is high enough. We found a muddy anchoring ground at 60, 50 and to 15 fathoms depth,

* The Staten Land here mentioned was to the east of the Terra del Fuego, discovered and so named by Schouten and Le Maire. The supposition that both Schouten and Le Maire's discovery and his own might form part of one and the same great continent, led Tasman to apply the name on the present occasion, and, singularly enough, in the last year in which it could have been allowable, for in the year which next followed, the expedition of Hendrick Brouwer to Chili deprived Schouten and Le Maire's Staten Land of the honour of being any longer conjectured to be continental land, and Tasman's Staten Land being thereby proved a separate land from Schouten and Le Maire's discovery, its name was, not long afterwards, changed for that of New Zealand.

about one and a half to two miles from shore. We had light winds all the afternoon.

"21. In the second watch of the night a breeze came from the west, and we sailed northward. We found the coast of the northern land to extend toward the N.W. In the morning it began to blow fresh. After breakfast we put about, and stood toward the south coast. Towards evening we ran for shelter within a small island, which we brought to bear N.N.W. of us, and then cast anchor in 33 fathoms, the bottom sand and shells. We had other islands and cliffs near us. Our latitude here was $40^{\circ} 50'$, longitude $192^{\circ} 37'$. It blew so hard in the night that we let go another anchor, and got down our top masts, as did the Zeehaan.

"22 and 23. The gale continued strong from the N.W., with dark, foggy weather. The Zeehaan was almost forced from her anchors.

"24. In the morning it was calm. The officers of the Zeehaan came on board our ship,

soundings in 50 fathoms, fine sand mixed with clay. In the night it blew hard.

"29. We had a fresh gale. Latitude at noon, $37^{\circ} 17' S$.

"30. The weather became moderate, wind W.N.W. At noon our latitude was $37^{\circ} S$, long. $191^{\circ} 55'$. We sailed N.E., and towards evening saw the land again, bearing N.E. and N.N.E. We therefore steered more to the north.

"31. At noon found our lat. $36^{\circ} 15' S$, long. $191^{\circ} 46'$. The coast here lies S.E. and N.W. This land is in some places high, and in some full of sand hills. In the evening we were three miles from shore. Had soundings in the night at 80 fathoms.

"Jan. 1st, 1643. This is an even coast, without shoals or banks, but there is a great surf on the shore. Latitude at noon $36^{\circ} 12' S$.

"2 and 3. Running north along the coast.

"4. This morning we were near a cape of land, and had an island N.W. by N. from us. We hoisted the white flag for the officers of



The Three Kings as sighted by Tasman.

and proposed that, if the wind and weather would permit, we should examine if there were any passage through this bay, as the flood tide was observed to come from the S.E.

"25. The weather still looked very dark, and we remained at anchor.

"26. In the morning the wind came from the E.N.E. We got under sail and held our course north, and afterwards N.N.W., intending to sail round this land northward.

"27. We had a strong breeze from S.W. At noon our latitude was $38^{\circ} 38' S$, long. $190^{\circ} 15'$. Afternoon we steered N.E. to get in with the land). Variation, $8^{\circ} 20' N.E$.

"28. At noon we saw a high mountain, E. by N. from us, which at first we took to be an island, but we found it was part of the mainland, and that the coast here extends, as much as I could observe, north and south. This mountain (Taranaki), is in $38^{\circ} S$. lat. Our latitude at noon, by account, was $38^{\circ} 2'$, long. $192^{\circ} 23'$. At five miles from the shore we had

the Zeehaan to come on board, and we resolved to stand for the island to look for fresh water and greens. We find a strong current setting westward, and much sea from the N.E., from which we hope to find a clear passage eastward. In the evening we were near the island but could not observe that anything we wanted might be got there.

"5. In the morning we had little wind and a calm sea. About noon we sent Francis Jacobsy in our shallop, and the super-cargo, Mr. Gillemans, in the Zeehaan's boat, to the island, to try if fresh water could be got. In the evening they returned, and reported that they had been at a safe small bay, where fresh water came in abundance from a high mountain; but that there was a great surf on the shore, which would make watering there troublesome and dangerous. They rowed farther round about this island to look if there was any more convenient place. Upon the highest mountain of the island they saw thirty-five persons who were very tall, and had staves

and clubs. These people called to them in a strong rough voice. When they walked they took very large strides. On other parts of the island a few people were seen here and there, which, with those already mentioned, were thought to be all, or nearly all the inhabitants of the island. Our people saw no trees, nor did they observe any cultivated land, except that near the fresh water there were some square plots of ground, green and very pleasant, but of what kind the greens were they could not distinguish. Two canoes were drawn up on the shore.

"In the evening we anchored in 40 fathoms, good ground, a musket shot distant from the island on the north side.

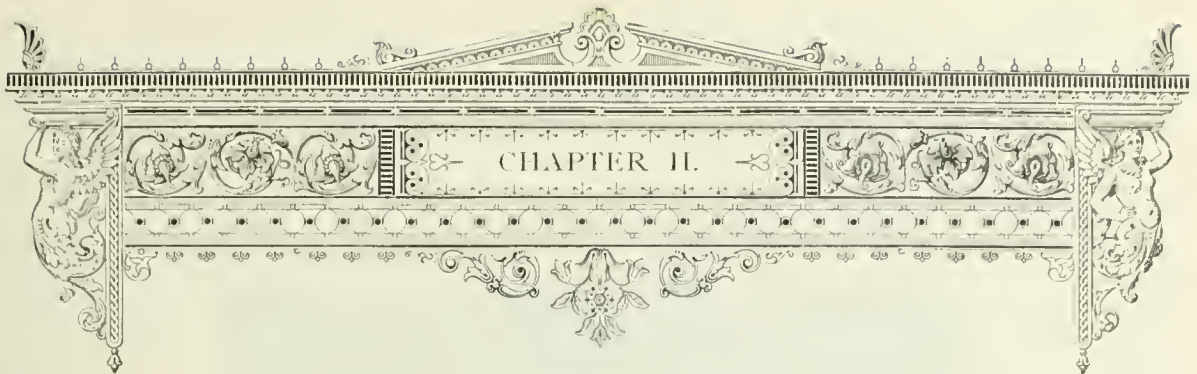
"6. In the morning we put water-casks in the two boats, and sent them to the shore. As they rowed towards the land, they saw tall men standing in different places, with long staves, like pikes, in their hands, who called to our people. There was much surf at the watering place, which made landing difficult: and between a point of the island and another very high cliff or little island the current ran so strong against the boats that they could scarcely stem it; for which reasons the officers held council together, and not being willing to expose the boats and the people, they returned to the ships. Before we saw them coming back we had fired a gun and hoisted a flag as a signal for them to return. This island we named *Drie Koningen Eyland* i.e.,

Three King's Island,* on account of this being the day of Epiphany. It is in latitude 34° 25' S., and longitude 190° 40'.

"We called the officers of the *Zeehaan* on board, and it was resolved in council to sail eastward to longitude 220°, and then to steer north: and afterwards to get sight of the Cocos and Hoorne Islands. In the afternoon we had the wind E.S.E., and steered N.E. At sunset *Drie Koningen Island* bore S.S.W., distant six or seven miles; the cliffs and the island bearing N.E. and S.W. one from the other."

* "Three Kings"—A mediæval festival on Twelfth Night, and designed to commemorate the visit of the three Magi or wise men of the East. In Warton's History of English Poetry, quoting a chronicle of Milan, by Gualvanci de la Flamma, we are told:—"The three kings appeared crowned, on three great horses richly habited, surrounded by pages, bodyguards, and innumerable retinue. A golden star was exhibited in the sky going before them. They proceeded to the Pillars of St. Laurence, where King Herod was represented with his scribes and wise men. The three kings asked Herod where Christ should be born, and his wise men, having consulted their books, answered at Bethlehem. On which the three kings, with their golden crowns, having in their hands golden cups filled with frankincense, myrrh, and gold, the star going before, marched to the church of St. Eustorgius, with all their attendants, preceded by trumpets, horns, asses, baboons, and a great variety of animals. In the church on one side of the high altar, there was a manger with an ox and an ass, and in it the infant Christ in the arms of his mother. Here the three kings offer him gifts. The concourse of the people, of knights, ladies, and ecclesiastics, was often exceptionally numerous."





CAPTAIN COOK.

Sketch of his life—Summary of his voyages to New Zealand—His accuracy as an observer—His discoveries and their influence.



CAPTAIN JAMES COOK, as almost all the English-reading people know, was born at Marton, in Yorkshire, in October, 1728. He lost his life in the Island of Owyhee, in February, 1779, thus concluding an eminent career when still in the prime of middle age. His father was an agricultural labourer. The son, ap-

prenticed to a haberdasher, at an early age, went to sea; and after spending some years in the English coasting trade, entered the Royal Navy, where, in 1759, he is found acting as master's mate, and in the year following as master of the *Mercury*, which formed part of the squadron sent against Quebec, during the siege of which General Wolfe lost his life. While engaged on this service he was called upon to survey a portion of the river St. Lawrence, and other contiguous places; and the charts and observations which he drew up as a marine surveyor, while thus engaged, attracted the attention of the Royal Society, who offered him the command of an expedition to the Pacific Ocean, to observe the transit of Venus and the face of the sun.*

* Airy says, "It is important to remember that finding the distance of the sun from the earth by observing the transit of Venus requires that observation should be made at two widely different points on the earth's surface. The distance of the sun from the *earth* was considered in the early part of the last century a difficult problem to solve,

The offer being such an one as would present many inducements to an adventurous spirit, was accepted, and on the 26th of August, 1768, Cook set sail from Plymouth in a small ship of 370 tons, called the *Endeavour*. Among his companions were Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Mr. Green the astronomer, and others, in all eighty-four persons, with eighteen months' provisions, ten carriage and twelve swivel guns, and abundance of ammunition on board.

The first of these gentlemen, who was possessed of a considerable fortune in Lincolnshire, had already been on a voyage to Newfoundland, and was desirous of now observing the transit of Venus. He took two draughtsmen with him—Messrs. Buchan and Parkinson—the one to paint subjects of natural history, the other to delineate figures and landscapes. He had also, we are told, a secretary, and four servants, two of whom were negroes, in his service. Dr. Solander was a native of Sweden,

but which was ultimately accomplished by the prescience and advice of Dr. Halley, who early in the last century published a paper on the subject in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London. He explained what he considered would be a satisfactory method of solution, by the observation of the transit of Venus over the sun's surface in the year 1761 and 1769, and bequeathed the task of observation to posterity. In 1761 Dr. Maskelyne was chosen by the Government to observe the transit at St. Helena, while a Mr. Mason was sent to the Cape of Good Hope. In 1769 a station was chosen in the north of Lapland, but in no other part of Europe. Tahiti was considered a good station in the South Pacific, and the observation of the transit from it was offered to Cook." Airy says that the expenses of the transit observation were defrayed from the private purse of George the Third.

a man of great learning and capacity. He had an appointment in the British Museum which he filled to the general satisfaction.

The Endeavour arrived at Tahiti on April 13th, 1769, where the transit was observed on the 3rd of June following. Leaving Tahiti on the 13th of July, Cook sailed in search of new lands, and on the 6th of October, 1769, saw what "the general opinion seemed to be" was the "Terra Australis Incognita," but what turned out to be a portion of the coast of New Zealand, near to what is now known as Poverty Bay. The ship anchored at Turanga on Sunday, the 8th day of October, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, opposite the mouth of a small river, and at about half a league from the shore.

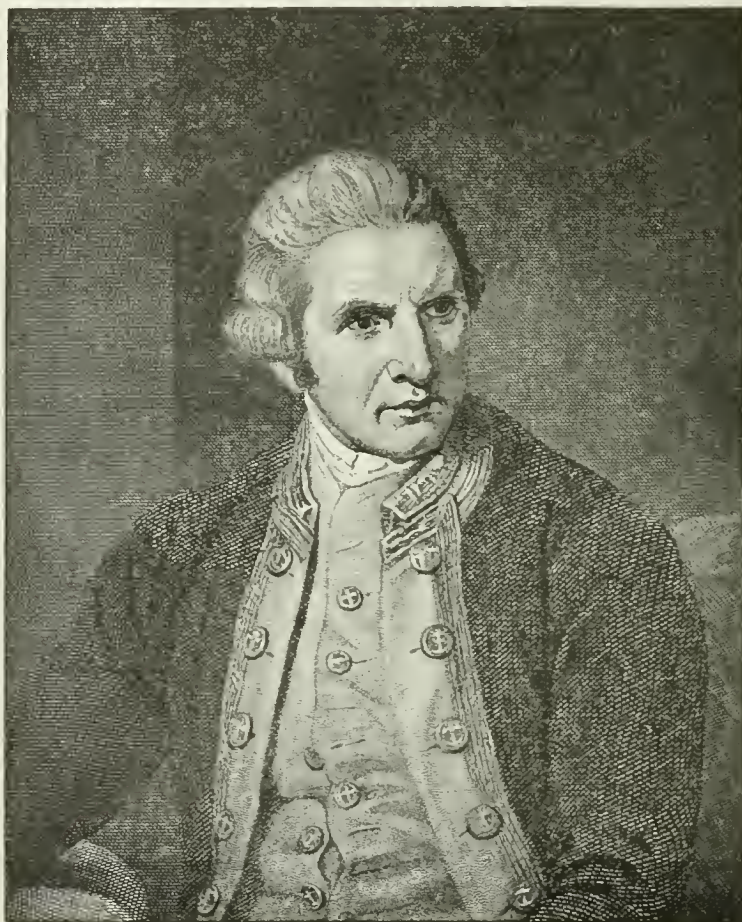
In the evening, the captain accompanied by Mr Banks, Dr. Solander, and the pinnace and yawl, and a party of men, landed abreast of the ship, on the east side of the river.

Some people who are in the habit of making positive and unguarded statements aver that no Europeans visited New Zealand between the time that Tasman left the Three Kings and Cook landed at Poverty Bay. Without paying marked attention to what Cruise heard at Hokianga from the old man, who told him of the "muskets without locks," of a ship having been lost on that part of the coast at a much later period, we have a distinct statement to the contrary made by Mr Marsden in 1819. He writes: "When we arrived at Tiamai we were introduced to the old chief,

who appeared to be more than eighty years of age. He told us that he had seen three generations, and was in the middle of life when the first ship came to New Zealand. The captain's name he said was Stivers. Two other ships came afterwards, before Cook, the captains of which were killed by the natives near Cape Brett, because they had slain many of their people and had destroyed one whole village in the Bay of Islands."

There is also a tradition concerning a vessel

arriving in Cook Strait, of which Cook heard from the natives in the strait. Taylor gives the details he and others had collected in the following manner: "The captain the natives called Rongo-tute. He landed with his crew at Arapawa, Queen Charlotte Sound. The crew committed such excesses that the natives became exasperated and took the vessel, killing the entire crew and eating them. Having stripped the vessel they left the hull on the beach. Among the plunder were a number of dinner plates, which from their pattern were



Captain Cook.

called *Tcupoko o Rewarewa*. As this is the name of a disease which broke out among them, and destroyed great numbers, it may have been given because of its being a spotted pattern, the disease appearing to have resembled the small-pox by leaving marks all over their bodies. These plates they broke up, and having drilled holes through the fragments, wore them as ear and breast ornaments. One thing taken is said to have been shaped like a *mere*, and was therefore very highly

prized. It is still in the possession of some one belonging to the Ngatihine tribe. The natives say this was the first time they ever saw iron; they made adzes of the spike nails."

It seems convenient, at this early part of our narrative, to notice the time Cook spent in New Zealand on each of his five visits, and the dates of their duration. His first visit extended from 6th of October, 1769, to 31st March, 1770, or 176 days; the second from 25th March, 1773, to 7th June, 1773, or 74 days; the third from 21st October, 1773, to 26th November, 1773, or 36 days; the fourth from 19th October, 1774, to 10th October, 1774, or 22 days; the fifth and last from 12th February, 1777, to 25th February, or 13 days. He thus spent in this country some 326 days, or almost 47 weeks. The above dates are taken from the Admiralty returns furnished to Lord Eliot in July, 1840, and may perhaps differ from others previously published. It may be further added that the curious question raised by Mr. Colenso as to the date when Cook landed at Poverty Bay, and the difference of a day's date in Cook's and Parkinson's journals, are not here regarded.

It is not our intention to narrate Cook's various observations in full, or in the form of a consecutive narrative; but to give such details as are found in his voyages, when they are wanted, as a base for inquiry or information, either in respect of places, persons, or things. To remove misapprehension and to avoid further mistakes, it seems somewhat necessary, however, to state clearly where he went on the New Zealand coast during his first voyage, without regard to detail, as many persons who should know better have fallen into strange confusion on this simple subject. Cook first came in sight of New Zealand in the neighbourhood of Poverty Bay, whence, after landing and returning to his ship, he went south as far as Cape Turnagain, when he turned and proceeded north until he reached North Cape, from whence he went southwards on the western side of the North Island, entered Cook Strait and anchored in Queen Charlotte Sound. From Queen Charlotte Sound he proceeded to Castle Point, and virtually completed the circumnavigation of the North Island. The time occupied from sighting the land to the end of the voyage round the North Island, including that spent at Queen Charlotte Sound, was from 6th October, 1769, to 9th February, 1770. It was not known before this circumnavigation by the English people that what is now named the North Island of New Zealand was an island.

Cook then put his ship about and went

south along the coast of the Middle Island, discovered the Traps, steered south and west of what is now known as Stewart Island, proceeded along the west coast, back again to Cook Strait, and anchored in Admiralty Bay. He had thus, to use his own phrase, "circumnavigated the whole country." His voyage round the Middle and Stewart Island had taken from 9th February to 26th March. The proceedings of this survey are included in what is known as his first voyage, which was concluded when he arrived in England in June, 1771.

On his second visit he first touched New Zealand at Dusky Bay, which he entered on the 26th March, 1773, where he remained until the 11th May, whence he proceeded to Queen Charlotte Sound, which he left on the 7th June following.

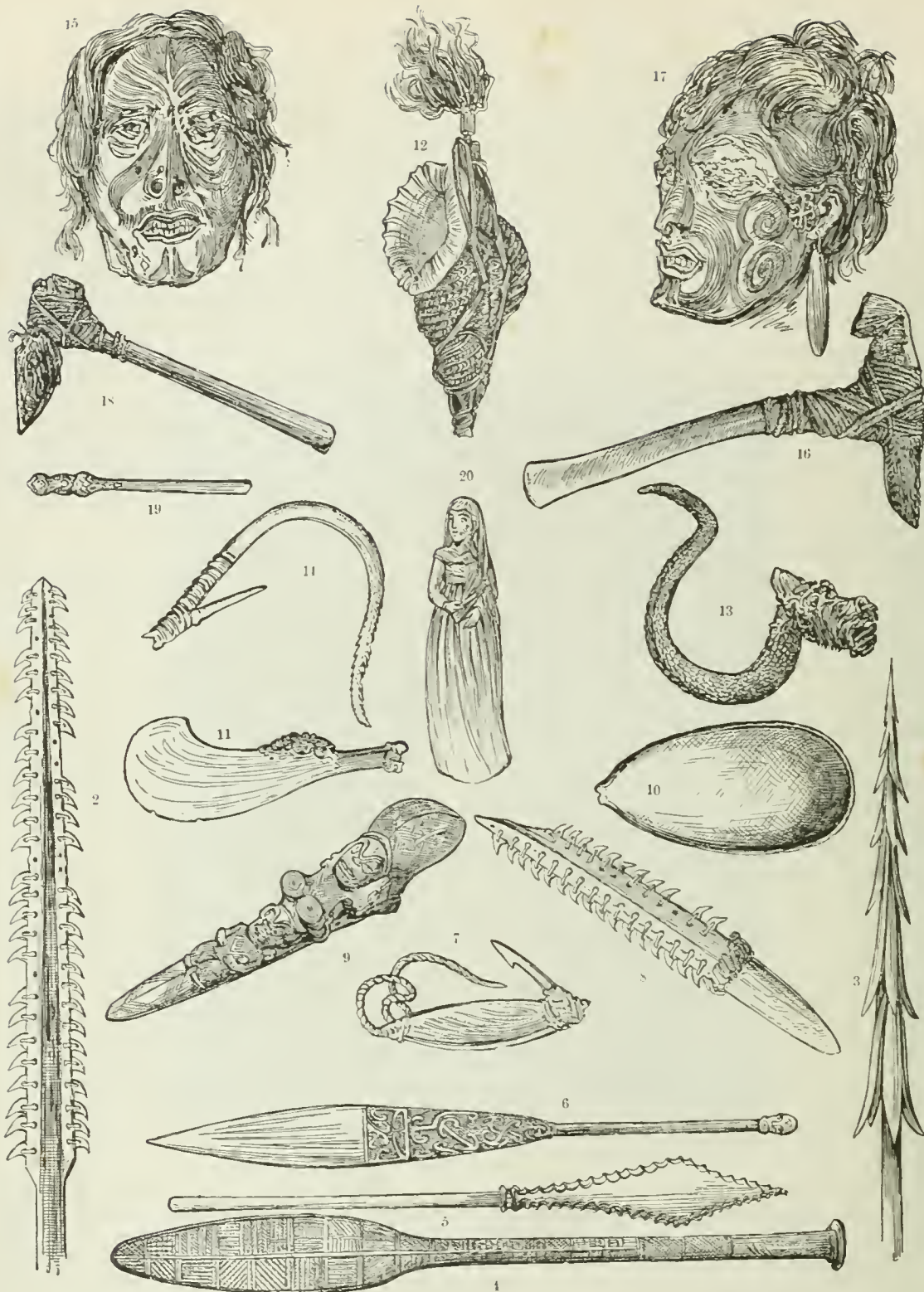
On the 21st October of the same year he sighted land at Table Cape, and after skirting the coast along the shores of the Strait, anchored in Ship Cove on the 3rd November following, where he remained until the 26th of the same month.

On his fourth visit he sighted land at Mount Egmont, from whence he proceeded to Ship Cove, where he anchored, leaving the Sound on the 10th November. He wrote, on leaving, "I have now done with the Southern Pacific Ocean, and flatter myself that no one will think that I have left it unexplored."

His fifth and last visit was when he made the land at Rocks Point, west coast Middle Island, about forty miles south of Cape Farewell, from whence he went to Ship Cove for wood and water, and proceeded again to sea on the 25th February, 1777, thirteen days after his arrival in New Zealand waters.

Cook made three voyages to the South Pacific. During the first and last he visited, on each occasion, New Zealand once; in the second he visited it three times. His exploration was mainly during his first visit, the others being chiefly for refreshment and refitting.

It is impossible to describe the influence his discoveries have had on the English-speaking people and the inhabitants of Polynesia. Their importance, however, was soon recognised. Our statesmen were quick to regard New Holland as eminently adapted for a penal settlement; the religious world considered Polynesia as a comparatively new and promising field for mission enterprise. The philosopher pondered over the curious stories told of veritable man-eating races; while the trader hoped an increase of active prosperity



The Relics of Captain Cook. Collected by him during the Voyage of the Endeavour.

ORIGINALLY PRESENTED TO SIR JOSEPH BANKS, AND RECENTLY ACQUIRED BY THE N.S.W. GOVERNMENT.

2 and 8—Dagger and Spear Head, edged with sharks' teeth, Pacific Islands. 3—Head of a Spear, Pacific Islands. 4—Carved War Club, New Zealand. 5—Large Paddle, New Zealand. 6—Paddle, carved with the symbol or mark of the lineal chief to whom it belonged, New Zealand. 7 and 14—Fish-hooks, New Zealand. 9—Carving representing a native deity, New Zealand. 10—Wooden Blood Bowl, used to hand round among the victors the blood of those they had slain. 11—Pataopato in carved wood, New Zealand. 12—Triton Shell, converted into a Trumpet and mounted with human hair and shin bone, Pacific Islands. 13—Carved Dragon Head, with fish-scale body, probably from Batavia. 15—Mummied Head of a native, New Zealand. 16—Stone Hatchet on which are written the words, "Brought to England in 1771 by Captain Cook, from Otaheite." 17—Mummied Head of a New Zealand Chief, with jade Ear Pendant. 18—Stone Hatchet, New Zealand. 19—Mereare, or Sceptre, with idolo-trous carving. On it are scratched the words, "Made for me by Wonga.—J.C." 20—Boar's Tusk, carved by Jackson, a seaman on board the Endeavour.

Upon examining the body of the dead man it was found that he had been shot through the heart. He was of middle size and stature, complexion brown, but not very dark; one side of his face was tattooed in spiral lines of a very regular figure; he was covered with a fine cloth of a manufacture altogether new to us, his hair was also tied in a knot on the top of his head, but had no feather in it. We returned immediately to the ship where we could hear the people on shore talking with great earnestness in a very loud tone.

[It will be found convenient to allow the writer's own words to be used when precision as to meaning is required.]

The captain, Mr. Banks, and several gentlemen went on shore with Tupaea, a native interpreter from Tahiti, on the Monday following, on that side of the river which was opposite to a spot where some natives were seated on the ground. These latter immediately started up, and began to handle their weapons, but Tupaea speaking to them, the gentlemen were agreeably surprised to find that he was understood, as he spoke their language, though in a different dialect. It appeared at first that they had hostile intentions, whereupon it was thought proper to fire a musket at some distance from them. The ball struck the water, and the effect it had was visible in deterring them from further menaces. Afterwards the captain, with some of the gentlemen and Tupaea in their company, the marines being previously drawn up, advanced nearer to the river's side. This friendly Indian spoke again to them, and told them that the English only wanted to trade with them, to which they readily consented; but the gentlemen would not cross the river unless the natives would lay down their weapons, which they could by no means be prevailed upon to do.

They did not seem to value the beads and iron with which they were presented, nor would they give anything in return, but proposed to exchange their weapons for those belonging to the visitors, which being objected to, they endeavoured to snatch them out of their hands, but on being told by Tupaea that any further violence would be punished by death, they desisted. One of them, however, had the audacity to snatch Mr. Green's hanger, and retiring a few paces, flourished it over his head. He, however, paid for this temerity with his life, Mr. Monkhouse firing at him with a musket loaded with ball, and afterwards with some difficulty recovered the hanger.

The behaviour of the natives, added to the

want of fresh water, induced Captain Cook to continue his course round the head of the bay. He was still in hopes of getting some of the natives on board, and by presents, added to civil usage, to convey through them a favourable idea of the English, to their fellow countrymen. Soon after an event occurred, though attended with deplorable circumstances, that promised to facilitate this design. Two canoes appeared, making towards land, and Captain Cook proposed intercepting them with boats. One of them got clear off, but the natives in the other, finding it impossible to escape, the boats began to attack them with their paddles. This compelled the Endeavour's people to fire upon them, when four were killed, and the other three, who were youths, jumped into the water and endeavoured to swim to shore. They were, however, taken and brought on board. At first they were greatly terrified, thinking they would be killed, but Tupaea, by assurances of friendship, removed their fears, and they afterwards ate very heartily of the ship's provisions. When they retired to rest in the evening they appeared perfectly easy in their minds, but in the middle of the night their fears returned, and they continued for some time in a great agitation.* The next morning, the 10th, after they were dressed according to the mode of their country, they were ornamented with necklaces and bracelets, and Captain Cook prepared to set them on shore. Finding the boat approach Captain Cook's first landing-place, they seemed under great apprehension, intimating that the inhabitants were their foes, and that they always killed and eat their enemies. The captain, nevertheless, judged it expedient to land near the same spot, which he did, with Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupaea, resolving to protect the youths from any injury. Seeing two large parties of natives advancing towards them, one of the boys discovered his uncle among the number. The boys held a conversation with the uncle, and the uncle swam across the river, bringing with him a green bough as a token of friendship, which was received as such, and several presents made him. Notwithstanding the presence of the uncle of one of these boys, all three of them returned to the ship, but as the captain intended sailing the next morning, he sent them on shore in the evening, though much against their inclination.

* In Parkinson's journal the following entry, *inter alia*, appears:—"After having taken possession of the country in form for the King, our company embarked and went round the bay, etc."

On the 11th October Captain Cook set sail, in hopes of finding a better anchoring place. After giving this place (called by the natives *Ta-one-roa*) the name of "Poverty Bay," the south-west point he called "Young Nick's Head," on account of its being first perceived by a lad on board named Nicholas Young. They were becalmed in the afternoon, and several canoes came off from the shore with natives, who received many presents, and afterwards bartered even their clothes and some paddles, so eager were they to possess strange commodities. A single tree formed the bottom of their canoes, and the upper part

with difficulty the natives in the ship could prevail on those in the canoe to come near them, and it was not until the former had assured them that the English did not eat men that they came alongside the *Endeavour*. The chief came on board with a remarkable *patoo* in his hand, whose face was tattooed, and in this canoe the three natives left the ship. Captain Cook gave the name of Cape Table to a point of land about seven leagues to the south of Poverty Bay, its figure greatly resembling a table, and the island called by the natives *Te Houra* he named Portland Island, it being very similar



From a sketch taken in 1836.]

Fortified Village, Poverty Bay.

consisted of two planks sewn together; they sat on thwarts; their paddles were painted red, representing many uncommon figures, and very curiously wrought. They were armed with bludgeons made of wood and of the bone of a large animal. They called the weapons *patoo-patoo*, and they were well contrived for close fighting.

After they had finished their traffic, they set off in such a hurry that they forgot three of their companions, who remained on board all night. Tupaea took great pains to convince them that they were in no danger, and about seven o'clock the next morning a canoe came off with four natives on board. It was at first

to that of the same name in the British Channel. Some parts of Portland Island, as well as the main, were cultivated.

On the 12th, several natives came off in a canoe disfigured in a strange manner; they danced and sang, and at times appeared to be peaceably inclined, but at others to menace hostilities, and Tupaea could not induce them to come on board.

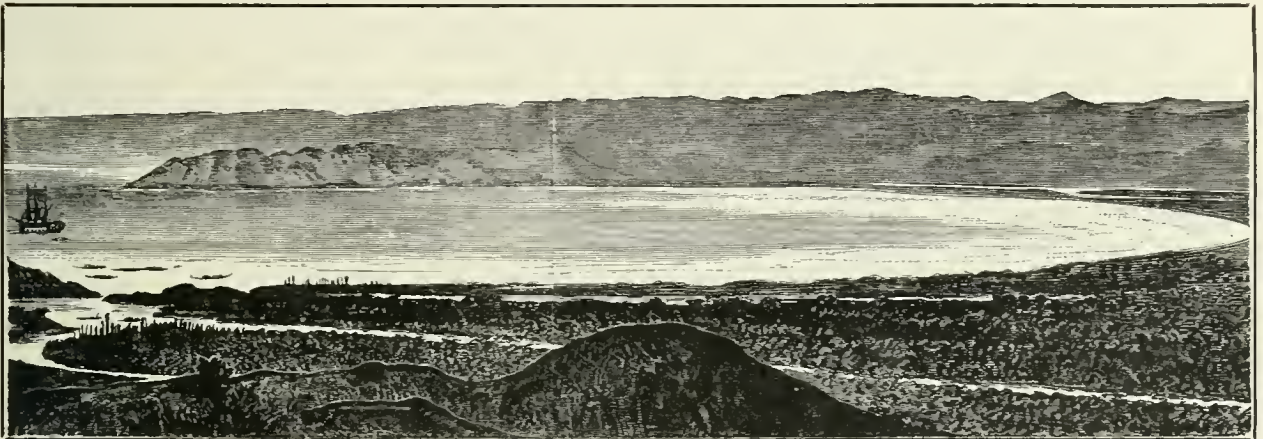
On Friday, the 13th, in the morning, the captain made for an inlet, but finding it not sheltered, stood out to sea again, and being chased by a canoe filled with natives, the *Endeavour* out-sailed them.

The next morning they had a view of the

inland country. It was mountainous and covered with snow in the interior parts, but the land towards the sea was flat and uncultivated, and in many places there were groves of high trees.

Nine canoes full of natives came from the shore, and five—the natives in them having consulted together—pursued the *Endeavour*, apparently with a hostile design, but a four-pounder with grape-shot being fired, they were terrified at this kind of reasoning, and paddled away faster than they came. Tupaea, however, called after them and the people in one canoe came under the ship's stern. Several presents were made them, and they would have probably been induced to have come on board if the other canoes had not come back, shouting and brandishing their weapons, when they all went away. In the afternoon the ship moved over

together with the fishing boats which had put off at the same time, came back to the ship, and trade was again begun. During this second attempt at traffic, one of the natives unexpectedly seized Tupaea's little boy, Taieto, and pulling him into his canoe, instantly put off and paddled away with the utmost speed. Several muskets were immediately discharged at the people in the canoe, and one of them received a wound. They all let go the boy, who before was held down in the bottom of the canoe. Taieto, taking advantage of their consternation, immediately jumped into the sea and swam back towards the *Endeavour*.* He was taken on board without having received any harm, but his strength was so much exhausted, owing to the weight of his clothes, that it was with great difficulty that he reached the ship. In conse-



Poverty Bay, showing Young Nick's Head.

to the south point of the bay, but not reaching it before dark, stood off and on all night.

On Sunday, the 15th October, the ship was visited by some fishing-boats, though the fish they had on board had been caught so long that they were not eatable, and were purchased merely for the sake of promoting a traffic with the natives. In the afternoon, a canoe with a number of armed natives came near the ship, and one of them, who was remarkably clothed with a black skin, found means to defraud the captain of a piece of red baize under pretence of bartering the skin he had on for it. As soon as he had got the baize into his possession, instead of giving the skin in return, agreeable to his bargain, he rolled them up together and ordered the canoe to put off from the ship, turning a deaf ear to the repeated remonstrances of the captain against this unjust behaviour. After a short time this canoe,

quence of this attempt to carry off Taieto, Captain Cook called the cape off which it happened Cape Kidnappers. The distance of this cape from Portland Island is about thirteen leagues, and it forms the south point of a bay which was denominated Hawke Bay, in honour of Admiral Hawke. Cook had made a careful examination of the coast of Hawke Bay, sailing as near to the shore as the wind would permit, and the configuration of the land is accurately marked on his chart.

Taieto, on recovering from his fright, produced a fish, and informed Tupaea that he intended to offer it to his atua, or god, in

* I saw, in 1844, at Waimarama, an aged native who remembered this incident; and also obtained from several natives, descendants of the sufferers on that occasion, their account of the affair received from their forefathers. Five, it appears, were killed and several wounded. One of the poor fellows had received a ball in his knee joint, which made him a helpless cripple during a long life.—*Colenso*.

gratitude for his happy escape. This being approved of by the other natives, the fish was cast into the sea. Captain Cook now passed by a small island which was supposed to be inhabited by fishermen, as it seemed to be barren, and Bare Island was the name given it; and to a headland adjacent, because the Endeavour turned, he gave the name of Cape Turnagain.

It was never certainly known whether New Zealand was an island before this vessel touched there. On this account the Lords of the Admiralty had instructed Captain Cook to sail along the coasts as far as 40 degrees south, and if the land extended farther, to return to the northward again. It was for this reason that the captain altered his course when he arrived at the cape above-mentioned. The wind having likewise veered about to the south, he returned, sailing along the coast nearly in his former track. The Endeavour came abreast of a peninsula in Portland Island, named Tarakako, on Wednesday, the 19th, when a canoe with five natives in it came off to the ship. There were two chiefs in it, who stayed all night.

Captain Cook gave the name of Gable End Foreland to a headland which was passed on the 19th. Three canoes appeared here, and one native came on board, to whom was given small presents. Several of these natives wore pieces of greenstone round their necks, which were transparent and resembled an emerald. These being examined appeared to be a species of the Nephritic stone, and it seems to have furnished the islanders with their principal ornaments. The form of some of their faces was agreeable, and their noses were rather prominent than flat. Their dialect was not so guttural as that of others, and they spoke like the people of the island of Otaheite. Having anchored in a bay about two leagues to the northward of the foreland, two chiefs came on board, and invited the navigators ashore. The chiefs received presents of linen, but they did not seem to value spike-nails so much as the inhabitants of the other islands the expedition had previously visited. They were dressed in jackets; the one ornamented with tufts of red feathers, the other with dog-skin. The natives received Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander courteously. They remained on shore all night, and the next day several plants and many beautiful birds were discovered, among which were large pigeons and quails. Many stages for drying fish were observed, and some houses with fences around them were seen. Some dogs which were remarked on the island

had pointed ears and were very ugly. Sweet potatoes, like those of North America, were found here, and the cloth-plant grew spontaneous. The lands in the valley were laid out in regular plantations. In the bay plenty of crabs, crayfish, and horse mackerel were found. The doctor and Mr. Banks visited several of the native houses, and met with a very civil reception. Fish constituted the principal food of the natives at this time, and a root of a sort of fern served for bread, which, when roasted and divested of its bark, was sweet and clammy, and in taste not disagreeable, but unpleasant from its number of fibres. Vegetables were doubtless at other seasons very plentiful. The women painted their faces red. The men's faces were rarely painted, but their bodies were rubbed over with red ochre from head to foot, their apparel not excepted. Though they could not be compared to the inhabitants of Tahiti for cleanliness in general, they surpassed them in this respect in some particulars. Every dwelling was supplied with a privy, and they had dug wells for depositing dirt and filth. The women wore a girdle made of the blade of grass under a petticoat, and to this girdle was tied in front a bunch of fragrant leaves. They seemed to hold chastity in little estimation, many of the young females resorting to the watering-place, where they bountifully bestowed every favour that was requested. One of the officers on shore, seeing an elderly woman, he accompanied her to her house, and having presented her with some cloth and beads, a young girl was singled out, and he was given to understand that he might retire with her. Soon after an elderly man with two women came in as visitors, and with much formality saluted all the company, according to the custom of the place, which is by joining the tops of their noses together. The officer on his return was furnished with a guide, who led him a much better road than he had come, and whenever they came to a brook or rivulet, the native took him on his back to preserve him from being wet. Several of the inhabitants were curiously tattooed, and one old man in particular was marked on the breast with various figures. There was an axe made of greenstone, already mentioned, which could not be purchased, though many things were offered in exchange. At night they danced in a very uncouth manner, making antic gestures, lolling out their tongues, with other strange grimaces; and in these dances old men with grey beards as well as the young ones were capital performers. They carried their civility so far as to assist Mr. Banks and

his company with one of their canoes to convey them on board, but the Endeavour's people being unacquainted with the method of steering such a vessel, she was upset, but no one was drowned, and they reached the ship without any farther accident, some of the natives having volunteered to conduct the canoe. During the stay of the gentlemen on shore, many of the natives went out in their canoes and trafficked with the ship's company, preferring at first the cloth of Otaheite to that of Europe, but it soon diminished in its value. Several of the natives went on board, and testified their curiosity and surprise with regard to the different parts of the ship.

On Sunday evening, the 22nd, Captain Cook weighed anchor and put to sea. The bay was called by the natives Tokomaru. The wind being contrary, Cook put into another bay a little further to the south, called by the natives Toreka or Tolago Bay, in order to complete loading wood and water. Many canoes came off from the shore and traded honestly for Tahiti cloth and glass bottles.

In the afternoon of the 23rd, a party went ashore to examine the watering place,* where plenty of wood was found close to the shore, and the disposition of the people was all that could be desired.

On the 24th, Mr. Gore and the marines were early sent on shore to guard the people employed in cutting wood and filling water. Captain Cook, Mr. Banks, and the Doctor also went on shore, and employed themselves in collecting plants and seeing several things worthy of notice.† In their route they found many houses uninhabited, the natives residing chiefly in slight sheds on the ridges of the hills. In a valley between two very high hills they saw a curious rock that formed a large arch, opposite to the sea. This cavity was in length about seventy feet, in breadth thirty, and near fifty in height. It commanded a view of the

* Within the south head of Tolago Bay is the cove where Cook watered, and beyond is to be seen the remarkable arch in the cliff which he described. Several initials are cut on the rock, where the artificial well exists, made by his crew.—*New Zealand Pilot*.

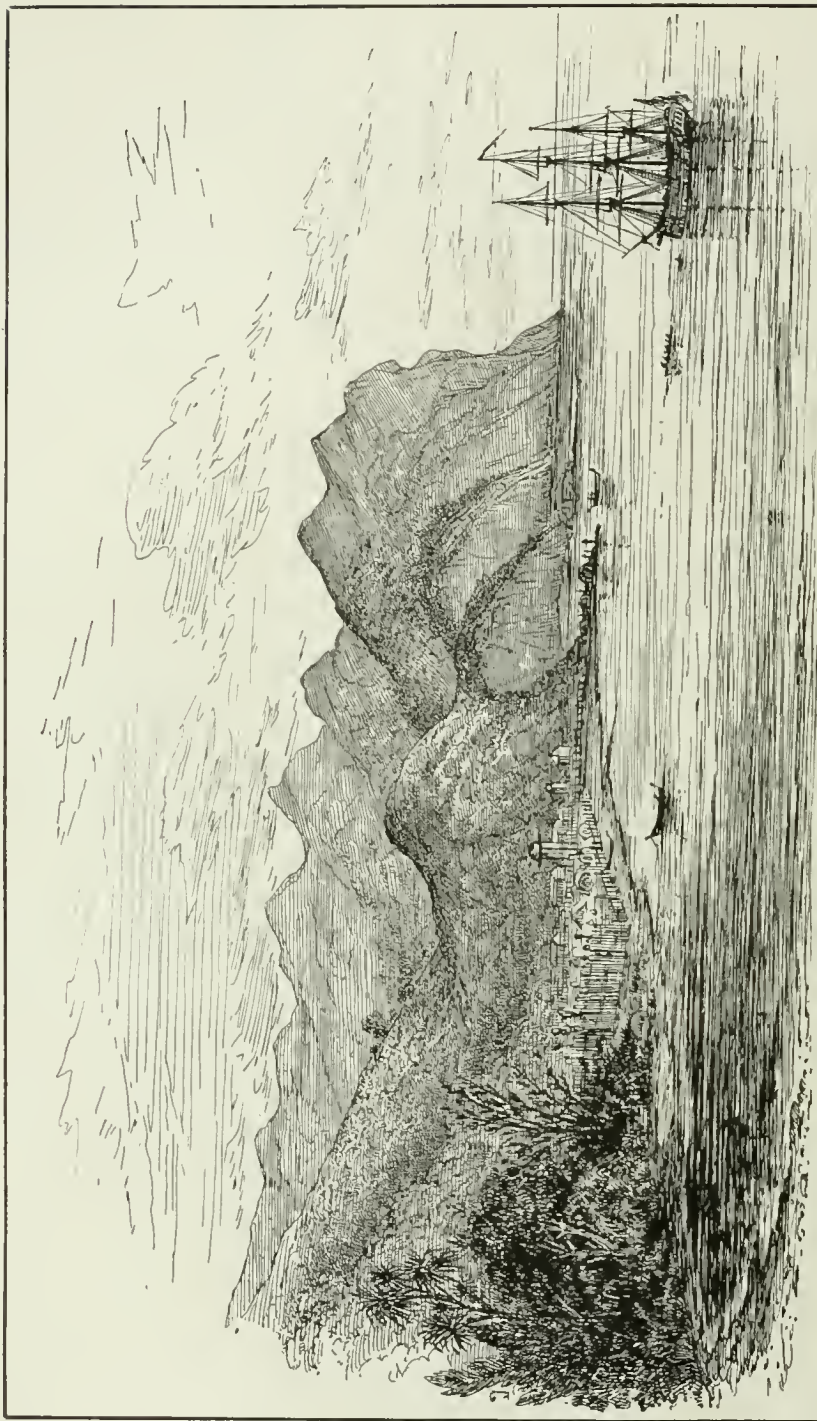
† Colenso, in 1841, when at Mangatuna, a small village near the Uawa River, found an old blind chief called Hakahaka, who told him that he recollected Cook's visit in 1769, although he was but a little boy at the time. Colenso says:—"This bay, or rather open roadstead, is the Tolago Bay . . . of Cook. Here his ship was at anchor in October, 1769; here it was that the first of those elegant trees 'Knightia excelsa,' was seen, and the first New Zealand palm, 'Areca sapida,' cut down for the sake of its edible top. Here, too, near the south-east headland of the bay, Cook dug a well for the supplying of his ship with water, which well is shown to this day by the natives."

hill and the bay. Mr. Banks found the tree that produces the cabbage, which, when boiled, was very good. The plant from which the cloth is made is a kind of Hemerocallis, the leaves of which afford a strong glossy flax, equally adapted to clothing and making of ropes. These gentlemen, on their return, met an old man, who entertained them with the military exercises of the natives, which were performed with the *patoo-patoo* and the lance. The former is used as a battle-axe. The latter is eighteen or twenty feet in length, made of very hard wood and sharpened at each end. A stake was substituted for their old warrior's supposed enemy. He first attacked him with his lance, when, having pierced him, the *patoo-patoo* was used to demolish his head, and the force with which he struck would at one blow have split any man's skull.

The natives in this part are not very numerous. They are tolerably well shaped, but lean and tall. Their faces resemble those of the Europeans; their noses are aquiline, the eyes dark coloured. Their hair is black and is tied up on the top of their heads; their beards of moderate length, and their tattooing is done very curiously in various figures, which makes their skin resemble carving. It is confined to the principal men, the females and servants using only red paint, with which they daub their faces. Their cloth is white, glossy, and very even. It is worn principally by the men, though it is wrought by the women, who, indeed, are condemned to all drudgery and labour.

On the 25th October the armourer's forge was set up on shore for necessary uses. Tupaea engaged himself in conversation with one of the priests, and they seemed to agree in their opinions upon the subject of religion. Tupaea, in the course of this conference, inquired whether the report of their eating men was founded in truth, to which the priest answered it was, but that they ate none but declared foes after they were killed in war. This idea proved, however, that they carried their resentment beyond death.

Captain Cook and Dr. Solander went on the 27th to inspect the bay, when the doctor was not a little surprised to find the natives in possession of a boy's top, which they knew how to spin by whipping it, and he purchased it out of curiosity. Mr. Banks ascended a steep hill, and near it he found many inhabited houses. There were two rows of poles fourteen or fifteen feet high, covered over with sticks, which made an avenue of about five feet in width, extending near a hundred yards down the hill in an irregular line. The intent of



Te Ariuru (Tokomaru), where Cook landed

this erection was not discovered. When the gentlemen met at the watering-place, the natives sang their war song, at which the women assisted. The next day Captain Cook and the other gentlemen went upon the island Pourewa, called by Cook Spring Island, at the entrance of the bay, and met with a canoe that was 67 feet in length, six in breadth, and four in height. Her bottom, which was sharp, consisted of three trunks of trees, and the sides and head were curiously carved. There was a large unfinished house upon the island; the posts which supported it were ornamented with carvings that did not appear to be done on the spot, and the inhabitants seemed to set great value upon works of this kind. The posts of this house were judged to be brought here, though the people seem to have a taste for carving, as their boats, paddles, and tops of walking-sticks evince. Their favourite figure is a volute or spiral, which is sometimes single, double, or triple, and is done with great exactness, though the gentlemen only saw two instruments, an axe made of stone, and a chisel. Their taste, however, is extremely whimsical and extravagant, scarcely ever imitating nature. Their huts are built under trees; their form is oblong square, the door low on one side, and the windows at the ends. Reeds covered with thatch compose the walls; the beams of the eaves which come to the ground are covered with thatch. Most of the houses, however, had been deserted through fear of the strangers on their landing.

On Sunday, October 29, the expedition set sail from the bay, which the natives called Tolago. On the south point lies a small but high island called Motara. The bay is four leagues to the north of Gable End Foreland. There are two high rocks at the entrance, which form a cove convenient for procuring wood and water, and a high rocky island off the north point of the bay, which affords good anchorage.

"We got nothing here," the chronicle says, "by traffic but a few fish and some sweet potatoes, except a few trifles which we considered merely as curiosities. We saw no four-footed animals, nor the appearance of any, either tame or wild, except dogs and rats, and these were very scarce. The people eat the dogs . . . and adorn their garments with the skins as we do ours with fur and ermine.* I climbed many of the hills hoping to get a view of the country, but could see

nothing except higher hills in a boundless succession. In the woods we found trees of above twenty different sorts, and carried specimens of each on board, but there was nobody among us to whom they were not altogether unknown."

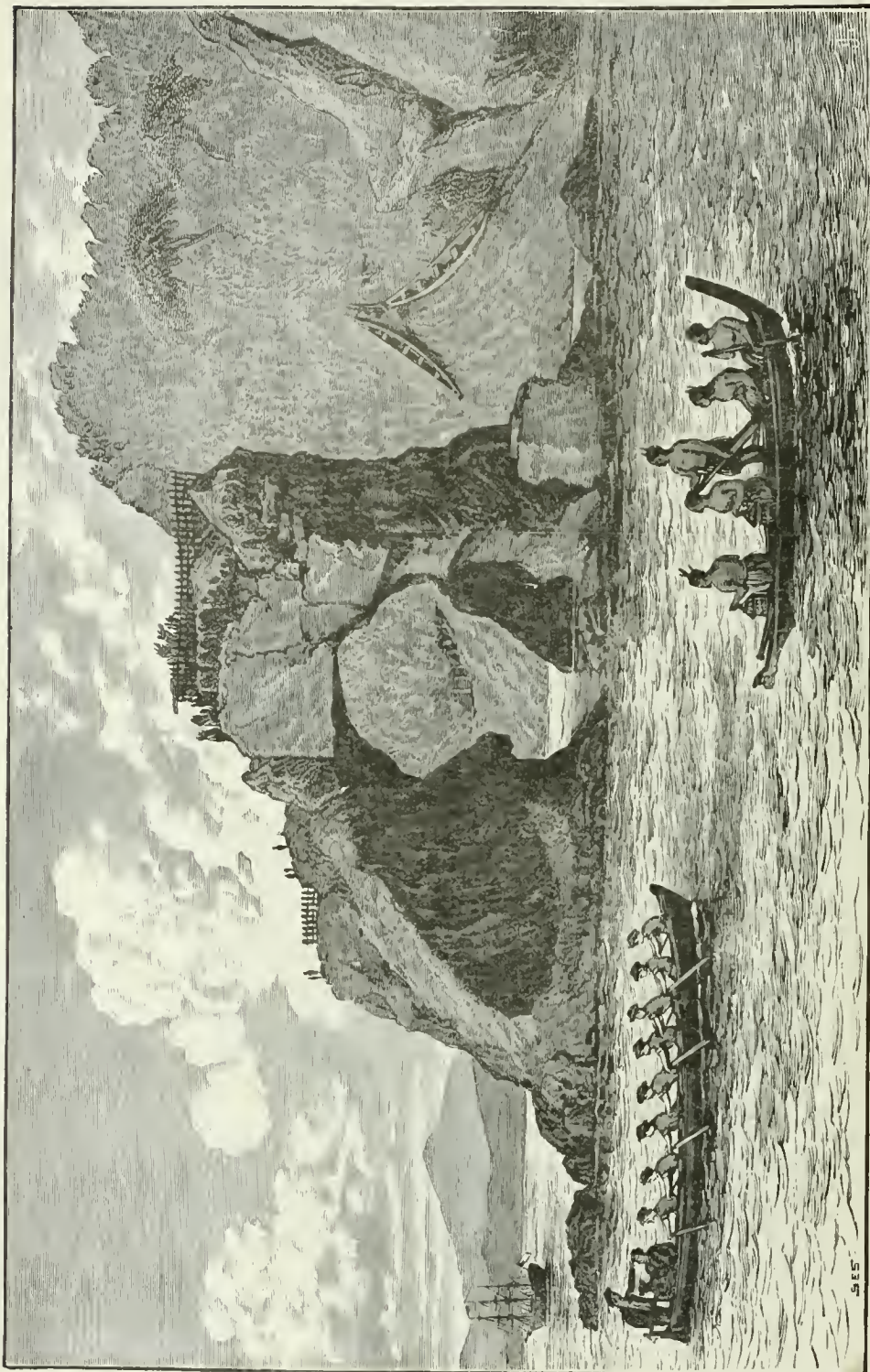
Sailing to the northward the Endeavour fell in with a small island about a mile distant from the north-east point of the main, and this being the most eastern part of it, the captain called it East Cape, and the island East Island. It was but small, and appeared barren. There are many small bays from Tolago Bay to East Cape. When the Endeavour had doubled the cape, many villages presented themselves to view, and the adjacent lands appeared to be cultivated. On the evening of the 30th, Lieutenant Hicks discovered a bay to which his name was given. Next morning about nine a number of canoes came off from the shore. The men were all armed and appeared to have hostile intentions. The captain judging it expedient to prevent, if possible, their attacking him, ordered a gun to be fired over their heads. This not producing the desired effect, another gun was fired with ball, which threw them into such consternation that they immediately returned much faster than they came. This precipitate retreat induced the captain to give the cape off which it happened the name of Cape Runaway.

with several chiefs of the highest rank stripped, making a fire, and cooking. They were preparing dogs' meat after the fashion of pork, pigs being the only other quadrupeds they had ever seen cooked, and a sad bungling job they made of it, for the dogs were old and tough, and the hair adhered to the skin and in many places would not come off. There were only five persons allowed to partake of this meal, which was, as well as the five partakers, strictly tapu for the day."—*Earle*.

Colenso considers the native dog to have become extinct more than half a century since. He described it in 1842 in the following manner: "The New Zealand dog (*kuri*) is a small animal somewhat resembling the variety known as the pricked-ear shepherd's cur, with erect ears and a flowing tail; its cry is a peculiar kind of whining howl, which, when in a state of domestication, it utters in concert at a signal given by its master, and is most unpleasant. This variety of dog has, however, become very scarce in consequence of the continued introduction of other and larger varieties."—*Annals of Natural History*, London.

The elder Forster says: "The dogs of the South Sea Isles are of a singular race; they mostly resemble the common cur, but have a prodigious long head, remarkably little eyes, prick ears, long hair, and a short bushy tail. They are chiefly fed with fruit at the Society Isles, but in the Low isles and New Zealand, where they are the only domestic animals, they live upon fish. They are exceedingly stupid, and seldom or never bark, only howl now and then; have the sense of smelling in a very low degree, and are lazy beyond measure. They are kept by the natives chiefly for the sake of their flesh, of which they are very fond, preferring it to pork."

* The natives brought the dog with them when they landed in New Zealand. Some notices may here be put together on the Maori dog from different authors. "I was much surprised on rising one morning to see Kini Kini



Perforated Rock, Tolago Bay.

At daybreak the next morning, November 1st, between forty and fifty canoes were seen, several of which came off, threatening an attack. At last, after repeated invitations, they came close alongside; but instead of showing a disposition to trade, a chief uttered a sentence, and took up a stone, which he threw against the ship, and immediately after they seized their arms. They were informed by Tupaea of the dreadful consequences of commencing hostilities, but this admonition they seemed little to regard. A piece of cloth happening to attract their attention, they became more reasonable. A quantity of cray fish, mussels, and conger eels were now purchased by those on board. No fraud was attempted by these natives, but some others who came after them took goods from the vessel without making proper returns. As one of them that had rendered himself remarkable for these practices, and seemed proud of his skill in them, was putting off with his canoe, a musket was fired over his head, which circumstance produced good order for the present. Yet when these savages began to traffic with the sailors, they renewed their frauds, and one of them was bold enough to seize some linen that was hung to dry, and run away with it. In order to induce him to return, a musket was first fired over his head, but this not answering the end, he was shot in the back with small shot, yet he still persevered in his design. This being perceived by his countrymen, they dropped astern, and set up a song of defiance. In consequence of their behaviour, the captain gave orders to fire a four pounder, which passed over them, but its effect on the water terrified them so much that they retreated to the shore.

A high island was seen to the westward in the afternoon, and other rocks and islands appearing in the same quarter, the ship not being able to weather them before nightfall, bore up between them and the mainland. In the evening a double canoe, built after the same fashion as those of Otaheite, came up, when Tupaea entered into a friendly conversation with the natives, and was told that the island close to which the Endeavour lay was called Moutohora. It was but a few miles from the mainland, pretty high, but of no great extent. When it was dark, these natives began their usual salute, poured a volley of stones into the ship, and then disappeared. A high round mountain (Patanaki) was seen S.W. by W. of Moutohora, which was called Mount Edgecumbe by Captain Cook. Many of the canoes came off to the ship next

morning, and one among them appeared to be the same that had given the salute the preceding night. They once more entered into a peaceable conversation with Tupaea, which lasted about an hour, but afterwards discharged another volley of stones at the ship, in consequence of which insult a musket was fired, and they took to their paddles and went away.

The ship sailed in the afternoon of the same day between a low flat island (Motiti) and the main. The villages on the latter were more extensive than any that had yet been discovered. They were upon the high land next the sea, and were surrounded by a ditch and a bank with rails on the top of it. Some of the inclosures here resembled a rude sort of fortification, and the whole had the appearance of a number of places calculated for defence. The name of the Court of Aldermen was given on the 3rd to several small islands that lay in the neighbourhood, being distant about twelve miles from the main, between which were many other high islands, which were mostly barren, and the whole seemed but thinly inhabited. Teratu was the name of the chief that governed the district from Cape Turnagain to this place.

Three canoes built differently from those above-mentioned came alongside the vessel on Friday. They were formed of the trunks of whole trees, rendered hollow by burning, which were not ornamented or carved at all. The people on board were of a darker complexion than the others. They were hostile, and their manner of defiance was much the same as that of the other natives already described.

Captain Cook sailed afterwards for an inlet that had been discovered, and anchoring in seven fathoms of water, the ship was surrounded soon after by a number of canoes, the crews of which did not seem disposed to commit any act of hostility. A bird being shot by one of the crew, the natives, without showing any surprise, brought it on board, and were rewarded with a piece of cloth for their pains. As soon as it was dark they sang one of their songs of defiance, and endeavoured to carry off the buoy of the anchor. Though some muskets were fired at them, they seemed to be irritated rather than frightened, and threatened to return in great numbers the next morning. Instead of this they came back about eleven on the Sunday night, but retired when they found that the ship's crew were upon their guard.

A great number of canoes came off on the 4th, in the morning, on board of which were



Shakespeare Head and Cook's Bay, Mercury Bay, Auckland.

nearly two hundred men, armed with lances, spears, and stones, who seemed determined to attack the ship, and would have boarded her had they known on what quarter they could best make their attack.

While the crew were watching their motions in the rain, Tupaea took all possible pains to dissuade the natives from attempting anything against the English. But his arguments had not so good an effect as those that came from the mouths of the muskets, which frightened them effectually, and induced them to begin trading again; yet they could not leave off their fraudulent practices. They sold two of their weapons, but a third, for which they had received cloth, they would not deliver, and only laughed at those who demanded an equivalent. The offender was wounded, but his countrymen did not seem disposed to take notice of him, and another canoe was hit with shot, the natives behaving in the same manner.

Searching for an anchoring place, the captain saw a fortified village on a high point near the head of the bay, and came to an anchor when he had found a village fortified like those already noticed. Some natives came off who behaved a little better than those who had been on board before.

One old man in particular, who had attracted attention by his good behaviour, was presented with some nails by the captain. Being informed that the visitors had no evil designs, the man, who was called Torara, said the people of the district were often visited by freebooters from the north who stripped them of all they could lay their hands upon, and often made captives of their children and wives; and that to secure themselves from these plunderers their houses were built contiguous to the tops of rocks, were they were more able to defend themselves. Probably their poverty and misery may be ascribed to the ravages of the banditti who often stripped them of every necessary of life. The assurances of friendship which they received from those on board, seemed to have a proper influence upon the natives, who were now very tractable and behaved with much civility to the people in the long boat. In a word, the natives treated the English with great hospitality, supplied them with wood and good water, and the ship being very foul-keeled, scrubbed her bottom in the bay.

On the 8th November a great variety of plants was collected by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, who had never observed any of the kind before. These gentlemen remained on

shore till near dark, when they observed the manner in which the natives disposed of themselves during the night. They lay under some bushes; the men nearest the sea in a semi-circular form, and the women and children most distant from it; their arms were placed against trees, very near them, to defend themselves in case of a surprise. The natives supplied the ship's crew with much excellent fish resembling mackerel, sufficient for all their dinners, for which they received some pieces of cloth.

Early in the morning of the 9th the natives brought in canoes a prodigious quantity of mackerel, one sort of which was no way different from the mackerel caught on our coast. These canoes were succeeded by many others equally loaded with the same fish, and the cargoes purchased were so great that when salted they might be considered as a month's provision for the whole ship's company. This being a very clear day, the astronomer, Mr. Green, and the other gentlemen landed to observe the transit of Mercury, and whilst the observation was being made, a large canoe with various commodities on board came alongside the ship, and Mr. Gore, the officer who had then the command, being desirous of encouraging traffic, produced a piece of Otaheitan cloth of more value than any they had yet seen, which was immediately seized by one of the natives, who obstinately refused to either return it or give anything in exchange. He paid dearly, however, for his temerity, being shot dead on the spot. The death of this young man alarmed all the rest; they fled with great precipitancy, and for the present could not be induced to renew their traffic. But when the natives on shore had heard the particulars related by Torara, who greatly condemned the conduct of the deceased, they seemed to think that he had merited his fate.*

* This transaction happened while the observation of the transit of Mercury was being made. The weather was so favourable that the whole of the transit was seen without a cloud intervening. The bay was called Mercury Bay.

When Captain Mundy was in New Zealand he saw the chief Taniwha, or Hooknose, as he was called by the Europeans. Taniwha said that after the man was shot, when the Maoris landed, they consulted over the body, and decided that as the dead man commenced the quarrel by the theft of the calico, his death should not be avenged, but that he should be buried in the cloth he had paid for with his life.—*Rusden*.

Mr. C. O. Davis writes:—Taniwha said "I was as tall as this person (pointing to an European between fourteen and sixteen years of age), when I visited the ship of your ancestor Cook. There were several native youths in company with myself, and while we were feasting our eyes on the

On the 10th November Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and the captain went in boats to inspect a large river that runs into the bay. They found it broader some miles within than at the mouth, and intersected into a number of streams by several small islands. On the east side of the river some shags were shot. The shore abounded with fish of various kinds, such as cockles, clams, and oysters, and here were also ducks, shags, and curlews, with other wildfowl in great plenty.

The gentlemen were received with great hospitality by the inhabitants of a little village on the east side of the river. Here they came across the remains of a fort, called a pa, on a peninsula that projects into the river, and it was calculated for defending a small number against a greater force. It nevertheless seemed to have been taken and partly destroyed.

The Indians take a meal before sunset, when they eat fish and birds baked or roasted. They roast them upon sticks stuck in the ground near the fire. A female mourner was present at one of their suppers; she was seated upon the ground, and wept incessantly, at the same time repeating sentences in a doleful manner, but which the interpreter could not explain. At the termination of each period she cut herself with a shell upon her breast, her hands, or her face. Although this bloody spectacle greatly affected the gentlemen present, all the natives who sat by her, except one, were quite unmoved.

On November 11th a great number of oysters were procured from a bed which had been discovered, and they proved exceedingly good. Next day the ship was visited by two canoes with strangers. After some invitation they came on board, and all trafficked without any fraud. Two fortified villages being deserted, the captain, with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, went to examine them. The smallest was romantically situated upon a rock, which was arched. This village did not consist of above five or six houses fenced round. There was but one path, which was very narrow, that conducted to it. The gentlemen were invited by the inhabitants to pay them a visit, but not having time to spare, took another route, after having made presents to the females. A body of men, women and children now approached; these proved to be the inhabitants of another town, which they

wonderful things we saw for the first time, Captain Cook came forward and patted me on the head. We were very friendly with the people of the ship while they remained among us.

proposed visiting. They gave many testimonies of their friendly dispositions, among others they uttered the word "*Haermai*," which, according to Tupaea's interpretation, implied peace, and appeared very satisfied when informed that the gentlemen intended visiting their habitations. Their town was called Wharetouwa. It was seated on a point of land over the sea, on the north side of the bay; it was paled round and defended by a double ditch. Within the ditch a stage was erected for defending the place in case of an attack; near the stage quantities of darts and stones were deposited that they might always be in readiness to repel the assailants. There was another stage to command the path leading to the town, and there were some outworks. The place seemed calculated to hold out a considerable time against an enemy armed with no other weapons than those of the natives. In their engagements the natives throw stones with their hands, being destitute of a sling, and those and lances are their only missible weapons. They have, besides, the *patoopaloo*, a staff about five feet in length, and another shorter. The English sailed from this bay after having taken formal possession of it in the name of the King of Great Britain, on the 15th November.

A number of islands of different sizes appeared towards the north-west which were named Mercury Islands. On account of the number of oysters found in the river, the captain gave it the name of Oyster River. Mangrove River, which the captain so called from the great number of those trees that grew near it, is the most secure place for shipping, being at the head of the bay. The inhabitants, though numerous, have no plantations. Their canoes are very indifferently constructed, and are not ornamented at all. Shore iron sand was found in plenty on this coast.

On the morning of the 18th November the Endeavour steered between the main and an island which seemed very fertile. Several canoes filled with natives came off from the shore: they sang their war song, but the Endeavour's people paying no attention, they threw a volley of stones and then paddled away. However, they presently returned with their insults, and gave another volley of stones, but upon a musket being fired at one of their boats, they made a precipitate retreat. Captain Cook cast anchor in the evening, and early the next morning he sailed up an inlet. Soon after two canoes came off, and some of the natives came on board, who knew Tupaea by name.

On the 20th November the Endeavour was

in the bay, called by the natives Hauraki (spelt *Ouahouragee*), and Captain Cook, with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander and others, went in boats to the head of the bay to examine it, and did not return till the next morning. They had been up a fresh water river in three fathoms water, which would make a good harbour, met with a town and a pa, or place of refuge. They had been very kindly received by the natives. At the entrance of a wood they met with a tree ninety-eight feet high from the ground to the first branch, quite straight, and nineteen feet in circumference; and they found still larger trees of the same kind as they advanced into the wood. The captain called this river Thames, as it resembled the river of that name. They weighed anchor the same afternoon, sailing down the river with the tide. The next morning the flood obliged them to cast anchor again. Mr. Banks began trading with some of the natives, whose chief object was paper, for which they exchanged their arms and clothes, and took no unfair advantage.

Though these traders were in general honest in their dealings, there was one amongst them who took a fancy to a half-minute glass, but was detected in secreting it, and he was punished with a cat-of-nine tails. The other natives endeavoured to save him, but being opposed, they got their arms from the canoes, and some of the people in them attempted to get on board. Tupaea coming up on deck, informed them of the nature of the offender's intended punishment, which pacified them, as they supposed that death would have been the consequence of his crime. However, he received twelve lashes, and also a beating from an old man who was conceived to be his father, or some near relation. After this the canoes went off, and the natives said they would be afraid to return, and they seemed to have lost much of that confidence which they had before reposed in Captain Cook and his people. The wind continuing still unfavourable, the vessel was forced to go down the river with the tide, and on the 23rd November passed a point named Point Rodney, to the north-west. During a course of nearly thirty miles, as they could not approach the land, they had but a distant view of the main. Under the name of the River Thames the captain comprehended the whole bay, and he gave the name of Cape Colville to the promontory at the north-easternmost extremity in honour of Lord Colville. In some places the water was twenty-six fathoms deep, the depth diminished gradually, and the anchorage was good in all parts of the bay. Captain

Cook gave the name of Barrier Islands to some isles which shelter it from the sea. As to the country it seemed to be thinly inhabited, and the natives were a short and active people. Their bodies were painted all over with a red colour. Their canoes were well constructed, and ornamented with carved work.

Captain Cook still continued steering along shore between the islands and the main, and anchored on the 24th in an open bay, where a number of fish of the bream kind being taken, Bream Bay was the name given to it by our voyagers. A number of rocks were seen off this bay, which they called the Hen and Chickens.

The land extending for about thirty miles between Point Rodney and this place is low and woody. No natives were seen, but it was concluded from the fires at night that this place was peopled. Early in the morning the ship sailed out of the bay, keeping near the shore to the northward. Soon after they discovered some islands about three leagues to the north-north-east, where there were cultivated lands and a few towns that appeared to be fortified. To these they gave the name of The Poor Knights. A number of natives approached the vessel towards night, and two of their chiefs coming on board, gave the English to understand that they were not ignorant of their arrival in that part of the world. Other natives came in order to trade after the first party were gone, but these beginning to pilfer, were fired upon, and retreated.

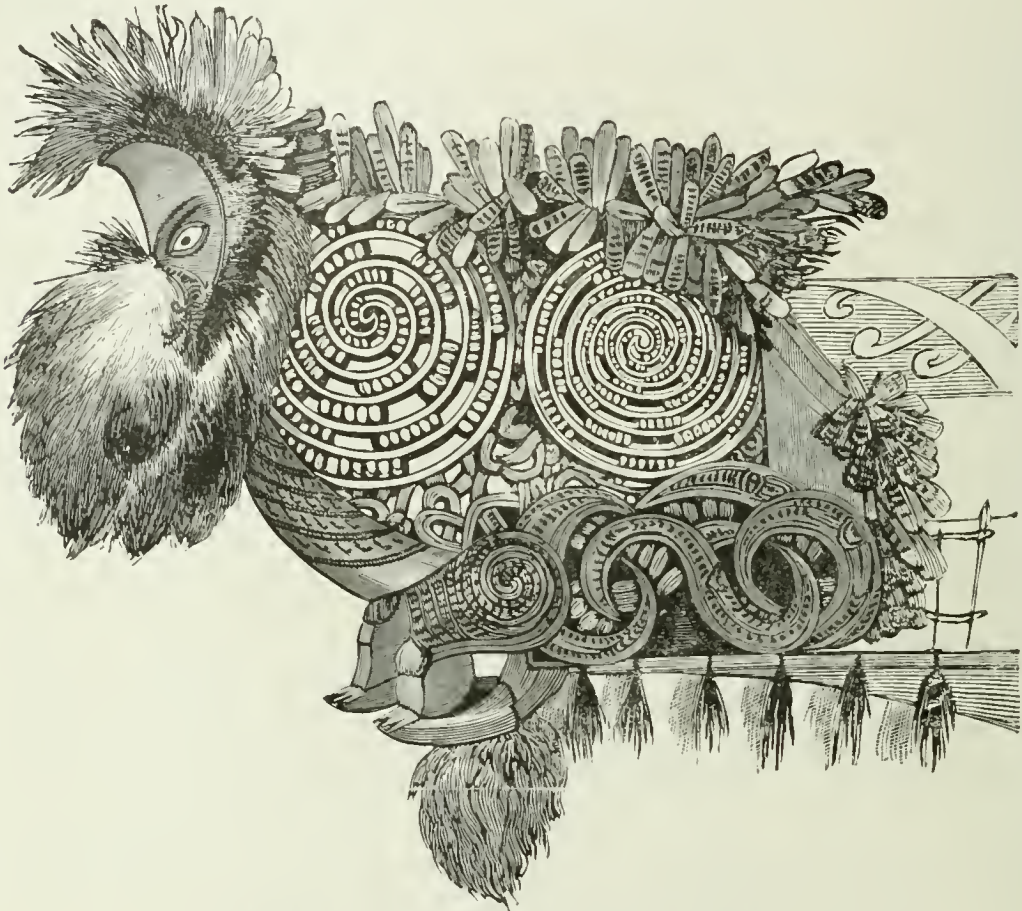
The voyagers continued sailing slowly along to the northward, and on the 26th some more of the natives in two canoes came on board and carried on a great traffic. They were followed by two larger canoes, the people on board of which, after some parleying, came alongside of the vessel. These canoes were adorned with carvings. The people, who seemed to be of the higher order, were armed with various weapons. Their patus, which were made of stone and whale-bone, were held in high estimation, and they were ornamented with dog's hair. The complexion of these people was darker than that of those to the south, and their faces were stained with the *moko*, i.e., tattoo. They were given to pilfering, of which one gave an instance, pretending to barter a weapon for a piece of cloth, which latter he ran away with without fulfilling his agreement, nor was he at all disposed to do so till a musket fired after him brought him back.

The vessel passing a high point of land, it

was called Cape Brett, in honour of the baronet of that name. There is a curious rocky island to the north-east by north, which is arched, and at a distance has a pleasing effect. It forms a bay to the west, which contains many small islands, and Captain Cook named the point at the north-west entrance Point Pococke. There are many villages on the main as well as on the islands, which appeared well inhabited, and several canoes filled with natives made to the

up in a bunch with feathers; the chiefs among them had garments made of fine cloth, or ornamented with dog-skin. They were tattooed.

On the 27th November the Endeavour was among a number of small islands, from which several canoes came off, but the natives, from their frantic gestures, seemed disordered in their minds. They threw their fish into the ship by handfuls, without demanding any-



Decorated head of the Chief Rauparaha's Canoe.

ship, and after coming alongside to trade, showed the same disposition to cheat as the others. One of the midshipmen was so nettled at being imposed upon, that he took a fishing line and threw the lead with so much dexterity that the hook caught the native who had been imposing upon him by the buttocks, when the line breaking, the hook remained in his posteriors.

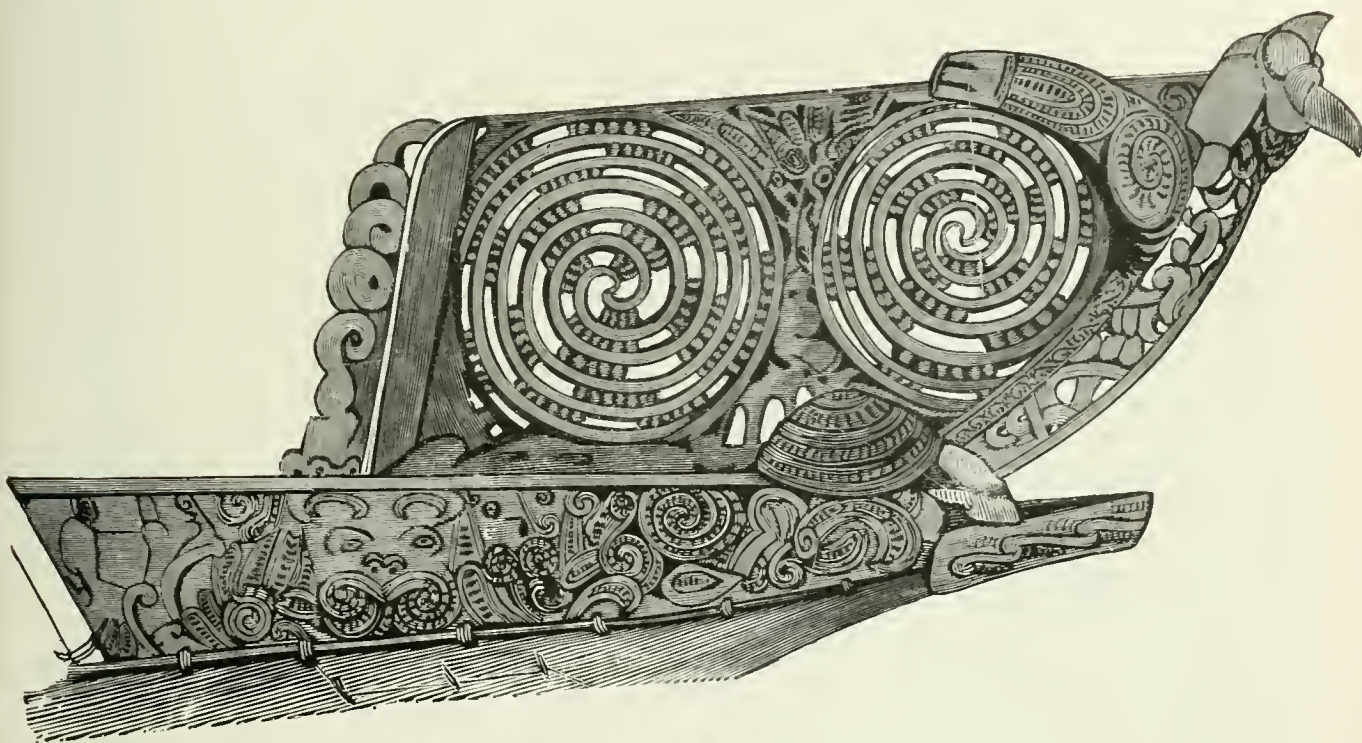
These natives were strong and well proportioned; their hair was black, and tied

thing by way of barter.* Some other canoes

* Patuone stated that he was at the Bay of Islands when Cook was a visitor. His statement was: "My father, Tapua, and many others, were fishing with their nets on the coast near Matauri, when Cook's vessel was observed near Motukokako (Cape Brett). The people immediately abandoned their fishing, and paddling away, went alongside the ship, and presented fish to the strangers, then called *mai tai*, i.e., from the sea." Again he says: "I saw Cook's vessel. To meet it went the people in four large canoes. No. 1 was termed Te Tu muaki, commanded by my father, Tapua, manned by eighty men. No. 2, Te Harotu, commanded by Tuwhera

also came up, who saluted the ship with stones. One of the natives, who seemed particularly active, threw a stick at one of the Endeavour's men. It was then judged time to bring them to reason, and a musket with small shot was fired at him, when he fell in the canoe. A general terror was now spread among them, and they all made a very hasty retreat. Among the fish obtained from these canoes were cavallis in great plenty, and for this reason the captain called these islands by the same name. For several days the wind was so very unfavourable that the vessel rather lost

islands, and suddenly came into four fathoms and a-half of water. Upon sounding they found they had got upon a bank, and accordingly weighed and dropped over it, and anchored again, after which they were surrounded by thirty-three large canoes, containing three hundred men, all armed. Some of them were admitted on board, and Captain Cook gave a piece of broadcloth to one of the chiefs, and some small presents to the others. They traded for some time peaceably, being frightened with the firearms, the effects of which they were not acquainted with: but whilst the



Carved head of canoe at Kaiwarawara, coloured with red ochre.

than gained ground. On the 29th November, having weathered Cape Brett, they bore away to leeward, and got into a large bay, where they anchored on the south-west side of several

with forty men. No. 3, Te Homai, commanded by Tahapirau with forty men; and No. 4, Te Tikitiki, commanded by Ne with sixty men. The canoes were paddled to the vessel, the chiefs went on board, and my father received presents of garments, and brought with him to the shore a cooked joint of pork, which was eaten by myself and my sister Tari. This was the first time we Maoris had seen the flesh of a pig. Cook's vessel was piloted to a place named Te Puna, and the land in that neighbourhood was given up to Cook. When the Europeans landed the Hokianga tribes were in great alarm. I looked into the faces of these strange people greatly wondering."

captain was at dinner, on a signal given by one of the chiefs, all the natives quitted the ship, and attempted to tow away the buoy. A musket was now fired over them, but it produced no effect. Small shot was then fired at them, but it did not reach them. A musket loaded with ball was therefore ordered to be fired, and Otekuku (son of one of the chiefs), was wounded in the thigh by it, which induced them to throw the buoy overboard. To complete their confusion, a round shot was fired, which reached the shore, and as soon as they landed they ran in search of it. The captain, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander landed upon the island, and the natives in the canoes soon after

came on shore. The gentlemen were in a small cove, and were presently surrounded by nearly four hundred armed natives. The gentlemen marching towards them, drew a line, intimating that they were not to pass it. They did not infringe upon this boundary for some time, but at length they sang a song of defiance, and began to dance, whilst a party attempted to draw the Endeavour's boat on shore; these signals for an attack being followed by the natives breaking in upon the line. The gentlemen now began to defend themselves, and accordingly the captain fired his musket, loaded with small shot, which was seconded by Mr. Banks discharging his piece, and two of the men followed his example. This threw the natives into confusion, and they retreated, but were rallied again by one of the chiefs, who shouted and waved his *patoo-patoo*. The doctor now pointed his musket at this hero, and hit him. This stopped his career, and he took to flight with the other natives. They retired to an eminence in a collected body, and seemed dubious whether they should return to the charge. They were now at too great a distance for a ball to reach them, but these operations being observed from the ship, she brought her broadside to bear, and by firing over them soon dispersed them. Two of the natives were wounded in the skirmish, but none killed. In a cave they found the chief to whom a present had been given earlier in the day, whose brother had been wounded, and for whom great anxiety had been felt.

The inhabitants of an adjacent town approached unarmed, and testified great humility and submission. Some of the party on shore who had been very violent for having the natives punished for their fraudulent conduct, were now guilty of trespasses equally reprehensible, having forced their way into some of the plantations, and dug potatoes. The captain, upon this occasion, showed strict justice in punishing each of the offenders with twelve lashes; one of them being very refractory upon this occasion, and complaining of the hardship, thinking an Englishman had a right to plunder an Indian with impunity, received six additional lashes for his reward.

As it was quite a dead calm on the 30th November two boats were sent to sound the harbour, when many canoes came up and traded with them. The gentlemen went again on shore and met with a very civil reception from the natives; and this friendly intercourse continued all the time they remained in the bay, which was several days. Being upon a

visit to the old chief, he showed them the instruments used in tattooing, which were very like those employed at Otaheite upon the like occasion. They saw the man who had been wounded by the ball who was in no danger.

On Tuesday, 5th December, in the morning they weighed anchor, but were soon becalmed, and a strong current setting towards the shore, they were driven in with such rapidity that they expected every moment to be run upon the breakers, which appeared above water not more than a cable's length distance, and they were so near the land, that Tupaea, who was totally ignorant of the danger, held a conversation with the natives, who were standing on the beach. They were happily relieved, however, from this alarming situation by a fresh breeze springing up from the shore. The bay which they had left was called the Bay of Islands, on account of the numerous islands which line its shores and from several harbours equally safe and commodious. That in which the Endeavour lay was on the south-west side of the south-westernmost island called Moturoa, on the south-east side of the bay.* It was not the season for roots but there were plenty of fish, most of which, however, was purchased from the natives, for the ship's company could catch very little either with net or line. When they showed the natives their seine, which was such as the King's ships are generally furnished with, they laughed at it, and in triumph produced their own, which was indeed of an enormous size, and made of a kind of grass which was very strong. It was five fathoms deep, and by the room it took up could not be less than three or four hundred fathoms long. Fishing indeed seemed to be the chief business of life in that part of the country. About all their towns a great number of nets laid in heaps like hay-cocks, and covered with a thatch to keep them from the weather, and scarcely a house was entered where some of the people were not employed in making nets.

The inhabitants in this bay were far more numerous than in any other part of the country that had been before visited, and though it did not appear that they were united under one head, and their towns were fortified, they seemed to live together in perfect amity.

December 7th several canoes put off and followed the Endeavour, but a breeze arising, the captain did not wait for them. On the 8th the ship tacked and stood in for the shore,

* Cook's anchorage was in line with the Kororareka flag-staff to the summit of Motu Arohia, and about two-thirds over towards that island.

and on the 9th she was about seven leagues to the westward of the Cavallis, and soon after came to a deep bay, which the captain named Doubtless Bay. The wind prevented their putting in here, and being soon after becalmed, they were visited by several canoes from shore, with which they trafficked. From these they learned that they were about two days' sail from Muriwhenua, where the land changed its shape, and instead of extending to the westward, turned to the south, and that to the north-north-west there was an extensive country named Wimaroa, to which some people had sailed in a very large canoe; that only a part of them had returned, and reported that after a passage of a month they had seen a country where the people ate hogs, which they called "Booah," the name given them by the inhabitants of the islands of the South Seas. While the Endeavour was cruising along this coast several plantations of the cloth trees, and some of the kumara were observed.

On the 10th December the land appeared low and barren, but was not destitute of inhabitants. The next morning the Endeavour stood in with the land, which forms a peninsula, and which the captain named the Knuckle Point. Another bay that lies contiguous Captain Cook called Sandy Bay. In the middle of it is a high mountain, which was named Mount Camel, on account of its resembling that animal. Several canoes came off, but could not reach the ship, which now tacked and stood to the northward till the afternoon of the 12th,* when she stood to the north-east. Towards night it began to rain and blow, and in the morning it was so tempestuous as to split the main-topsail and the fore-mizen-topsail. Early in the morning of the 14th they saw land to the southward, and on the 15th they tacked and stood to the westward. Next day they discovered land from the mast-head to the south-south-west, and on the 16th came off the northern extremity of New Zealand, which the captain called North Cape. Their situation varied but little till the 24th, when they discovered land, which they judged to be the islands of the Three Kings. Mr. Banks went out in the small boat, and caught some birds that greatly resembled geese, which were very good eating.

* M. de Surville, in the St. Jean Baptiste, sighted New Zealand on the 12th of December, 1769, and on the 17th anchored in Doubtless Bay, which Cook had left only eight days before. As de Surville came from the north-east, the two vessels must almost have been within sight of each other during the time that Cook was making the passage from Doubtless Bay to the North Cape.

On the 27th it blew very hard from the east all day, accompanied with heavy showers of rain, and they brought the ship under a reefed mainsail. On the 30th they saw land bearing north-east, which was thought to be Cape Maria Van Diemen; but the sea being very boisterous they did not venture to approach it, but tacked about and stood to the north-west.

January 1st, 1770, they tacked and stood to the eastward, and on the 3rd they saw land again. It was high and flat, and tended away to the south-east, beyond the reach of the naked eye. It is remarkable that the Endeavour was three weeks in making ten leagues to the westward, and five weeks in getting fifty leagues, for at this time, the narrator says, "it was so long since we passed Cape Brett. During the gale we were happily at a considerable distance from the land; otherwise it is probable that we should never have returned to relate our adventures."*

On the morning of the 4th they stood along the shore. The coast appeared sandy and barren, dreary and inhospitable. Steering northward on the 6th, they saw land again, which they imagined to be Cape Maria. On the 7th they had light breezes, and were sometimes becalmed. They saw a sun-fish, short and thick in figure, with two large fins, but scarcely any tail, resembling a shark in colour and size. They continued steering east till the 9th, when they perceived land, and were soon after abreast of a point which Captain Cook named Woody Head. From the south-west there is a small island, which the captain called Gannet Island. Another point remarkably high to the east-north-east the captain named Albatross Point, on the north side of which a bay is formed which promised good anchorage. At about two leagues distance from Albatross Point, to the north-east, they discovered a remarkably high mountain, in appearance resembling the peak of Teneriffe, the summit of which was covered with snow, and it was named Mount Egmont. The coast forms an extensive cape, which the captain called Cape Egmont, in honour of the Earl of that name.

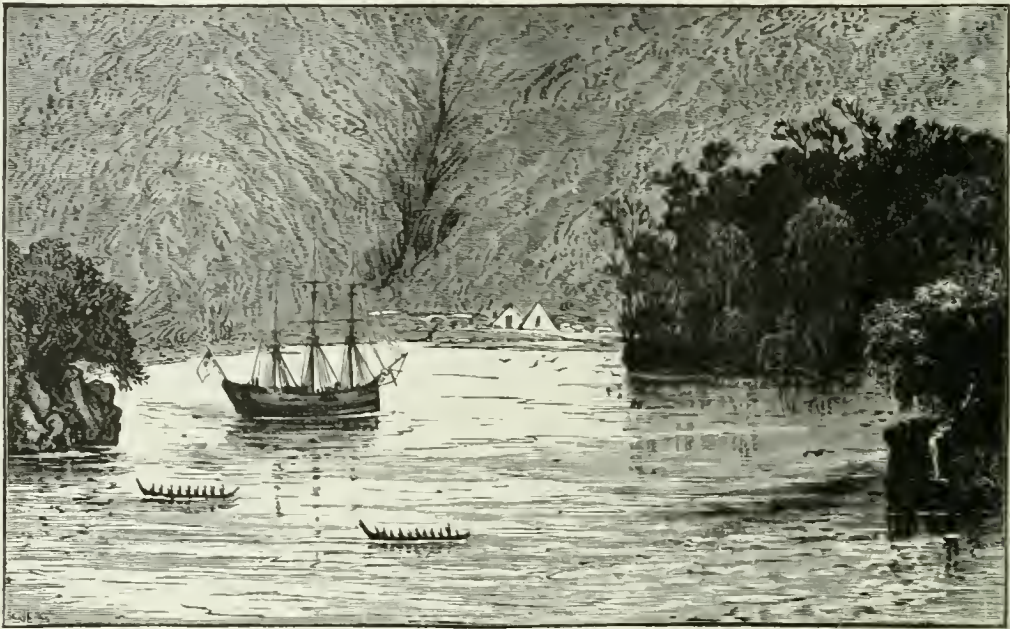
On Sunday, the 14th, the coast (at Rangitiki and Manawatu) inclining more southerly land was seen (D'Urville's Island), for which they hauled up. The shore at this place appeared to form several bays, and into one of them it was proposed to carry the ship, which had become very foul, in order to careen her,

* De Surville experienced this gale while in Chevalier Bay, as he called Doubtless Bay. The ship dragged her anchor and narrowly escaped being driven ashore.

and receive a supply of wood and water. Accordingly, on the 15th, they steered for an inlet, when it being almost a calm the ship was carried very near the shore, but got clear with the assistance of the boats. The captain sent the pinnace to examine a small cove that appeared, but soon after recalled her, on seeing the natives launch and arm their canoes. They saw while here a sea-lion, a very curious creature, and answering the description given of it in Lord Anson's voyage. The Endeavour anchored in a commodious part of the bay.* In sailing towards this spot a native town was descried, when the inhabitants waved their hands, seemingly to invite the Endeavour's

men now went on shore, where they met with plenty of wood and water, and were very successful in fishing.

On the 16th the Endeavour's people were engaged in careening her, when three canoes came off, having on board above a hundred men, and brought several of their women with them. This circumstance was judged a favourable presage of their peaceable disposition, but they soon gave proofs of the contrary by attempting to stop the long-boat that was sent on shore for water, when Captain Cook had recourse to the old expedient of firing some shot, which intimidated them for the present; but soon after one of them snatched some



Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte Sound.

people to land. In passing the point of the bay, they observed an armed sentinel on duty, who was twice relieved. Four canoes came from the shore to visit the ship, but none of the natives would venture on board, except an old man, who seemed of elevated rank. His countrymen took great pains to prevent his coming on board, but they could not divert him from his purpose, and he was received with the utmost civility. Tupaea and the old man joined noses, according to the custom of the country, and after receiving several presents, he returned to his associates, when they began to dance and laugh, and soon after retired. The captain and some of the gentle-

* Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte Sound.

paper from the Endeavour's people, who were trading with them, and brandishing his *patoo-patoo*, put himself in a threatening posture, upon which it was judged expedient to fire some shot at him, which wounded him in the knee. This put a stop to their trading, but Tupaea still conversed with them, and asked them if they had ever before seen a ship as large as the Endeavour, to which they replied they had not, nor had they ever heard of such a vessel upon the coast. There is great plenty of fish in all the coves of this bay. The inhabitants catch their fish as follows: Their net is cylindrical, extended by several hoops at the bottom, and contracted at the top; the fish going in to feed upon what is put into the

net, are caught in great abundance. Birds of various kinds are found here in great numbers. An herb, a species of *Philadelphus*, was used here instead of tea, and a plant called teegoomenee, resembling rug clothes, served the natives for garments. The women who accompanied the men in their canoes wore a head dress composed of black feathers tied in bunch on the top of the head, which greatly increased their height.

The manner of disposing of their dead is very different from what is practised in the South Sea islands. They tie a large stone to the body and throw it into the sea. The captain, Mr. Banks, and the doctor visited another cove about two miles from the ship. There was a family of natives who were greatly alarmed at the approach of these gentlemen, all running away except one; but upon Tupaea's conversing with him, the others returned. They found, by the provisions of this family, that they were cannibals, here being several human bones that had been lately dressed and picked; and it appeared that a short time before six of their enemies having fallen into their hands, they had killed four and eaten them, and that the other two were drowned in endeavouring to make their escape. They made no secret of this custom, but answered Tupaea, who was desired to ascertain the fact, with great composure that his conjectures were just; that they were the bones of a man, and testified by signs that they thought human flesh delicious food. Upon being asked why they had not eaten the body of the woman that had been floating upon the water, they answered that she had died of a disorder, and that, moreover, she was related to them, and they never ate any but their enemies. There was a woman in this family whose arms and legs were cut in a shocking manner, and it appeared that she had thus wounded herself because her husband had lately been killed and eaten by the enemy. Some of the natives brought four skulls one day to sell, which they rated at a very high price. The brains had been taken out, but the skull and hair remained. They seemed to have been dried by fire in order to preserve them from putrefaction. The tail of a canoe which had been made of a human skull was also seen. On the whole, the ideas of these natives were so brutish that they seemed to pride themselves upon their cruelty.

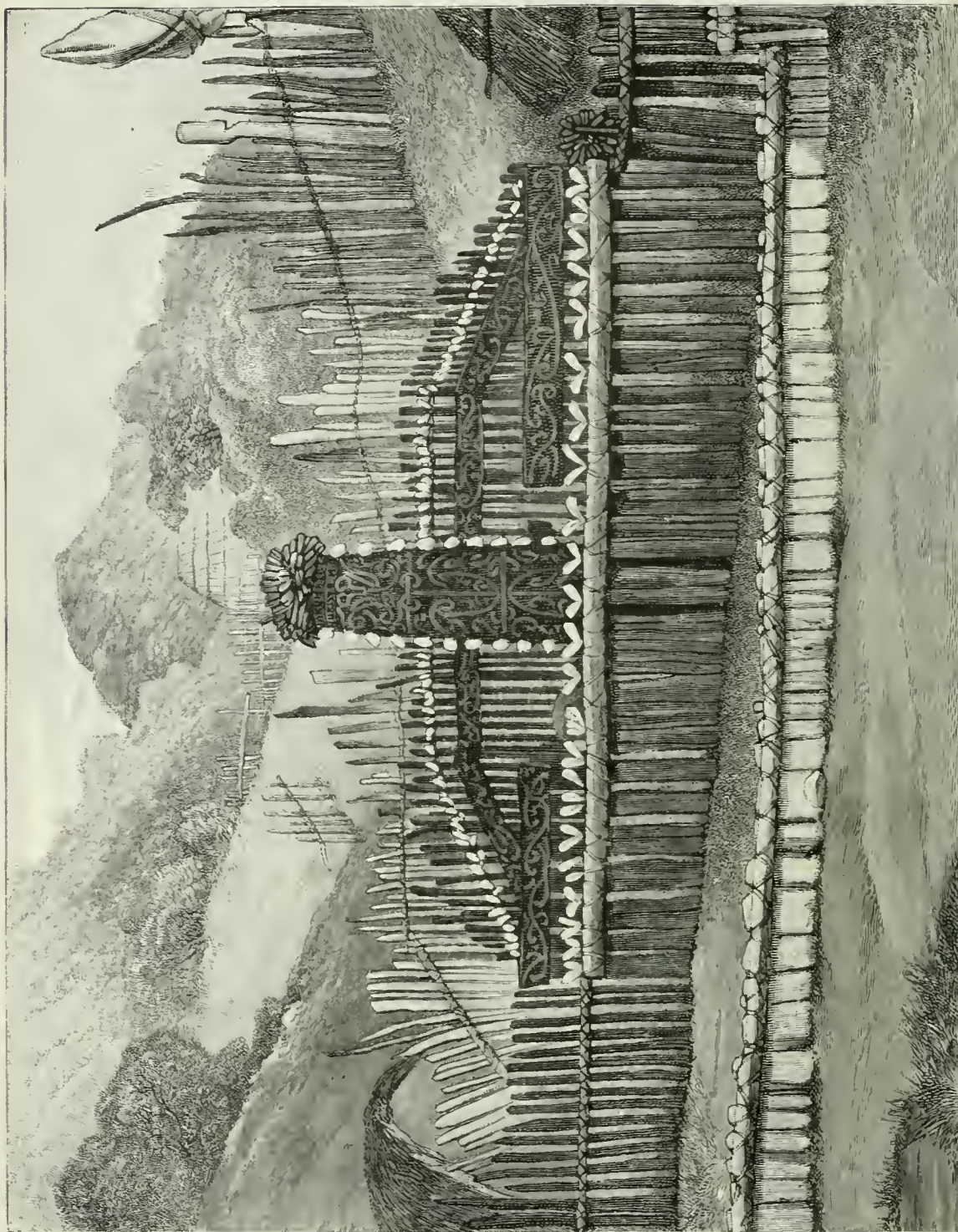
On the 17th January the ship was visited by a canoe from the pa or village; it contained among others the aged native who had first visited the English upon their arrival. In a

conference Tupaea had with him he testified his apprehensions that their enemies would very soon visit them and repay the compliment for killing and eating the four men.

On the 18th the ship received no visit from the natives, but a party which went out in the pinnace to inspect the bay saw a man in a canoe fishing. It was remarkable that this man did not pay the least attention to the people in the pinnace, but continued to pursue his employment even when they came alongside of him, without once looking at them. He did not, however, appear to be either sullen or stupid. When requested to draw up his net that it might be examined, he readily complied. It was of circular form extended by two hoops, and above seven or eight feet in diameter, the top was open, and the bait was fastened at the bottom of the net. This he let down so as to lie upon the sea bottom, and when he thought fish enough were assembled over it, he drew it up by a very gentle and easy motion so that the fish rose with it, scarcely sensible that they were lifted till they came to the surface of the water and they were brought out by a sudden jerk. Fish were bartered for nails.

On the 20th Mr. Banks purchased a man's head, which the possessor seemed unwilling to part with. The skull had been fractured by a blow, and the brains extracted. Like the others, it was preserved from putrefaction. From the care with which they kept these skulls, and the reluctance with which they bartered any, it was imagined they were considered trophies of war and testimonials of their valour.

The 22nd was employed by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander in collecting plants, whilst Captain Cook made some observations on the mainland on the south-east side of the inlet, which consisted of a chain of high hills, and formed part of the south-west side of the strait. He also discovered a village, and many houses that had been deserted, and another village that appeared to be inhabited. There were many small islands round the coast that seemed entirely barren. On the 24th they visited a pa, which was situated on a very high rock, hollow underneath, forming a fine natural arch, one side of which was joined to the land and the other rose out of the sea. This pa was partly surrounded by palisadoes, and it had a small fighting stage towards that part of the rock where access was least difficult. The people here brought several human bones for sale, for the curiosity of obtaining cannibal relics had rendered such



Tomb of the Chief Huriwenua, Queen Charlotte Sound.
(See page 35.)

memorials a kind of article of trade. In one part of this village was observed with surprise a cross exactly like that of a crucifix; it was adorned with feathers, and upon inquiry being made for what purpose it had been set up, the natives replied that it was a monument for a man who was dead. To the inquiry how the body of the man had been disposed of, to whose memory the cross had been erected, they refused to answer.*

On the 25th the captain, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander went on shore to shoot, when they met with a courteous reception from the natives. The next day they went to take a view of the strait that passed between the eastern and western seas, and accordingly ascended the summit of a hill, but it being cloudy weather they could not see at a considerable distance. Here, however, they erected a pile, leaving in it musket balls, small shot, beads, etc., as a testimonial of this place having been visited by Europeans. They also visited another pa upon a rock that was almost inaccessible. It consisted of about ninety houses and a fighting stage.

The ship's company were on the 27th and 28th engaged in making necessary repairs and getting ready for sea. The doctor and Mr. Banks often went ashore whilst the ship was preparing for sea, and made several observations on the coast to the north-west. They perceived an island at about ten leagues distance, between which and the main there

* Some of the Maori tombs were ornamented with structures of a very elaborate character. Angas, describing the tomb of the chief Huriwenua, at Queen Charlotte Sound, sketched by him in 1844, says:—"At a small and now entirely deserted pa on the shores of Tory Channel, not far distant from the entrance of Queen Charlotte Sound, stands the recent tomb of Huriwenua, a late celebrated chief of the Nga-ti-toa tribe. The enclosure, which presents an imposing appearance from its being coloured red, is situated in the centre of the pa. A double row of palings, or fence work, surround the 'wahi tapu,' or sacred place of the dead. These are ornamented, at intervals, with the white feathers of the albatross, placed crosswise where the stakes are fastened together by means of flax. Within the inner enclosure is an upright monument composed of a portion of a canoe, decorated at the summit with a profusion of kaka feathers, and richly painted with red and black in arabesque spirals. At the top is the name of the chief, with the date of his decease. The body lies buried beneath the upright canoe, enclosed between two smaller canoes, wrapped in the choicest mats, and ornamented with the feathers of a huia. Since the period of the erection of this tomb the whole village has been made tapu, and no native dare venture upon the sacred ground under any pretence whatever. My visit to this spot for the purpose of making the drawing of the tomb which is given on the plate, was made from the water by stealth, and was attended with difficulty and danger."

were several smaller islands. The captain also went on shore and erected another pyramid of stones, in which he put some bullets, beads, etc., as before, with the addition of a piece of silver coin, and placed part of an old pendant on to the top, to distinguish it. Some of the people who had been sent out to gather celery, met with several of the natives, among whom were some women whose husbands had lately fallen into the hands of the enemy, and they were cutting many parts of their bodies in a most shocking manner with sharp stones in testimony of their excessive grief.

On Thursday, the 30th, two posts were erected, inscribed with the ship's name, etc. One was placed at the watering place with the Union flag upon it, and the other in the same manner as on the island of Motuara, and the inhabitants being informed that these posts were meant as memorials of the Endeavour having touched at this place, promised never to destroy them. The captain then named this inlet Queen Charlotte Sound, and took possession of it in the name and for the use of His Majesty King George the Third. They then drank a bottle of wine to His Majesty's health, and gave the bottle to the old man who had attended them up the hill and who was mighty delighted with his present.

The captain made the old man some presents, and on being questioned concerning a passage into the eastern sea, said there was certainly such a passage, and that the land to the south-west of the strait where he then was consisted of two islands named Tavai poenammoo,* and that it would take about two days to sail round them. He added that the third island to the north of the strait was called Eaheinomauwe, which was of a considerable extent, and that the land contiguous to this inlet was called Terawhiti.

The 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of February were chiefly spent in preparing for departure and purchasing fish of the natives, who confirmed

* Since the days of Cook the North Island has been named on old maps *Eu hei no mauwe*, and the Middle Island *Tavai poenammoo*. These names originated thus—When the great navigator asked the natives the name of the North Island he was told that it was 'a thing fished from the sea by Maui,'—*He mea hi no Maui*; and that the Middle Island was *Te wahi pounamu*; or, the place of the greenstone.—*Thompson*.

The name Tovy Poenammoo; or, as it would now be written, Te Wai-pounamu, meaning the Pounamu-water, is, as Captain Cook suspected, "only the name of a particular place [probably Lake Wakatipu] where the natives got the green talc, or stone, of which they made their ornaments and tools, and not a general name for the whole southern districts."—*Shortland*.

the accounts given respecting an eastern passage and the adjacent islands. The ship was got under sail on the 5th, but the wind not continuing, the anchor was again dropped. The old native came on board to bid them farewell, and being questioned whether he had ever heard that such a vessel as the Endeavour had touched there, he answered in the negative; and added, there was a tradition of a small vessel coming from a place called Ulimaroa (a distant country to the north), that there were only four men in her, and that they were all put to death.

On the 6th of February, in the morning, the Endeavour sailed out of the bay, which the ship's company, from an abhorrence of the brutish custom that prevails here of eating men, called Cannibal Bay. They bent their course to an opening to the east; in the evening, being in the mouth of the straits, they were becalmed. The two points which form this entrance were named Cape Koamaroo and Point Jackson. The natives called the land about it Totaranui, and the harbour, which the captain named Ship Cove, is very safe and commodious.

About this sound the number of the natives did not seem to be above four hundred, they lived on fern-root and fish, and are scattered along the coast. Fish, which was the only commodity that they traded in, they bartered for nails, having apparently a knowledge of iron, often giving nails the preference to any other things that were presented them. When they found that paper was not waterproof, they soon rejected that article, nor did they set much value upon the cloth of Otaheite, but were well pleased with that of English manufacture. English broadcloth and red Jersey were in high repute.

Leaving the sound, the Endeavour steered eastward, and her people were carried by the current very close to one of the two islands that lie off Cape Koamaroo at the entrance of the sound. At this time the vessel was in the greatest danger, so that those on board expected destruction. However, after veering out one hundred and sixty fathoms of cable, she was brought up when the rocks were not above two cables' length distant. Thus situated, they were obliged to wait for the tide's ebbing, which did not take place till after midnight. They weighed anchor at eight o'clock in the morning, and a fresh breeze afterwards carried them through the strait with great swiftness. There is a small island at the mouth of it, which the captain called Entry Island. The narrowest part of

this strait lies between Cape Terawhiti and Cape Koamaroo, the distance being judged five leagues. They were now facing a deep bay, which was called Cloudy Bay, at a distance of about three leagues from land.

As some on board doubted whether Eahienomauwe were an island, the vessel steered south-east in order to clear up this doubt. The wind shifting, she stood eastward, and steered north-east by east all night. The next morning they were off Cape Palliser, and found that the land stretched away to the north-eastward of Cape Turnagain. In the afternoon three canoes came off. The natives on board made a good appearance, and were ornamented like those on the northern coast. There was no difficulty in persuading them to come on board. As they asked for nails, it was concluded that they had heard of the English by means of the inhabitants of some of the other places at which the Endeavour had touched.

Their dress resembled that of the natives of Hudson's Bay. One old man was tattooed in a very particular manner, he had likewise a red streak across his nose, and his hair and beard were remarkable for their whiteness. The upper garment that he wore was made of flax, and had a wrought border; under this was a sort of petticoat made of a native cloth. Teeth and greenstones decorated his ears, he spoke in a soft and low key, and it was concluded from his deportment that he was a person of distinguished rank among his countrymen.

Captain Cook having parted from them, steered coastwise along the shore to the north-east until eleven o'clock on Friday, the 9th. It was then clearly demonstrated that Eahienomauwe was really an island, and they hauled their wind to the eastward, and at four o'clock tacked and stood to the south-west until the 14th of February, when above sixty natives in four double canoes came within a stone's throw of the ship, which they surveyed with much surprise. Tupaea endeavoured to persuade them to come nearer, but this they could not be prevailed on to do. On this account the land from which they had put off, and which resembled an island, was denominated Looker's On. Five leagues distant from the coast of Tavai poenammoo they saw an island, which was named after Mr. Banks. A few natives appeared on it, and in one place some smoke was seen, so that it was plain the place was inhabited. Mr. Banks going out in his boat for the purpose of shooting, killed some of the Port Egmont hens,

which were like those found on the island of Faro, and the first that had been seen upon this coast. A point of land was observed on Sunday, the 25th, to which Captain Cook gave the name of Cape Saunders, in honour of Admiral Saunders.

On March 4th they saw some whales and seals, as they had done several times since passing Cook Strait, but no seals were seen while they were upon the coast of the North Island.

On the 9th they saw a ledge of rocks, and soon after another at three leagues distance from the shore, which were passed in the night to the northward, and at daybreak observed the others under their bows, which was a fortunate escape, and in consideration of their having been so nearly caught among these, they were called The Traps. The land in sight, which had the appearance of an island (it was Stewart Island, appeared about five miles from the main, and the southernmost point, which was found to be the southern portion of the coast, was named South Cape. Proceeding northward the next day they fell in with a barren rock about fifteen miles from the mainland, which was very high, and appeared to be about a mile in circumference, and this they denominated Solander's Island.

They discovered a bay containing several islands on the 13th, where they concluded, if there was depth of water, shipping might find shelter from all winds. Dusky Bay was the appellation given to it by the captain, and

five high-peaked rocks for which it was remarkable, caused the point to be called Five Fingers. The westernmost point of land upon the whole coast to the southward of Dusky Bay, they called West Cape. The next day they passed a small narrow opening, where there seemed to be a good harbour, *i.e.*, Doubtful Inlet.

On the 16th March they passed a point which consisted of high red cliffs, and received the name of Cascade Point on account of several small streams which fell down it. Thus they passed the whole north-west coast of the Middle Island, which had, they considered, nothing worthy of observation but a ridge of naked and barren rocks covered with snow. From this uncomfortable country they determined to depart, having sailed round the whole of its shore. Captain Cook, therefore, went on shore, and having found a site proper for mooring the ship, and a good watering place, preparations were made for departure.

They took their departure on the 31st March, from an eastern point of land, to which they gave the name of Cape Farewell, denominating the bay out of which they sailed Admiralty Bay, and two capes, Cape Stephens and Cape Jackson the names of the two secretaries of the Admiralty Board. They called a bay between the island and Cape Farewell, Blind Bay, which was supposed to have been the same that was called Murderers' Bay by Tasman.

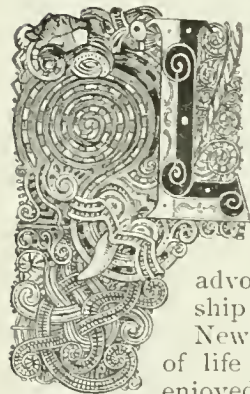


Maori Carving Knife or Saw.



COOK'S VISITS ON HIS SECOND AND THIRD VOYAGES.

Dr. Franklin's scheme for a New Zealand expedition—Cook's second voyage—Departure of the Resolution and Adventure—Arrival of the Resolution at Dusky Bay—Intercourse with the natives there—Peace offerings—Departure for Queen Charlotte Sound—The Adventure found at anchor there—Gardens planted with vegetables—Poultry sent ashore—Departure of the two ships—Cook's return in October—Horrible proofs of cannibal practices—Cook's departure from Queen Charlotte Sound and return after a twelvemonth's cruise—Fears of the natives and vague stories of killing—Evidence of the successful acclimatisation of pigs and fowls—Customs of the natives—Final departure of the Resolution from the Sound—The cruise of the Adventure—Massacre of a boat's crew—The massacre avenged by Mr. Burney—Cook's third voyage—Further observations on the natives—Evidence that New Zealand was visited before Cook's first arrival in the Endeavour.



LEUTENANT COOK'S discoveries were made known soon after his return to England, where he arrived from his first voyage on the 12th of June, 1771, for we find in August of that year the celebrated Dr. Franklin advocating the charter of a ship to send to the people of New Zealand the conveniences of life which Englishmen then enjoyed. He communicated his sentiments in the following characteristic manner:—

“ Britain is said to have produced originally nothing but ‘sloes.’ What vast advantages have been communicated to her by the fruits, seeds, roots, herbage, animals, and arts of other countries! We are, by their means, become a wealthy and mighty nation, abounding in all good things. Does not some duty hence arise from us towards other countries still remaining in their former state?

“ Britain is now the first maritime power in the world. Her ships are innumerable, capable by their form, size, and strength of sailing all seas. Her seamen are equally bold, skilful, and hardy; dextrous in exploring the remotest

regions, and ready to engage in voyages to unknown countries, though attended with the greatest dangers. The inhabitants of those countries, our fellow men, have canoes only. Not knowing iron, they cannot build ships. They have little astronomy, and no knowledge of the compass to guide. They cannot therefore come to us, or obtain any of our advantages. From these circumstances, does not some duty seem to arise from us to them? Does not Providence, by these distinguishing favours, seem to call on us to do something ourselves for the common interests of humanity? Those who think it their duty to ask bread and other blessings daily from Heaven, should they not think it equally a duty to communicate those blessings when they have received them, and show their gratitude to their Great Benefactor by the only means in their power, promoting the happiness of His other children? Ceres is said to have made a journey through many countries to teach the use of corn, and the art of raising it. For this single benefit the grateful nations deified her. How much more many Englishmen deserve such honour by communicating the knowledge and use, not of corn only, but of all the other enjoyments earth can produce, and which they are now in possession of. Many voyages have been undertaken with views of profit or plunder, or to gratify resentment; to procure some

advantage to ourselves, or to do some mischief to others; but a voyage is now proposed to visit a distant people on the other side of the globe, not to cheat them, not to rob them, not to seize their lands, or enslave their persons, but merely to do them good, and enable them, as far as in our power lies, to live as comfortably as ourselves. It seems a laudable wish that all the nations of the earth were connected by a knowledge of each other, and a mutual exchange of benefits; but a commercial nation particularly should wish for a general civilization of mankind, since trade is always carried on to a much greater extent with people who have the arts and conveniences of life than it can be with naked savages. We may therefore hope, in this undertaking, to be of some service to our country, as well as to those poor people who, however distant from us, are in truth related to us, and whose interests do, in some degree, concern everyone who can say *Homo sum, etc.*"

Dr. Franklin's scheme was to fit out a ship, under command of Alexander Dalrymple, by subscription, to convey the conveniences of life, as fowls, dogs, goats, cattle, corn, iron, etc., to those remote regions which were destitute of them, and to bring from thence such productions as could be cultivated in the United Kingdom to the advantage of society. It was estimated that the cost of a barque from the coal trade would be £2,000; extra expenses, stores, boats, etc., £3,000; wages of seventy men at £4 a month for three years, £8,640. The total cost, including cargo, to be £15,000. Every person who subscribed £100 was to become a trustee; and it was provided that as this was not a scheme for profit, any money that might be derived from barter should be applied for the creation of a fund for the future prosecution of the same plan, which was deemed so extensive that proper objects could never be wanting. Dr. Franklin's scheme, not appealing to the cupidity of the people, failed to elicit an adequate response, and it never came to maturity. But Captain Cook, in his subsequent voyages, did his best to carry out the objects which Franklin had in view, by the efforts he made, and which are described hereafter, to acclimatise animals and useful plants in New Zealand.

The vessels selected for Captain Cook's second Southern voyage were the *Resolution*, commanded by Cook, and the *Adventure* under the command of his colleague, Captain Tobias Furneaux. In condensing the records of this voyage, the method pursued in collating the most important details of the first voyage, has

been followed, the chronicler's own words being used through the greater part of the narrative.

The *Resolution* and *Adventure* sailed from Plymouth on the 13th April, 1772. The two ships became separated between the Cape of Good Hope and New Zealand, and Captain Cook in the *Resolution* proceeded south in search of a southern continent. He went as far south as 60° 37', but finding the season too far advanced to pursue this course, he turned northward, and sighted New Zealand on March 25, 1773, entering Dusky Bay the day following.

On the 27th Captain Cook moved to Pickersgill Harbour, and entered a channel scarcely twice the width of the ship, and in a small creek moored head and stern so near the shore as to reach it with a stage; the ship's yards were locked in the branches of the trees, and above a hundred yards from the stern was a stream of fresh water.

Some of the officers, on the 28th, went up the bay on a shooting party, but discovering inhabitants, returned before noon. Hitherto natives had not been seen. The boating party had but just got aboard when a canoe appeared off a point about a mile off, and soon after returned behind the point out of sight, probably owing to a shower of rain which then fell, for it was no sooner over than the canoe again appeared and came within musket shot of the ship. There were in it seven or eight people. They remained looking at the ship for some time, and then returned. All the signs of friendship that were made did not prevail upon them to come nearer. After dinner Captain Cook took two boats and went in search of the natives in the cove where they were first seen. He found a canoe hauled upon the shore, near to two small huts, where were several fireplaces, some fishing nets, a few fish lying on the shore, and some in the canoe, but saw no people.

On the 1st of April Captain Cook went to see if any of the articles he had left for the natives were taken away, but found everything in the canoe, nor did it appear that anybody had been there since.

On the 6th three of the natives, one man and two women, discovered themselves. The ship's boat would have passed without the natives being seen, had not the man hallooed. He stood with his club in his hand upon the point of a rock, and behind him, at the skirts of the wood, stood two women, with each of them a spear. The man could not help manifesting great signs of fear when the ship's boat

approached the rock. He, however, stood firm, nor did he move to take up some things that were thrown ashore. At length Captain Cook landed, went up and embraced him, and presented him with such articles as he had about him, which at once dissipated the native's fears.

Captain Cook, in describing this interview, observes:—"Presently we were joined by the two women, the gentlemen that were with me, and some of the seamen. We presented them with fish and fowl which we had with us, but these they threw into the boat again, giving us to understand that such things they wanted not. Night approaching obliged us to take leave, when the youngest of the two women, whose

whole family from place to place, lay in a small creek near the huts. When we took leave the chief presented me with a piece of cloth or garment of their own manufacturing, and some other trifles. I at first thought it was meant as a return for the present I had made him, but he soon undeceived me by expressing a desire for one of our boat cloaks. I took the hint, and ordered one to be made him of red baize as soon as I got aboard, where rainy weather detained me the following day.

"On Friday, the 9th, being fair weather, we paid the natives another visit, and made known our approach by hallooing to them, but they neither answered us nor met us at the shore as usual. The reason of this we soon saw, for we



From original sketches in Cook's voyages.

Family in Dusky Bay.

volubility of tongue exceeded everything I ever met with, gave us a dance, but the man viewed us with great attention. Next morning I made the natives another visit, and now we saw the whole family—the man, his two wives (as we supposed), the young woman before mentioned, a boy about fourteen years old, and three small children, the youngest of which was at the breast. They were all well-looking, except one woman, who had a large wen on her upper lip, and she seemed on that account to be in a great measure neglected by the man. They conducted us to their habitation, which was but a little way within the skirts of the wood, and consisted of two mean huts made of the bark of trees. Their canoe, which was a small double one just large enough to transport the

found them at their habitations, all dressed in their very best, with their hair combed and oiled, tied up upon the crowns of their heads, and stuck with feathers. Some wore a fillet of feathers round their heads, and all had bunches of white feathers stuck in their ears. Thus dressed and standing they received us with great courtesy. I presented the chief with the cloak I had got made for him; he seemed so well pleased that he took his *patoo-patoo* from his girdle and gave it me. After a short stay we took leave.

"Very heavy rains falling on the two following days, no work was done, but Monday, the 12th, proved clear and serene. About ten o'clock the family of natives paid us a visit. They approached the ship with

great caution. I met them in a boat, which I quitted when I got to them, and went into their canoe. Yet I could not prevail on them to put alongside the ship, and was obliged to leave them to follow their own inclination. They put ashore in a little creek hard by us, and afterwards came and sat down on the shore abreast of the ship, near enough to speak with us. I now caused the bagpipes and fife to play, and the drum to beat. The two first they did not regard, but the latter caused some little attention. Nothing, however, could induce them to come on board.

"It rained all Saturday, the 17th, but the 18th being fair and clear weather, our friends, the natives before mentioned, paid us another visit, and the next morning the chief and his daughter were induced to come on board. Before they did so I showed them our goats and sheep on shore, which they viewed for a moment with a kind of stupid insensibility. After this I conducted them to the stage; but before the chief set his foot upon it to come into the ship, he took a small green branch in his hand, with which he struck the ship's side several times, repeating a speech or prayer. When this was over he threw the branch into the main chains, and came on board. This custom and manner of making peace, as it were, is practised by all the nations in the South Seas that I have seen. I took them both down into the cabin to breakfast. They sat at table with us, but would not taste any of our victuals. The chief wanted to know where we slept, and, indeed, to pry into every corner of the cabin, every part of which he viewed with some surprise. It was not possible to fix his attention to any one thing a single moment. Works of art appeared to him in the same light as those of nature, and were as far removed beyond his comprehension. What seemed to strike them most was the number and strength of our decks and other parts of the ship. The chief, before he came aboard, presented me with a piece of cloth and a green talc hatchet; to Mr. Forster he also gave a piece of cloth, and the girl gave another to Mr. Hodges. This custom of making presents before they receive any is common with the natives of the South Sea Isles, but I never saw it practised in New Zealand before. Of all the various articles I gave my guest, hatchets and spike nails were the most valuable in his eyes. These he never would suffer to go out of his hands, whereas many other articles he would lay carelessly down anywhere, and at last leave them behind him.

"I landed with two others unarmed, two

natives standing about one hundred yards from the water side, with each a spear in his hand. When we three advanced they retired, but stood when I advanced alone. It was some little time before I could prevail upon them to lay down their spears. This at last one of them did, and met me with a grass plant in his hand, one end of which he gave me to hold while he held the other; standing in this manner he began a speech, not one word of which I understood, and made some long pauses, waiting, as I thought, for me to answer, for when I spoke he proceeded. As soon as this ceremony was over, which was not long, we saluted each other. He then took his *hahou* or mat from off his own back and put it upon mine, after which peace seemed firmly established. More people joining us did not in the least alarm them; on the contrary, they saluted every one as he came up.

"I gave to each a hatchet and a knife, having nothing else with me—perhaps these were the most valuable things I could give them, at least they were the most useful. They wanted us to go to their habitation, telling us they would give us something to eat, and I was sorry that the tide and other circumstances would not permit me to accept of their invitation. More people were seen in the skirts of the wood, but none of these joined us; probably these were the wives and children. When we took leave they followed us to our boat, and seeing the muskets lying across the stern, they made signs for them to be taken away, which being done, they came alongside and assisted us to launch her. At this time it was necessary for us to look well after them, for they wanted to take away everything they could lay their hands upon, except the muskets: these they took care not to touch.

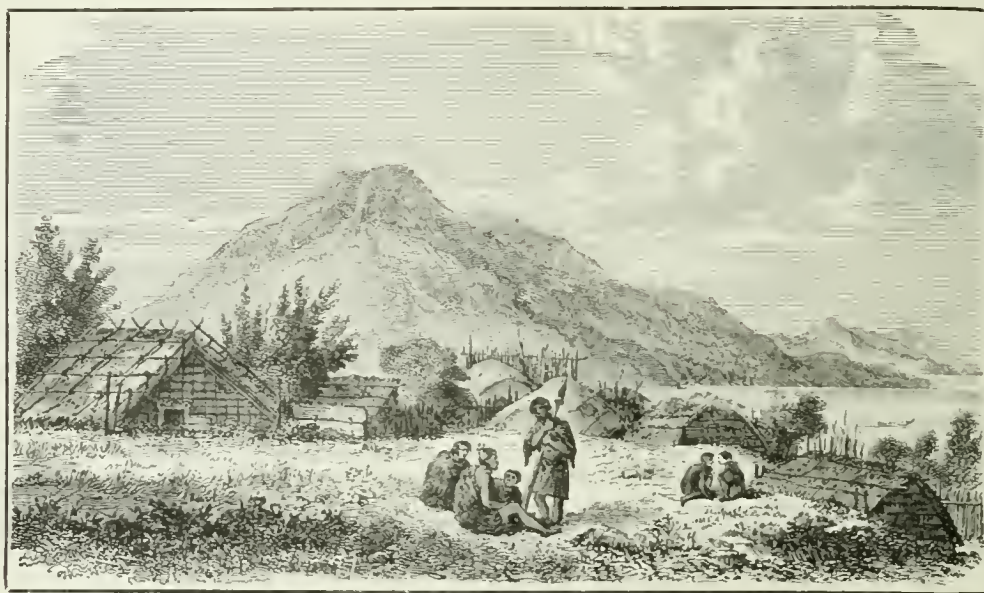
"We saw no canoes or other boats with them; two or three logs of wood tied together served the same purpose, and were, indeed, sufficient for the navigation of the river on the banks of which they lived. There fish and fowl were in such plenty that they had no occasion to go far for food. The whole number at this place, I believe, does not exceed three families. I learnt that the man and his daughter staid on board the day before till noon, and that having understood from our people what things were left in Cascade Cove, the place where they were first seen, he sent and took them away. He and his family remained near us till to-day, when they all went away and we saw them no more. From one and another he did not get less than nine or ten hatchets, three or four times that number

of spike-nails, besides many other articles. So far as these things may be counted riches in New Zealand he exceeds every man there, being at this time possessed of more hatchets and axes than are in the whole country besides."

After leaving Dusky Bay, on May 11th, Cook proceeded to Queen Charlotte Sound, where he arrived on the 18th, and found the *Adventure*, from which he had been separated. On the 19th scurvy grass, celery, and other vegetables were obtained in sufficient quantity for the use of the crews of both ships, and on the 20th there were sent ashore, near the *Adventure's* camp, the only ewe and ram remaining, both of which, however, were found

planted. It was easy to give them an idea of these roots, by comparing them with such as they knew. Two or three families now camped near the ships, and supplied them with fish.

On the 2nd of June Captain Furneaux put on shore in Cannibal Cove a boar and two breeding sows. On the 3rd a boat was sent to cut some spars, which, on returning, was chased by a long double canoe full of people. Early the next morning, about nine o'clock, another large double canoe, in which were twenty or thirty people, appeared in sight, on seeing which the natives on board were much alarmed, saying they were enemies. Those in the canoe, however, paid but little heed to the



From original sketches in Cook's voyages.

Interior of a Maori Hippiah.

dead through eating a poisonous plant on the 22nd. On the morning of the 24th a shooting party was organised, which met on its way a large canoe in which there were fourteen or fifteen people. On Saturday, the 29th, several of the natives visited the ships, bringing with them a quantity of fish, which they exchanged for nails and other things. One of the visitors Cook took over to Motuara, and showed him some potatoes planted there, with which he was so much pleased that, of his own accord, he began to hoe the earth up around the plants. He was next taken to other gardens, and shown the turnips, carrots, and parsnips planted — roots which, together with the potatoes, would be of more use, the narrative says, than all the other articles they had

natives on the vessel, but kept advancing slowly towards the ship, and after performing the usual ceremonies, put alongside, when the chief and many others came on board, and peace was soon established on all sides.

Captain Cook says: "I was not able to recollect the face of any one person I had seen here three years ago, nor had any one of them any knowledge of me or of any person with me. It is probable that the greatest part of the people which inhabited this Sound in the beginning of the year 1770 have been since driven out of it, or removed somewhere else. Certain it is that not one-third of the inhabitants were here now that were then. Their stronghold on the point of Motuara hath been long deserted, and we found many forsaken habi-

tations in all parts of the Sound. After passing about an hour on Motuara with these people, and having distributed among them some presents, and showed to the chief the gardens we had made, I returned on board, and spent the remainder of our royal master's birthday in festivity, having the company of Captain Furneaux and all his officers. Double allowance enabled the seamen to share in the general joy. Both ships being now ready for sea, I gave Captain Furneaux an account in writing of the route I intended to take. On the 7th of June, at four in the morning, the wind being favourable, we unmoored, and at seven weighed and put to sea with the *Adventure* in company."

After visiting Otaheite, the Friendly Islands, and other groups, Cook returned to New Zealand on the 21st of October following, touching at Table Cape, giving pigs, fowls, and seeds to some natives who came off to his ship from Black Head. The *Resolution* and *Adventure* were in company up to this time, but off Cape Palliser stormy weather was encountered, and the two ships separated, Queen Charlotte Sound being appointed the place of rendezvous. On the 2nd November Cook discovered an inlet on the east side of Cape Terawhiti, at the entrance of which he cast anchor, and several of the inhabitants came on board.*

The next day the vessel ran into Ship Cove, where the *Adventure* was not found, as was expected. Here the sails were unbent, and several persons came on board who remembered the *Endeavour* when on the coast. Empty casks were ordered on shore, and necessary repairs were directed to be made. On opening the bread casks a great deal was found damaged, and that which remained good was baked over again to preserve it.

On the 5th one of the natives stole a bag of clothes from a seaman, which was with difficulty recovered. One of the sows put on shore by Captain Furneaux was found, and though the boar and other sow had been removed they had not been killed, though the goats had not been so fortunate. The gardens were flourishing beyond expectation, except the potatoes, which were mainly dug up. Another boar and sow were put on shore, with two cocks and four hens. A large quantity of fish was obtained from the natives, who were frequently detected pocket-picking. Strangers came to visit them and took up their quarters in a cave adjacent to the ship, and decamped the next morning with six small water casks.

* Port Nicholson.

On the 15th a party went to the summit of one of the hills to look fruitlessly for the *Adventure*. On the 22nd the party took one boar and three sows, together with some cocks and hens, into the woods, where they left them with provisions sufficient for ten or twelve days, in the hope that the natives would not discover them till they had bred. The officers having visited some of the whares, found in them human bones from which the flesh appeared to have been lately taken, and on the 23rd, being on shore, they saw the head and bowels of a youth lately killed lying on the beach, his head stuck on a fork and fixed on the fore part of one of the largest canoes. The head was bought and brought on board, where one of the natives broiled and ate it before the whole ship's company. This youth had fallen in a skirmish, as well as several others, but the numbers or cause of the fray was not learned.

The crew for three months past having lived almost entirely on fresh provisions and vegetables, there was not at this time either a sick or scorbutic person on board. Before the sound was left, a memorandum was drawn up and deposited in a bottle in such a place as Captain Furneaux must see if he came back, setting forth the day of departure, and the course it was intended to steer, etc. The sound was left on the 25th of November; the day following they steered south, and on Monday, the 6th December, the voyagers found themselves antipodes to London.

For nearly twelve months Cook wandered over these southern waters, making discoveries of lands or information wherever he travelled, until the 17th October, 1774, Mount Egmont appeared in sight, and on the next day Ship Cove was reached and entered, when the bottle and memorandum left there were sought, but had been taken "away by some person or other." The seine was hauled twice with poor result, and several birds were shot.

On the 19th the ship was warped into the cove and moored, the sails were unbent, the main and fore courses were condemned, and the topmasts struck and unrigged. The forge was set up, and tents erected on shore, and plenty of vegetables were gathered for the use of the crew, and boiled every morning with oatmeal and portable broth for breakfast. From circumstances such as cutting down trees with saws and axes, and a place where an observatory had been set up, it appeared that the *Adventure* had been in the cove since the departure of the *Resolution*.

On the 20th the men began to caulk the ship's sides, and on the 22nd the gardens were



The Ceremony of Hongi, or Pressing Noses.*

visited, and found neglected by the natives to whom they had been given in charge, but yet were found in a flourishing condition. On the 24th two canoes were seen coming down the sound, which retired behind a point when the ship was seen. After breakfast they were searched for, and hearing the guns they discovered themselves by hallooing; but when the Europeans landed and drew near the settlement all the people fled except two or three men, who kept their ground, but retained their weapons. The narrative says:

"The moment we landed they knew us, and their fears subsided. Those who had fled returned from the woods, and embraced us over and over again, and expressed their joy at seeing us by jumping and dancing in a frantic manner; but the men would not suffer some women we saw at a distance to come near us. We made them presents of hatchets and knives, and in return they gave us a quantity of fish they had just caught. The next morning they brought us more fish, which they bartered for Otahitean cloth. We asked them on what account they were afraid of us, and also what was become of our old friends. To these questions we got no satisfactory answers: but they talked much about killing, which was variously understood.

"On Wednesday, the 26th, some of the natives went to the tents and told our people that a ship like ours had lately been lost: that some of the men landed at Vanna Aroa, near Terawhiti, on the other side of the strait; that a dispute happened between them and the natives; that several of the latter were shot; and that the natives got the better of them when they could fire no longer, and both killed and ate them. One of the relaters of this strange tale said it was twenty or thirty days ago, but another said it was two moons since, and described as well as he could in what manner the ship was beat to pieces.

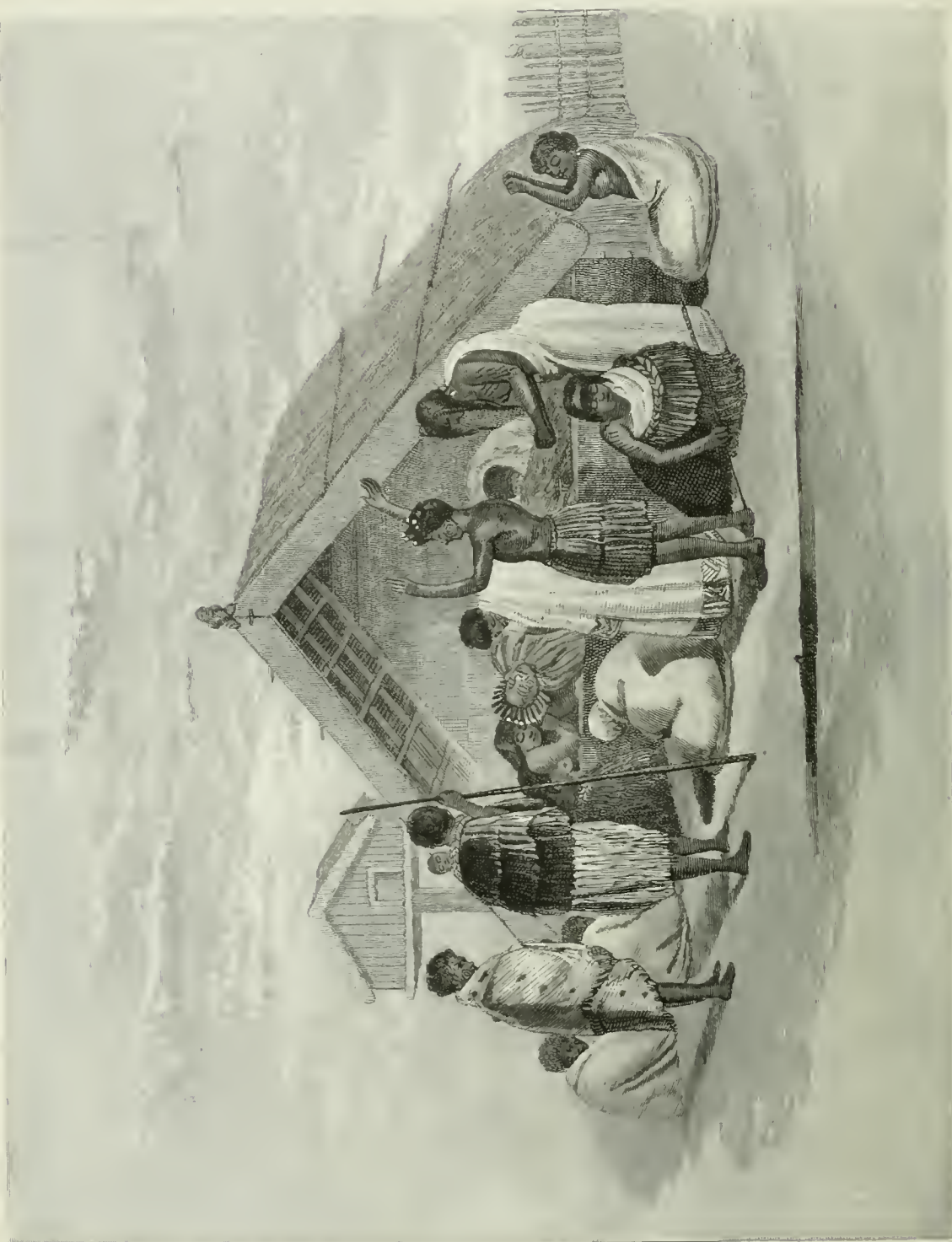
"The following day they told the same story to others, which made the captain, and indeed all of us, very uneasy about the Adventure; but when the captain inquired himself and endeavoured to come at the truth of these reports, the very people who raised them denied every syllable of what they had said, and seemed wholly ignorant of the matter, so that we began to think the whole relation had

reference only to their own people and boats. On the 28th we again went on shore, but found no appearance of the hogs and fowls we had left behind. Having been shooting to the west bay, in our return we got some fish from the natives for a few trifling presents.

"Tuesday, the 1st of November, we were visited by a number of strangers, who came from up the sound. The principal article of trade they brought with them was greenstone, some of which were the largest pieces we had ever seen. On the 3rd, a large black sow was seen by the botanising party, which we discovered to be the same that Captain Furneaux left behind him. Supposing it to be a boar, we carried over to Long Island a sow, but seeing our mistake, we brought her back. This incident afforded us some hopes that this island in time will be stocked with such useful animals. Lieutenant Pickersgill was told the same story by one of the natives of a ship having been lost, but the man declared though many people were killed, it was not by them. On the 5th we obtained a plentiful supply of fish. Early in the morning, Captain Cook, accompanied by Mr Sparrman and the Messrs. Fosters, embarked in the pinnace and proceeded up the sound in order to discover a passage that way out to sea by the south-east. We were met by some fishermen, who all declared that there was no passage by the head of the sound, and soon after four men in a canoe concurred in the same opinion, confirming what the others had said, but they gave us to understand that there was such a passage to the east.

"On Sunday, the 6th, our old friends returned and took up their abode near the tents. An old man named Perero made Captain Cook a present of a staff of honour, such as the chiefs carry, and in return the captain dressed him up in a suit of old clothes which made him very happy. He had a fine person, and his colour only distinguished him from an European. We inquired of him and his companion if the Adventure had been there during our absence, and they gave us to understand that she arrived a little time after our departure, that she staid about twenty days, and had been gone ten moons; and that neither she, nor any other ship had been stranded on the coast. This account made us easy respecting the Adventure, but did not wholly remove our suspicions of some misfortune having happened to other strangers. Besides what has been already related we had been told that a ship had lately been here, and had gone to Terato on the south side of the strait. Perero dined

* The *hongi* (or pressing noses) among the Maoris corresponds with our custom of shaking hands. When friends meet after long separation the *hongi* is prolonged, and is sometimes accompanied by a crooning cry. The illustration on page 44 represents a small pa at Taranaki, with the snow-clad summit of Mount Egmont visible in the distance.



Tanqi over a dead Chief.*

with us, partook heartily of everything set before him, and drank more wine than any one at table without being in the least intoxicated.

"On the 8th we put a boar, a sow, and two pigs on shore near Cannibal Cove, so that we hope all our repeated endeavours to stock this country will not prove fruitless. We found a hen's egg a few days ago, and therefore believe that some of the cocks and hens left here are living.

"On the 9th we unmoored and shifted our station farther out the cove, for the more ready getting to sea, but the caulkers had not finished the sides of the ship, and we could not sail till this work was completed. Our friends brought us a large supply of fish, and, in return, we gave Perero a large empty oil jar, with which he seemed highly delighted. We never saw any of our presents after they received them, and cannot say whether they gave them away, or what they did with them, but we observed every time we visited them they were as much in want of hatchets, nails, etc., as if we had not bestowed any upon them. Notwithstanding these people are cannibals, they are of a good disposition, and have not a little humanity. Very few, we observed, paid any regard to the words or actions of Rengapuhi, though he was represented to us as a chief of some note. In the afternoon we went into one of the coves, where, upon landing, we found two families employed in different manners. Some were making mats, others were sleeping; some were roasting fish and roots, and one girl was employed in heating stones, which she took out of the fire as soon as they were hot, and gave them to an old woman who sat in the hut. The old woman placed them one upon another, laid over them some green celery, and over all a coarse mat; she then squatted herself down on the top of the heap and sat very close. Probably this operation might be intended as a cure for some disorder, to be effected by the steam arising from the green celery, and we perceived the woman seemed very sickly.

"Thursday, November 10th.—At daybreak

* Cook mentions the lamentations which the Maoris keep up for days together over the distinguished dead, and the practice among the women of lacerating themselves in a shocking manner on such occasions. He observed women who had been thus mutilated at Tolago Bay and Queen Charlotte Sound. During the tangi the chief's body is laid out in state, swathed in choice mats, the head being decorated with huia feathers. After the tangi is over the body is buried, and a carved monument is erected over it, but when the flesh has decayed the bones are taken up, scraped, painted red, and placed either in a small canoe or little house elevated on a pole, deposited on a stage at the top of a tree, or hidden in a hollow trunk or cave.

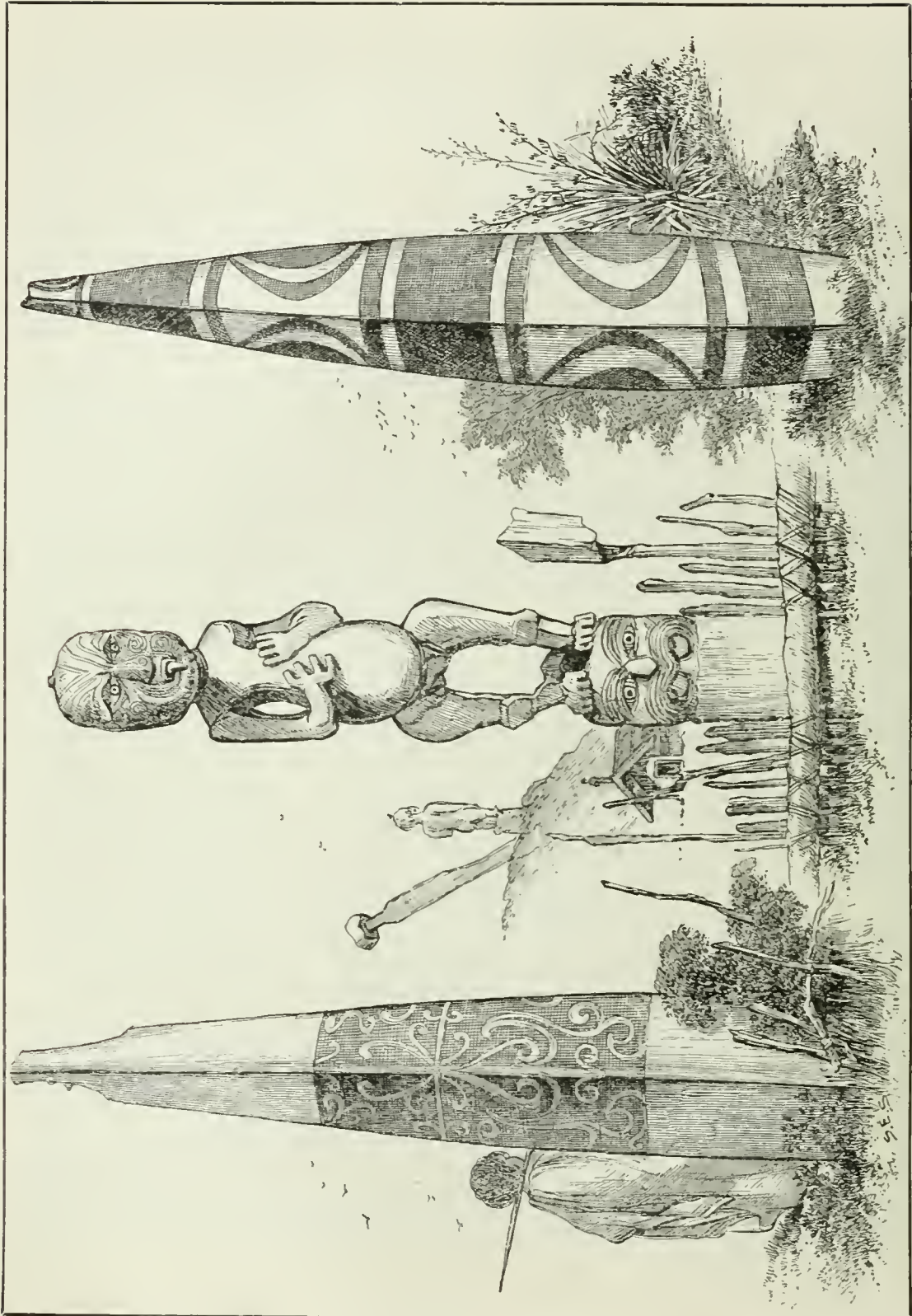
we weighed and sailed from Queen Charlotte's Sound in New Zealand, having a fine breeze at west-north-west, all our sails being set."

Cook returned to England *via* Cape Horn, also calling at the Cape of Good Hope. His second voyage terminated on the 29th July, 1775.

THE CRUISE OF THE ADVENTURE.—MASSACRE OF A BOAT'S CREW.

The separation of the Adventure and the Resolution, as already narrated, was final in a gale off Cape Palliser in October, 1773, and when Captain Cook arrived in England Captain Furneaux placed in his hands the following narrative:—

"In October, 1773, we made the coast of New Zealand, after a passage of fourteen days from Amsterdam Island, and stood along shore till we reached Cape Turnagain, when a heavy storm blew us off the coast for three days successively, in which time we were separated from our consort, the Resolution, and saw her not afterwards in the course of her voyage. On Thursday, the 4th November, we regained the shore near to Cape Palliser. Some of the natives brought us in their canoes abundance of cray-fish and fruit, which they exchanged for our Otaheite cloth, nails, etc. On the 5th the storm again returned, and we were driven off the shore a second time by a violent gale of wind with heavy falls of rain, so that the decks began to leak, our beds and bedding were wet, which gave many of our people colds; and now we were most of us complaining, and all began to despair of ever getting into the sound, or, which we had most at heart, of joining the Resolution. We combated the storm till Saturday, the 6th, when being to the north of the cape, and having a hard gale from the south-west, we bore away for some bay in order to complete our wood and water, of both which articles we were at present in great want. For some days past we had been at the allowance of one quart of water, and it was thought six or seven days more would deprive us even of that scanty pittance. On Tuesday, the 9th, we came abreast of Tolago Bay, and in the forenoon anchored in eleven fathoms water, stiff, muddy ground, which lies across the bay for about two miles. Wood and water are easily procured, except when the wind blows hard easterly, and then, at such times, which are but seldom, they throw in a great sea. The natives about this bay are the same as those at Queen Charlotte Sound, but more numerous, and have regular plantations of sweet potatoes



Maori Tombs.

1. Portion of canoe used as sepulchral monument on small island, Tory Channel, near junction with Queen Charlotte Sound. 2. Monument at Te Awaiti, Cloudy Bay. 3. Tiki, or image, in old pa near Hotoaire Lake. Beyond the tiki a little elevated whata or box for reception of the bones of a favourite child.

and other roots. They have plenty of fish of all sorts, which we purchased with nails, beads, and other trifles. In one of their canoes we saw the head of a woman lying in state, adorned with feathers and other ornaments. It had all the appearance of life, but upon a nearer view we found it had been dried; yet every feature was in due preservation and perfect. We judged it to have been the head of some deceased relative, kept as a relic. It was at an island in this bay where the Endeavour's people observed the largest canoe they met with during their whole voyage. It was, according to account, no less than sixty-eight feet and a-half long, five broad, and three feet six inches high; it had a sharp bottom, consisting of three trunks of trees, hollowed, of which that in the middle was longest; the side planks were sixty-two feet long, in one piece, and were ornamented with carvings, not unlike filigree work, in spirals of very curious workmanship. The extremities thereof were closed with a figure that formed the head of the vessel, in which were two monstrous eyes of mother of pearl and a large shaped tongue; and, as it descended, it still retained the figure of a monster, with hands and feet carved upon it very neatly, and painted red. It had also a high peaked stern, wrought in filigree and adorned with feathers, from the top of which two long streamers depended, made of the same materials, which almost reached the water. From this description we might be tempted to suppose these canoes to be the vessels, and this to be the country lying to the south, of which Quiros received intelligence at Taumai, and where Toabia said they ate men and had such large ships as he could not describe.

"On Friday, 12th, having taken aboard ten tons of water and some wood, we set sail for the Sound, but we were scarcely out when the wind began to blow dead hard on the shore, so that, not being able to clear the land on either tack, we were obliged to return to the bay, where we arrived the next morning, the 13th, and having anchored, we rode out a heavy gale of wind at east by south, attended with a very great sea. We now began to fear the weather had put it out of our power to join our consort, having reason to believe she was in Queen Charlotte Sound, the appointed place of rendezvous, and by this time ready for sea. Part of the crew were now employed in stopping leaks and repairing our rigging, which was in a most shattered condition.

"On the 14th and 15th we hoisted out our boats and sent them to increase our stock of

wood and water, but on the last day the surf rose so high that they could not make the land. On Tuesday, the 16th, having made the ship as snug as possible, we unmoored at three o'clock a.m., and before six got under way. From this time, to the 28th, we had nothing but tempestuous weather, in which our rigging was almost blown to pieces, and our men quite wore down with fatigue. On Monday, the 29th, our water being nearly expended, we were again reduced to the scanty allowance of a quart a man per diem. We continued beating backward and forward till the 30th, when the weather became more moderate, and having got a favourable wind, we were so happy at last as to gain with safety our desired port. After getting through Cook Strait we cast anchor at three o'clock p.m. in Queen Charlotte Sound. We saw nothing of the Resolution, and began to doubt her safety; but, upon having landed, we discovered the place where she had pitched her tents; and, upon further examination, on an old stump of a tree, we read these words cut out, 'Look underneath.' We complied instantly with these instructions, and digging, soon found a bottle corked and waxed down, wherein was a letter from Captain Cook informing us of their arrival at this place on the 3rd instant, and departure on the 24th, and that they intended spending a few days in the entrance of the straits to look for us. We immediately set about the necessary repairs of the ship, with an intention of getting her to sea as soon as possible.

"On the 1st December the tents were carried on shore, the armourer's forge put up, and every preparation made for the recovery of the sick. The coopers were despatched on shore to mend the casks, and we began to unstow the hold to get at the bread, but upon opening the casks, we found a great quantity of it entirely spoiled, and most part so damaged that we were obliged to bake it over again, which unavoidably delayed us some time. At intervals, during our stay here, the natives came on board as usual, with great familiarity. They generally brought fish, or whatever they had, to barter with us, and seemed to behave with great civility, though twice in one night they came to the tents with an intention of stealing, but were discovered before they had accomplished their design. A party also came down during the night of the 13th and robbed the astronomer's tent of everything they could carry away. This they did so quietly that they were not so much as heard or suspected, till the astronomer getting up to make an obser-

vation, missed his instruments, and charged the sentinel with the robbery. This brought on a pretty severe altercation, during which they spied an Indian creeping from the tent, at whom Mr. Bailey fired, wounding him; nevertheless he made a shift to retreat into the woods. The report of the gun had alarmed his confederates, who, instead of putting off from the shore, fled into the woods, leaving their canoe, with most of the things that had been stolen, aground on the beach. This petty larceny, it is probable, laid the foundation of that dreadful catastrophe which soon after happened.

"On Friday, the 17th, we sent out our large cutter, manned with seven seamen, under the command of Mr. John Rowe, the first mate, accompanied by Mr. Woodhouse, midshipman, and James Tobias Swilley, the carpenter's servant. They were to proceed up the Sound to Grass Cove to gather greens and celery for the ship's company, with orders to return that evening; for the tents had been struck at two in the afternoon, and the ship made ready for sailing the next day. Night coming on, and no cutter appearing, the captain and others began to express great uneasiness. They sat up all night in expectation of their arrival, but to no purpose. At daybreak, therefore, the captain ordered the launch to be hoisted out. She was double manned, and under the command of our second lieutenant, Mr. Burney, accompanied by Mr. Freeman, master, the corporal of marines, with five private men, all well armed, and having plenty of ammunition and three days' provision. They were ordered first to look into East Bay, then to proceed to Grass Cove, and if nothing was to be seen or heard of the cutter there, they were to go farther up the cove, and return by the west shore. Mr. Rowe having left the ship an hour before the time proposed for his departure, we thought his curiosity might have carried him into East Bay, none of our people having ever been there, or that some accident might have happened to the boat, for not the least suspicion was entertained of the natives. Mr. Burney returned about eleven o'clock the same night, and gave us a pointed description of a most horrible scene, described in the following relation:

"On Saturday, the 18th, we left the ship about nine o'clock in the morning. We soon got round Long Island and Long Point. We continued sailing and rowing for East Bay, keeping close in shore, and examining with our glasses every cove on the larboard side, till near two o'clock in the afternoon, at which

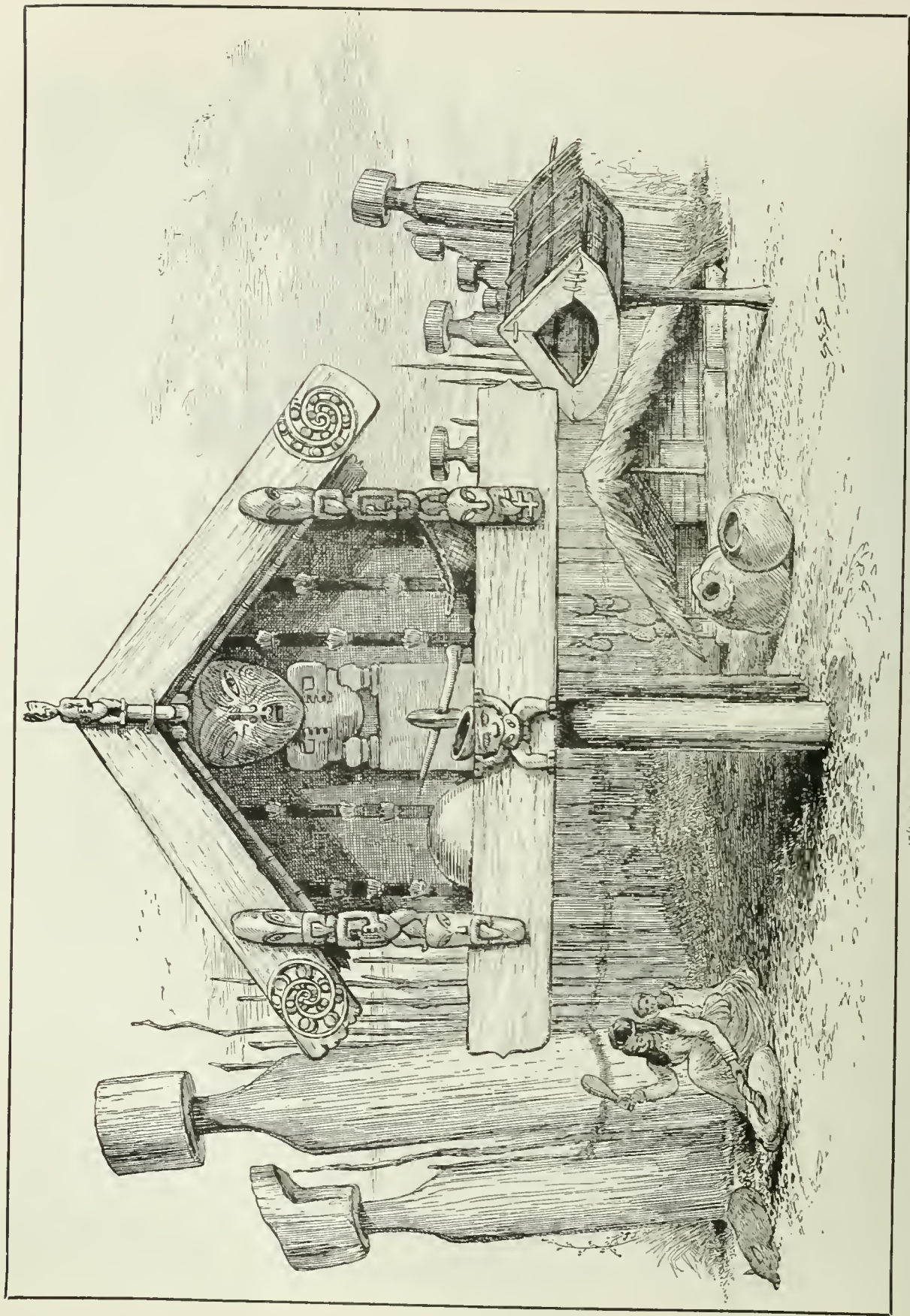
time we stopped at a beach on our left going up East Bay, to dress our dinner. While we were cooking we saw an Indian on the opposite shore running along the beach to the head of the bay, and when our meat was just done we perceived a company of the natives seemingly very busy, upon seeing which we got immediately into the boat, put off, and rowed quickly to the place where the savages were assembled, which was at the head of this beach; and here, while approaching, we discerned one of their settlements. As we drew near some of the Indians came down upon the rocks, and waved for us to depart; but perceiving we disregarded them they altered their gestures and wild notes. At this place we observed six large canoes hauled upon the beach, most of them being double ones; but the number of people were in proportion neither to the size of these canoes nor the number of houses. Our little company, consisting of the corporal and his five marines, headed by Mr. Burney, now landed, leaving the boat's crew to guard it. Upon our approach the natives fled with great precipitation. We followed them closely to a little town, which we found deserted; but while we were employed in searching their huts the natives returned, making a show of resistance: but some trifling presents being made to their chiefs, they were very soon appeased. However, on our return to the boat, the savages again followed us, and some of them threw stones. As we came down to the beach, one of the natives had brought a bundle of "*hepatus*," or long spears, but seeing Mr. Burney looked very earnestly at him, he walked about with seeming unconcern. Some of his companions appearing to be terrified, a few trifles were given to each of them. After dinner we took a view of the country near the coast with our glasses, but saw not a canoe or signs of inhabitants, after which we fired the guns as signals to the cutter, if any of the people should happen to be within hearing. We now renewed our search along the east shore, and came to another settlement, where the natives invited us ashore. We inquired of them about the cutter, but they pretended ignorance. They seemed very friendly, and sold us some fish.

"About five o'clock in the afternoon, and within an hour after we had left this place, we opened a small bay adjoining to Grass Cove, and here we saw a large double canoe just hauled upon the beach, with two men and a dog. The two men, on seeing us approach, instantly fled, which made us suspect it was

here we should have some tidings of the cutter. On landing and examining the canoe, the first thing we saw therein was one of our cutter's rullock ports and some shoes, one of which among the latter was known to belong to Mr. Woodhouse. A piece of flesh was found by one of our people, which at first was thought to be some of the salt meat belonging to the cutter's men, but, upon examination, we supposed to be dog's flesh. A most horrid and undeniable proof soon cleared up our doubts, and convinced us we were among no other than cannibals: for, advancing further on the beach, we saw about twenty baskets tied up, and a dog eating a piece of broiled flesh, which, upon examination, we suspected to be human. We cut open the baskets, some of which were full of roasted flesh, and others of fern root, which serves them for bread. Searching others, we found more shoes and a hand, which was immediately known to have belonged to Thos. Hill, one of our fore-castle men, it having been tattooed with the initials of his name. We now proceeded a little way in the woods, but saw nothing else. Our next design was to launch the canoe, intending to destroy her; but seeing a great smoke ascending over the nearest hill, we made all possible haste to be with them before sunset.

"At half after six we opened Grass Cove, where we saw one single and three double canoes, and a great many natives assembled on the beach, who retreated to a small hill, within a ship's length of the water side, where they stood talking to us. On the top of the high land, beyond the woods, was a large fire, from whence, all the way down the hill, the place was thronged like a fair. When we entered the cove a musketoon was fired at one of the canoes, as we imagined they might be full of men lying down, for they were all afloat, but no one was seen in them. Being doubtful whether their retreat proceeded from fear or a desire to decoy us into an ambuscade, we were determined not to be surprised, and therefore, running close in shore, we dropped the grappling near enough to reach them with our guns, but at too great a distance to be under any apprehensions from their treachery. The savages on the little hill kept their ground, hallooing, and making signs for us to land. At these we now took aim, resolving to kill as many of them as our bullets would reach, yet it was some time before we could dislodge them. The first volley did not seem to affect them much, but on the second they began to scramble away as fast as they could, some howling and others limping. We continued

to fire as long as we could see the least glimpse of any of them through the bushes. Among these were two very robust men, who maintained their ground without moving an inch till they found themselves forsaken by all their companions, and then, disdaining to run, they marched off with great composure and deliberation. One of them, however, got a fall, and either lay there or crawled away on his hands and feet; but the other escaped without any apparent hurt. Mr. Burney now improved their panic, and supported by the marines, leapt on shore and pursued the fugitives. We had not advanced far from the water-side, on the beach, before we met with two bunches of celery, which had been gathered by the cutter's crew. A broken oar was stuck upright in the ground, to which the natives had tied their canoes, whereby we were convinced this was the spot where the attack had been made. We now searched all along at the back of the beach to see if the cutter was there, but instead of her, the most horrible scene was presented to our view; for there lay the hearts, heads, and lungs of several of our people, with hands and limbs in a mangled condition, some broiled and some raw; but no other parts of their bodies, which made us suspect that the cannibals had feasted upon and devoured the rest. At a little distance we saw the dogs gnawing their entrails. We observed a large body of the natives collected together on a hill about two miles off, but as night drew on apace, we could not advance to such a distance; neither did we think it safe to attack them, or even to quit the shore to take an account of the number killed, our troop being a very small one, and the savages were both numerous, fierce, and much irritated. While we remained almost stupefied on the spot, Mr. Fannen said that he heard the cannibals assembling in the woods, on which we returned to our boat, and having hauled alongside the canoes, we demolished three of them. During this transaction the fire on the top of the hill disappeared, and we could hear the savages in the woods at high words, quarrelling, perhaps, on account of their different opinions, whether they should attack us and try to save their canoes. They were armed with long lances, and weapons not unlike a sergeant's halbert in shape, made of hard wood, and mounted with bone instead of iron. We suspected that the dead bodies of our people had been divided among those different parties of cannibals who had been concerned in the massacre, and it was not improbable that the group we saw at a distance by the fire, were feasting upon some



Whatas or Patukas (Storehouses for food).⁴⁰

of them, as those on shore had been where the remains were found, before they had been disturbed by our unexpected visit. Be that as it may, we could discover no traces of more than four of our friends' bodies, nor could we find the place where the cutter was concealed. It now grew dark, on which account we collected carefully the remains of our mangled friends, and putting off, made the best of our way from this polluted place. When we opened the upper part of the Sound, we saw a very large fire about three or four miles higher up, which formed a complete oval, reaching from the top of a hill down almost to the water side, the middle space being enclosed all round by the fire, like a hedge. Mr. Burney and Mr. Fannen having consulted together, they were both of opinion that we could, by an attempt, reap no other advantage than the poor satisfaction of killing some more of the savages. Upon leaving Grass Cove we had fired a volley towards where we heard the Indians talking, but by going in and out of the boat our pieces had got wet, and four of them missed fire. What rendered our situation more critical, it began to rain, and our ammunition was more

than half expended. We, for these reasons, without spending time where nothing could be hoped for but revenge, proceeded for the ship, and arrived safe aboard before midnight.'

"It may be proper here to mention that the whole number of men in the cutter were ten, namely—Mr. Rowe, our first mate; Mr. Woodhouse, a midshipman; Francis Murphy, quartermaster; James Sevilley, the captain's servant; John Lavenaugh and Thomas Milton, belonging to the after guard; William Facey, Thomas Hill, Michael Bell, and Edward Jones, forecastle men. Most of these were the stoutest and most healthy people in the ship, having been selected from our best seamen. Mr. Burney's party brought on board the head of the captain's servant, with two hands, one belonging to Mr. Rowe, known by a hurt it had received, and the other to Thomas Hill, being marked with T. H., as before mentioned. These, with the other mangled remains, were enclosed in a hammock, and, with the usual ceremony observed on board ships, committed to the sea. Not any of their arms were found, nor any of their clothes, except six shoes, no two of which were fellows, a frock, and a pair of trousers."

It is a little remarkable that Captain Furneaux had been several times up Grass Cove with Captain Cook, where they saw no inhabitants, and no other signs of any but a few deserted villages, which appeared as if they had not been occupied for many years, and yet in Mr. Burney's opinion, when he entered the same cove, there could not be less than fifteen hundred or two thousand people.

On Thursday, the 23rd of December, the *Adventure* departed from, and made sail out of, the Sound. She stood to the eastward, to clear the straits, which was happily effected the same evening, but the ship was baffled for two or three days with light winds before she could clear the coast. In this interval of time the chests and effects of the ten men who had been murdered were sold before the mast, according to an old sea custom.

When Captain Cook was in the Sound on his third voyage he learned that the massacre arose over an unpremeditated quarrel. Kahura, who had been active in the tragedy, told Cook that a Maori having brought a stone hatchet to barter, the man to whom it was offered took it, and would neither return it nor give anything for it, and on which the owner snatched some bread from the party of Europeans who were at dinner on the beach, as an equivalent, and then the quarrel began. Kahura himself had a narrow escape of being shot while

* The sketch of whatas, or patukas, on page 52, is by Angas, who observes: "It is customary among the New Zealanders to erect within their pa, or about their kaingas and plantations, storehouses for the reception of food and the preservation of maize, kumeras, and other seeds and roots. These storehouses are usually elevated from the ground by one or more posts, in order to preserve their contents from the destructive attacks of the native rat, which is numerous in some parts of the country. They are termed whata in the northern parts of the island, whilst on the West Coast and about Taupo they are more commonly styled patuka.

"1. A storehouse for food belonging to the chief Te Heuheu, at Taupo. This, like most of the native buildings in the interior, is coloured red, and more decoration is observable here than with those on the coast, and in districts where the natives have come in contact with the Europeans, the law of tapu in connection with the food eaten by a chief rendering it necessary for such food to be kept sacred and apart from that eaten by the women and slaves. Some of these storehouses are very richly ornamented with carving and feathers, but it is only amongst those tribes where heathenism still exists that these primitive works of art are to be found.

"2. Rangihaeta's whata in his pa at Poirua. Beyond is a sleeping house, or whare-puni, partly sunk into the ground, with a verandah in front. Kumera baskets are hung upon adjacent posts for that purpose, and in front are two large calabashes for holding water.

"3. Represents a woman engaged in beating flax. This is one of the processes that this article has to undergo before it is rendered sufficiently fine to be manufactured into mats. It is beaten with a stone pestle for some time, and then washed with water and laid into the sun to bleach.

another was shot beside him; and the Europeans, outnumbered, were surrounded and killed. It was also stated by the natives that not one of the shots fired by the party of Captain Furneaux led by Mr. Burney to search for the missing people had taken effect so as to kill or even to hurt a single person.

CAPTAIN COOK'S THIRD VOYAGE.

Captain Cook left Plymouth on his third voyage on the 12th July, 1776, in H.M.S. *Resolution* accompanied by the *Discovery*, under the command of Captain Charles Clerke, by the command of the King, for making a voyage to the Pacific Ocean, for discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere. He spent Christmas of that year at Kerguelen Island; he was at Van Diemen's Land from the 24th to 30th January, 1777, and on February 10th made New Zealand at Rocks Point, when he steered for Cape Farewell, which he passed the next day, and the day following anchored in Ship Cove. The narrative says:—

"We had not been long anchored before several canoes, filled with natives, came alongside of the ships, but very few of them would venture on board, which appeared the more extraordinary as I was well known to them all. There was one man in particular amongst them whom I had treated with remarkable kindness during the whole of my stay when I was last here, yet now neither professions of friendship nor presents could prevail upon him to come into the ship. This shyness was to be accounted for only upon this supposition, that they were apprehensive we had revisited their country in order to revenge the death of Captain Furneaux's people.

"On the 13th we set up two tents, one from each ship, on the same spot where we had pitched them formerly. The observatories were erected, to find the rate of the timekeeper, and to make other observations. The empty water casks were sent on shore with the cooper to trim, and a sufficient number of sailors to fill them. Two men were appointed to brew spruce beer, and the carpenter and his crew were ordered to cut wood. A boat was sent to collect grass for our cattle, and the people on board were employed in refitting the ship and arranging provisions. For the protection of the party on shore I appointed a guard of ten marines, and ordered arms for all the workmen. A boat was never sent from the ships without being armed. During my former visits to this country I had never taken these precautions. If the natives entertained any suspicion of our revenging these

acts of barbarity, they very soon laid it aside, for during the course of this day a great number of families came from different parts of the coast, and took up their residence close to us.

"The advantage we received from the natives coming to live with us was considerable, for every day, when the weather would permit, some of them went out to catch fish, and we generally got, by exchanges, a good share of the produce of their labours. This supply and what our own lines and nets afforded us, was so ample that we seldom were in want of fish. Nor was there any deficiency of other refreshments. Celery, scurvy grass, and portable soup were boiled with the peas and wheat for both ships' companies every day during our whole stay, and they had spruce beer for their drink. When we arrived here there were only two invalids and these on board the *Resolution* upon the sick lists in both ships.

"Besides the natives who took up their abode close to us, we were occasionally visited by others of them whose residence was not far off, and by some who lived more remote. Their articles of commerce were curiosities, fish, and women. Amongst our occasional visitors was a chief named Kahura, who, as I was informed, headed the party that cut off Captain Furneaux's people, and himself killed Mr. Rowe, the officer who commanded. To judge of the character of Kahura by what I heard from many of his countrymen, he seemed to be more feared than beloved amongst them. Not satisfied with telling me he was a very bad man, some of them even importuned me to kill him, and I believe they were not a little surprised that I did not listen to them, for according to their ideas of equity, this ought to have been done. But if I had followed the advice of all our pretended friends, I might have extirpated the whole race; for the people of each hamlet or village by turns applied to me to destroy the other. One would have almost thought it impossible that so striking a proof of the divided state in which this miserable people live, could have been assigned.

"On the 15th I made an excursion in my boat to look for grass, and visited the pa or fortified village at the south-west point of Motuara, and the places where our gardens had been planted on that island. There were no people at the former, but the houses and palisades had been rebuilt, and were now in a state of good repair, and there were other evident marks of its having been inhabited not long before.

"When the *Adventure* arrived first at Queen

Charlotte Sound in 1773, the people in their leisure hours planted several spots with English garden seeds. Not the least vestige of these now remained. It is probable that they had been all rooted out to make room for buildings when the village was reinhabited, for at all the other gardens then planted by Captain Furneaux, although now wholly overrun with weeds of the country, we found cabbages, onions, leeks, purslain, radishes, mustard, and a few potatoes. These potatoes, which were first brought from the Cape of Good Hope, had been greatly improved by change of soil, and with proper cultivation would be superior to those produced in most other countries.

"On the 16th, at daybreak, I set out with a party of men in five boats to collect food for our cattle. We proceeded about three leagues up the Sound, and then landed on the east side at a place where I had formerly been. Here we cut as much grass as loaded the two launches. As we returned down the Sound we visited Grass Cove, the memorable scene of the massacre of Captain Furneaux's people. Here I met with my old friend Pero. He and another of his countrymen received us on the beach, armed with the *palo* and spear. Whether this form of reception was a mark of their courtesy or of their fear I cannot say, but I thought they betrayed manifest signs of the latter. However, if they had any apprehensions, a few presents soon removed them, and brought down to the beach two or three more of the family, but the greatest part of them remained out of sight.

"The next day we resumed our works, the natives ventured out to catch fish, and Pero with all his family came and took up his abode near us. This chief's proper name is Matahoua, the other being given him by some of my people during my last voyage, which I did not know till now.

"On the 20th, in the forenoon, we had another storm from the north-west; though this was not of so long continuance as the former, the gusts of winds from the hills were far more violent, insomuch that we were obliged to strike the yards and topmasts to the very utmost, and even with all this precaution it was with difficulty that we rode it out. These storms are very frequent here, and sometimes violent and troublesome. The neighbouring mountains, which at these times are always loaded with vapours, not only increase the force of the wind, but alter its direction in such a manner that no two blasts follow each other from the same quarter, and

the nearer the shore the more their effects are felt.

"The next day we were visited by a tribe or family, consisting of about thirty persons, men women, and children, who came from the upper part of the Sound. I had never seen them before. The chief was a man about forty-five years of age, with a cheerful, open countenance, and, indeed, the rest of his tribe were the handsomest of the Maori race I had ever met with. By this time more than two-thirds of the inhabitants of the Sound had settled themselves about us.

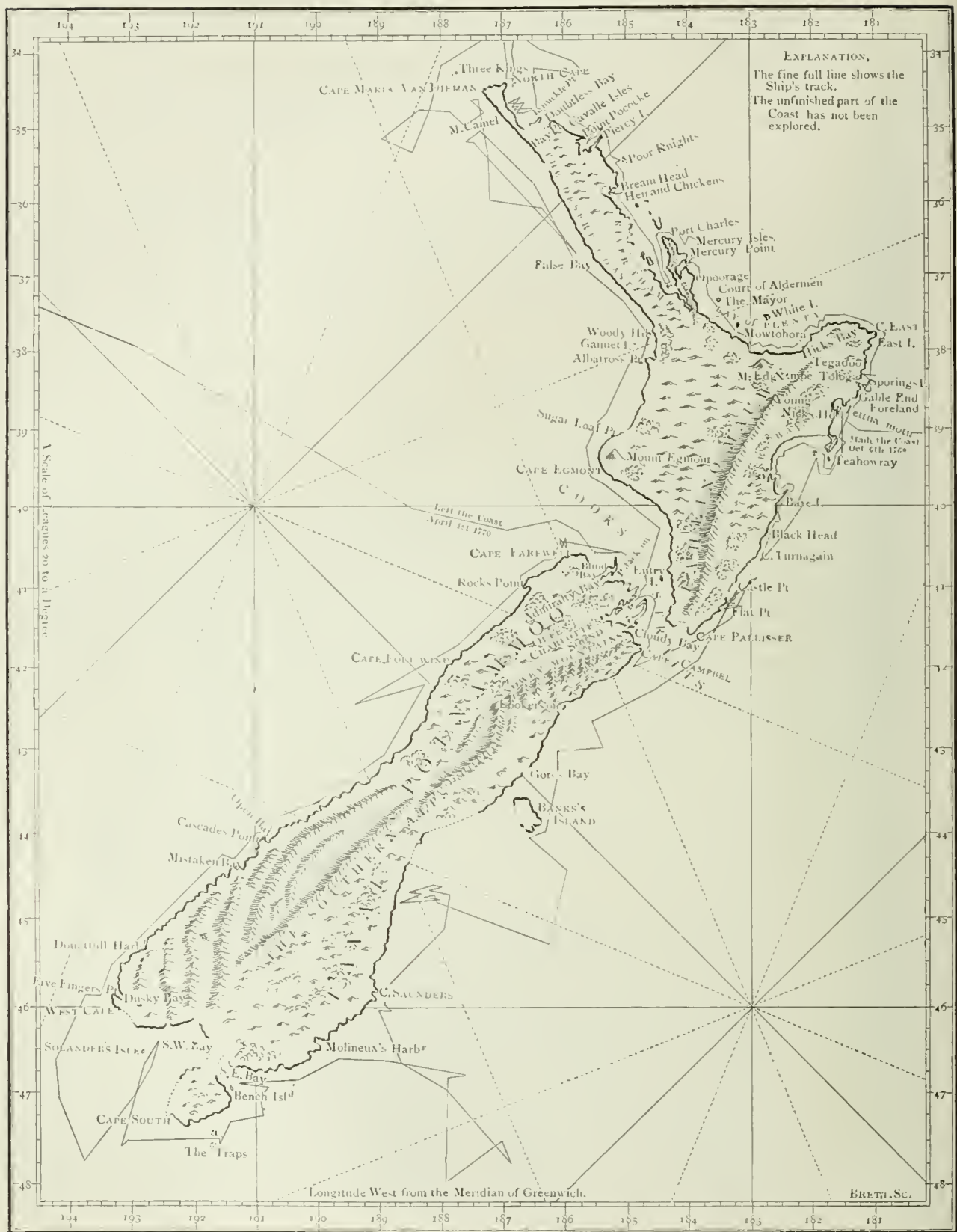
"Having completed the wood and water of both ships, on the 23rd we struck our tents, and the next morning weighed anchor and stood out of the cove."

There are one or two sentences in the narrative of Cook's fifth visit to New Zealand in February, 1777, which are worthy of close attention. He writes:—"One day on our inquiring how many ships such as ours had ever arrived in Queen Charlotte Sound, or in any part of its neighbourhood, they gave an account of one absolutely unknown to us. This put into a port on the north-west coast of Terawhiti but a very few years before I arrived in the Sound in the Endeavour, which the Maori distinguished by calling the ship of Tupaea. At first I thought he might have been mistaken as to the time and place, and that the ship in question might be either Surville's, who is said to have touched upon the north-east of North Island the same year that I was there in the Endeavour, or else Marion du Fresne's, who was in the Bay of Islands afterwards; but he assured us that he was not mistaken either as to the time or place of the ship's arrival, and that it was well known to everybody about Queen Charlotte Sound and Terawhiti. He said that the captain during his stay here cohabited with a woman of the country, and that she had a son by him, still living."

Before taking leave of Captain Cook, to whose discoveries and accurate observations Britain owes so much, it may interest many readers to know that the footprints, as it were, of the great navigator upon the shores of Poverty Bay, where he first landed in New Zealand, have been carefully traced by Archdeacon Williams, who, in a paper read before the Auckland Institute, clearly demonstrated that Cook's landing-place on October 8, 1769, was what is now known as Boat Harbour, immediately on the south-east side of the mouth of the Turanganui River, and separated from it by a narrow reef of rocks:—"From

COOK'S CHART OF NEW ZEALAND.

Showing the results of Lieut. Cook's observations during the Voyage of the Endeavour.



this place Cook and his companions walked about two hundred yards to a sandy point clear of the shelving rocks, as the most convenient place from which to cross over to the point formed by the junction of the Waikanae Creek with the river, where the natives were first seen. The huts for which the natives were making when the attack was made upon the boat, were probably not far from the north banks of the Waikanae, a short distance above the present signal-station. The woods out of which four natives rushed upon the boat no longer exist in the neighbourhood, nor have there been any within the last fifty years; but forest is said by the natives to have existed formerly on the hillside within a short distance of high water mark, which would form a convenient hiding-place for the natives, from whence they might observe the movements of the strangers without being seen themselves. The four men belonged to the Ngationeone hapu, of the tribe called Teitanga-a-Hauti, and the name of the one who was killed was Te Maro."

On Monday, October 9, Cook again landed, but failed to establish friendly relations with the natives. "The party of natives thus encountered," the Archdeacon observes, "was not the same as that which had been seen the evening before. According to the Maori tradition the ship had been seen coming into the bay the day before, and was thought to be a floating island, and this was a party of the Rongowhakaata tribe, who had come from Orakaiaapu, a pa just below the junction of the Arai and Waipaoa rivers, for the express purpose of trying to take possession of the ship; hence their hostile attitude. The man who seized Mr. Green's hanger, and in consequence lost his life, was Te Rakau. The landing place, as before, was Boat Harbour, and the place where the marines were posted could easily be identified before the whole aspect of the place was changed by the new harbour works. The mouth of the Kopututea river, for which the two canoes were making that were afterwards intercepted and fired upon, was much nearer to the Turanganui than it is now. The chief, Te Ratu, who was the principal chief of the Poverty Bay district at that time, has no direct descendants, but the family is represented by descendants of his brothers.

"The bay called by Cook Tegado, at which he called before going into Tolago Bay, is identified as being Anauroa. At Tolago Bay, about thirty yards from high water mark, among bushes, and about twenty feet up the

side of the same hill as that in which the arched rock (described in preceding pages) occurs, is what is known as Cook's Well. This is a small hole about ten inches in diameter and about one foot deep, excavated in the soft rock, where a tiny rill trickles down from a small spring a little higher up the hill. This could not have been used in any way for watering the ship, but was probably hollowed out for amusement by some of the boys in the ship's company. That it is not a natural cavity, but that it was made on the occasion of Cook's visit, seems to be satisfactorily shown by the name which the natives had given to it, viz., 'Te Waikeri a Tupaea,' or Tupaea's Well; Tupaea (in which form they have preserved the name of the Tahitian Tupaea, having been thought by them to have been the name of Captain Cook.

"According to Cook the bay had been called Tolago, but this has not been identified with any Maori name now in use in the neighbourhood. The bay was named from the river Uawa, which flowed into it, and the name of Cook's Cove was Apoutama. The rocks off the entrance have altered very little since Cook's time, for the description which Cook gives of them might have been written yesterday." It has been suggested that when Cook, through the interpreter Tupaea, asked the natives the name of the bay, they understood his question to relate to the wind then blowing, and replied Toraka *i.e.*, Tuaraki, a northerly wind. Errors of a similar kind, resulting from a defective knowledge of the language, are observable in other parts of Cook's narrative.

It only remains to be added that Captain Cook, after his departure from New Zealand for the last time, on the 25th of February, 1777, visited the Friendly Islands, Tahiti, and other South Pacific islands, and sailed northward as far as Behring Strait. He then steered for the Sandwich Islands, intending to stay a few months there. He spent seven weeks sailing round and surveying the coast of Owhyee Hawaii, the largest island of that group, the natives exhibiting the utmost confidence, and trading with less restraint than had been manifested almost on any island he had visited, but latterly displaying an aptitude for pilfering. While at Karakakooa Kealakeakua Bay disputes arose with the natives over their thieving practices, and this led to a conflict, in the course of which Captain Cook was killed on the 14th of February, 1779. He was then comparatively a young man, being only 51 years of age.



De Surville, Du Fresne, and others—De Surville's visit to Mangonui—His harsh requital of Maori kindness—Kidnapping a native chief—Marion du Fresne's visit to New Zealand—Treated kindly for thirty-three days with the intention of eating them on the thirty-fourth—Massacre of Captain Marion and party—Severe reprisals by Crozet, the mate—Visits of other French navigators.



COOK left the Bay of Islands on Wednesday, 6th December, 1769, and on the Saturday following found a deep bay running south-west by west, and west-south-west, the bottom of which they could just see, where the land appeared to be low and level.

This bay he called Doubtless Bay, but the weather not permitting him to look in, he steered for the westernmost land in sight.

On Tuesday, December 12, the Saint Jean Baptiste, commanded by M. de Surville, came in sight of New Zealand, and anchored in Mangonui Harbour on the following Saturday. The Frenchmen called the bay Lauriston Bay, in honour of the governor-general of the French possessions in India. De Surville had come from India to learn the truth of the rumour that was circulated there that the British had discovered an island about seven hundred leagues to the west of the coast of Peru, abounding in precious metals and other valuable commodities. Rochon, who was in Pondichery in August, 1769, noticed the report having been current there at that date, and says among other of its curious embellishments

that the land was inhabited by Jews. This was before Cook had sighted New Zealand, and while he was cruising about the neighbourhood of Otaheite, so that it is impossible to connect him with the origin of the myth.

De Surville commenced his voyage by visiting some of the more northern islands in the Indian Archipelago, through which he steered his course in a south-easterly direction, and he was found on the 30th of November at an island east of New Guinea. Hence he proceeded to New Zealand. After letting go his anchor in Mangonui Harbour, he went on shore, and was welcomed by the natives, who then, in all human probability, saw an European ship for the first time. Cook's ship they may have heard of, and seen in the distance on the water, but could have had no familiar acquaintance with it. The day following De Surville again went on shore, and was received with some effusion and ceremony. The chief of the people advanced to meet him from out of the crowd who were assembled to greet the strangers, and demanded his musket, and this being refused, asked for his sword, and this request being granted, the chief showed it to his countrymen to inspect, after which he brought it back and restored it to its owner. The facts about De Surville's visit are very bald, and much has to be inferred from this simple narration. The natives supplied the crew with what provisions they were able, and, as usual, their early intercourse with the French was open and unrestrained.

On the 22nd De Surville sought an anchorage of a more sheltered character at the head of the bay, opposite a small village called Parakiraki, which he named Cove Chevalier. The weather about Christmas of this year was extremely rough, and Cook, who was off the North Cape during this tempestuous period, complained that he was five weeks getting fifty leagues from Cape Brett. Sheltered, however, as was the Saint Jean Baptiste, she was torn from her moorings by the gale, and narrowly escaped destruction. It appears, however, that the sick among the crew were landed to recruit, and seeking in the rough weather to get on board, were nearly lost, but found in their distress the most hospitable treatment from the direction of the chief of the Kainga Kiinui, and were entertained by him until the storm was over, on the 29th December, when they were enabled to get again on board. A boat, however, had been lost during the storm, and the captain considering that the natives had stolen it, desired to give them a lesson in honesty, and inviting Kiinui on board, made him a prisoner and burnt the village. Singular to say, the village that was burned was the one where the sick men had been entertained during the storm, and the chief who was made captive turned out to be their entertainer. De Surville carried away the man with him, on his way to South America, and he died when off the island of Juan Fernandez, on the day before Lady Day, 1770. Such are the bald outlines of an episode of early New Zealand history.

De Surville, we are told, arrived at Callao on the 5th of April following, when, anxious to obtain an audience of the Viceroy of Peru, he immediately put off for that purpose from the ship in a small boat, and perished in the surf with the boat's crew, one Malabar alone being saved.

M. Marion du Fresne sailed from the Mauritius, or the Isle of France, as it was then called, on the 18th October, 1771. Bougainville had made a voyage "round the world," as the phrase is, between December, 1766, and March, 1769. It was the first voyage of the kind the French had accomplished. When he was at Otaheite he induced a native of that place, named Aoutouron, to accompany him to Europe, whom it was the intention of the French authorities to send back with Marion du Fresne in the Mascarin. The Marquis de Castries, under the command of M. Duclesment, was the companion vessel of the Mascarin, and the directions given them were, after landing the Otaheitian in his own

country, to explore the South Pacific, and to learn all that was possible about New Zealand. After the French had formed a settlement in the Straits of Magellan and on that part of the coast of Chili which had not been occupied by the Spaniards, they kept the South Seas before them steadily as a field for future colonisation, and the loss of their East Indian possessions would only increase their vigilance in this direction.

The Mascarin and the Marquis de Castries sighted Van Diemen's Land in March, 1772, and staying there some six days, wanting water and spars, had a difficulty with the natives, which may be related here as a kind of introduction to the misfortunes that befell the French in New Zealand. The journal of the expedition, under date of March 3, contains the following :—

"The fires and smokes seen by day and night bespoke the country to be well inhabited, and on anchoring there were about thirty men assembled on the shore. On the boats being sent next morning the natives went to them without mistrust, and having piled together some pieces of wood, presented a lighted stick to the new comers, and seemed to ask them to set fire to the pile. . . . The French tried to win them by little presents, but they rejected with disdain everything that was offered, even iron, looking glasses, handkerchiefs, and cloth. They were shown ducks and fowls, which had been carried from the ships, and it was endeavoured to make them understand that such would be gladly purchased of them; but they took these animals, with which they seemed to be unacquainted, and threw them away in anger. The party had been about an hour with the savages when Captain Marion went on shore. One of the natives stepped forward and offered him a firebrand to be applied to a small heap of wood; and the captain supposing it was a ceremony necessary to prove that he came with kindly intentions, set fire to the heap without hesitation. This was no sooner done than they retired precipitately to a small hill, and threw a shower of stones, by which Captain Marion and the commander of the Castries were both wounded. Some shots were then fired; and the French returning to their boats, coasted along the beach to an open place in the middle of the bay, where there was no hill or eminence from whence they could be annoyed. The savages sent their women and children into the woods, and followed the boats along shore; and on their pulling in to land, one of the natives set up a



A Maori War Dance.

hideous cry, and immediately a shower of spears was discharged. A black servant was hurt in the leg, and firing then commenced, by which several of the natives were wounded, and one killed. They fled to the woods, making a frightful howling, but carried off such of the wounded as were unable to follow. Fifteen men armed with muskets pursued them, and on entering among the trees they found a dying savage. . . . After the flight of the savages Captain Marion sent two officers with detachments to search for water, and for trees proper to make a foremast and bowsprit for the Castries; but after traversing two leagues of country without meeting a single inhabitant, they returned unsuccessful in both pursuits, nor could any fresh water be found during the six days the ships remained in Frederik Hendriks Bay."

On the 24th March following the ships were in sight of Mount Egmont, but which Marion named *Le Pic Mascarin*. Cook had not reached England when Marion Du Fresne left the Mauritius, and the French navigator, therefore, could have had no knowledge of his discoveries either from De Surville or any other source. The native from Tahiti, who was to have been landed in his own country, it may be said in parenthesis, had died of small-pox at Madagascar early in the voyage. From Egmont the French ships proceeded northward along the coast until the Three Kings were sighted on the 4th April, but finding no good harbour, they rounded the North Cape, and going southward reached Cape Brett on the 3rd May, calling the headland *Cap Quarrie*, where they sent a boat on shore and opened communication with the natives.

On the 11th of the same month Marion anchored his two ships in the Bay of Islands, between *Te Wai-iti Whai Island* and *Motu Arohia*, and on the day following landed the sick from the two vessels on *Te Wai-iti*. The Frenchmen were not slow to accept the companionship of the unmarried women the natives offered them, and from the period of their arrival until the 12th June the relationship established between the crews and the natives was intimate and unbroken. On the 12th June Marion went on shore accompanied by sixteen officers and men for a day's fishing at *Manawara Bay*, which was situated, as a landsman would say, right opposite *Motu Arohia*. None of the party returned on board the ship that night, but no apprehension was entertained for their safety. Early the next morning twelve men from the other ship, the *Marquis de Castries*, were sent on shore at

Orakaukau for water and provisions. Four hours after the departure of the party one of the sailors swam off to the vessel, bringing the news that he alone survived of the twelve men who had so lately gone on shore. He had escaped by concealing himself in a thicket, from whence he saw his companions killed, cut up, and carried away. There was now much anxiety as to what had become of Marion, and the long-boat of the *Mascarin* with a well armed crew was sent on shore to make inquiries, when, on nearing the land, Marion's boat was seen surrounded by natives near the bottom of *Manawara Bay*. At this time Crozet, the first officer of the *Mascarin*, was employed inland with some sixty men procuring kauri spars for the use of the ships. The party that had come on shore to look for Marion proceeded to warn Crozet of his danger, and to give him the news of the destruction of the party from the *Marquis de Castries*. Crozet immediately called off his party from their work, and proceeded towards the beach, where he was met by many natives, who gave him to understand that Marion and his companions had been killed and eaten. Crozet, however, got his party safely on board, and during the night managed to embark all the sick who were living on shore in tents from *Wai-iti*. This massacre of the Frenchmen took place on the 12th and 13th June, and Crozet, on whom the command now devolved, remained at anchor in the bay until July 14th, when, after taking possession of the North Island for the French nation, naming it *France Australe*, he left the country.

Such are the facts of the tragedy which seem indisputable. The natives, it will be remembered, took one of the dead bodies of Tasman's crew into the canoe they were in after they had killed him, doubtless with a cannibal intent, but whether any other Europeans had been eaten by them between 1642 and 1772 is unknown, although Crozet says: "They treated us with every show of friendship for thirty-three days, with the intention of eating us on the thirty-fourth."

There seems no reason to connect the outrage of De Surville at *Mangonui* with the massacre of Marion and the other Frenchmen at the Bay of Islands, though Crozet attributes the death of his chief and companions to that cause. The men of *Mangonui* and those of the Bay of Islands were of different tribes, and probably at enmity with each other. What the cause was is by no means clear, and Maori tradition, singular to say, is divided on

the subject. Crozet told Dr. Forster, when he met him at the Cape of Good Hope, that there was no provocation given on the part of the French, and that the whole affair was of treacherous design. The various conflicting accounts are as follows :—

Crozet informed Forster that Du Fresne put in to the Bay of Islands in great distress. He was obliged, having lost his masts, to look out for new ones, but when he had found trees fit for his purpose, it appeared almost impossible to bring them from the hills to the water side. However, necessity at length obliged them to make a road two or three miles long through the thickest forests to the place where he met with the best trees. A party of his people were in the meanwhile placed on an island in the bay to fill the casks with water, and another party occasionally went on shore to cut wood for the ship's use. They had lain here thirty-three days upon the best terms with the natives, who freely offered their women to the sailors, when M. Marion went on shore with several people to visit the different parties who were at work, without leaving word that he intended to come back to the ship the same day. His first visit to the waterers being performed, he went to the pa, or fortification of the natives, where he commonly used to call on his way to the carpenters who were encamped in the woods with M. Crozet. Here, however, it seems he was cut off with his company and boat's crew. The next morning the lieutenant who commanded on board not knowing what had happened, sent a party to cut wood within the neck of land which may be seen in Manawara Bay. A party of the natives waited the opportunity when every one was at work to fall on the French, and killed them all except one sailor, who ran over the isthmus and threw himself into the sea, in order to swim towards the ships, though he was wounded by several spears. He called out at last, and being taken on board, gave the general alarm. M. Crozet's situation in the woods with a small party was the most critical. A corporal and four marines were immediately despatched to acquaint him of his danger, while several boats attended to receive his party at a place where the sick had been lodged in tents for the recovery of their health. He disposed everything as well as the time would admit, and effected his retreat to the seaside. Here, however, he found a prodigious crowd of the natives assembled, dressed out in their best habits, with several chiefs at their head. M. Crozet told the four marines to be ready in

case he found it necessary to fire at such persons as he should point out. He gave orders to his party to strike the tents of the sick, to embark all their tools and appliances, and to retire into the boat whilst he with the soldiers walked up to the chief. This man immediately told him that M. Marion was killed by another chief, whom he named. M. Crozet took up a stake, and forcing it into the ground just before the feet of the chief, bid him advance no further. The violence of the action startled the savage, whose irresolution M. Crozet observing, insisted on his commanding the crowd to sit down, which was accordingly done. He now walked up and down before the New Zealanders till all his men were in the boat, his soldiers were ordered to follow, and himself was the last who embarked. He had scarcely put off when the whole body of New Zealanders rose and began their song of defiance, and threw stones after him. However, by the timely exertion of his people, they all came on board. The New Zealanders from this time forward made several attempts to cut him off. They made an expedition against the watering party at night, which, but for the vigilance of the French, would have been fatal to them; and they likewise attacked the ships in more than a hundred large canoes full of men, who felt the effects of European artillery.

"Cruise, who was evidently curious to learn the cause of the massacre, says that Korokoro, a grandson to the principal actor in the tragedy *Polack* ii, p 298, declared that the natives were exasperated against the French captain for having burned two of their villages, determined on revenge, and concealing every hostile disposition towards him and his people, pointed out a place to haul the seine, and offered to assist the sailors in doing so. The arrangement of the plot accorded with the treachery of the proffered kindness. Next to every white man was placed a New Zealander, and when all hands were busy pulling the net, a sudden and furious attack was made upon the unsuspecting and defenceless Europeans, and every one of them was murdered."

One thing seems clear. There were two massacres, one succeeding the other on succeeding days, and while the fishing story of Korokoro may account for one it cannot account for both.

Dillon was as curious as Cruise, and got his information from a woman at the Bay of Islands, who said she remembered the massacre very well. He writes: "There was a European female on board of Marion's ship,

whose name was Micky, and she had a child with her, but whether male or female I could not make out. Micky had been on shore washing some linen at Paroa, and a party of the Whangaroa tribe being there fishing, stole some of it. A scuffle ensued also between the seamen and some natives about some fish. Micky was alarmed, and made the best of her way off to the ships in one of the boats. In the meantime Marion landed and was killed. The account of what had happened shortly reached the ships, and two hundred men went on shore armed with muskets; but the natives, confident in their numbers, and unacquainted with the deadly effect of firearms, faced them boldly. The *puloo-puloo* and spear stood no chance against musket balls, and the Whangaroa people, who fell in dozens, could not conceive how it happened, not being able to discover the instruments by which they were wounded. At length they flew to the mainland, and sought safety in a fortified place, supposing they had been engaged with spirits, who blew fire and smoke at them out of their mouths through the muskets. They were pursued by the Frenchmen to the mainland, where vast numbers were killed. The person who murdered Captain Marion was named Kuri. He was a native of Whangaroa, and it is rather extraordinary that the Whangaroa tribes were the first and last to molest and injure Europeans. There are several songs composed by native bards on the battle and death of Marion, in which the name of Micky and her child are frequently mentioned. I have heard these songs sung on various occasions."

The Rev. William Williams, who came to the Bay of Islands in March, 1826, and who for many years was on familiar terms with Tohitapu, who is said to have eaten Marion, has the following version of the catastrophe:—"In the early part of this (*sic*) century a French ship under the command of Marion visited that part of the island, and the natives massacred a portion of her crew, who were at work in the wood procuring timber. The consequence was a fearful retaliation, in which a number of natives were shot from the ships' boats."

Polack, who made inquiries on the subject while residing in the Bay of Islands, wrote: "Even the traditionary cause is lost, why the visitors were at first kindly treated and then suddenly maltreated. Some have observed that a sailor was guilty of connecting himself with a female that was *tupu* [probably *pahi*]. Others give a different version to the story."

Thomson learned in 1851 that the Frenchmen violated sacred places, cooked food with wood that was *tupu*, and put two chiefs in irons.

From these varied and conflicting statements no positive conclusion can be drawn, and opinions will vary as to whether the Frenchmen had involuntarily broken the Maori law which demanded payment by the sacrifice of their lives as *utu*, or atonement; or whether the natives were impelled by the desire of possessing the many strange and curious things they saw on ship board to seek to take the vessels and all that they contained as plunder.

After the massacre and the retaliation, there was no hope of future amicable relations between the parties, and the ships, still in want of spars, were as badly off as when they came into the bay. A pa, moreover, prevented Crozet and his men from procuring the spars they had already prepared, and Crozet seeing it impossible to supply the ship with masts unless he could drive the natives from the neighbourhood, determined to attack their pa, which was one of the greatest and strongest they had seen. He put the carpenters in front to cut down the palisadoes, behind which the natives stood in great numbers on their fighting stages, from which they threw down stones and darts. His people drove the natives from the stages by keeping up a regular fire, which did some execution. The carpenters could now approach without danger, and in a few minutes cut a breach in the fortification. A chief instantly stepped into it with a long spear in his hand. He was shot dead by Crozet's marksmen, and presently another occupied his place, stepping on the dead body. He likewise fell a victim to his intrepid courage, and in the same manner eight chiefs successively defended the post of honour. The rest, seeing their leaders dead, took flight, and the French pursued and killed numbers of them. M. Crozet offered fifty dollars to any person who should take a New Zealander alive, but this was absolutely impracticable. A soldier seized an old man, and began to drag him towards his captain; but the savage, being unarmed, bit into the fleshy part of the Frenchman's hand, of which the exquisite pain so enraged him that he ran the New Zealander through with his bayonet.

"M. Crozet found great quantities of dresses, arms, tools, and raw flax in this pa, together with a prodigious store of dried fish and roots. He completed the repairs in his ship without interruption after accomplishing this enterprise, and prosecuted his voyage after a stay

of sixty-four days in the Bay of Islands."—*Forster's Voyage*.

Taylor says, "Marion left some remembrance of himself, showing how different French taste is from the English. He sowed garlic, which has quite taken possession of the Bay of Islands, as the milk and butter there is all more or less flavoured with this delicious root." Whether Marion sowed this kind of leek or not which is found in the bay, rests mainly on Mr. Taylor's authority.

Thomson writing from the evidence of Te Taniwha, who died in 1853, says:—

"Historians have omitted to record the visit of another French vessel about the period of Marion's visit, but natives living near the spot have not forgotten the event, and the tradition runs thus: Shortly after Cook's departure from the Hauraki Gulf, a vessel entered the river Thames and shipped a number of wooden spars. When sailing away she fell in with a fishing canoe which had been driven out to sea, took the two young natives in it on board, and conveyed them to France. They were brought back in two years, and the commander

of the vessel gave the natives pigs and potatoes, with instructions how to preserve the former and cultivate the latter."

La Perouse, when he sailed on his unfortunate voyage, found among his instructions a direction not to make researches in New Zealand, as the country had been minutely described by the English; but during his stay in Queen Charlotte Sound he was to gain intelligence whether the English had formed, or proposed forming a settlement on the islands of New Zealand; and if he heard of

such a settlement he was to repair thither to learn all particulars respecting its object, strength, and condition. The *Boussole* and *Astrolabe*, the vessels under the command of La Perouse, left, as is well known, Botany Bay on the 10th March, 1788, and were never afterwards heard of. The disappearance of La Perouse occasioned much anxiety in France, and the National Assembly decreed

that the king should be requested to give orders to all the officials of France resident in foreign countries to entreat, in the name of humanity and science, the different sovereigns in whose dominions they were resident to enjoin their navigators to make the most careful search for the missing vessels; and if La Perouse or any of his companions should be found and discovered to be in need, to furnish them with the means of returning to their native land. The king was further solicited to equip an expedition to search for the missing men.

In accordance with the request, two frigates, the *La Recherche* and *L'Esperance*, of sixteen guns and one hundred and ten guns each, were fitted out

for sea, and placed under the command of Rear-Admiral D'Entrecasteaux.

The vessels sailed from Brest on 29th September, 1791, and reached the Cape of Good Hope about the middle of January, 1792. After various wanderings with which we have no concern, at daybreak on the 13th March, 1793, the *Recherche* made the Three Kings, and smoke was seen arising from an islet off the mainland. About eleven in the morning they made the land, which they approached, steering easterly. M. Labillardiere, the historian of



Stage erected for a Maori Feast.

the voyage, writes: — "The natives had kindled a large fire on the loftiest of the hills that skirt the sea, and which extend to the North Cape. At 5.30 p.m. we were a very little way from the North Cape, when two canoes came off the shore and paddled towards us.

"They approached with confidence, showing us bundles of New Zealand flax, shaking them so that we might observe all their beauty, and offering to barter with us. The stuffs of different colours we gave them were received with marks of great satisfaction, and they always delivered to us with the most scrupulous exactness the price on which we had agreed.

"Iron they decidedly preferred to everything else that we offered them. This metal is so valuable in the eyes of these warlike people that expressions of the most lively joy burst from them when they found we had some. Though at first we showed it them only at a distance, they knew it perfectly well from the sound two pieces gave when struck against each other.

"In exchange for our articles these people gave us almost everything they had in their canoes, and which we considered as a mark of the greatest confidence; they made not the least difficulty of disposing of their weapons to us.

"The largest of the spears they gave us were not above five yards long, and an inch and a-half thick; the smallest were only half that length. They were made of a single piece of hard wood which they had rendered perfectly smooth. They gave us fishing lines and hooks of different shapes, to some of which feathers were fastened, which they use as a bait for various fishes. Several of these lines were of great length, and had at the end a piece of serpentine to make them sink in the water. They sold us a great deal of fish which they had just caught, and there is such a quantity along the coast, that, during the short time we lay to, we saw numerous shoals which, rising to the surface of the sea, agitated it for a considerable space at different times, producing nearly the same appearance as a current passing over a shallow in calm weather. These savages even stripped themselves of their clothes in order to barter with us.

"Some of the young men had drops at their ears, made with a serpentine of great hardness.

They were cut of an oval figure, and for the most part near four inches long. The men of riper years wore as a kind of trophy a like piece of the large bone of the fore-arm of a man, which hung at the breast by a little string that passed around the neck. They set a great value on this ornament.

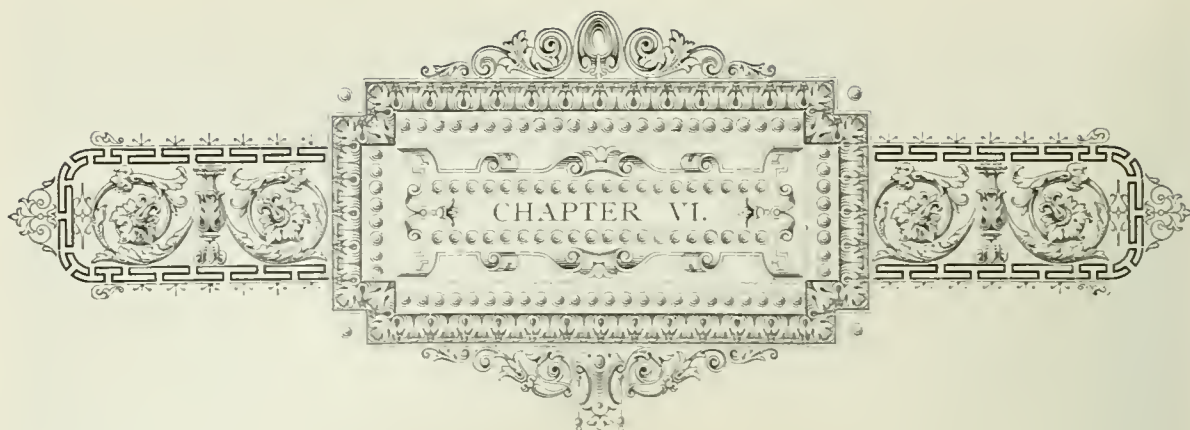
"It is well known that these people are greedy devourers of human flesh, and every thing that recalls to their minds the idea of such food seems to give them the greatest pleasure. A sailor on board offered one of them a knife, and to show him the use of it, imitated the action of cutting off one of his fingers, which he immediately carried to his mouth and pretended to eat. The cannibal who watched him expressed great joy, laughing heartily for some time and rubbing his hands. They were all very tall and of a muscular make. Soon after sunset they left us.

"At the same moment a third canoe arrived from the nearest shore with twelve of the islanders in it, who immediately demanded hatchets in exchange for their goods. One of them had already obtained a hatchet, when another addressed himself to us in a loud voice, bawling out with all his strength, 'etoki' a hatchet, and was not silent until he had obtained one.

"It was now night, and the *Esperance* was so far distant as to be out of sight; accordingly we let off a few small quantities of powder to induce her to make known to us her situation, but we observed with surprise that the natives, far from displaying any dread of the effects of gunpowder, continued their barter nevertheless. It had been dark for more than an hour when they paddled away to the shore. As we lay to we hove the lead several times, and always found a bottom of fine sand, and from thirty-six to fifty fathoms of water.

"Fourteenth.—The faint breeze that set off from the land during the night was succeeded toward daybreak by a north-west wind. We were still very near the coast, and we might easily have come to an anchor in Lauriston Harbour *i.e.*, Doubtless Bay, but the fatal disasters that befell Captain Marion, and afterwards Furneaux, made the General resolve to pass on."—*Voyage in search of La Perouse by M. Labillardière.*

There appears to be no other record of the French being in these coastal waters before the end of the eighteenth century.



NEW SOUTH WALES.

Founding of the Colony—Its bearing on Anglo-Saxon colonisation in the Southern Seas—Character of the first immigrants—Severity of the English law—Men hung for stealing a shilling—Condition of the first settlement at Sydney—Demoralised by rum—Gross abuses among the officials—Prevalence of immorality.



THE most important event in the history of the British race in the eighteenth century was the despatch of a fleet of transport ships from Spithead in 1787 to convey some seven hundred and fifty convicts to New Holland. Cook had added an area to England in the Pacific Ocean greater than the territory the King and his advisers had lost on the shores of the Atlantic, and English criminals and their custodians were sent to take possession of the almost unoccupied domain.

Transportation of convicts was a practice unknown to the common law, and exile for offences was only in vogue in England in the latter years of Elizabeth. It was mentioned later in an Act of Charles the Second, which gave the judges power to exile for life the moss-troopers of the north of England to any portion of the dominions of the Crown in America; but this practice differed from the transportation of a later date, as the exiles were not forced to work, while the convicts were. The practice, however, prevailed at an early period in the American colonies of subjecting criminals to transportation and hard labour, and employing them as slaves on the estates of planters, and the 4 Geo. I. c. ii. gave to the person who contracted to transport

them, and to his heirs, successors, and assigns a property and interest in the services of such offenders for the period of their sentences. The great want of servants in the colonies was one of the reasons assigned for this mode of punishment, and offenders were put up to auction and sold by the persons who undertook to transport them, as bondsmen for the period of their sentences.

In the middle of the reign of Charles II. children were kidnapped and sent to Virginia and Maryland to be sold; and so, indeed, were men. At Newcastle, and probably at other ports, houses were kept by women who entrapped men, made them tipsy, and shipped them off to the plantations, where they were sold as slaves and subjected to hard labour and the lash. A criminal transported to Virginia received, after he had served his time as a slave, fifty acres of land, and from this origin came some of the richest families.

Until the American War of Independence broke out, the usual method of disposing of criminals, who were not hanged or drafted into the services, was to send them to America; but when hostilities commenced the American colonies objected to peopling the New World with what they called the refuse of the Old. The Government experienced Lecky says; a time of perplexity, as the gaols were crowded with prisoners whose sentences it was impossible to execute, and though Africa was looked at as affording an opening, the Governors of the colonies in that quarter of the

globe protested against the introduction of an imported criminal element into their population.

An Act was passed authorizing the punishment of hard labour in England as a substitute for transportation to any of His Majesty's colonies and plantations, and galleys were set up in the Thames where criminals were employed in hard labour; but there is reason to believe, our authority says, that large numbers of criminals of all but the worst category passed at this time into the English army and navy.

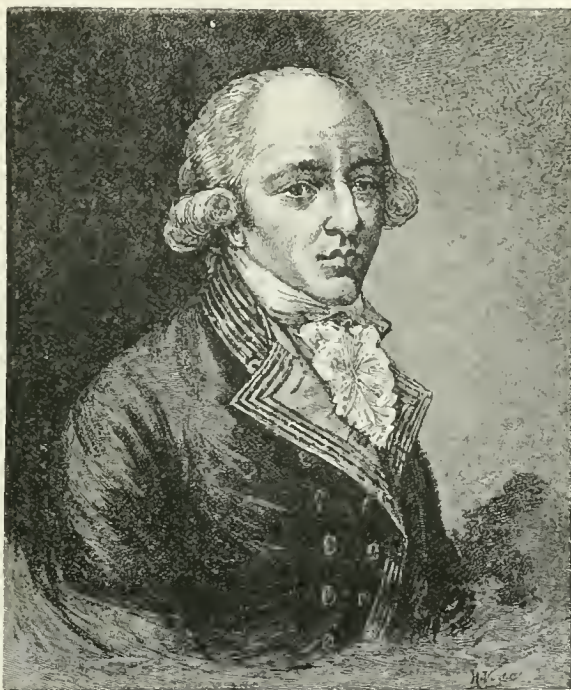
It had been common for navy press-gangs to hang about prison gates and seize criminals as they entered the world again free men. Insolvent debtors were allowed their liberty if they enlisted in the army or navy, and early in the eighteenth century criminals who were under sentence were allowed to pass into the army; and this practice prevailed to the time of the Peninsular war. The United States were declared independent in 1776, and it was not deemed expedient to offer to the colonies who remained in connection with the Crown "the insult of making them any longer a place of punishment for offenders." Cook's discoveries were made known before the United States were declared free, and an Act was passed in the twenty-fourth year of George the Third, which empowered His Majesty in Council to appoint to what place beyond the seas, either within or without His Majesty's dominions, offenders should be transported; and by two Orders-in-Council, dated 6th December, 1786, the eastern coast of Australia and the adjacent islands were selected for that purpose. The boundaries of the colony thus selected extended from Cape York in the latitude of $10^{\circ} 37'$ south to the South Cape, $43^{\circ} 29'$ south, and inland to the westward as far as 135° of east longitude, comprehending all the islands adjacent in the

Pacific Ocean within the latitudes of the above-mentioned capes.

Early in 1787 the Act for the new order of transportation (27 Geo. III. cap. ii.) was passed, which made provision for transportation to New South Wales. The powers granted to the governor of the new colony under the provisions of this Act were considered almost unexampled, and were said, if previously held, to have never been exercised by any other official in the British dominions. He could fine £500, regulate customs and trade, fix prices and wages, remit capital as

well as other sentences, bestow grants of land, and create a monopoly of any article of necessity. All the labour in the colony was at his disposal, all the land, all the stores, all the places of honour and profit, and virtually all the justice. The antipodes had to be reached to appeal from his fiat.

The fleet collected at Spithead on May 13, 1787, and was composed of the following vessels: His Majesty's ship the *Sirius* of 20 guns, Captain Arthur Phillip commander. The *Supply*, an armed tender commanded by Lieutenant Henry Lidgbird Ball. The transports of the following tonnage, having on board the



Captain Arthur Phillip,

First Governor of New South Wales.

undermentioned number of convicts and other persons, civil and military.*

The *Alexandra*, of 453 tons, had on board 192 male convicts, 2 lieutenants, 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, 1 drummer, and 29 privates, with 1 assistant surgeon to the colony.

The *Scarborough*, of 418 tons, had on board 192 male convicts, 2 lieutenants, 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, 1 drummer, and 26 privates, with 1 assistant surgeon.

* Collins's figures are here taken, as those given by Captain Phillip are not reconcilable either with those of Collins or other writers; and Collins being as it were the official historian, it is simpler to follow his lead than to endeavour to make almost impossible figures agree.

The Charlotte, of 346 tons, had on board 89 male and 20 female convicts, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 2 sergeants, 3 corporals, 1 drummer, and 35 privates, with the principal surgeon of the colony.

The Lady Penrhyn, of 338 tons, had on board 101 female convicts, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, and 3 privates, with a person acting as a surgeon's mate.

The Prince of Wales, of 334 tons, had on board 2 male and 50 female convicts, 2 lieutenants, 3 sergeants, 2 corporals, 1 drummer, and 24 privates, with the surveyor-general of the colony.

The Friendship (snow), of 228 tons, had on board 76 male and 21 female convicts, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 3 corporals, 1 drummer, and 36 privates, with 1 assistant surgeon to the colony.

There were on board, besides these, 28 women, 8 male and 6 female children, belonging to the soldiers of the detachments, together with 6 male and 7 female children belonging to the convicts. On board the Sirius were taken as supernumeraries the major commandant of the corps of marines embarked in the transports (he was also lieutenant-governor of the colony), the adjutant and quarter-master, the judge-advocate of the settlement, and the commissary, together with 1 sergeant, 3 drummers, 7 privates, 4 women, and a few artificers.

There were also three store ships accompanying the transports, *i.e.*, the Fishbourn of 378 tons, the Borrowdale of 272 tons, and the Golden Grove of 331 tons. On board this last ship was the chaplain of the colony, his wife and servant.

"One thousand and thirty persons are said to have been landed," writes Rusden, so carefully does he guide his pen among conflicting numbers.

The voyage lasted eight months and one week; thirty-two persons died during the passage, and twenty-one between the date of embarkation and that of sailing. The number under long sentences was small, thirty-six being for life, twenty for fourteen, and the remainder for seven years, many of whom had passed through a greater or less portion of their term of punishment. Many prisons were ransacked to supply the contingent, and the women, we are told, were put on board in a forlorn state, many of them being dirty and almost naked.

The names of the principal persons in the fleet were the following:—Arthur Phillip, governor and commander; Major Robert

Ross, lieutenant-governor; Richard Johnson, chaplain; Andrew Miller, commissary; David Collins, judge advocate; John Long, adjutant; James Furzer, quarter-master; John White, surgeon; Thomas Arndell, assistant surgeon; William Balmain, assistant surgeon; Lieutenant John Shortland, agent for the transports. Marine force: Captains, 2; subs., 17; sergeants, 12; corporals, 12; drum and fife, 8; privates 160: total, 213. Officers—Lady Penrhyn: Captain Campbell, Lieutenant G. Johnston, Lieutenant W. Collins. Scarborough: Captain Shea, Lieutenant Kellow, Lieutenant Morrison. Friendship: Captain, Lieutenant Meredith, Lieutenant Clarke; Lieutenant Faddy. Charlotte: Captain French, Lieutenant Cresswell, Lieutenant Poulden. Alexander: Lieutenant J. Johnson, Lieutenant Shairp. Prince of Wales: Lieutenant Davy, Lieutenant Timmins, provost martial.

The party arrived in January, 1788, at Botany Bay, the destination chosen by the Imperial Government, but Captain Phillip, seeing that the place was unsuitable for a settlement, proceeded at once with three boats to examine the harbour which Cook had indicated and named Port Jackson, but had not explored. The dimensions of this magnificent harbour delighted the Governor, who thereupon chose a bay about six miles from the entrance as the site of the first settlement, and gave it the name of Sydney Cove, in honour of Viscount Sydney. The spot thus selected is now occupied by Circular Quay, and experience has more than justified the choice. Governor Phillip directed the removal of the ships from Botany Bay to Port Jackson forthwith, and the convicts were landed there in "high health" and good spirits on the 27th January, 1788, when "every man stepped from the boat into a wood." The voyage, though long, had been prosperous. Refreshments had been obtained at Rio de Janeiro and the Cape of Good Hope, and considering the "perils of the sea" one hundred years ago, and the character of the passengers, the mortality of the voyage was not excessive. The convicts were put on board in irons, and the master of each transport had indented for their security in a penalty of forty pounds for every one that might escape. There was, however, much negligence in providing what is now known as medical comforts for the weak and ailing, and the Lady Penrhyn, owned by Alderman Curtis, was the only merchant ship in the fleet that was provided with a surgeon.

Captain Phillip had much trouble in procuring the scanty supply of "comforts" the ships carried, and White, the surgeon, was vicious in his complaints about the "pitiable objects" that were carried on shore with "not a comfort nor convenience for them beside the few that were on board." Nor were the sanitary arrangements beyond reproach, as the same authority wrote that "in the *Alexander* the bilge water had risen to such a height that the panels of the cabin and the buttons on the clothes of the officers had nearly turned black." In the ships in which

Royal Family, and success to the new colony. From this day the 26th of January, the colony of New South Wales has since dated its anniversary. A portable canvas house was erected for the Governor on the eastern side of the cove, where also a small body of convicts were put under tents, while the sick were placed on the other shore. Adjacent to the site of the Governor's house some ground was forthwith cleared and prepared for the planting of the trees and cuttings that had been brought from Rio Janeiro and the Cape of Good Hope. The women, Collins says, were not landed until the



From a sketch taken in August, 1788.

Sydney Cove.

the women were carried there was some trouble at times in maintaining discipline, as the surgeon writes: "The hatches over the place where they were confined could not be suffered to lay off without a promiscuous intercourse immediately taking place between them and the seamen and marines."

On the evening before the disembarkation of the troops and convicts, a party assembled at the point where they had landed in the morning. A flagstaff having been erected, and the Union Jack displayed on the landing-place, the marines fired several volleys, and the Governor and the officers who accompanied him drank the healths of His Majesty and the

6th of February, though while writing on the 29th of January he tells his readers that in the course of the last week all the marines, their wives and children, together with all the convicts, male and female, were landed. Tench, in his work, says, while they were on board ship the two sexes were kept most rigorously apart; but when landed, their separation became impracticable, and would have been, perhaps, wrong. Licentiousness was the unavoidable consequence.

On the first Sunday after the landing divine service was celebrated under a "great tree" by the Rev. Richard Johnson, chaplain of the settlement, in the presence of the troops and

convicts, whose behaviour on the occasion was regular and attentive.

The live stock consisting of one bull, four cows, one bull calf, one stallion, three mares, and three colts one of which was an entire), were landed and placed under the guardianship of a person brought from England for that purpose.

Each male convict was placed on the following dietary—two-thirds of which was allowed to the females :—7 lbs. of biscuit, 1 lb. of flour, 7 lbs. of beef or 4 lbs. of pork, 3 pints of pease, and 6 ozs. of butter per week.

A court of criminal jurisdiction was constructed, and under its operation we find the following curious proceedings. Some of the convicts having been charged with stealing the public stores, and the charge being fully proved, one man named James Barre suffered death, but his confederates were pardoned on condition of their being banished from the settlement. Another culprit was sentenced to receive three hundred lashes, but was pardoned by the Governor; and still another, the day after, one James Freeman, who appears to have been guilty of some grave offence, had his punishment commuted on his consenting to become the public executioner.

The settlers, we are told, were crowded together on a narrow space,—a promontory requiring to be cleared of dense forest, —the soil a barren sand, and every yard requiring hard labour to prepare it for cultivation.

The colony having been founded, we may glance at its constituents. Transportation for crime was a very different practice a century since to what it has become in later days. It was then considered, when criminals were sent out of the kingdom, that they took, as it were, a portion of the crime of the country with them, while it appears to have been overlooked that in a mercantile community crime would be committed whenever its practice was found to be profitable. In the huckster's tongue, the supply would become equal to the demand. Crime in the last century was more prevalent in times of peace than in those of war. At least, the executions were more numerous when "God's beadle," as Henry the Fifth called war, was not actively employed. From 1784 to 1790 England was at peace with all her neighbours, and had breathing time to attend to her domestic affairs. Pistols and Bardolps home from the wars gave employment to those who had charge of the public safety, and the gallows-tree was rarely without its fruit. Times were hard with the poor, and the prisons became crowded. Hulks were

established at the Thames, Portsmouth, and other places, in which convicts were confined to be punished with hard labour.

Into the history of the English criminal law and its tangled meshes there is no intention on our part to become entrapped, but the pains and penalties awarded to criminals a century since by our forefathers for venial offences require to be known and understood before we are in a position to sit in judgment on those who laid the foundations of the dominion of the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic race in these southern seas. Lecky, writing of the English army, says: "It is a curious thing to notice how large a part of the reputation of England in the world rests on the achievements of a force which was formed mainly out of the very dregs of her population, and to some extent even out of her criminal classes." While men in the army may cavil at the assertion, there can be no controversy in the statement that the criminals sent to New Holland in 1787 found employment in a nobler work than British armies generally undertook.

Mr. Justice Stephen tells us that all common offences—murder and manslaughter, rape, robbery, arson, coining, and theft to the value of a shilling or upwards—were, by the law of England, punished by death from the early part of the thirteenth century to the year 1827. But while the law from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century was thus rigid in theory, it was tempered in practice by what was known as "benefit of clergy."

Benefit of clergy, Blackstone instructs us, had its origin from the pious regard paid by Christian princes to the Church in its infant state, exempting places consecrated to religious duties from criminal arrests and the persons of clergymen from criminal process before secular judges. From the first class sanctuaries arose, from the second the custom of bishops or ordinaries to demand their clerks to be remitted out of the king's courts as soon as they were indicted. In operation Mr. Justice Stephen says:

"First the clergy, then every man who could read, unless he was *bigamus*, i.e., unless he had been twice married, or had married a widow, then all people, men whether *bigami* or not, or women who could read; then all people, whether they could read or not, were excepted for their first offence in nearly all cases, not only from the punishment of death, but from almost all punishment for nearly any offence; for at common law only high treason, and perhaps arson and highway robbery, were excepted from the benefit of

clergy. But side by side with the process by which benefit of clergy was extended to all persons, a parallel process went on by which large numbers of crimes were excluded from it by being made, as the phrase was, 'felonies without benefit of clergy.' For instance, any one, as time went on, became entitled to benefit of clergy in cases of theft, but it was provided by successive Acts of Parliament that the theft of horses, sheep, and other cattle, stealing to the value of five shillings in a shop, and stealing from the person to the value of one shilling or upwards, should be felony without benefit of clergy."

Henry the Seventh would not allow benefit of clergy to any layman but once, and the recipients of the grant had to be branded in the hand as proof of the boon. His successor took away benefit of clergy from all persons who had committed murder if they were not clerks in orders, and later he abolished the privilege where robbery from the person was proven, arson, or *petit*

treason, breaking out of prison, and other offences. So widely was the rigour of the law enforced, or benefit of clergy done away in some portions of the sixteenth century, that during the reign of Henry the Eighth no less than seventy-two thousand persons were estimated to have been executed under judicial sentences. Those who had to depend on charity or had no visible means of support, fell on bad times. Often a tree by the roadside would end their poverty and life together. The conditions of English civilisation were changing, and the alterations were pregnant with hardships for the poor.

Thorold Rogers writes: "From 1563 to 1824, a conspiracy concocted by the law, and

carried out by parties interested in its success, was entered into to cheat the English workman of his wages, to tie him to the soil, to deprive him of hope, and to degrade him into irremediable poverty. . . . For more than two centuries and a half the English law, and those who administered the law, were engaged in grinding the English workman down to the lowest pittance, in stamping out any expression or act which indicated any organised discontent, and in multiplying penalties upon him when he thought of his natural rights."

Maiming cattle or stealing them, cutting down or destroying trees, rescuing people in custody, not surrendering goods when bank-

rupt, taking deer with violence, receiving money to assist thieves, entering factories or premises by force refusing to answer when arraigned, forging acceptances or receipts for payment of money, escaping from penal servitude, helping smugglers, aiding to export wool or other goods liable to duty, were among the variety of actions which



A Survey of the Settlement in New South Wales.

B, Observatory. C, Hospital. D, Prison. E, Barracks. F, Storehouses. G, Marine barracks. H, Prisoners' huts. I, Workshops. K, Government House. L, Palmer's farm. M, Officers' quarters. N, Magazine. O, Gallows.

Blackstone deplored amounted to no less than one hundred and sixty which men were daily liable to commit, that had been declared by Act of Parliament to be felonies without benefit of clergy, or, in other words, to be worthy of instant death.

Blackstone wrote about the middle of last century, and the criminal law became severer even after George the Third came to the throne. In the year 1785 ninety-seven persons in London alone were executed for shop lifting, the value of the goods stolen in the majority of instances being hardly as much as five shillings, and the dreadful spectacle was exhibited of twenty persons being hanged at the same time. A curious controversy about

this period was raised by politicians as to whether the frequency of hangings had not a tendency to make Englishmen better soldiers and sailors than they otherwise would have been from constantly accustoming them to the presence of death. That the law had little respect for life may be seen from the following example among many. When Sir S. Romilly, on the 15th March, 1813, brought in his bill for repealing what he called "the most severe and sanguinary Act in our Statute-book," there was actually at that moment a child under ten years of age lying in Newgate on whom sentence of death had been passed for shop lifting. From this wonderful and reckless waste of life which prevailed a century since, it appears evident that the seven year sentence men sent to Botany Bay in "the first fleet" were those who in the main had been convicted for petty offences, such as robbing hen roosts, or shooting rabbits, and who did not as a rule belong to the criminal class. No greater service could be done to their memory than to make their offences as well as their sentences known.

Society in England a century since was in a fearful and deplorable condition. A writer on the Queen's Jubilee says the British race sank to their lowest point of degradation and corruption in the middle of the eighteenth century; a period when they had no religion, no morality, no education, and no knowledge, and when they were devoured by two dreadful diseases, and were prematurely killed by their excessive drinking of gin. No virtue at all seems to have survived among all the many virtues attributed to our race except a bulldog courage and tenacity of purpose. The Court in the time of the Georges was impure and the public men corrupt. Gaming and profligacy were rife, and to be as "drunk as a lord" was a common proverb. Gillray, in a caricature entitled "John Bull Ground Down," represented Pitt grinding John Bull into money, which was flowing out in an immense stream beneath the mill. As many as a thousand lashes were awarded to men who had incurred the displeasure of the authorities, both in England and Australia. Men in prison were allowed to die there, and the abduction of minors became almost a recognised calling. In Hogarth's pictures, "Morning," "Noon," "Evening," and "Night," and "Gin Lane," a striking chronicle of British degradation is preserved for all time.

The relative value of life and property in New South Wales in the last century is fully

shown in the pages of Collins. He writes: "The month of May, 1788, opened with the trial, conviction, and execution of James Bennett, a youth of seventeen years of age, for breaking open a tent belonging to the Charlotte transport, and stealing thereout property above the value of five shillings. He was executed immediately on receiving his sentence." That the convicts of the first fleet were not open to general reprobation is evident, as the official historian says there were those of both sexes who were never known to associate with the common herd, and whose conduct was marked by attention to their labour and obedience to the orders they received.

About the middle of the year 1790 the "second fleet" began to appear in Sydney Cove, and to the end of the century above 5,000 convicts, of whom something more than one-fifth were females, had been landed in the colony. Among those who came to New South Wales, between 1790 and 1800, were many political prisoners—the "Martyrs" from Scotland and the "Defenders" from Ireland—who belonged to a different category from those who were ordinary criminals. Their crime consisted in their lack of success. Beaten insurgents became guilty of treason, and were fortunate to escape with their lives. But the revolutionist is a different outcast to the cut-purse. Hitherto it has been the custom to put all the early settlers of New South Wales in the one class as those who wore gyves for their sins, while those who were manacled for misfortune are not distinguished; and the fact is forgotten that there were many among the latter who were worthy of honour, both for their convictions, and their manner of life in both hemispheres.

The reign of Captain Phillip ended in December, 1792. He was a good man in evil environments. He encouraged marriage among the convicts by assisting with small grants of land those who assumed marital responsibility. His zeal for the welfare of the aborigines went beyond mere protection, as he vainly sought to clothe, teach, and civilise them. Rusden says: "His name will vainly be sought in many biographies published in England; but must ever live in Australia as that of an upright English sailor, born to govern, gentle and yet just, courteous and yet decided; shrinking from no responsibility in the hour of need, and spending himself cheerfully in the service of his country. . . . Captain Arthur Phillip, was the son of Jacob Phillip, a native of Germany settled in England as a

teacher of languages, and Elizabeth Breach, who married for her first husband Captain Herbert of the navy, a kinsman of Lord Pembroke. The offspring of her marriage with Jacob Phillip was Arthur, born in the parish of Allhallows, Bread Street, London, on October 11, 1738. He lived until 1814, dying then in his 77th year."

During the *regime* of Captain Phillip arose the New South Wales Corps, which was afterwards embodied as the 102nd Regiment. The nucleus came to the settlement in the transport ships *Surprise*, *Neptune*, and *Scarborough*,

in a great measure succeeded in possessing, a monopoly of the sale of all the spirits, and the persons of all the female convicts in the settlement. They virtually controlled or hampered Governor Hunter, sought to trammel his successor, King, and succeeded in deposing Governor Bligh, and putting three of themselves successively in his place.

Phillip was succeeded by Captain F. Gore as lieutenant-governor, who was followed in office by Captain Paterson, both of the New South Wales Corps. Captain Hunter became governor from September, 1795, to September,



From an old plate.

A Chain Gang.

arriving in June, 1790. The corps was to consist of three hundred men, and the number brought by the ships of the second fleet above-named were added to by subsequent arrivals, and recruited from convicts who had the reputation of being well behaved. The company of marines that came out with the first fleet were sent back to England, who wanted all the trained men she could command, and the new corps was to take the place of the old. The officers of the new company soon became traders as well as soldiers; they meddled in politics, were appointed lieutenant-governors, assumed and possessed the control of the settlement, which they farmed for their private interests. They sought to possess, and

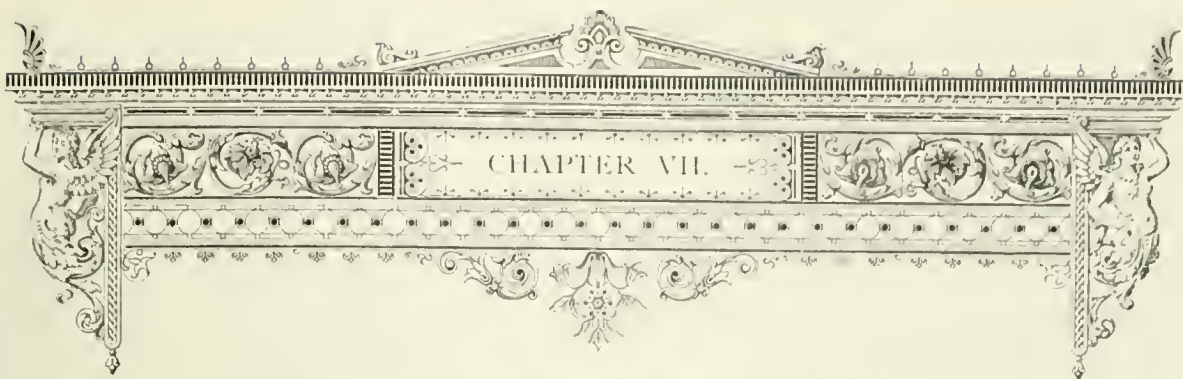
1800. One of Governor Hunter's first actions was the establishment of a small printing office, which in 1803 became the office of the *Sydney Gazette*, for some thirty years the "Government organ." Enterprise and discovery flourished under the rule of the new Governor. He appears to have been a man of blameless character, but deficient in the requisite firmness to keep in order a mixed community such as he presided over, or to control the irregular and evil practices fostered by the example and the influence of the officers of the New South Wales Corps. The marriage ceremony fostered by Phillip became neglected, and licentious habits became prevalent.

Rum was the regular and principal article of traffic, and was generally drunk to excess. It supplied the place of coin. Lands, houses, and property of every description, real and personal, were bought and paid for in rum. It is recorded of one of the officers of the 102nd Regiment that 100 acres of land having been distributed in half-acre allotments as free grants among some soldiers of the regiment, he planted a hogshead of rum upon the ground and bought the whole of the 100 acres with the contents. A moiety of this land, before 1863, realised at a sale in Sydney £20,000. Hunter left the colony in a deep state of demoralisation. The Rev. Dr. Braim, in his history of New South Wales, stated that many of the officers obtained licences for retailing spirits, and so managed that the store or inn in which the business was carried on was left to the superintendence of some female convicts, between whom and the licensed officers an immoral *liaison* existed. West says: "To select mistresses from the female prisoners was one of the earliest and most valued prerogatives of the military, who, standing in

this equivocal relation, became their agents and sold their rum."

Bonwick tells how the commissioned officers came on board on the arrival of the women in a transport ship at Sydney, and as they stood upon deck selected such females as were most agreeable in their persons, who generally upon such occasions endeavoured to set themselves off to the best advantage. In this state some have been known to live for years, and to have borne children. The non-commissioned officers then were permitted to select for themselves, the privates next, and lastly those convicts who, having been in the country some time, and having realised considerable property, were enabled to procure the Governor's permission to take to themselves a female convict. The remainder, who were not thus chosen, were brought on shore and had small huts assigned them, but through the want of some regular employment, were generally concerned in every artifice and villany which was committed. Females of this description were usually employed in selling such cargoes of ships as were purchased by the officers.





NORFOLK ISLAND AND NEW ZEALAND FLAX.

Natural condition and early settlement of Norfolk Island—Plot among the convicts to escape—Scarcity of food at the convict settlements—Efforts to manufacture the wild flax—Two Maoris kidnapped to instruct the convicts—Interesting story told by them to Governor King—He restores them to their own country—Friendly conference with native chiefs.



COOK discovered Norfolk Island on the 10th of October, 1774, and named it in honour of the Howard family. He found it uninhabited, and rather rashly assumed that his party were the first people who had ever set foot upon it.* The flax plant he found growing in abundance, and several trees common to New Zealand. Situate in 29° 3' south latitude and 167° 58' east longitude, it is six hundred miles distant from New Zealand, nine hundred from the Australian continent, and about eleven hundred from Port Jackson. Cook's report was so favourable that Captain Phillip was instructed before leaving England to arrange for its early colonisation, and a week after the formal establishment of New South Wales—on the 14th of February, 1788—the *Supply*, under the command of Lieutenant Ball, was despatched to form a settlement there. As it was known that the island was

uninhabited, only a small detachment was sent. The party was composed of Lieutenant King, who was named by Governor Phillip as Superintendent and Commandant of the settlement; Mr. Jamieson, the surgeon's mate of the *Sirius*; Mr. Cunningham, a petty officer of the same vessel; two private soldiers; two persons who pretended to have some knowledge of flax-dressing; and nine male and six female convicts, who were mostly volunteers. The people were to gather flax, and endeavour to manufacture clothing. So much, Bonwick says, was thought of this work in Europe that a petition was presented to Parliament? early in 1788 by Sir George Young and others asking for a grant of the island for the express purpose of growing the New Zealand flax.

Rusden tells us that Phillip and King were old comrades, and thoroughly knew and trusted each other. The Commandant of the new settlement was a man of considerable educational attainments, and has left a memory distinguished for unswerving rectitude of purpose, though his manners were said to have been rough and his language that of the quarter-deck of the day. At times irritable, his enemies said he was wayward, and he was addicted, we are told, to practical jokes. It is related of him in after years, when he became Governor of New South Wales, that a settler applied to him for one of the convicts to do a certain work. King took him into a room where there was a mirror, and having desired him to look into it, said, "There's the man

* The *Salamander* had returned from Norfolk Island. . . . By letters received thence, we learned that it was supposed there had formerly been inhabitants upon the island, several stone hatchets, or rather stones in the shape of adzes, and others in the shape of chisels, having been found in turning up the ground in the interior. The banana tree was found growing in regular rows.—*Collins*, i. p. 184.

Uru and Tuki recognised the stone axes dug up in the island as exactly like their own.—*Rusden*, i. p. 90.

you want." To a soldier who called to ask a favour, he replied by asking the man if he was well up in his drill. The man replied, "Yes, your Excellency." "Then," said King, "turn about and face the town." The soldier did as he was bid. "Now," said King, "double-quick step and march," and so dismissed him.

The instructions given to the Commandant by Governor Phillip are dated Port Jackson, February 12, 1778. They direct: "After having taken the necessary measures for securing yourself and people, and for the preservation of the stores and provisions, you are immediately to proceed to the cultivation of the flax plant, which you will find growing spontaneously on the island, as likewise to the cultivation of cotton, corn and other plants, with the seeds of which you are furnished, and which you are to send me an account, that I may know what quantity may be drawn from the island for public use, or what supplies it may be necessary to send hereafter. It is left to your discretion to use such part of the corn that is raised as may be found necessary; but this you are to do with the greatest economy; and as the corn, flax, cotton, and other grains are the property of the Crown, and as such are to be accounted for, you are to keep an exact account of the increase, and you will in future receive directions for the disposal thereof. You are to inform yourself of the nature of the soil, what proportion of land you find proper for the cultivation of corn, flax, and cotton, as likewise what quantity of cattle may be bred on the island, and the number of people you judge necessary for the above purpose. You will likewise observe what are the prevailing winds in the different seasons of the year, the best anchorage according to the season, the rise and fall of the tides, likewise when the dry and rainy seasons begin and end. You will be furnished with a four-oared boat, and you

are not, on any consideration, to build, or to permit the building of any vessel or boat whatever that is decked; or of any boat or vessel that is not decked, whose length of keel exceeds twenty feet; and if by any accident any vessel or boat that exceeds twenty feet keel should be driven on the island, you are immediately to cause such boat or vessel to be scuttled, or otherwise rendered unserviceable, letting her remain in that situation until you receive further directions from me. You will be furnished with six months' provisions, within which time you will receive an additional supply; but as you will be able to procure fish and vegetables, you are to endeavour to make the provisions you receive serve as long as possible. The convicts being the servants of the Crown till the time for which they are sentenced is expired, their labour is to be for the public, and you are to take particular notice of their general good or bad behaviour, that they may hereafter be employed or rewarded according to their different merits. You are to cause the prayers of the Church of England to be read with all due solemnity every Sunday, and you are to enforce a due observance of religion and good order, transmitting to me as often as opportunity offers a full



Governor King

account of your particular situation and transaction. You are not to permit any intercourse or trade with any ships or vessels that may stop at the island, whether English or any other nation, unless such ships or vessels should be in distress, in which case you are to afford such assistance as may be in your power."

The party was provided with tents, clothing, implements of husbandry, appliances for flax dressing, and provisions for six months. King, before his departure from Sydney, was sworn in a justice of the peace. On reaching the island on the last day of February—the year being leap year—for five days a landing was

not able to be made, the surf breaking with great violence on the reef of rocks that lay across the principal bay; and it was only when nearly all hopes of success had come to an end that a small opening was discovered in the reef wide enough to admit a boat, through which King was fortunate enough to get safely with his people and stores. When landed he could nowhere find a space clear enough for pitching a tent, so dense was the vegetation, and he had to cut through an almost impenetrable wilderness before he could form an encampment. He named the bay where he landed and fixed the settlement, Sydney Bay, and gave the names to two small adjacent islands of Phillip and Nepean. The Supply on her return voyage, it may be noted, discovered and named Lord Howe Island. The flax plant, the object of the formation of the settlement, had not been discovered when the vessel left to return to Sydney.

On the 20th of June the Supply was again sent to the new settlement with stores and provisions, with instructions to report how its lonely inhabitants were faring. From Commandant King the most favourable accounts were received of the richness and depth of the soil, and the salubrity of the climate, and the news that where the ground was cleared by the settlers, the flax was found to grow spontaneously and luxuriantly. The landing was found to be very dangerous, and on this voyage a midshipman and three men were drowned in the surf. Twelve months after the first settlement of the island it received an accession of population, as Lieutenant Ball, on the 17th of February, 1789, proceeded thither in the Supply with provisions, and twenty-one male and six female convicts, and three children. The chronicler here gives us a glimpse into the character of the government which prevailed in the convict settlement under Governor Phillip, who was, considering his training and position, an eminently humane man. He says of the children: "Two were to be placed under Mr. King's care as children of the public. They were of different sexes; the boy, Edward Parkinson, who was about three years of age, had lost his mother on the passage to this country; the girl, who was a year older, had a mother in the colony, but as she was a woman of abandoned character, named Ann Fowles, the child was taken from her to save it from ruin, which would otherwise have been the case. These children were to be instructed in reading and writing and husbandry. The Commandant was directed to cause five acres of ground to be

allotted and cultivated for their benefit by such persons as he should think fit to entrust with the charge of bringing them up."

On the return of the Supply information was received that a conspiracy had been planned, but had failed to be carried out. The capture of the island and the escape of the captors, which was contemplated, was to commence by the seizure of King, which was intended to be effected on the first Saturday after the arrival in the bay of any ship. This day was chosen because it was the custom of the Commandant on Saturdays to go to a farm which he was forming at some little distance from the settlement, and the military generally on that day were scattered in the woods collecting fuel and other articles for domestic service. Lieutenant King was to be secured on his way to his farm; a message was to be sent to Mr. Jamieson, the surgeon, in the Commandant's name, who was to be seized as soon as he got into the woods, and the sergeant and party were to be treated in the same manner. These being taken care of, a signal was to be made to the ship in the bay to send her boat on shore, the crew of which were to be made prisoners on their landing, and two or three of the insurgents were to go off in a boat belonging to the island and inform the commanding officer that the ship's boat had been stove on the beach, and that the Commandant requested another to be sent on shore. This also was to be captured, when the ship itself was to be taken, with which the conspirators were to proceed to Otaheite and there establish a settlement. The plot, it will be seen, involved too many contingencies to succeed, and got revealed to a seaman belonging to the Sirius, who acted as gardener to the Commandant, by a female convict who cohabited with him, and was thus frustrated.

On Thursday, the 26th February, 1789, the island was visited by a heavy hurricane. Pine trees 180 and 200 feet in length and 20 to 30 feet in circumference were blown down. The gardens, public and private, were wholly destroyed. Cabbages and turnips and other plants were blown out of the ground, and worse disaster of all, an acre of Indian corn which would have been ripe in about a month was totally destroyed.

The garrison at the island was shortly afterwards strengthened by a detachment of marines, fourteen in number, and Lieutenant Creswell, who was authorised to take upon himself the government of the island should any mischance render Lieutenant King unable to act, until his successor should be formally

appointed. Early in August the Supply returned to Port Jackson, and the Commandant spoke well of the general behaviour of the subjects of his little government since the detection of their late scheme to overturn it. He had cleared, he said, seventeen acres of ground, which had either been sown or was ready for sowing; the caterpillars were eating the green wheat, and he had made a road from Sydney Bay, where he had landed, to Cascade Bay, on the other side of the island. The pine trees, of which great hopes had been entertained in England, were found to be unfit for large masts and yards, being shaky or rotten at thirty or forty feet from the butt: the wood, moreover being so brittle that it would not make a good oar, and so porous that the water soaked through the planks of a boat that had been built of it. A pod of cotton had been found, and a tree had been discovered the bark of which was strong and of a texture like cotton. A species of bird had also been met with which burrowed in the ground, and had been seen in such numbers about the summit of Mount Pitt, the highest hill in the island, that they were regarded as a food resource should they visit the island regularly. The Commandant lamented their ignorance of the proper mode of preparing the flax plant, which rendered it useless to them. This was in August, 1789, and it will be seen that after the lapse of some eighteen months the primary purpose for which the settlement had been established had not been attained.

The connection of New Zealand with Norfolk Island came about from the desire of Lieutenant King to obtain the services of New Zealanders in flax preparation, and the first Maoris seen at Sydney were those King had arranged to be sent to Norfolk Island for the purpose. Into the early history of the settlement at Norfolk Island we unfortunately cannot enter, and we shall have to confine our narrative solely to the limits within which our subject warrants us in travelling. Circumstances of a pressing character deferred the consideration of the preparation of the flax as a matter of urgency, and these having a direct bearing upon our subject, may be briefly described.

The convict fleet reached New South Wales in January, 1788, and the settlement from the date of its formation had received no food supplies, save some six tons of flour which H.M.S. *Sirius* had brought from the Cape of Good Hope in May, 1789, in the two years that elapsed from the date of the first landing to January, 1790. A few kangaroos had some-

times been shot, and a few fish occasionally had been caught, but the products of the settlement, both by sea and land, were scarce and uncertain. There was no food for the people to be got, unless it was brought from a long distance, and the colony had no ships to send to get it. Provisions had been written for to England, but they were long overdue. A thousand souls required a somewhat large food supply, and Governor Phillip became anxious in consequence of the rapidly diminishing stock of stores and the uncertainty that prevailed regarding further supplies, as there were the dangers of shipwreck, capture by war, or other maritime disasters to be considered as contingencies. Accordingly, in February, 1790, the Governor remembering how Lieutenant King had constantly written in high terms of the richness of the soil on Norfolk Island, and comparing the condition of the convicts there with those in Sydney, where the singular opinion prevailed that a man could not live on what he could produce from the soil of the settlement, announced his intention to send thither "a large body of convicts, male and female, with two companies of the marines." They were to embark on board the *Sirius* and *Supply* in the beginning of the next month, and to sail for their destination on the 5th of March, "if no ship with provisions arrived from England prior to that date." The hoped for supplies not appearing on March 3, the two companies of the marines embarked with 116 male and 68 female convicts and 27 children. Major Ross was appointed lieutenant-governor Lieutenant King being re-called, and Mr. Considen the senior assistant surgeon of the settlement. The ships were out of sight on March 6, carrying over 280 persons, and relieving the New South Wales settlement of the duty of further providing them with food. After their departure the rations of those who remained were reduced to 4lbs. of flour, 2½lbs. of pork, and 1½lbs. of rice per adult head per week, to be served daily, and issued to every person in the settlement without distinction. So sore had the strait become, that the *Sirius*, after landing her freight at Norfolk Island, was to make a trip to China for supplies, and while the hungry people at Sydney were waiting the arrival of the ships from England, long since overdue, the *Supply* came back from Norfolk Island in April with the news that her companion, the *Sirius*, had been wrecked upon the reef on the 19th of March. All the people on board were, however, saved, having been

dragged on shore through the surf on a grating. When the news of the mishap reached Sydney the ration was still further reduced, the 4lbs. of flour falling to 2½lbs., and the 2½lbs. of pork to 2lbs. weekly.

On the 3rd of June the first vessel of the second fleet arrived—the *Lady Juliana*, from London, ten months out—with 222 female convicts on board, and the supply of provisions on board of her so limited as to permit of only a pound and a half of flour being added to the weekly ration. The *Justinian*, store ship, however, arrived on the 20th of the same month, and the transports *Surprise*, *Neptune*, and *Scarborough* before its expiry, when full rations were again issued, and supplies were enabled to be sent to Norfolk Island. The *Justinian* proceeded thither on the 28th July, and the *Surprise* on the 1st August, the latter having on board 35 male and 150 female convicts, two of the superintendents lately arrived, and Mr. Thomas Freeman, appointed deputy commissary by the Governor's warrant. There came out in the *Neptune*, Mr. Collins says, a person of the name of Wentworth, who being desirous of some employment, was sent in the *Surprise* to act as an assistant to the surgeon at the settlement, he being reported to have the necessary qualifications for such a situation. Mr. Rusden describes him as an Irish "ne'er do well." He was accompanied by his wife, as his elder son appears to have been born on the island.

Lieutenant King was relieved of the command of Norfolk Island to proceed to England to confer with the authorities there as to the condition of the colony and the necessity of supplying it with provisions. He returned in the *Gorgon* in December, 1791, having been appointed lieutenant-governor of Norfolk Island and a commander in the navy. The *William* and *Ann* transport was in Sydney harbour at the time of his arrival, and the Lieutenant-Governor finding that every process known by experts for preparing and dressing the flax plant had failed, proposed to Mr. Ebor Bunker, the master of the *William* and *Ann*, who had some thoughts of touching at Dusky Bay, that he should procure him two natives from New Zealand to teach the convicts the New Zealand method of flax preparation. He promised him a bonus of £100 if he succeeded in inducing two natives to embark with him and was enabled to land them on Norfolk Island. Captain Bunker, however, appears to have never returned to Sydney Cove. He was seeking a profitable whaling ground around the coast, and failing in his endeavour,

doubtless proceeded to the coast of Peru, where whales were then found in abundance.

Rusden, who appears to have studied King's papers, tells us how King met Vancouver at the Cape of Good Hope, and besought him, before his interview with Bunker, to obtain by friendly means, two natives from New Zealand to teach the convicts how to dress the New Zealand flax; but King had the same idea in his mind while in England, as we are told by Vancouver, how the commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral directed Lieutenant Hanson, who commanded the *Dædalus*, to touch at New Zealand, and endeavour to take with him one or two flax dressers to instruct the new settlers at Port Jackson the mode of preparing the fibre. In March, 1792, it was known in Sydney that the *Dædalus* storeship, which was employed to carry provisions to the Sandwich Islands for two ships engaged in discovery, was to repair to that port after performing the service in which it was engaged. Having met Vancouver at Nootka Sound, and proceeding thence to New South Wales, after calling at Otaheite, the *Dædalus* touched at New Zealand about Doubtless Bay, and brought from thence the two New Zealanders Lieutenant-Governor King had been seeking and waiting for. They arrived in Sydney on the 20th April, 1793, and were sent to Norfolk Island in the ship *Shah Hormuzear*. Lieutenant Hanson remained with the men he had secured, probably to give them confidence, until the ship was outside the Heads.

King gives some interesting details concerning the first men of the Maori race who lived among the European colonists in the South Seas. They appear to have been called Uru Kokoti Taumahoe—whom we shall call Uru—and Tuki. Uru belonged to Te Rawhiti, in the Bay of Islands, and Tuki to Doubtless Bay. Uru was related to the chief of Te Rawhiti, called Pohoriki; married to two wives, and the father of one child. Uru, who came from Oruru, was the son of the chief priest of the district called by King the Etangaroa, and described as a very old man. Tuki, whose full name was Tuki Tekanui Wharepero, was also married, and had left a wife and child behind him. They related the mode of their capture to King, who rehearses it in the following manner:—

"At the time they were taken from New Zealand Tuki was on a visit to Uru, at the Bay of Islands. The *Dædalus* appeared in sight of Uru's habitation in the afternoon, and was seen the next morning, but at a great distance

from the mainland. Although she was near two islands which are inhabited, and which Tuki in his chart calls Motu Kawau and Opan-a-ki, curiosity and the hopes of getting some iron induced Pohoriki, the chief, Tuki, and Uru, with his brother, one of his wives, and the priest to launch their canoes. They went first to the largest of the two islands, where they were joined by Te Oraki, the chief of the island, by Motukawa, who is Uru's

expression, they were blinded by the curious things they saw. Lieutenant Hanson prevailed on them to go below, where they ate some meat. At this time the ship made sail. One of them saw the canoes astern; and when they perceived that the ship was leaving them, they both became frantic with grief, and broke the cabin windows with an intention of leaping overboard, but were prevented. While those in the canoe remained within hearing, they



Norfolk Island, showing convicts' quarters and Nepean Island.

father-in-law, and by the son of that chief who governs the smaller island, called Opan-a-ki. They were some time about the ship before the canoe, in which were Tuki and Uru, ventured alongside, when a number of iron tools and other articles were given into the canoe. The agent, Lieutenant Hanson of whose kindness they speak in the highest terms, invited and pressed them to go on board, with which Tuki and Uru were anxious to comply immediately, but were prevented by the persuasion of their countrymen. At length they went on board, and according to their own

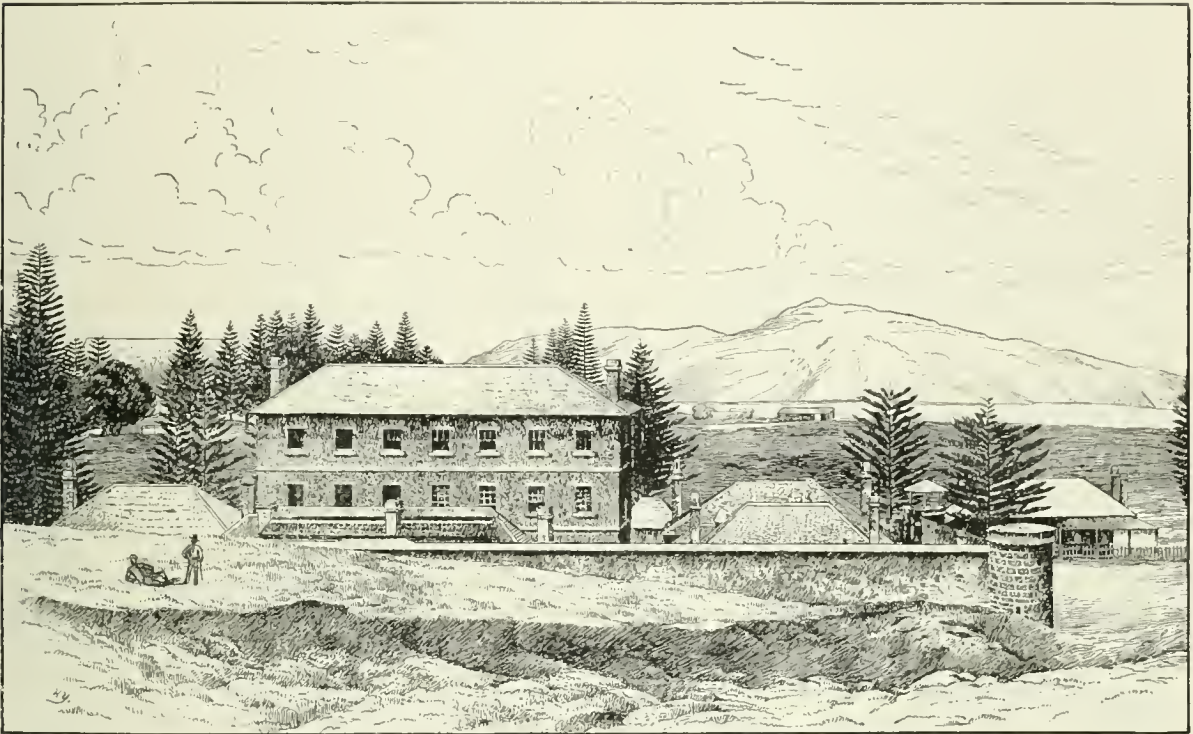
advised Pohoriki to make the best of his way home for fear that he also should be taken."

The narrative, which has to be condensed, contains some notes that are worthy of consideration, and has been compiled with some care and skill; but is somewhat, at the first reading, unintelligible from the manner in which the names of persons and places are spelt. It should be here stated that the Maori names are spelt in this work as they would be at the present day. King continues thus:—

"For some time after their arrival at Norfolk

Island they were very sullen, and as anxiously avoided giving any information respecting the flax as our people were desirous of obtaining it. The apprehension of being obliged to work at it was afterwards found to have been a principal reason for their not complying so readily as was expected. By kind treatment, however, and indulgence in their own inclinations, they soon began to be more sociable. They were then given to understand the situation and short distance of New Zealand from Norfolk Island, and were assured that as

to find by means of a coloured general chart, but was also very communicative respecting his own country. Perceiving he was not thoroughly understood, he delineated a sketch of New Zealand with chalk on the floor of a room set apart for that purpose. From a comparison which Governor King made with Captain Cook's plan of those islands, a sufficient similitude to the form of the northern island was discoverable to render this attempt an object of curiosity, and Tuki was persuaded to describe his delineation on paper. This



Norfolk Island, showing the Old Military Barracks.

soon as they had taught our women to work the flax, they should be sent home again. On this promise they readily consented to give all the information they possessed, and which turned out to be very little. This operation was found to be among them the peculiar province of the women; and as Uru was a warrior, and Tuki a priest, they gave the Governor to understand that the dressing of flax never made any part of their studies.

"When they began to understand each other, Tuki was not only very inquisitive respecting England, etc. the situation of which, as well as that of New Zealand, Norfolk Island, and Port Jackson, he well knew how

being done with a pencil, corrections and additions were occasionally made by him in the course of different conversations, and the names of districts and other remarks were written from his information during the six months he remained there. According to Tuki's chart and information, Eaheinomawe, the place of his residence, and the northern island of New Zealand, is divided into eight districts, governed by their respective chiefs, and others who are subordinate to them. The largest of those districts is T'Souduckey (evidently Te Hauraki, the inhabitants of which are in a constant state of warfare with the other tribes, in which they are sometimes joined by the

people of Muriwhenua, Te-Tua-u-ru (West Coast), and Whangaroa; but these tribes are oftener united with those of Hokianga, Te Rawhiti, and Oruru against T'Souduckey. They are not, however, without long intervals of peace, at which times they visit, and carry on a traffic for flax and the green talc stone, of which latter they make axes and ornaments. Tuki obstinately denied that the whole of the New Zealanders were cannibals.* It was not without much difficulty that he could be persuaded to enter on this subject, or to pay the least attention to it, and whenever an inquiry was made he expressed the greatest horror at the idea. A few weeks after he was brought to own that all the inhabitants of Pounamu *i.e.*, the southern island, and those of T'Souduckey ate the enemies whom they took in battle, which Uru corroborated, for his father was killed and eaten by the T'Souduckey people. Notwithstanding the general probity of our visitors, particularly Tuki (says Captain King), I am inclined to think that horrible banquet is general through both islands.

"Tuki described a large fresh water river on the west side of the island, but he said it was a bar river, and not navigable for larger vessels than the war canoes. The river and the district around it is called Hokianga. The chief, whose name is To-ko-rau, lives about half way up on the north side of the river. The country he stated to be covered with pine trees of an immense size. Captain King says that he made Tuki observe that Captain Cook did not in his voyage notice any river on the west side, although he coasted along very near the shore.† On this Tuki asked with much earnestness if Captain Cook had seen an island covered with birds. Gannet Island being pointed out, he immediately fixed on Albatross Point as the situation of the river, which Captain Cook's account seems to favour."

King says that after the natives came to Norfolk Island almost every evening at the close of the day they lamented their separation in a sort of half-crying and half-singing, expressive of grief, and which was at times

* During the Fancy's stay in the River Thames the crew had many and almost daily proof of Tuki's want of veracity on this head.

† This is the earliest notice we have in the English language of the Hokianga River—called, however, by the narrator "Chokehanga." Cook passed the mouth of the river some fifteen miles distant, and would from the rough weather he encountered in the north, have been more concerned about the safety of his ship than the discovery of small harbours or rivers on a barren sandy coast.

very affecting. Savage, who took the first native to England from the Bay of Islands in 1806, a Maori named Moehanga, has a curious remark on their songs which he noticed while at the Bay and during the passage of his Maori companion to England. He says: "Their songs to the rising and setting sun are peculiarly well adapted to express their feelings. On the rising of the sun the air is cheerful, the arms are spread out as a token of welcome, and the whole action denotes a great degree of unmixed joy; while, on the contrary, his setting is regretted in tones of a most mournful nature, the head is bowed down in a melancholy manner, and every other action denotes their sorrow for his departure."

During the residence of Tuki and Uru at Norfolk Island they often talked of suicide unless they were sent back to their own country, but this mood the kind treatment of the people surrounding them speedily drove away. They told the Governor that the New Zealanders cultivated their flax by separating the roots and planting them out three in one hole, at a distance of a foot from each other.

Tuki, as before mentioned, constructed a chart for Governor King, and in so doing marked an imaginary road which goes from Cook Strait to the North Cape, *i.e.*, Te Reinga. The following details in connection with the passage of the spirit are given in the words of the narrator:—"The third day after the interment the heart separates itself from the corpse, and this separation is announced by a gentle breeze of wind, which gives warning of its approach to an inferior *atua*, or divinity, that hovers over the grave, and who carries it to the clouds. While the soul is received by the good *atua*, an evil spirit is also in readiness to carry the impure part of the corpse to the above road, along which it is carried to the Reinga, whence it is precipitated into the sea." Cook could learn nothing about the religion of the Maori, and King comparatively little, though he had a priest as his guest for six months, and modern inquirers have been equally in the dark, until Dr. Shortland found the key to the locked cult, which he has published in his little book, "Maori Religion and Mythology."

Tuki and Uru, though they knew little about the manufacture of flax, gave such instruction that with even bad appliances a few hands could manufacture thirty yards of good canvas in a week, and being constantly desirous of proceeding to their homes, Captain King decided to accompany them to New Zealand, and embarked with the natives, and

a guard from the New South Wales Corps, in the *Britannia*, Mr. Raven, master, for that purpose.

Lieutenant-Governor King's description of the voyage is as follows:—

"Having rounded the North Cape of New Zealand on the 12th of November, 1793, the fourth day after leaving Norfolk, we saw a number of houses and a small pa on an island which lies off the North Cape, and called by Tuki Murimotu. Soon after we opened a very considerable pa, or fortified place, situated on a high round hill just within the cape, whence six large canoes were seen coming towards the ship. As soon as they came within hail, Tuki was known by those in the canoes, which were soon increased to seven, with upwards of twenty men in each. They came alongside without any entreaty, and those who came on board were much rejoiced to meet with Tuki, whose first and earnest inquiries were after his family and chief. On those heads he received the most satisfactory intelligence from a woman who, he afterwards informed us, was a near relation of his mother. His father and chief were still inconsolable for his loss. The latter (whom Tuki always mentioned in the most respectful manner) had been about a fortnight past on a visit to the chief of the pa above mentioned, where he remained four days, and Te-wai-ta-wai, the principal chief of Tuki's district, was daily expected. With this information he was much pleased. It was remarked that, although there were upwards of a hundred New Zealanders on board and alongside, yet Tuki confined his caresses and conversation to his mother's relation and one or two chiefs, who were distinguished by the marks (*a-mo-ko*) on their faces, and by the respectful behaviour which was shown them by the *mokai* (i.e., the working men) who paddled the canoes. To those who by Tuki's account were subaltern chiefs and well known to him, I gave some chisels, hand axes, and other articles equally acceptable. A traffic soon commenced. Pieces of old iron hoop were given in exchange for abundance of manufactured flax, cloth, *patoo-patoos*, spears, talc ornaments, paddles, fish-hooks, and lines. At seven in the evening they left us, and we made sail with a light breeze at west, intending to run for the Bay of Islands, which we understood was Tuki's residence, and from which we were twenty-four leagues distant. At nine o'clock a canoe with four men came alongside, and jumped on board without any fear. The master of the *Britannia* being desirous to obtain their canoe, the bargain was soon con-

cluded, with Tuki's assistance, much to the satisfaction of the proprietors, who did not discover the least reluctance at sleeping on board and being carried to a distance from their homes. Our new guests very satisfactorily corroborated all the circumstances that Tuki had heard before. After supper Tuki and Uru asked the strangers for the news of their country since they had been away. This was complied with by the four strangers, who began a song, in which each of them took a part, sometimes using fierce and savage gestures, and at other times sinking their voices, according to the passages or events they were relating. Uru, who was paying great attention to the subject of their song, suddenly burst into tears, occasioned by an account which they were giving of the Hauraki tribe having made an irruption on Te Rawhiti Uru's district, and killed the chief's son with thirty warriors. He was too much affected to hear more, but retired into a corner of the cabin, where he gave vent to his grief, which was only interrupted by his threats of revenge.

"Owing to the calm weather, little progress was made during the night. At daylight on the 13th a number of canoes were seen coming from the pa, in the largest of which was thirty-six men and a chief, who was standing up making signals with great earnestness. On his coming alongside Tuki recognised the chief to be Ko-to-ko-ke, the principal chief of the pa whence the boats had come the preceding evening. The old chief, who appeared to be about seventy years of age, had not a visible feature, the whole of his face being tattooed with spiral lines. At his coming on board he embraced Tuki with great affection. Tuki then introduced me to him, and after the ceremony of joining noses he took off his mantle and put it on my shoulders. In return I gave him a mantle made of green baize and decorated with broad arrows. Soon after seven other canoes, with upwards of twenty men and women in each, came alongside. At Tuki's desire the poop was made tapu, all access to it by any other than the old chief forbidden. Not long before Ko-to-ko-ke came on board I asked Tuki and Uru if they would return to Norfolk Island or land at Muriwhenua in case the calm continued, or the wind came from the southward, of which there was some appearance. Tuki was much averse to either. His reason for not returning to Norfolk was the natural wish to see his family and chief, nor did he like the idea of being landed at Muriwhenua, as, notwithstanding what he had heard respecting the good understanding there

was between his district and that of Muriwhenua, the information might turn out to be not strictly true. Nothing more was said about it; and it was my intention to land them nearer to their homes, if it could be done in the course of the day, although it was then a perfect calm. Soon after the chief came on board they told me, with tears of joy, that they wished to go with Ko-to-ko-ke, who had fully confirmed all they had heard before, and had promised to take them the next morning to Tuki's residence, where they would arrive by night. To wait the event of the calm, or the wind coming from the northward, might have detained the ship some days longer. Could I have reached in four days from leaving Norfolk the place where Tuki lived, I certainly should have landed him there; but that not being the case (as it was the fifth day), I did not consider myself justifiable in detaining the ship longer than was absolutely necessary to land them in a place of safety, and from which they might get to their homes.

"Notwithstanding the information Tuki had received, and the confidence he placed in the chief, I felt much anxiety about our two friends, and expressed to Tuki my apprehensions that what he had heard might be an invention of Ko-to-ko-ke and his people to get them and their effects into their power. I added, that as the ship could not be detained longer, I would rather take them back than leave them in the hands of suspicious people. To this Tuki replied with an honest confidence that "a chief never deceives." I then took the chief into the cabin and explained to him, assisted by Tuki (who was present with Uru), how much I was interested in their getting to Oruru, and added that in two or three moons I should return to Oruru, and if I found Tuki and Uru were safe arrived with their effects, I would then return to Muriwhenua and make him some very considerable presents in addition to those which I should now give him and his people for their trouble in conducting our two friends to their residence. I had so much reason to be convinced of the old man's sincerity that I considered it injurious to threaten him with punishment for failing in his engagement. The only answer Ko-to-ko-ke made was by putting both his hands to the side of my head (making me perform the same ceremony), and joining our noses, in which position we remained three minutes, the old chief muttering what I did not understand. After this he went through the same ceremony with our two friends, which ended with a dance, when the two latter joined noses with

me and said that Ko-to-ko-ke was now become their father, and would in person conduct them to Oruru—a promise which was faithfully performed. While I was preparing what I meant to give them, Tuki, who I am now convinced was a priest, had made a circle of the New Zealanders around him, in the centre of which was the old chief, and recounted what he had seen during his absence. At many passages they gave a shout of admiration. On his telling them that it was only three days' sail from Norfolk to Muriwhenua, whether his veracity was doubted, or that he was not contented with the assertion alone, I cannot tell, but with much presence of mind he ran upon the poop and brought a cabbage, which he informed them was cut five days ago in my garden. This convincing proof produced a general shout of surprise.

"Everything being now arranged and ready for their departure, our two friends requested that Ko-to-ko-ke might see the soldiers exercise and fire. To this I could have no objection, as the request came from them; but I took that opportunity of explaining to the chief, with Tuki's help, that he might see by our treatment of him and his two countrymen that it was our wish and intention to be good neighbours and friends with all in New Zealand, that these weapons were never used but when we were injured, which I hoped would never happen, and that no other consideration than the satisfying of his curiosity could induce me to show what those instruments were intended for.

"About one hundred and fifty of the New Zealanders were seated on the larboard side of the deck, and the detachment paraded on the opposite side. After going through the manual and firing three volleys, two great guns were fired, one loaded with single ball and the other with grape shot, which surprised them greatly, as I made the chief observe the distance at which the shot fell from the ship. The wind had now the appearance of coming from the southward, and as that wind throws a great surf on the shore, they were anxious to get away. Tuki and Uru took an affectionate leave of every person on board, and made me remember my promise of visiting them again, when they would return to Norfolk Island with their families. The venerable chief, after having taken great pains to pronounce my name, and made me well acquainted with his, got into his canoe and left us. On putting off from the ship they were saluted with three cheers, which they returned as well as they could by Tuki's directions. It was now seven

in the morning of the 13th. At nine a breeze came from the north, with which we stood to the eastward. After a passage of five days from New Zealand (having had light winds and ten days absence from Norfolk Island, I landed at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 18th.

"The little intercourse that I had with the New Zealanders (as I was only eighteen hours off that island, twelve of which were in the night) does not enable me to say much respecting them, or to form any decisive opinion of them, as much of their friendly behaviour in this slight interview might be owing to our connection with Tuki and Uru, and their being with us. These two worthy savages if the term may be allowed will, I am confident, ever retain the most grateful remembrance of the kindness they received on Norfolk Island, and if the greater part of their countrymen have but a small portion of the amiable disposition of Tuki and Uru, they certainly are a people between whom and the English colonists a good understanding may, with common prudence and precaution, be cultivated. I regret very much that the service on which the *Britannia* was ordered did not permit me to detain her longer, as in a few days, with the help of our two friends, much useful information might have been obtained respecting the quantity of manufactured flax that might be procured, which I think would be of high importance if better known. The great quantity that was obtained in exchange for small pieces of iron hoop is a proof that an abundance of this valuable article is manufactured among them.

"The articles that I gave Tuki and Uru consisted of hand axes, a small assortment of carpenters' tools, six spades, some hoes, with a few knives, scissors, and razors, two bushels of maize, one of wheat, two of peas, and a quantity of garden seeds, ten young sows, and two boars, which Tuki and the chief faithfully promised should be preserved for breeding, a promise which I am inclined to think they will strictly observe."

To preserve the continuity of the narrative, what was subsequently learned of Uru and Tuki may be here related. On the 29th September following Governor King's expedition the snow* *Fancy* left Sydney under the command of Mr. Dell, and though her destina-

tion was not generally known, it was considered in Sydney that she was proceeding to some island where timber for naval purposes could be obtained for the Indian market, whither she had recently arrived at New South Wales. It appeared on her return in the March following that the first place she made at New Zealand was Doubtless Bay, which the master described as a very dangerous place for a vessel to go into, and still worse to lie at. On their coming to an anchor, which was not till late in the evening in December, 1795, several canoes came round the vessel, but did not venture alongside until Tuki was inquired for, when the New Zealanders exclaimed "My-ty Governor King! My-ty Too-gee! My-ty Hoodoo!" Some went on board, and others put in to shore returning soon after with Tuki and his wife. He had not forgotten his English, at least the more common expressions. He informed Captain Dell that he had one pig remaining alive, and some peas growing, but what became of the rest of his stock he did not say. He would not return to Norfolk Island until Governor King came to fetch him. He proposed sending two lads to Governor King, and they went on board for that purpose, but becoming seasick were put on shore again. The *Fancy* had some trouble to get out of the bay, but succeeded in so doing, and the next we hear of her is at the Thames.

Captain F. Gore was Acting-Governor of New South Wales when the natives kidnapped by Hanson arrived in Sydney, and he, when causing them to be sent to Norfolk Island, ordered them to be victualled and fed, and hoped they would be of use. When Governor King detained the *Britannia* to restore them to their homes, Captain Gore upbraided him for his unwarrantable proceedings in delaying a ship for such a trifling purpose, and hoped it would meet with the highest disapprobation in England. One of the chiefs took the name of his restorer, Kawana Kingi, and years afterwards Marsden, at the request of King's widow, discovered the chief and induced him to embrace Christianity. Collins tells us that Tuki and Uru expressed in Sydney and Norfolk Island the utmost abhorrence of New South Wales and its inhabitants.

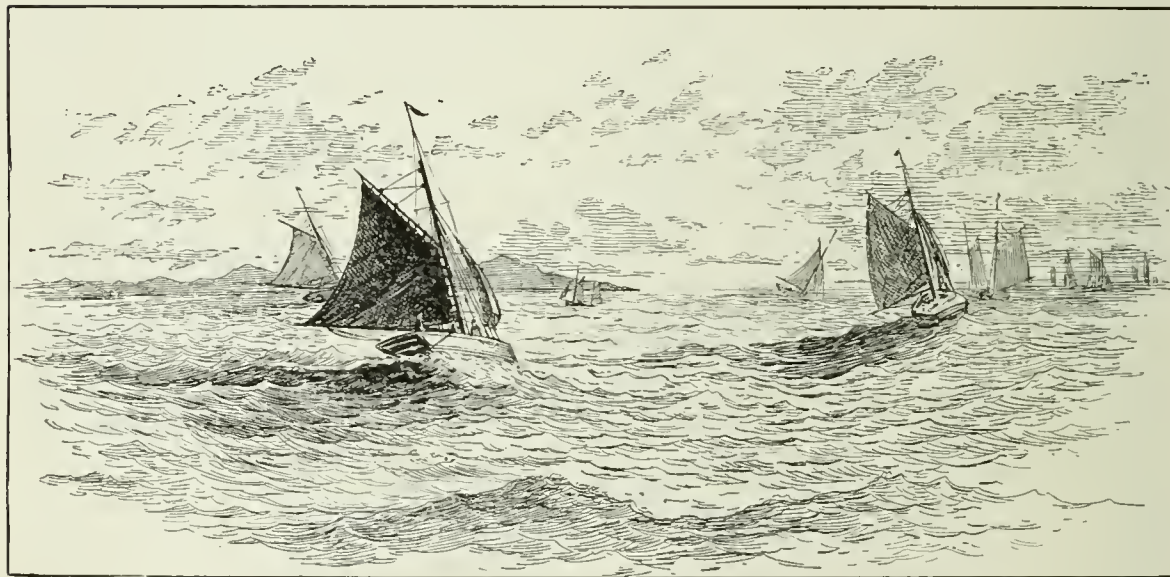
The conclusion of this experiment was told in an official memorandum compiled by Lieutenant-Governor King, most probably during his voyage to England in the year 1796 in the *Britannia*, accompanied by his family. From this it appeared that not more than nine men and nine women were then employed in preparing and manufacturing the flax, which

* As the term "snow" is frequently employed in describing the rig of vessels engaged in the trade between Sydney and New Zealand, it may be explained that a snow is a vessel with main and fore-masts, square-rigged, and a small mast just abaft the main-mast, carrying a try-sail.

barely kept them in practice. There was only one loom on the island, and the stay or reel was designed for coarse canvas.

Governor King's memorandum concludes thus: "By their weekly labour sixteen yards of canvas of the size of No. 7 was made. It is to be remarked that the women, and most of the men, could be employed at no other work, and that the labour of manuring and cultivating the ground, the loss of other crops, the many processes used in manufacturing the European hemp, and the accidents to which it is liable during its growth, are all, by using this flax, avoided, as it needs no cultivation, and grows in sufficient abundance on all the cliffs of the

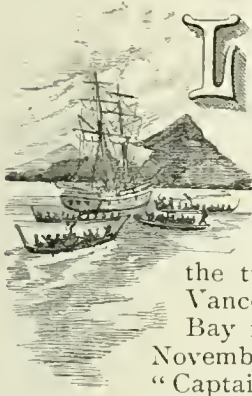
island, where nothing else will grow, to give constant employment to five hundred people. Indeed, should it be thought an object, any quantity of canvas, rope, or linen, might be made there, provided there were men and women weavers, flax dressers, spinners, and ropemakers with the necessary tools; but destitute as our people were of these aids, all that could be done was to keep in constant employment the few that could be spared from other essential work. If a machine could be constructed to separate the vegetable fibre from the flaxen filaments, any quantity of this useful article might be prepared with great expedition."





THE CHATHAM ISLANDS.

Discovery by H.M.S. Chatham — First contact with Europeans — Description of the Moriori — Origin — Singular customs—Native dress—Treatment of the dead—Maori seizure of the brig Rodney to invade Chatham Island—Their onslaught on the Morioris—Revolt of cannibalism—Massacre of the crew of a French whaler—Severe reprisals by a French man-of-war.



LIEUT. BROUGHTON, of H.M.S. Chatham, left Dusky Bay, where he had been with Captain Vancouver, of H. M. S. Discovery, to rendezvous and recruit, on the 22nd of November, 1791, on his way to Otaheite, where the two vessels were to meet. Vancouver had been in Dusky Bay from the 2nd to the 22nd November. He wrote on leaving: "Captain Cook's very excellent

description of this place precludes any material additions, and leaves me, as a transitory visitor, little else than the power of confirming his judicious remarks and opinions. One circumstance, however, may not be unworthy of notice. Mr. Menzies here found the true wintersbark,* exactly the same plant as that found at Terra del Fuego, but which escaped the observation of Captain Cook and our botanical gentlemen in 1773."

Broughton, on the passage to Otaheite, fell in with the Chatham Islands, which he visited and named. On Monday, the 29th of November, the northern and western portion of the main island was seen, and the port it contained named Port Alison. Broughton continued along the coast until he reached Cape Young, and still coasting the island, discovered a bay,

where he anchored, the eastern headland of which he called Point Munnings. He had thus traversed the northern shore of the main island. Before anchoring, with the aid of glasses, the men on board saw some people on the shore hauling up a canoe, and several others behind the rocks; and doubting whether so good an opportunity would again occur for acquiring a knowledge of the inhabitants, the captain worked into the bay which had been passed before the natives were seen.

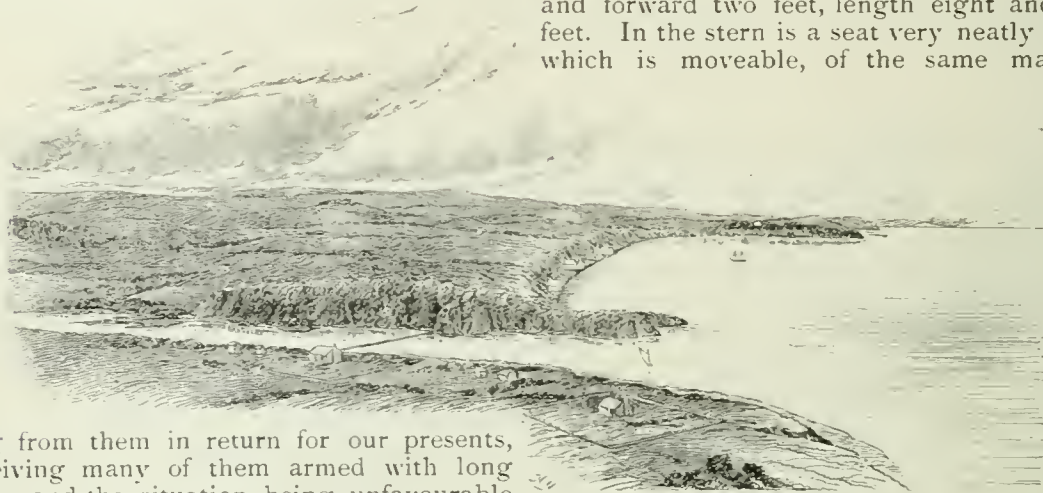
His narrative is thus told :—"Accompanied by Mr. Johnston, the master, and one of the mates, we proceeded towards the shore in the cutter. The rocks project a little at each extremity of the bay. Within them we found smooth water, and landed upon the rocks where we had first seen the inhabitants, who were at this time on the opposite side; but seeing us examining their canoes, they hastily ran round the bay, on which we retired to the boat to await their arrival. As they approached they made much noise, and having soon joined us, we entered into a conversation by signs, gestures, and speech, without understanding what each other meant. We presented them with several articles which they received with great eagerness, and seemed pleased with whatever was given them, but would make no exchanges. Yet, as we had reason to believe they were very solicitous that we should land, Mr. Sheriff, leaving his arms in the boat, went on shore; but he seemed to excite the attention of two or three men only,

* *Drimys axillaris*, or Horopito, a small slender evergreen.

who attended him towards the canoes on the beach, whilst the rest, amounting to forty or thereabouts, remained on the rocks talking with us, and whenever the boat backed in to deliver them anything they made no scruple of attempting to take whatever came within their reach. Having repeatedly beckoned us to follow them round to where their habitations were supposed to be, as soon as Mr. Sheriff returned we proceeded to comply with their wishes. They had been very curious in the examination of Mr. Sheriff's person, and seemed very desirous of keeping him, as they frequently pulled him towards the wood where we imagined some of them resided. On meeting them on the other side, they seated themselves on the beach, and seemed very anxious to receive us on shore; but as all our entreaties were ineffectual in obtaining any-

29th November, 1791.' And in a bottle secreted near the tree was deposited an inscription in Latin to the same effect.

"The canoes we examined were more in the form of a small hand-barrow without legs than any other thing to which they can be compared, decreasing in width from the after to the fore part. They were made of a light substance resembling bamboo, though not hollow, placed fore and aft on each side, and secured together by pieces of the same wood up and down, very neatly fastened with the fibres of some plant in the manner of basket work. Their bottoms flat and constructed in the same way, were two feet deep and eighteen inches in breadth; the openings of the seams on the inside and bottom were stuffed with long seaweed; their sides were not abaft nor forward, their extreme breadth aft is three and forward two feet, length eight and nine feet. In the stern is a seat very neatly made, which is moveable, of the same material.



Waitangi, Chatham Islands.

thing from them in return for our presents, perceiving many of them armed with long spears, and the situation being unfavourable to us, in case they should be disposed to treat us with hostility, we did not think it prudent to venture among them, and finding our negotiations were not likely to be attended with success, we took our leave; but in our way off, as the natives remained quietly where we had left them, I thought it a good opportunity of the island, which I named Chatham Island (in honour of the Earl of Chatham), in the name of His Majesty King George the Third, under the presumption of our being the first to land once more and take another view of their canoes. Having again reached the shore without any interruption, we displayed the Union flag, turned a turf, and took possession discoverers. After drinking His Majesty's health, I nailed a piece of lead to a tree near the beach, on which was inscribed, 'His Britannic Majesty's brig Chatham, Lieutenant William Robert Broughton, commander, the

They appeared calculated alone for fishing among the rocks near the shore, were capable of carrying two or three persons, and were so light that two men could convey them anywhere with ease, and one could haul them into safety on the beach. Their grapnels were stones, and the ropes to which these were made fast were formed of matting, worked up in a similar way with that which is called French sinnet. The paddles were of hard wood, the blades very broad, and gradually increasing from the handle. The nets of these islanders were very ingeniously made, terminating in a cod or purse. The mouth was kept open by a rim of six feet in diameter, made from wood of the supplejack kind; the length from eight to ten feet tapered gradually to one; they were closely made, and from the centre, attached to the rim by cords, was fixed a line

for hauling them up. They were made of fine hemp, two strands twisted and knotted like a reef-knot, and seemingly very strong. They had also scoop nets, made of the bark or fibres of some tree or plant without any preparation, and netted in equal meshes. We penetrated a little into the woods, but did not find any huts or houses, though large quantities of shells and places where fires had been made were observed.

"The woods afforded a delightful shade, and appeared to have been slept in lately. On our return a few of the natives were seen approaching us, and as they appeared peaceably disposed, we joined the first party and saluted each other by meeting noses, according to the New Zealand fashion. They were presented with some trinkets, but seemed to entertain not the least idea of barter, or of obligation to make the least return, as we could not prevail upon them to part with anything, excepting one spear of very rude workmanship. On making a bargain with him who had parted with the spear for his coat, or the covering of sea-bear skin, he was so delighted with the reflection of his face in the looking glasses proposed in exchange that he ran away with them. Previously to this, with a view to show them the superior effect of our firearms, I gave them some birds which I had killed, and pointed out to them the cause of their death. On firing my gun they seemed much alarmed at its report, and all retreated as we advanced towards them, excepting one old man, who maintained his ground, and presenting his spear sideways, beat time with his feet; and as he seemed to notice us in a very threatening manner, I gave my fowling piece to one of our people, went up to him, shook him by the hand, and used every method I could devise to obtain his confidence. Observing something in his hand rolled carefully up in a mat, I was desirous of looking at it, upon which he gave it to another who walked away with it, but who did not prevent my seeing that it contained stones fastened like the *patoo-patoos* of New Zealand. They seemed very anxious to get my gun and shot belt, and frequently exclaimed *Toohata*. Some of their spears were ten feet, others about six feet in length, one or more of which were new, with carved work towards the handle. Whenever these were pointed to they were immediately given to those behind, as if afraid of our taking them by force. Finding little was to be procured or learned here, we made signs of going to their supposed habitations, and endeavoured to make them understand we needed something to eat and drink. As they

continued very friendly, three men armed attended Mr. Johnston and myself along the water side, the boat with four hands keeping close by the shore as we walked, lest we might require support, or it should be necessary to retreat. Everyone had orders to be prepared, but on no account to make use of their arms until I should give directions, which, at this time, I had not the most distant idea would become necessary. When our little party first set off, several of them collected large sticks, which they swung over their heads as if they had some intention of using them. He who had received the stones from the old man had them now fixed, one at each end, to a large stick about two feet in length. Not liking these appearances, we had some thoughts of embarking; but, on our suddenly facing about, they retired up the beach to a fire which some of them had just made. Mr. Johnston followed them singly, but was not in time to discover the method by which it had been so quickly produced. His presence seemed rather to displease them, on which he returned, and we again proceeded along the beach, making signs of our intention to accompany them on the other side of the bay. Fourteen only followed, the rest remained at the fire. Those who had not spears substituted the driftwood on the beach as their weapons; yet as our party consisted of nine, all well armed, we entertained no fear for our personal safety, especially as everything had been studiously avoided that we imagined might give them offence, and the various presents they had received had apparently purchased their good opinion and friendship, until now that we had reason to believe the contrary by their providing themselves with bludgeons.

"Having walked about half round the bay, we arrived at the spot behind which, from the masthead, inland water had been seen. As we proceeded up the beach we found it to be a large sheet of water, which took a western direction round a hill that prevented our seeing its extent. At the upper end of this lake the country appeared very pleasant and level. The water seemed of a reddish colour, and was brackish, which was most probably occasioned by the salt water oozing through the beach, which at this place is not more than twenty yards wide, or by its having some communication with the sea to the westward, which we did not perceive. We tried to explain to the natives who still attended us that the water was not fit to drink, and then returned to the sea-side. When abreast of the boat they became very clamorous, talked extremely loud

to each other, and divided so as nearly to surround us. A young man strutted towards me in a very menacing attitude; he distorted his person, turned up his eyes, made hideous faces, and created a wonderful fierceness in his appearance by his gestures. On pointing my double-barrelled gun towards him he desisted. Their hostile intentions were now too evident to be mistaken, and therefore, to avoid the necessity of resorting to extremities, the boat was immediately ordered in to take us on board. During this interval, although we were strictly on our guard, they began their attack, and before the boat could get in, to avoid being knocked down, I was reluctantly compelled to fire one barrel, which, being loaded with small shot, I was in hopes might intimidate without materially wounding them, and that we should be allowed to embark without further molestation. Unfortunately, I was disappointed in this hope. Mr. Johnston received a blow upon his musket with such force from an unwieldy club that it fell to the ground, but before his opponent could pick it up, Mr. Johnston had time to recover his position, and he was obliged to fire on the blow being again attempted. A marine and seaman near him were under similar circumstances forced into the water, but not before they had also justified alone by self-preservation fired their pieces without orders. The gentleman having charge of the boat seeing us much pressed by the natives and obliged to retreat, fired at this instant also, on which they fled. I ordered the firing instantly to cease, and was highly gratified to see them depart apparently unhurt. The happiness I enjoyed in this reflection was of short duration. One man was discovered to have fallen, and I am concerned to add, was found lifeless, a ball having broken his arm and passed through his heart. We immediately repaired towards the boat, but the surf not permitting her to come near enough, we were still under the necessity of walking to the place from whence we had originally intended to embark. As we retired we perceived one of the natives return from the woods, whither all had retreated, and placing himself by the deceased, was distinctly heard in a sort of dismal howl to utter his lamentations.

"As we approached our first landing-place we saw no signs of habitations, although women and children were supposed to have been looking at us from the woods, whilst talking to the natives on our arrival. On tracing some of the footpaths, nothing was discovered but great numbers of ear-shells, and recesses

formed in the same manner with a single pallisade as those seen on our first landing. We distributed amongst the canoes the remaining part of our toys and trinkets, to manifest our kind intentions towards them, and as some little atonement also for the injury which, contrary to our inclinations, they had sustained in defending ourselves against their unprovoked, unmerited hostility. In our way to the ship, we saw two natives running along the beach to the canoes, but on our arrival on board they were not discernible with our glasses.

"The men were of a middling size, some stoutly made, well limbed and fleshy; their hair, both of the head and beard, was black, and by some was worn long. The young men had it tied up in a knot on the crown of their heads, intermixed with black and white feathers. Some had their beards plucked out. Their complexion and general colour is dark brown, with plain features, and in general bad teeth. Their skins were destitute of any marks, and they had the appearance of being cleanly in their persons. Their dress was either a seal or bear skin tied with sinnet, inside outwards, round their necks, which fell below their hips, or mats neatly made tied in the same manner, which covered their backs and shoulders. Some were naked excepting a well woven mat of fine texture, which, being fastened at each end by a string round their waists, made a sort of decent garment. We did not observe that their ears were bored, or that they wore any ornaments about their persons, excepting a few who had a sort of necklace made of mother-of-pearl shells. Several of them had their fishing lines, made of the same sort of hemp with their nets, fastened round them, but we did not see any of their hooks. We noticed two or three old men, but they did not appear to have any power or authority over the others. They seemed a cheerful race, our conversation frequently exciting violent bursts of laughter amongst them. On our first landing their surprise and exclamations can hardly be imagined. They pointed to the sun and then to us, as if to ask whether we had come from thence. Then not finding a single habitation, led us to consider this part of the island as a temporary residence of the inhabitants, possibly for the purpose of procuring a supply of shell and other fish. The former, of different kinds, were here to be had in great abundance. Claws of cray fish were found in their canoes, and as the birds about the shore were in great numbers, and flew about the

natives as if never molested, it gave us reason to believe that the sea furnished the principal means of their subsistence. Black sea pies with red bills, black and white spotted curlews with yellow bills, large wood pigeons like those at Dusky Bay, a variety of ducks, small land larks, and land pipers were very numerous about the shore."

The Moriori tradition of Lieut. Broughton's visit is, however, different from the European, and is given as follows by Mr. S. Percy Smith, the Assistant Surveyor-General. He writes: "The Moriori say that the first vessel that ever came to the Chatham Islands touched at Kaingaroa; it was commanded by Manukatau. The *Taukeke*—for so they called the strangers—were always collecting the plants, stones, clothing, weapons, etc., of the Moriori. On one occasion a *Taukeke* seized a net belonging to the Moriori, and wanted to take it away as a specimen of workmanship, but the owner objected and called his friends to his assistance. The *Taukeke* thinking that violence was intended, shot the Moriori, whereupon his companions were greatly alarmed and rushed away. Soon after a boat came ashore from the vessel and deposited on the beach a quantity of valuables, such as blankets, shirts, tomahawks, etc., and then pulled off for some distance to watch the result. First one Moriori, then another came forth and helped himself from the heap, until all the articles had been taken. When the *Taukekes* in the boat saw that everything had been taken, they pulled off to the vessel, and hoisting up their anchor, sailed away and never came back."

"Such," Mr. Smith adds, "is Hiriwana's account of Lieutenant Broughton's visit to the Chatham Islands as related to me in the Maori language on the 28th March, 1868, at Ouenga, one of the Moriori villages near Cape Fournier. Hiriwana was the principal man amongst the Moriori at the time of my visit. He was very intelligent, spoke Maori well, and had a great store of ancient traditions of his people. It has often been a matter of regret that this was the only occasion on which I met him, and then was too hurried to secure some more of the valuable information he possessed."

The people thus described were called Moriori, and probably numbered at the time of the discovery of the island some two thousand souls, as in 1830 several observers computed their number at twelve to fifteen hundred. One indeed says that he had seen a thousand men on the beach at Waitangi at one time, but the tendency of all is to magnify

masses of men when the people they themselves are identified with are either sparse or scattered. From Mr. John White we learn that there were at least two Moriori migrations to the Chatham Islands, and that the earliest in date was in "very modern times." Moe, the commander of the second fleet of emigrants, was addicted to cannibalism, we are told, and he and his followers ate "the original inhabitants" until "they were nearly all exterminated."*

Mr. Gilbert Mair states that the Moriori came to the Chathams in five canoes from Hawaii, whence they were driven by tribal wars, and found the islands populated somewhat thickly by a people differing materially from themselves. The Autochthones were of two tribes, the Rongomaitere and Rongomaiwhenua, who fought on several occasions with the invaders, but they eventually made peace with each other, and became, by intermarriage, as one people. Though not much credence may be given to the statement, it appears probable that wherever the first inhabitants came from, they brought with them from the homes of their migration the kumara *Ipomoea chrysorrhiza*, and the karaka *Corynocarpus laevigata*; but that the former did not thrive owing to the moistness of the climate, while the karaka being found in the close vicinity of the old settlements, and not in the native bush, lends colour to the belief of its recent importation from New Zealand where the karaka alone is found.

Wherever they came from in Polynesia they were a rude and somewhat primitive people. From Mr. Hunt, who has apparently supplied a host of writers with unacknowledged material, we learn that the only garment worn by them in early times was made from the leaves of the flax, split into three or four slips, and interwoven into each other, like a kind of stuff between netting and cloth, with all the ends, which were eight or nine inches long, hanging down on the outer side. It was suspended from their shoulders like a cloak, tied round the neck and extended a little below the knee. The women girded their loins with a band of plaited flax. They were a wild, solitary, and timid race; the sight of a white

* A tradition among the people of Tauranga narrates how a portion of their tribe went to the Chatham Islands about the time that Cook came to New Zealand. Some hundred souls went in nine canoes. The Maoris on the East Coast have peopled the Middle Island twice or thrice, and as late as 1830 a canoe load of emigrants sailed from Mayor Island for Hawaiki, and were never after their departure heard of.

ceremony called *kiko-kiko* was analogous to our "laying the ghost."

Their modes of burial were various. While living they almost invariably selected their own spot for interment, sometimes on a high hill commanding a view of the sea or some sacred rock in the vicinity of their food-yielding *nikau*; others were lashed to young trees, and some were bound in a canoe and sent to sea. The most common mode, however, was this. When a person conceived the approach of death to be near, he would select a long piece of the heart of ake-ake about the thickness of a man's wrist, and sharpened at one end. Upon the top he would rudely carve the figure of a bird or a fish. He would then go to a particular spot and kindle a fire with the brush-wood. Where the fire had died out he would stick the ake-ake, and that was the place of his sepulture. When dead the arms were forced forward against the chest and securely bound there with plaited green flax rope; the hands were bound together and drawn over the knees, and were then inserted between the arms and knees. This was the usual method of trussing the body, and it was sometimes a work of great difficulty, for when the body became rigid, the efforts of many men were required to bring it into a proper position. This being done, the dead was enveloped in plaited flax matting, and interred as far as the knees, the upper portion of the body being invariably above the soil.

The author continues, but writing in the first person, says: "To this very day in clearing land I frequently light on leg and arm bones pointing upwards. Others would be bound to two or three young trees growing closely together, in which case the body would be placed in an erect position, and bound round and round with vines from head to foot, but always seaward. A few years since, in sawing across a *karamu* tree, something offered unusual resistance. To my great astonishment I found that I had sawn through the hip bones of a man. He had been lashed against a tree, and it had grown and enfolded him.

"Some noted fisherman, again, would direct his remains to be consigned to the waves, in which case he would be securely lashed in a *waka korari*, or flax stem canoe, in a sitting position, as if in the attitude of fishing. A long flax line, with a baited bone hook—made perchance out of the popes-eye bone of the seal—and a sinker attached, was suspended over the side, and when the wind or tide was favourable he was launched to sea. An American whaler beating about some twenty

miles from land, observed one of these canoes with a man apparently sitting in it. Thinking it was a native driven out to sea, a boat was lowered, when it was found to be a dead body. As the vessel was making for land, the dead man was taken in tow. Upon being boarded by some white men accompanied by natives, the latter recognised an old companion they had turned adrift, and implored the captain to send him off on his cruise again. In my rambles through the bush I have frequently observed a time and weather-bleached skeleton grinning at me from some old tree. Walking one day with an elderly native woman, she suddenly stopped, and commenced an affectionate and whining *korero* with a skull suspended from a branch. I said, 'What old friend is that?' 'Oh,' she said, 'it is my first husband; he was a *lau pai*' (a good husband).'

Some of the people probably the chiefs were buried in caves. If the deceased had no particular vocation or distinction, he was put in a sitting posture into an open hole in the ground some eighteen inches deep, with a piece of carved wood before him.

When sick the only medicine they would take was water from some particular spring and *nikau*, or cabbage tree; and though the spring was at the distance of twenty miles it mattered not; it would be brought back to the person in a flax bucket. They destroyed children who cried during their birth, as they were deemed unlucky. The first who saw or touched the body of a person whose death had been caused by accident or violence had to abstain from food for three successive days.

Like many other Polynesians, the women ate apart from the men. They made stone axes similar to the Maori, and these, with their clubs, sometimes made of stone, and other weapons constructed from the hard wood growing on the islands, composed their arms. In their own quarrels it was understood that the first blood drawn terminated the battle. Such fights were uncommon, and were generally for the possession of a seal, or whale blubber found on shore. They had no hereditary chiefs, the most successful fisherman, or bird catcher, or any member of the tribe distinguished by extraordinary stature, being looked upon as a leader.

Mr. M. A. Shand writes: "The Moriori had four kinds of canoes, but much of the same shape or kind. One was called a *waka puhara* or *korari*, made with two keels, resembling the one in the Colonial Museum. The sternpost

was called a *koua*, and carved, and the two pieces of wood projecting from the stern were called the *puremu*. They were also carved. This canoe was generally thirty to thirty-five feet long, four to five feet deep, and the same in width. A *waka rimu* was another kind similar to the first, but having no *korari* about it, and only kelp put in the body of the canoe. A *waka pahi* was the sort of canoe used to go to the islands birding in, etc. The size of a large one was:—the keels each thirty feet, the *koua* twelve feet, the *puremu* ten feet, about fifty feet overall: breadth, eight feet, depth, five feet. The keels were made of *matipou*, the *koua* and *puremu* of *ake-ake*, the rest of such timber as the island afforded. The kelp used to make it float was the broad flat bull kelp, which was dried and then put in, and taken out when done with, and replaced when rotten. The fourth kind of canoe was much the same as a New Zealand *mokihi*, but made with *korari* and *ranhe* stalks, being quite low and had wooden images of men made and placed thereon, from twelve to twenty-four in number, with each a paddle tied to his hands, and then with a fair wind was started off to sea to the god Rongotakuiti, who replied by sending seals and shoals of black fish ashore. It was called a *waka ra*."

The Chatham Group, which consist of three islands and several detached islets and rocks, lie between the parallels of $43^{\circ} 35'$ and $44^{\circ} 25'$ latitude, and the meridians of $176^{\circ} 0'$ and $176^{\circ} 55'$ W., 365 miles eastward of Cape Palliser, Cook Strait.

The largest island is named Whare Kauri by the natives and Chatham Island by the Euro-

peans.* It is some seventy miles long, and has been declared in shape to resemble an isosceles triangle, the north-western side, about thirty miles in length, forming the base. The surface of the land is undulating, and generally covered with grass, while all around it is a fringe of bush, more or less broad, containing a number of small trees. The soil is deep and boggy, in the hollows often marshy, but highly productive, and when drained and cultivated equally fit for grain or pasturage. On the island there are several lakes, usually surrounded by gentle sloping hills. The lakes are most

frequent near the northern coast, and are generally one or two miles in circumference. There are some also not far from the beach near the western coast, the largest of which is at the head of the Waitangi Bay, and about six miles in circumference. The largest of the lakes, or lagoons, is some twenty miles in length, and from three to eight in width, the waters of which are separated from the sea by a sand beach from half



Okewa (War Club).



Pohatutahuruua.



Pohatutahuruua.

Stone Weapons of the Moriori (one-quarter the natural size).

a mile to a mile wide. Pitt Island is some ten miles in circumference. Its native name is Rangī-haute. It was an island frequented by whalers at an early date in the present century.

Hunt writes of the Chatham Islands, saying: "They were almost a terra incognita; but the reports which had reached New Zealand from time to time were such that the place was in bad odour. It was the resort of various companies of bay whalers composed of every

* Mr. S. P. Smith writes: "The name the Moriori give the main island is Rangī ko hua. Whare kauri is the one used by the Maori only. The first migration was headed by Kohu."

grade of character, shipwrecked sailors, and deserters, escaped convicts from Sydney and Hobart Town, and low and dexterous prigs redolent with the slang and glorying in reminiscences of Whitechapel and Ratcliff Highway. Among them villainy was considered virtue and honesty a great weakness; the bolder ruffian carried things with a high hand, and from his decision there was no appeal."

In the latter part of the year 1835, after the excitement of the battle of Haowhenua, in the vicinity of Poirua, had subsided, and the distrust of Te Rauparaha had increased, a section of the northern tribes who had followed Ngatitua to Cook Strait, determined to migrate to the Chatham Islands, and succeeded in effecting their purpose to the permanent misfortune of the Moriori. Mr. Travers accounts for the invasion of Ngatitama and Ngatimunga from a Maori who happened to have visited the islands while engaged as a seaman in a vessel trading from Sydney, reporting the aborigines as a plump, well fed race, who would fall easy victims to the prowess of his countrymen. But the fear of Te Rauparaha was doubtless a greater factor in the migration, though the disfavour with which cannibal orgies had come to be regarded through European intercourse, may also have had its influence.

The invaders succeeded in obtaining the services of the brig Rodney for their enterprise, and as many garbled and incorrect versions of the transaction have got into print, it will be as well to allow the captain to tell his own story. Captain Harewood gave the following details as to his enforced voyages:—"We arrived at Entry Island* on the 16th of October, 1835, after a passage of seventeen days from Sydney. Sailed from Entry Island on the 19th, and reached Cloudy Bay on 21st; started from latter place on 25th, and arrived at Port Nicholson on the 26th, at noon. The Caroline (Cherry, master), of Sydney, was the only vessel in port. When the Rodney brought up, the natives appeared very friendly and anxious to trade for potatoes and hogs. I obtained what I wanted from them, and hearing there was a quantity of whalebone to be purchased about twenty-five miles from Port Nicholson, on the 30th sailed for that place. Mr. Dawson, my trading master, having advised me, I took the head chief of Port Nicholson and four other natives with me to facilitate the purchase of the whalebone.

"On reaching the place the natives would

* Kapita.

not part with the bone unless I would consent to take them to Chatham Island. There appeared to be about three hundred natives at the place. Having been unsuccessful in my trip, I ran back to Port Nicholson, having the chief on board (Pomare), saying he would compensate me for my loss of time by a present of some hogs, etc. The next day after reaching Port Nicholson, Pomare, the chief, sent a number of canoes away, and they shortly returned filled with hogs, etc.; also two spars as a present. There was also a quantity of hogs and potatoes on shore which the chief requested me to look at. For this purpose I left the brig, taking with me a good boat's crew. A short time after landing I discovered that some of the natives had taken the boat from my men. I immediately called out for the boat to be brought back, but they refused. One of the chiefs also told me that the ship was taken, and I should very soon know it. At 11 a.m. Mr. Davis, one of my passengers, was sent on shore to inform me that the ship was in possession of the natives, and that there were some three hundred of them on board. Mr. Davis also informed me that they had rushed upon the crew, and tied their hands behind them, saying they did not want to hurt anyone on board or plunder the ship, but would have the vessel to convey them to the Chatham Islands, as a tribe had declared war against those of Port Nicholson, and would massacre the whole of them if they remained. I at once saw that any opposition on my part would perhaps be the means of losing the vessel, or that the affair would end in bloodshed. I therefore resolved to accede to their demands, and wait for a chance to recapture the brig. The natives were unwilling that I should go off to the vessel at once, and I therefore sent a verbal message to the chief officer to run the vessel under the inside of the island; but this order was not attended to. Shortly afterwards Pomare came ashore with one of the crew and requested me to go off to the ship, which I did, the natives keeping some of my crew ashore until I brought the brig within gunshot of their place. At 4 p.m. there were about four hundred natives on board and fifty canoes alongside the vessel. At dusk all the natives except twenty chiefs (*sic*) left for the shore. Among those on board I discovered Pomare and another chief, who appeared extremely suspicious whenever I spoke to the crew. On the morning of the 6th of November they brought about seventy tons of seed potatoes on board of their own, making me a further

present of about twenty hogs. They said they would give me all their powder, muskets, etc., after I had landed them on Chatham Island.

"On the 7th they employed themselves watering the ship. I remarked that my bowsprit was too bad to proceed to sea with. About forty of them then went in search of a new one, which was brought to the ship the next day. The crew during this time was employed killing and salting the pork the natives had brought on board. They frequently asked me if the Governor at Port Jackson would be offended at what they had done. . . They seemed to be much afraid of a man-of-war coming after them. . . We weighed anchor for the Chatham Island about 5 a.m. on the 14th November, with about three hundred on board; at thirty minutes past five about six hundred mustered on the vessel with about forty canoes alongside. The whole of them appeared anxious to go—though the crew could not move about to work the ship, the natives were so thick. I ran as far as the heads, and then brought up again. About one hundred of them left the ship in the canoes, taking with them my second officer, whom they promised to retain until I returned for the remainder of them. The wind being favourable, I weighed anchor and proceeded with about five hundred New Zealanders, principally women and children, with only about three tons of water on board. I had previously told them they must do without water for three days after putting to sea, which they consented to, or any other privation, if they got away from Port Nicholson. On the 15th and 16th most of the natives were sea sick, and on the 17th the women who had young children were calling out violently for water, when I ordered them to be supplied. The strongest of the men, however, only got water, leaving the women and children without. At 1.30 p.m. we saw Chatham Island, when the natives gave a great shout. . . At 6.30 I brought the brig up to the best place I could find, not having any chart of the island.

"The natives immediately commenced landing and about two hundred of them went on shore. Some Europeans came alongside in a whaleboat and told me that the best harbour was about two miles higher up, to which place we made all sail, and at sunset all the natives except eight were on shore. I consulted about making an attempt to get away, and it was agreed to, and at 7.30 p.m. made sail and proceeded to sea. Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Davis being engaged loading muskets, the natives on board

overheard them, and made a great noise so that those ashore should hear them. I told them the wind was driving into the harbour and that I should return in the morning. They appeared dissatisfied with this statement, and I allowed them to go on shore. . . After the natives had left the brig some five minutes, Pomare, the chief, and a crew came alongside in the European's boat, and observing that they were not armed, I allowed the chief to come on board. I told him that I should return in the morning, but he would not believe me. He gave orders for the other natives to go ashore, and he remained in the vessel. The weather was very squally during the night, and the chief seemed to be almost broken-hearted. The vessel tacked about the bay—which is some fifteen miles wide—every two hours, until we carried away the square mainsail, main-trysail, and the jibboom, with every prospect of bad weather. . . I resolved to run back, and at 7 a.m. brought up again in the harbour. Some of the natives said they thought I had run away with all their seed potatoes; they had been crying all the night doubting my return. They commenced taking out their potatoes, which they completed about 4 p.m. Several of them were much dissatisfied with my going away during the night, and Pomare, the chief, said that if I had not split my sails I should not have returned. . . On the 23rd, the wind being from the north-west, I weighed anchor, when several of the chiefs came on board and wished to proceed back to Port Nicholson. When outside I asked Mr. Dawson, my trading master, whether he thought anything would happen to the mate at Port Nicholson if we ran back to Port Jackson. Mr. Dawson having had sixteen years in the New Zealand trade, said he would certainly be killed if we did not return, so I made sail and reached that place on the 26th at 10 p.m. The next day my second officer came on board and told me that the Jolly Rambler had been in the harbour during my absence, which the natives would have taken but she was too small for their purpose.

"The natives had killed several dogs and hung them up in different places for the purpose, as they said, of driving the ship back to them. They also killed a young girl of about twelve years of age, cut her in pieces, and hung up her flesh to posts in the same manner as the dogs, saying that she was the cause of our detention. It took the natives all the 27th to talk over what they had seen at Chatham Island, after which they gave me in payment

2½ tons of pork, 41 old muskets, 1 carronade, a nine pounder, 2 fowling pieces, and about 7 tons of potatoes. On the 30th November I took in seven canoes from 35 to 60 feet in length, about four hundred natives, and proceeded on my second trip to Chatham Islands. Having a fair wind all the way, I arrived at thirty minutes past seven in the harbour. The natives immediately disembarked, and took all that they had from the brig. . . . On the 5th of December, having completed my forced expedition, I made sail, being accompanied to the heads with 'the two chiefs,' who craved tobacco of me. Having been given about 20lbs., they left the brig, since which I have not heard anything of them or their tribe."

The foregoing statement is found in the *Sydney Herald* of January 28, 1836, and shows the folly at least of classing the captain of the *Rodney* with such men as Stewart, of the *Elizabeth*, or Captain Jack, the hero of the episode which caused the proclamation forbidding the traffic in baked heads. Polack, for instance, who must have known the owners of the *Rodney*, Messrs. Cooper and Holt, of Sydney, and could have no excuse for not learning the truth, yet says: "The natives promised the captain to fill the brig with flax as remuneration for his services. . . . The heartless fellow that conveyed the tribes was, however, disappointed in his expectations, as no payment was given to him in return.*"

There are different statements made as to the Maori manner of behaviour after their landing. Dr. Diffenbach, who visited the islands in 1840, thus wrote: "The sealers who first visited the islands—and who met with some who had been there ten years ago—found the natives numerous and healthy, in number at least 1,200, and they were received by them with a hearty welcome. . . . Not ninety of the original natives now survive in the whole group, and in a short time every trace of them will be lost, as even the New

* Mr. J. A. Wilson, of the Native Land Court, having made inquiries in the Taranaki district on the subject of the invasion, writes: "The invaders were Ngatimutunga, 200 men; Ngatitama, 100. The chiefs of Ngatimutunga were Pomare, Te Pokai, Teriki, Te Arahui, Raumoa, Riwai, and Te Rangipuaohoaho; those of Ngatitama were Pakirari, Ruruanga and Meremere. Ruruanga had visited the Chatham Islands, and on his return he told Pomare and the other chiefs what he had seen. At this time Ngatimutunga and Ngatitama were in great dread of the Waikato and Ngatiraukawa tribes, and when they heard the account by Ruruanga, of the Chathams, they determined to go thither for safety. The idea of the conquest and migration originated with Pomare.

Zealanders have disdained to intermarry with them."

Amery stated: "The aborigines . . . were a most gentle and inoffensive race, offered no resistance to the invaders, and almost the whole of them were killed and devoured in detail by their merciless assailants, a remnant only being spared to become slaves. . . . Thus it was that the Maoris constituted themselves masters of the soil. The aborigines term themselves Moriori; the Maoris call them *pravevas*, or blackfellows. The Maoris never occupied the island. It was, however, visited by them from time to time either for birds, etc., etc."

Another writer says: "The unfortunate people were made to carry the wood and prepare the ovens in which they were to be cooked. Such of them as were destined to be eaten were laid in rows on the ground adjoining the ovens, and were killed by blows from a mere by one of the Maori chiefs."

But an old sealer named Coffee, who had been at the islands since 1832, told Mr. Mair that though the invaders treated the Moriori with great cruelty, they were less barbarous than generally stated. They killed and ate great numbers because they were not content to be regarded and treated as slaves, but fled to the woods, from whence they issued at opportune times to steal the food and to destroy the canoes of the invaders. Those caught red handed were, of course, consigned to the oven.

The epidemic which ravaged Otago in the years 1837-1839 appears to have also spread to the Chatham Islands, and to have been particularly fatal in its results among the Moriori people.

The next episode in the history of the islands, to which attention may be directed, is the massacre of the crew of the French whaler, *Jean Bart*, by the Maoris who had invaded the group. They were supposed to have obtained possession of the vessel while the crew were aloft furling the sails. After killing the crew, they burned the ship and cargo. The provocation came about, according to Dr. Lane, in the following manner: "A Scotchman named Robertson, who had been in the patriot service under Lord Cochrane on the coast of South America, and who was then the master of a colonial trader from Van Diemen's Land, touched at the Chatham Islands, and induced several of the New Zealanders from Port Nicholson to go on board his vessel to assist in working her back to Van Diemen's Land, as he was short handed, promising to restore

them to their countrymen on that island within a certain time. The New Zealanders were urgent on this point, and told Captain Robertson that if their countrymen were not brought back to them by the time appointed they would massacre the whole crew of the first vessel that should touch at the island. On his arrival in Van Diemen's Land the New Zealanders went on shore, and Captain Robertson states, that when he was again ready for sea, he applied to the police of that colony, and even to the Governor himself, informing them of the conditions on which he had taken the New Zealanders on board his vessel. But the authorities of Van Diemen's Land having informed Captain Robertson that, as the New Zealanders had arrived in the colony as free persons, they could not compel them to go on board any vessel against their will, Captain Robertson was obliged to put to sea again without them.

"In the meantime the day appointed for the return of the New Zealanders to Chatham Island arrived, but as they were not forthcoming, their countrymen prepared to carry into effect their murderous threat on the first vessel that should touch at the island. The first European vessel that called at Chatham Island in these circumstances was the *Jean Bart*, a French whaler, the master of which, a respectable young man from Havre de Grace, had shortly before committed suicide in a fit of temporary insanity at the Bay of Islands. Watching their opportunity the New Zealanders rose upon the crew . . . when off their guard, murdered every one of them, amounting to forty persons in all, and afterwards set fire to the vessel."

The news of the outrage was reported at the Bay of Islands by the American whaler, *Rebecca Simms*, which had touched at the island soon after its occurrence. When the report was made, one of the several French men-of-war who frequented at that time the southern waters to protect French whalers, was in the Bay—the corvette *L'Heroine*, Captain

Cecille—and proceeded forthwith to avenge the murder. Lane says: "This they did effectually by exterminating the whole of the New Zealanders on the island, leaving the miserable remnant of the aborigines in quiet possession." But the correspondent of the *Sydney Herald* in the Bay of Islands leaves on the mind of his readers a somewhat different impression when noticing the return of the *L'Heroine* to the Bay of Islands, and says the natives who committed the outrage were those who were chastised by H.M.S. *Alligator* for the detention of Guard's wife.

Sir James Clarke Ross, of Antarctic renown, gives from French authority the following account of the proceedings of Captain Cecille: He says the Frenchman's object in his own words, *pour venger sur les insulaires le massacre de nos compatriotes*, and also to afford relief to any of the crew that might possibly have escaped to contiguous islets. On his arrival at the great western bay of the island he found the accounts he had received were but too true; the remains of the burnt ship were still to be seen, and one of her boats was recovered, but he could hear nothing of the crew, nor whether any of them had escaped in the boats of the ship. Although Captain Cecille's arrangements appear to have been made with the greatest judgment, yet he did not succeed in securing the principal actors in the dreadful tragedy. He, however, landed a large force and totally destroyed their pas, or strongholds, and burnt as many of their boats as he could find, thus depriving them of the power of attacking any other vessel.

It appears from the French account that the people of Pomare were the most active in the capture and destruction of the vessel, the motive for which was pillage, and that the "fight lasted from two hours after sunset until two o'clock in the morning." The French appear to have been the aggressors, however, and the natives lost in the fight twenty-eight men and one woman, besides having twenty others wounded.





WHALING.

Equipping the first whalers—Abundance of sperm whales—A shipmaster at Sydney reports sighting fifteen thousand whales—Whaling expeditions despatched from Sydney—Whalers driven by privateers from the South American coast—Value of whale fisheries.



R. WHITE, the chief surgeon of the settlement at New South Wales, narrates in his journal of the voyage outwards how whales and seals were frequently fired at without their taking any notice of the aggression, as they had never been harassed by fire-arms before. Students of Maori tradition know that the first Maori war arose from a dispute as to the possession of a sperm whale that had been cast on shore, and how frequently such occurrences took place. Sperm whales evidently frequented the coasts of New Zealand and Australia before they became acquainted with European hostility to their species, and only sought safety in deep water after they found that the shores were pregnant with danger and death.

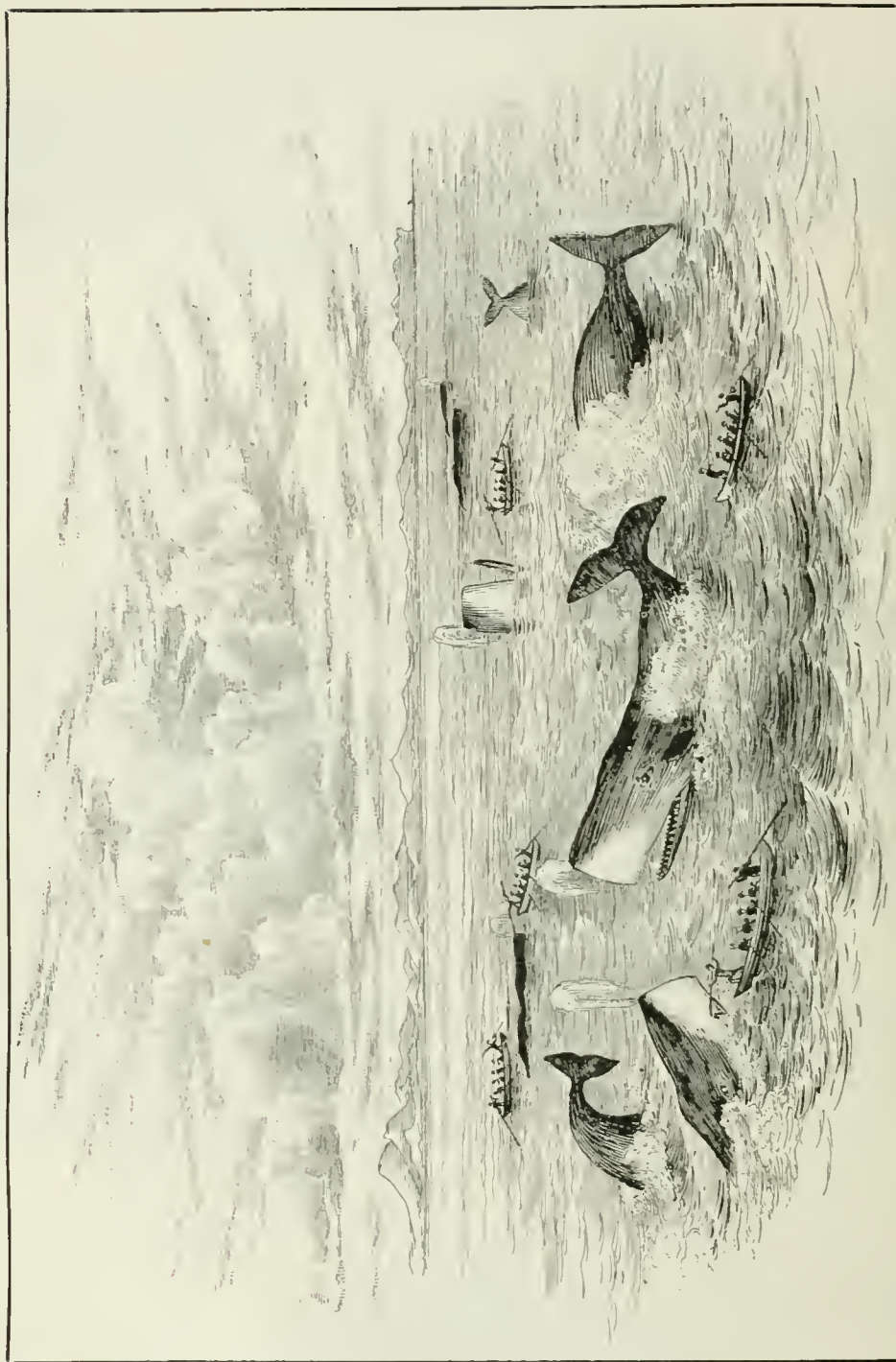
In 1788 Mr. Enderby, a London merchant and shipowner, fitted out his ship, the *Amelia*, Captain Shields, for a cruise round Cape Horn to search for sperm whaling grounds. She sailed from England on the 1st September, 1788, and returned on the 12th of March, 1790, with a cargo of 139 tuns of sperm oil, after an absence of one year and seven months. The adventurer also received £800 by way of increased bounty in consequence of the peculiar nature of the enterprise.

The success of the *Amelia* was so marked

that it gave an amazing impulse to all persons engaged in whaling, both in England and America. In 1791 six American whalers appeared in the Pacific, and the sperm whale fishery along the coast of Chili and Peru was pursued with great success, so much so that in 1791 there was a great addition to the importation of sperm oil into Britain, the increase over that of the year 1786 being nearly 1,000 tuns. The ships engaged in the fishery carried from twenty to thirty men each, and the trade was fostered by the Government, as one eminently adapted to form a nursery for seamen for the navy.

The first notice we have of whales from the new colony at Sydney is in July, 1790, when it is stated that about the latter end of the month a spermaceti whale was seen in the harbour, unhurt. A few days afterwards another whale pursued a punt and upset it, drowning a midshipman and two soldiers, and though its capture was attempted, it escaped. The whale, however, got on shore in Manly Bay, and was killed by the natives.

Among the transport ships which arrived in Sydney Cove during 1791 was the *Britannia*, belonging to Messrs. Enderby, Thomas Melville, master, with two hundred and sixty-four male convicts, stores, and provisions on board. The *Britannia* arrived at Port Jackson on the 14th of October, and the master, writing to his employers on the 29th of November following, says, *inter alia*:—"The day before we made the Island of Amsterdam,"



From an old plate.

Whaling off the North Cape, New Zealand.

the vessel arrived in Port Jackson on October 14, 1791, after fifty-five days from the Cape of Good Hope, where the captain wished to ascertain whether the sealing business was carried on there, "we saw two shoals of sperm whales. After we doubled the south-west cape of Van Diemen's Land, we saw a large sperm whale off Maria Island, but did not see any more till within fifteen leagues of the latitude of Port Jackson. Within three leagues of the shore we saw sperm whales in great plenty—we sailed through different shoals of them from twelve o'clock in the day till after sunset—all around the horizon as far as I could see from the masthead; in fact, I saw a very great prospect in establishing a fishery upon this coast. Our people (*i.e.*, the crew) were in the highest spirits at so great a sight, and I was determined, as soon as I could get clear of my live lumber, to make all possible despatch on the fishery on this coast.

"On our arrival here I waited upon His Excellency Governor Phillip and delivered my letters to him. I had the mortification to find he wanted to despatch me with convicts to Norfolk Island. I immediately told him the secret of seeing the whales, thinking that would get me off from going to Norfolk Island; that there was a prospect of establishing a fishery here which might be of service to the colony, and left him. I waited upon him two hours afterwards, when he told me that he would do everything possible to despatch us on the fishery. The secret of seeing the whales our sailors could not keep from the rest of the whalers here. The news put them all to the stir, but I have the pleasure to say that we were the first ship ready for sea. We went out in company with the William and Ann the eleventh day after our arrival, and fell in with a very great number of sperm whales. At sunrise in the morning we could see them all round the horizon."

West, in his history of Tasmania, referring to this letter of Melville's, calls the voyage of the *Britannia* the discovery of the whale fishery in Australian waters. The story of the whales leaked out, and before the departure of the ten transport ships that arrived in 1791 it was arranged that five of them were to proceed to the whale fishery. Accordingly, the *Mary Ann*, *Matilda*, *William and Ann*, *Salamander*, and *Britannia* formed the first South Sea whaling fleet.

The result of the experiment deserves relating. About the 10th of November the *Britannia* and the *William and Ann* returned

to port. The two vessels had killed the day after their departure seven sperm whales, but only managed to secure two, owing to bad weather. From the whale which fell to the share of the *Britannia* thirteen barrels of oil were secured, mainly head matter. The master reported that he had seen in ten days after his departure fifteen thousand whales, the greater number of which were observed off this (*i.e.*, Sydney) harbour. The report of the *Mary Ann* was very different. She had been as far south as 45° without seeing a whale, and in a gale of wind had shipped a sea that stove in two boats and washed down the vessel's fixed-in brickwork that was used for boiling the oil. The *Matilda* came in a few days later, having seen many whales, but was prevented by bad weather from killing any. The *William and Ann* came in soon after, confirming the report of the great number of whales that were to be seen and the difficulty of getting at them. She had killed only one fish, and came in to repair and shorten her mainmast.

A difference of opinion prevailed among the masters of the ships respecting the establishment of a whale fishery on the coast. In one particular, however, they were all agreed, which was, that the coast abounded with fish; but the major part of them thought the currents and bad weather would prevent any ships from meeting with the success that was anticipated. They were, however, determined on another trial, and having made the necessary preparation they again set out about the end of the month.

Early in December the *Matilda* and *Mary Ann* returned. Of whales the *Matilda* saw none, but the *Mary Ann* was more fortunate. By going south she killed nine fish, five of which she secured, yielding thirty barrels of oil, but the weather was again bad. They sailed immediately after their return, and ran down south as far as 36° 30', and returned on the sixteenth of December without killing a fish. The *Salamander* and *Britannia* came in at the same time, reporting the same ill fortune. After such a season we are told the masters of some of the ships gave up all hopes of the establishment of a whale fishery in the South Seas; but the masters of the *Salamander* and *Britannia*, on the 7th of January in the new year, started on a three months' cruise, at the end of which time, according to their success, they would either return to Port Jackson or pursue their voyage to the north. From the absence, however, of further notice of the two vessels, it seems probable that

their success was meagre, and the expressed intention of going north was carried out.

The next notice we have is in May, 1794, when we are told that the William sailed on her fishing voyage to the coast of Peru. Mr. Folger, her master, purposed trying what success he could obtain on the Australian coast, it being the wish of his owners to test the value of the reports carried to England by the whaling ships in 1792; but from the vessel not returning to Port Jackson it appears he obtained little inducement to fish in Australian waters.

All the whalers from Port Jackson called at Norfolk Island, and an idea of the facilities of escape from the convict settlement can be obtained from the fact that from two whaling ships calling there in September, 1792, eleven male and two female convicts were put on shore. So early had Norfolk Island obtained favour as a whaling station.

The Matilda, which left Port Jackson the latter end of 1791, was wrecked on a reef in 22° south latitude and 138° west longitude, from whence the crew reached Otaheite. Some of the crew were taken away by an American vessel, some by Captain Bligh of the Providence, and five remained on the island, with one runaway convict from Port Jackson.

In August, 1794, Mr. Melville sailed on a trial fishing voyage on the second day of the month. He returned, however, on the 8th without having seen a fish. At the end of the year 1798—December 20th—two whalers, the Indispensable and Britannia, which had been fishing on the coast, returned to repair some defects and refresh their crews. They had cruised chiefly from the latitude of 32° to 35°, and not farther from the coast than from twenty to thirty leagues, and thought themselves rather successful for the time—only two months, the one having fifty-four and the other sixty tons of spermaceti oil. The Eliza put into Botany Bay for wood and water. She, although much longer at sea, had got only forty-five tons of oil. The master reported having seen off the north-east part of New Caledonia a ship on shore upon a reef, the lower masts of which were above water, and one of the tops on the mast.

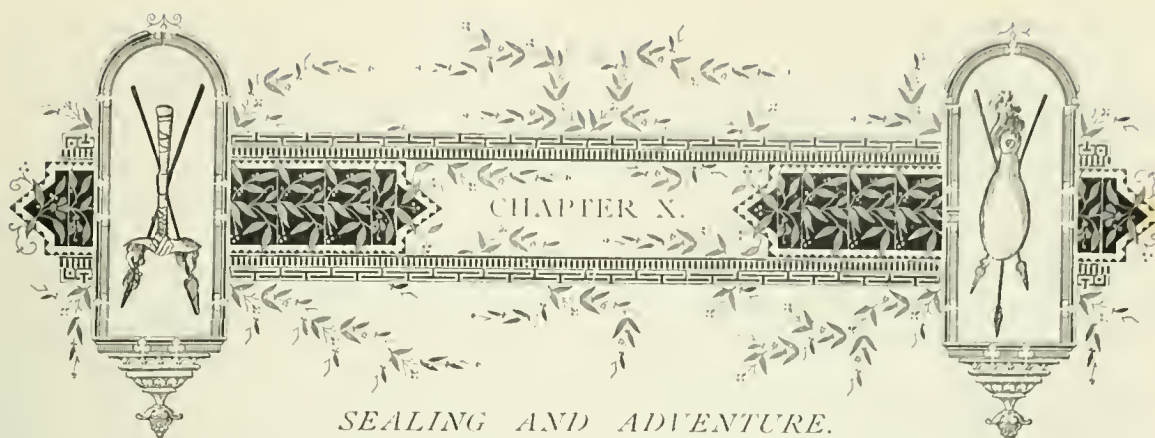
In March, 1799, the Britannia came in from sea to repair some damages she had sustained. She had procured twenty-five tons of sperm oil since her departure, and the master reported that had the weather been favourable he

should have half fished his ship. On the 2nd of June the Diana and Eliza, whalers, came in to the port to refresh their crews and to refill. They had each obtained about twenty-five tons. In October the Eliza, whaler, was in Port Jackson, not wanting more than thirty tons of oil to complete her cargo. In November, 1799, the Britannia came into the harbour, having now completed her cargo of oil. She appears to have been almost the first, if not the first, ship filled with sperm oil in the Australian and New Zealand waters.

The narrative of Mr. Collins concludes in 1800, and as the first Australian newspaper only began to be published in Sydney in March, 1803, the break in the colonial chronicle cannot be filled up so fully as may be desired; but we learn from other sources that in the year 1802 ships were sent to whale off New Zealand, where they frequently met with considerable success, and in 1803 many vessels were found ploughing the China seas about the Molucca Islands in search of the sperm whale. Turnbull, who was in New South Wales in the Barnwell in May, 1798, writes in his "Voyage Round the World" as follows:—

"The early failure of the whale fishery was attributable to two causes, the heavy seas which prevailed at the season of the year when the trial was made, and the ignorance of the masters of a coast but hitherto little frequented. However, upon the breaking out of the late war between Spain and England, the Spaniards of Peru and Chili fitted out privateers against the whalers on those coasts. The greater part of these whalers, which had not expected and therefore were not prepared against these attacks, were in consequence compelled to abandon those seas, and seek another scene for their adventures. It was therefore resolved by the greater part of them to make trial on the coast of New Holland. Four of them had arrived on that coast during my former voyage in the Barnwell in 1798, and their numbers have been increasing ever since. The present amount (*sic*) does not fall short of twelve or fourteen, whose cargoes on the average are not less than from 150 to 100 tons of oil, the value of which, at the present current price, amounts to between £180,000 and £190,000 annually."

In later years the whale fisheries became of great importance, and exercised considerable influence upon the settlement of New Zealand.



Development of the sealing trade—First party landed at Dusky Sound—Twelve months' solitary residence—The party construct the first vessel built in New Zealand—The ship Endeavour scuttled in Dusky Sound—How her seamen escaped—Adventurous voyages—Records of various sealing expeditions—Habits of the seals.



BOOK having mentioned the existence of numerous seals visiting the southern coast of New Zealand, steps were taken to prosecute their capture. As already related in the preceding chapter the ship *Britannia*, on her first voyage to the colony of New South Wales in 1791, was directed by her owners, Messrs. Enderby and Sons after discharging her

cargo, to proceed on the southern whale fishery. The whaling not having proved successful, Mr. William Raven, who was in command of the vessel on her second voyage, in the year following, was directed to try the seal fisheries. On arrival at Sydney, however, he was engaged by the officers of the New South Wales Corps to purchase stores and cattle for themselves and the soldiers at the Cape of Good Hope. After leaving Sydney Cove, on the 24th of October, 1792, he touched at Dusky Bay, where he left the second mate of the ship, a Mr. John Leith, and some of his people for sealing purposes. This was the principal object of Mr. Raven's voyage from England. He was also directed to report on the timber he found in New Zealand, which he did in a favourable manner, pronouncing it to be light, tough, and in every respect fit for masts or yards. From New Zealand the *Britannia*, after rounding Cape Horn in

favourable weather, proceeded to the island of Santa Catherina, on the coast of Brazil, where the Portuguese had a settlement, by the Governor of which place Mr. Raven was treated with much civility, but was only enabled to procure one cow and one cow-calf during the eighteen days he stayed there. He then proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, where he took on board thirty cows, three mares, twelve goats, and a quantity of spirits and stores in pursuance of his orders. It may be of interest to notice, as showing the difficulty of introducing stock into the settlement at Port Jackson, that twenty-nine of the cows and three of the goats died on the passage.

The *Britannia* was eight months absent, returning to Port Jackson in June, 1793. After her arrival, a vessel which had been received in frame from England, was completed, and with the assistance of Mr. Raven and his crew, launched and christened the *Francis*. She was fitted up in part with timber obtained from Dusky Bay. The *Francis* was placed under the command of a Mr. William House, who had strong recommendations from Captain Vancouver as being an excellent seaman. The *Britannia* in August being again ready for sea, Lieutenant-Governor Grose directed the *Francis* to be got ready also with all expedition to accompany the *Britannia* to Dusky Bay, while Mr. Raven was instructed to transmit by the master of the *Francis* such information respecting the bay and the seal fishery as he should be of opinion might in anywise tend to the present or future

benefit of His Majesty's service as connected with the settlement.

The ship thus early partly fitted up with New Zealand timber was manned with seamen and boys who had been left in Port Jackson from ships; and the master had for his assistant as mate a Robert Watson, who formerly belonged to His Majesty's ship *Sirius*, and was afterwards a settler at Norfolk Island; but his allotment having been wrongly surveyed, he was obliged to give up a portion of it, and so returned to his earlier mode of life.

The *Francis* came back to Port Jackson on Thursday, the 7th November, her long absence—nearly nine weeks—having been from heavy gales of wind and the unsuitable mode of her rigging. Four times she was blown off the coast of New Zealand, the *Britannia* having anchored in Dusky Bay sixteen days before her.

Mr. Raven found in health and safety all the people whom he had left there twelve months before. They had procured for him only four thousand five hundred seal skins, having been principally occupied in constructing a vessel to serve them in the event of any accident happening to the *Britannia*. This they had nearly completed when Mr. Raven arrived. She was calculated to measure about sixty-five tons, and was chiefly built of the so-called spruce fir, which Mr. Raven stated to be the fittest wood he had observed there for shipbuilding, and which might be procured in any quantity or of any size. The carpenter of the *Britannia*, we are told, compared it to English oak for durability and strength.

The natives had never molested the people on shore; indeed, they seemed rather to have avoided them, for if, by chance, in their excursions (which were but very few) they visited and left anything in a whare, they were sure on their next visit to find the whare pulled down, and their present remaining where it had been left. Some few articles which Mr. Raven had himself placed in a hut when he touched there to establish his little fishery were found three months after by his people in the same spot.

The weather had been very bad; severe gales of wind from the north-west and heavy rains often impeding their fishery and other labour. A shock of an earthquake, too, had been felt. They had an abundance of fresh provisions—ducks, wood-hens, and several other fowl; and they caught large quantities of fish. The soil appeared to be composed of decayed vegetable substances.

From Mr. Raven, who had waited some days

for the appearance of the *Francis*, the master received such assistance as he stood in need of, and on the 20th of October he sailed from Dusky Bay with the *Britannia*, with whom she parted company immediately, leaving her to pursue her voyage to Bengal.

No apology can be wanted for quoting every word that can be obtained of this first settlement in New Zealand, temporary though it may have been. Mr. Collins thus continues his narrative:—"Nothing appeared by this information from Dusky Bay that held out encouragement to us to make any use of that part of New Zealand. So little was said of the soil or face of the country, that no judgment could be formed of any advantage which might be expected from attempting to cultivate it; a seal fishery there was not an object with us at present, and besides, it did not seem to promise much. The time, however, that the schooner was absent was not wholly misapplied, as we had the satisfaction of learning the event of a rather uncommon speculation—that of leaving twelve people for ten months on so populous an island, the inhabitants whereof were known to be savages, fierce and warlike. We certainly may suppose that these people were unacquainted with the circumstances of there being any strangers near them, and that consequently they had not had any communication with the few miserable beings who were occasionally seen in the cove of Dusky Bay."

There was nothing unusual in Mr. Raven's mode of proceeding for the purpose of procuring seals. Sealers often led an isolated life, and were exposed to many hardships and privations before fugitives from the settlement at Sydney Cove gave an impetus to the calling in the South Seas. A few examples may be quoted with interest and propriety.

Some time in December, 1792, the American ship, the *Hope*, commanded by a Mr. Benjamin Page from Rhode Island, came into Port Jackson, having touched at the Falkland Islands, for the purpose of collecting skins from the different vessels employed in the seal trade from the United States of America with which she was to proceed to the China market.

On the 29th of October, 1793, the *Fairy*, an American snow from Boston, and lately from the island of St. Paul, arrived in Sydney reporting the finding of five seamen on the island who had been left there from a ship two years before, and who had procured several thousand seal skins. Mr. Rogers, the master of the *Fairy*, intended to proceed from Sydney to the north-west coast of America, where he

hoped to arrive for the first of the fur market, thence he was to go to China with his skins, and from China back to St. Paul, where he had left a mate and two sailors. Mr. Rogers expressed surprise that there were no small craft on the coast of Australia, as he had observed a plentiful harvest of seals as he came along the coast.

On the 23rd of January, 1796, the *Ceres* store ship arrived in Sydney from England. The *Ceres*, touching at Amsterdam, took off four men, two French and two English, who had lived there three years, having been left from a brig (the *Emilia*). One of the Frenchmen, M. Perron, had kept an accurate and neatly-written journal of his proceedings, with some well-drawn views of the spot to which he was so long confined. It appeared that they had, in the hope of their own or some other vessel arriving to take them off, collected and cured several thousands of seal skins, which, however, they were compelled to abandon. M. Perron had subsisted for eighteen months on the flesh of seals.

On Christmas Eve, 1798, the *Nautilus* arrived in Sydney from the South. She had been at Preservation Island (Furneaux Group), where and among the neighbouring islands she had been tolerably successful in seal catching. The master left fourteen of his people on the island of Cape Barren (northern portion Tasmania) to provide as many skins and as much oil as they could against his return. Those with which he now arrived were in a few days sold by auction. When the men at Cape Barren were picked up again they stated that the best sealing season was from November to May.

We hear nothing more about sealing or settlement in New Zealand from New South Wales for some eighteen months, when on May 31st, 1795, the *Endeavour*, a provision ship under the command of Mr. Bampton, entered Sydney Harbour, having on board 132 head of cattle and a quantity of provisions from Bombay. Having given his ship such repairs as the master thought she needed, he sailed for India on the 18th of September, purposing to call at New Zealand and at Norfolk Island. The *Fancy*, a snow, also from Bombay, sailed in company with him. There was this important feature attending the sailing of these vessels. It was found after their departure that notwithstanding so many as fifty persons whose transportation had expired had been permitted to leave the colony in the *Endeavour*, nearly as many more had found means to secrete themselves on

board of her. On the arrival of the *Endeavour* at Dusky Bay the ship proved to be so leaky that, in accordance with the advice and consent of the officers, she was run on shore and scuttled. By good fortune the vessel which had been built by the carpenter of the *Britannia* when left there with Mr. John Leith, the mate, and others in that ship's first voyage hence to the Cape of Good Hope, being found in the same state as she had been left by them, they completed and launched her, according to a previous agreement between the two commanders.

Miss Bourke says in her "Little History of New Zealand": "In Dusky Bay, close to the shore, beneath the clear, calm water, may be plainly seen the form of a large ship of foreign build. There she lies at the bottom of the sea, under the shadow of the towering forest-clad mountains. No one knows how she came there, but she is of no English or modern make, and some one who was adventurous enough to dive down and examine her says she is made of teak." As the *Endeavour* came from Bombay, and was scuttled in Dusky Sound, there can be very little doubt that she is the vessel to which Miss Bourke alludes and gives a Maori legend (without authority) to account for her being there.*

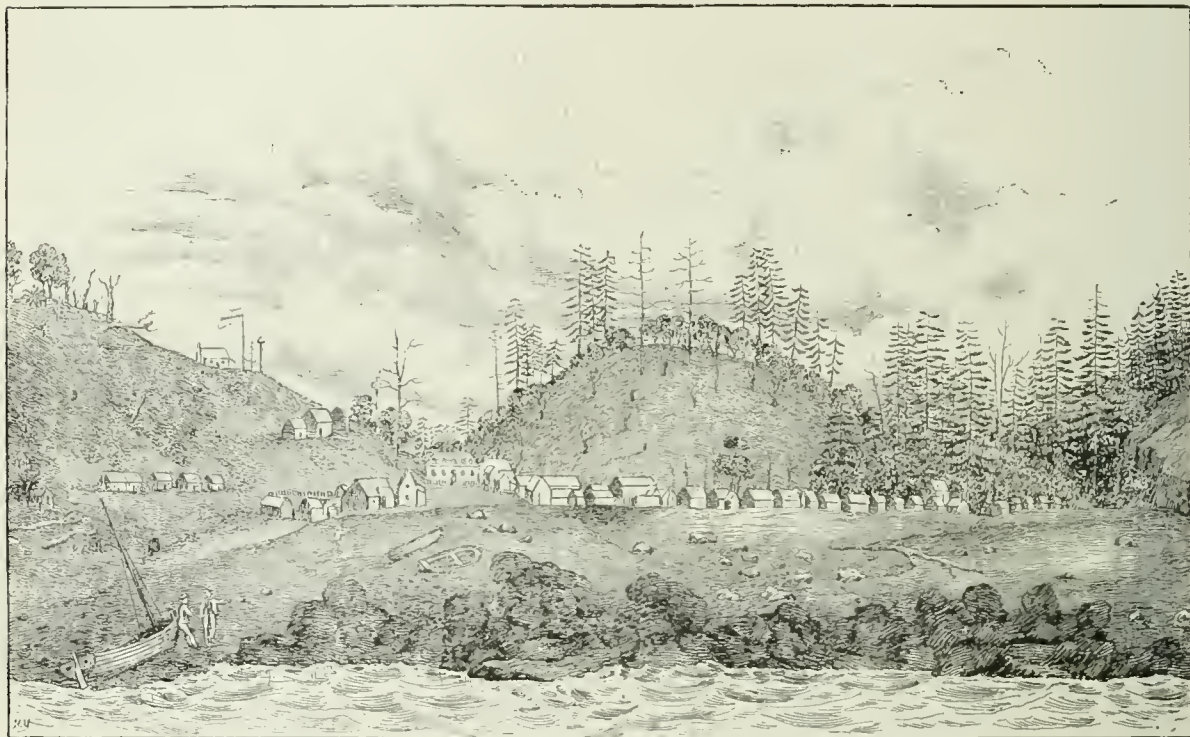
* Captain Fairchild, of the New Zealand Government steamer *Hinemoa*, who visited the wreck in 1878, says: "She is in a little nook, or pocket, so small that it was impossible for her to sail in. She must have been hauled in with ropes made fast to the trees. She is 180 feet long and about 32 feet beam. Her outside plank is 5 inches thick, all East India teak. She is sheathed with pure copper, and all the bolts used in building her are pure copper also. She is built about one-third of English oak and two-thirds teak. Her stern is in 20 feet of water and her bow in 5 feet only. She was known by the whalers to be there sixty-five years ago, and was an old ship then. In the early days the whalers used to chop her away for firewood, and they have chopped her down to the water's edge, and she only shows a little above the water at low water spring tides. She is quite clear of the ocean swell, in a perfect snug harbour, and must have been taken there on purpose to be condemned. She has freestone and chalk for ballast, and has some little bits of bamboo amongst the ballast. She is a good model, and, I think, was a fast sailer, and she must have been between 700 and 800 tons register. I got one of her rudder braces off her. It was composition, and weighed 200lbs. It had the words 'Saville, London,' on it. There are also some pieces of cast-iron amongst the ballast. Her upper deck and beams are all gone, and nearly all her 'tween deck beams have been chopped away by the whalers. The wood is quite sound, and has not been eaten by worms, as might be expected. There is a good deal of fresh water where she lays, which keeps away the sea-worms."

Captain Bass, of the brig *Venus*, prior to his departure from Sydney in 1803 for Chili, wrote to Mr. Waterhouse, of Hobart Town, stating that he intended to call at Dusky Bay for the purpose of taking the iron fastenings

"It may be remembered," Collins says, whom we freely quote as giving the official record, "that in addition to the large number of persons which Mr. Bampton had permission to ship at this port, nearly as many more found means to secrete themselves on board his ship and the *Fancy*. For these as well as his officers and ship's company he had now to provide a passage from the truly desolate shores of New Zealand. He accordingly, after fitting as a schooner the vessel which he had launched, and naming her the *Providence*,

they carried is not known. The *Providence* was in all human probability the first vessel built in Australasia.

On the 17th March, 1796, the vessel built by the shipwright Hatherleigh arrived in Sydney with some of the people left behind by Mr. Bampton. They were so distressed for provisions that the person who had the direction of the vessel could not bring away all of them, and it was singularly fortunate that they arrived when they did, for with all the economy that could be used their small stock of pro-



Sydney, on the South side of Norfolk Island, A.D. 1793.

sailed with her and the *Fancy* for Norfolk Island, having on board as many of the officers and people who reached Dusky Bay with him as they could contain, leaving the remainder to proceed in a vessel which one Hatherleigh (formerly a carpenter's mate of the *Sirius*, who happened to be with him) undertook to construct out of the *Endeavour's* long boat. Both vessels arrived safely at Norfolk Island, but what number of passengers

and two anchors from an old East Indiaman named the *Endeavour*, which had been abandoned there. He intended to sell the anchors to the Spaniards. Bass was never afterwards heard of, his fate being among the hidden mysteries of the sea.

visions was consumed to the last mouthful the day before they made the land.

This vessel, which the officer who commanded her (Waine, one of the mates of the *Endeavour*) not inappropriately named the *Assistance*, was built entirely of timber cut at Dusky Bay, but appeared to be miserably constructed. She was of near sixty tons burden, and was sold for the benefit of Mr. Bampton. She was valued at and sold for £250.

The official narrative thus proceeds:—"The situation of the people still remaining at Dusky Bay was not, we understood, the most enviable, their dependence for provisions being chiefly on the seals and birds which they

might kill. They had all belonged to this colony, and one or two happened to be persons of good character.

"In September, 1797, a small decked long-boat came to Sydney Cove from Norfolk Island, and brought an account that the master of the American snow Mercury had landed there the remainder of the people who had been left by Captain Bampton at Dusky Bay. When the Endeavour was wrecked there in September, 1795, Governor Hunter not having any vessel at Port Jackson fit for

thirty-five in number, and landed them at Norfolk Island."

Those who returned to New South Wales in the vessel built from the long-boat of the Endeavour came into Sydney harbour, it will be remembered, about the middle of March, 1796, and as the Mercury did not leave Sydney to remove the remainder until the middle of May in the year following, the residents must have been over twelve months in the Bay waiting for relief, and there seems no certainty of their all leaving to go to Norfolk Island, nor



Taken from the brow of the hill leading to the Flagstaff.

Direct South View of Sydney, New South Wales, 1793.

such a purpose, had expressed a wish to the master of the snow when he was leaving New South Wales, about the middle of May, 1797, that he should call at Dusky Sound and remove the people who were left there. The master made no objection, only stipulating that he might be permitted to take from the wreck such stores as he might be in want of; but to this the Governor could not give his sanction, leaving him only to make what terms he could with any of the people belonging to her whom he might find alive. This service he performed under many difficulties, and brought all that now remained of these unfortunate people, amounting to

would the captain of the snow be careful to remove any who wished to stay, as the chronicler remarks that as "some return for the liberty of refitting his ship, and remaining four months in the Cove, the master took away a female convict without the Governor's permission."

It may, perhaps, prove of interest to relate how, during the time that Mr. Raven's party were engaged sealing in Dusky Bay, about the latter end of February, 1793, two Spanish ships on a voyage of "discovery and information," the Discovery and the Intrepid, called there; but beyond the fact of their calling, there are no other known particulars.

Flinders and Bass, in 1798, found seals, and the people of the *Nautilus* sealing, at Cape Barren, Three Hummock and Albatross Islands; and at Preservation Island they found them appearing to be lords of the domain, Mr. Bass noting that though the principal portion of the herd scampered off like sheep, yet the males, who possessed a rock to themselves, where they sat surrounded by their numerous wives and progeny, on his drawing near them hobbled up with a menacing roar and fairly commenced the attack, while the wives seemed to rest their security upon the superior courage and address of their lords; for, instead of retreating into the water in the utmost consternation, they only raised themselves upon their fore fins, as if ready for a march, keeping their eye upon their lord and watching the movements of his enemy. The groups he saw appeared to branch off into various species. He did not recollect to have seen them precisely alike upon any two islands in the strait. Most of them were of that kind called by the sealers hair seals, but they differed in the shape of the body, or of the head, the situation of the fore fins, the colour, and very commonly in the voice, as if each island spoke a different language.

The above details are of interest and importance, showing as they do that the seals of the outlying islands in these seas had the same habits as the seals of the northern hemisphere.

Flinders tells how the commander of the *Nautilus*, on the voyage above alluded to, procured nine thousand seal skins of the first quality and several tons of oil; and how Furneaux Islands speedily became frequented by small vessels from Port Jackson employed in sealing.

There is an interesting entry in the journal of Collins very nearly at the close of the century, which is more remarkable for its suggestiveness than its importance. He writes: "On the 14th December, 1799, the *Martha* schooner anchored in the Cove from Bass Strait, whence she had brought with her one thousand seal skins and thirty barrels of oil, which had been procured there among the islands."

Turnbull, however, gives us some information which we could ill spare on this subject in his voyage round the world in the years 1800 to 1804. He tells us how Bass Straits afforded employment for a number of hands, who are engaged by different individuals at Port Jackson, and carried thither in small colonial vessels. They are stationed, he says, in different places, in gangs of ten or twelve, more or less, to collect the oil of the sea elephant and seal skins, with which the Straits at that time abounded.

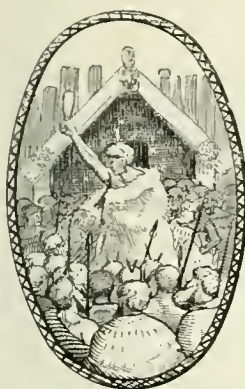
"The men were under articles with their employers, and in general went shares. Their employers were also under a bond with the Government to abide by the regulations pointed out for the preservation of order and preventing them making inroads upon each other. As the elephants and seals grew scarce in one part they were removed to a fresh ground by the small craft which attended them for this purpose, and that of bringing the proceeds of their captures to Port Jackson. The Americans getting scent of this soon obtruded themselves, from which circumstance and from the increasing numbers of adventurers on the same speculation, this business has latterly been on the decline. The elephant oil, next to the spermaceti, is said to be the most valuable of any. Mr. Robert Campbell, when we left the colony, was making up a cargo for the China market, and had collected about one hundred and eighty tons. The seal skins are generally disposed of to American and other ships going to China, but latterly they have found a much more profitable market in England. Some few are tanned and worked up in the colony."

At the end of the last century it will be seen that the seal trade of the islands included among the dependencies of New South Wales had been established, but the promoters of the enterprise had apparently no clear idea of the magnitude it would assume in the ensuing century when fresh sealing grounds would add to the world's supply in the undiscovered islands included in the dominion of the new colony.—But this is anticipating the regular current of our narrative.



FUGITIVES.

Escaped convicts from New South Wales—Desperate enterprises to regain freedom—Trying to walk to China—Fifty skeletons of deserters in the bush—Attempts at piracy—Transportation of Irish political offenders—Tyrannical action of Lord Carhampton—Prisoners banished without trial—Persistent attempts to escape—Convicts scattered over the Pacific.



UR chief concern with the colony founded at New South Wales consists in the influence it had on the early life and settlement of New Zealand, which, with the other islands of Polynesia, was included in its dominion. With the islands before them, the convicts could not be expected to remain in contented bondage. Accordingly, as soon as they were landed some of them began to concert measures for their escape. M. de la Perouse, who was in the Sydney waters a short time after the arrival of the first fleet, found his ships while at anchor daily visited by many who solicited to be received on board before his departure, promising, as an inducement, to be accompanied by a number of females. Men soon began to abscond and live in the bush, subsisting by theft and other irregular means. Some were banished, as happened in February, 1788. In September, 1790, five males in a small boat, having a mast and sail, managed to clear the Heads undiscovered, and search was made for them in vain. They had a week's provisions, their clothing and cooking utensils, and had announced their intention of going to Otaheite. Their names were John Tarwood, Joseph Sutton, George Lee, George Connoway, and John Watson.

Six months later, on the night of the 28th of

March, 1791, William Bryant, his wife and two children—one an infant at breast—and seven others decamped in the fishing boat, and their flight was not discovered until they had been some hours without the Heads. They were traced from Bryant's hut to the Point, and in the path were found a hand saw, a scale, and four or five pounds of rice, scattered about in different places, which they had dropped in their haste. At the point where some of the party must have been taken in, a seine belonging to the Government was found, which being too large for Bryant's purpose, he had exchanged for a smaller one that he had made for an officer, and which he had from time to time excused himself from completing and sending home.

The names of these desperate adventurers were:—

- * William Bryant, sentence expired.
- * Mary Bryant (his wife), and two children, two years to serve.
- * James Martin, one year to serve.
- * James Cox, transported for life.
- * Samuel Bird, one year and four months to serve.
- William Allen, transported for life.
- Samuel Broom, four years and four months to serve.
- Nathanial Tilly, transported for life.
- William Morton, five years and one month to serve.

Soon as it was known in the settlement that Bryant had got out of reach it was learned that one Smith, the master of the Waaksamheid, a Dutch storeship, had sold him a compass and quadrant, and had furnished him with a chart, together with such information

* Came in the first fleet.

as would assist him in his passage to the north. On searching Bryant's hut cavities under the board were found where he had secured the compass and such other articles as required concealment, and he had contrived his escape with such address, that although he was well known to be making an attempt, yet how far he was prepared, as well as the time when he meant to go, remained a secret. Most of his companions were connected with women, but if they knew anything of his movements, they did not reveal them. Fifteen months afterwards Bryant and his companions were found at Timor, and were re-delivered into the hands of the authorities. Bryant and one of his children died at Batavia, as did two of his companions. Cox was drowned in the Straits of Sunda, and Mary Bryant, the widow of Bryant, with one of the children and four of the male convicts, were taken to England from the Cape of Good Hope, whither they had been sent. On their arrival in England the story of their voyage and vicissitudes awakened much interest, and the prisoners having been brought up to the bar of the Old Bailey, were ordered by the court to remain in Newgate until the term of their original sentence of transportation expired.

About the latter end of September, 1791, the *Queen* transport arrived from Ireland with one hundred and twenty-six male and twenty-three female convicts and three children. The convicts had been sick on the passage, and the master, after the custom of the time, had half starved his freight. At the beginning of November, twenty males and one female sought to make their escape with the "chimerical idea of walking to China." They were armed with tomahawks and knives, and carried with them a week's provisions. For some days there were no traces of the escapees, but the people in a boat belonging to the *Albemarle* transport, who had been down the harbour to procure wood on the north shore, met with the woman of the party. She had been separated from her companions for three days, and wandered by herself, ignorant of where she was, until she came to the water side, where the boat rescued her. The woman's husband was secured the next day, but he had lost sight of his fellows for two days before he was rescued. Three of these miserable people were some time after met by some officers who were on an excursion to the lagoon between Sydney and Broken Bay; but notwithstanding their situation they did not readily give themselves up. These people were sent up to Paramatta, whence, regardless of what they

had experienced and might again suffer, they a second time absconded in a few days after they had been returned. Parties were immediately dispatched from the settlement, and thirteen of those who first absconded were brought in in a state of deplorable wretchedness, naked, and nearly worn out with hunger. Some of them subsisted chiefly by sucking the flowering shrubs and wild berries of the woods, and the whole of them exhibited a picture of misery that seemed sufficient to deter others from a like folly.

Occasional desertions not particularised had occurred from the establishment of the settlement, but the first convicts who arrived from Ireland in the *Queen* in September, 1791, went off in numerous bodies, few of whom ever returned. Their destination was China, but Collins says that all the people who went by land in search of the far Cathay perished in the bush, as one Wilson, who voluntarily came in, mentioned his finding more than fifty skeletons, which the natives assured him had been white men who had lost their way and perished.

Those who had or could acquire money experienced no great trouble in getting away, as it was found that the masters of ships would give passages to such as could afford to pay them from £10 to £20 for the same. In April, 1794, notwithstanding the ill success which had hitherto attended the endeavours of the Irish convicts to find a way to China, a few of them—how many it is not stated—took a small boat from a settler, with which they managed by night to get out of the harbour. It was ascertained that they had furnished themselves with provisions, and it was expected that they would be heard of at the Hawkesbury; but they either escaped to some of the islands or perished.

Later in the year, in November, masters of vessels gave facilities for convicts to leave the settlement other than those afforded by the Government. The chronicler says: "On the morning of the 9th the ships *Resolution* and *Salamander* left for the Cove, purporting to sail on their fishing voyage, soon after which it was discovered that three convicts—Mary Morgan, and John Randall and his wife—were missing, and a boat was sent down the harbour to search the *Resolution*, on board of which ship it was said they were concealed. No person being found, the boat returned for further orders, leaving a sergeant and four men on board, but before she could return, Mr. Locke, the master, after forcing the party out of the ship, got under way and stood out to

sea. On the following day it appeared that several persons were missing, and two convicts in the night swam off to the Salamander, one of whom was supposed to be drowned, but was afterwards found concealed in her hold and sent on shore."

The comment on these occurrences is more instructive than the events themselves. The writer says: "The impropriety of the conduct of the Resolution's master was so glaring that the Lieutenapt-Governor caused some depositions to be taken respecting it, which he proposed transmitting to the Navy Board. This man had been permitted to ship as many persons from the settlement as he stated to be necessary to complete his ship's company; notwithstanding which there was not any doubt of his having received on board, without any permission, to the number of twelve or thirteen, convicts whose terms of transportation had not been served. No difficulty had ever been found by any master of a ship who would make the proper application in obtaining any number of hands that he might be in want of, but to take clandestinely from the settlement the useful servants of the public was ungrateful and unpardonable."

Much uncertainty continued for some time as to what had really happened to Mary Morgan, and as the story is illustrative of the times it may as well be told here as elsewhere. In July, 1796, a fishing party that had been cast on shore in some bad weather near Port Stephens, met with some natives who gave them to understand that there was a white woman among a party of their people in the north, and when the statement was told to the authorities, it was found that not only Mary Morgan was missing, but one Ann Smith also, who ran away a few days after the landing of the people of the first fleet in 1788. The rumour being revived in 1797 that a white woman was detained among the natives, a search party was sent to make investigations, but nothing could be heard of either Morgan or Smith; and, indeed, for the former search in this hemisphere would have been in vain, as she had been taken from the settlement in 1794 by Locke, of the Resolution, and when she was being sought for in Australia, was leading a life in London which she most certainly preferred to the society of either the black or the white people of the Antipodes.

In September, 1797, a boat named the Cumberland, the largest and best in the colony, on her passage to the Hawkesbury, was taken possession of by a part of the crew, being at the same time boarded by a small

boat from the shore, the people in which seized her and put off to sea, first landing the coxswain and three others who were unwilling to accompany them, in Broken Bay. Two boats well armed, under the command of Lieutenant Shortland, of the Reliance, were sent to recover the missing men, but after being absent thirteen days, the party returned without discovering the smallest trace of the boat or the persons escaping in her.

The month of October opened badly, as on the night of the 2nd a boat was taken from Paramatta by some people who got unobserved out of the harbour. An armed boat from the Supply was immediately despatched to search for the fugitives, but after an absence of three days returned, having been as unsuccessful as the one commanded by Lieutenant Shortland. In these two boats fifteen convicts made their escape from the settlement, six of whom had been transported for life, six others were from Ireland of whose term of transportation no account had been sent out, and of the remainder the longest sentence had to run only until 1804. Having safely got away with the boat, they proceeded southward with the intention of reaching the wreck of the ship Sydney Cove, a vessel that was wrecked on an island off Tasmania in the previous February. For their guide they had a pocket compass, of which scarcely one man in the fourteen who composed the party knew the use. In this boat they were twice thrown on shore, and at last reached an island where, had they not found many birds and seals, they must have perished. The party soon became divided, as one half took away the boat while the other half were asleep.

Towards the latter end of February following Mr. Bass, the surgeon of the Reliance, returning from an excursion in the straits, after an absence of twelve weeks, picked up on an island near the coast seven of the men who had escaped and had been left behind by their companions. Being unable to take them in his boat, he put them on the mainland, furnished them with a part of his provisions for their support, and a gun and some ammunition for their protection. Two who were ill he took into his boat, and left the other five to begin their march to the northward at the distance of some four hundred miles from Port Jackson. They were nearly naked, almost starved, and must inevitably have perished on the island had not Mr. Bass discovered a smoke that they had made to attract his attention.

The seven men who left their companions

while asleep, having lost their boat and failing to obtain success as pirates, surrendered themselves to the authorities, stating that they had been wrecked 400 miles to the northward, and had built a smaller boat out of the debris of the larger that was wrecked. They were armed with five muskets, and had the ability to do much mischief. They were placed in confinement, and charges preferred against them of piracy. Five of the seven were capitally convicted for theft of the boat; two of the five suffered the death penalty, and their companions were respited at the place of execution.

In the latter part of the century there was a large accession of Irish convicts to the population. The story of their expatriation is thus briefly told by Walpole: "General Henry Luttrell Lord Carhampton had been sent into the west in 1795 to suppress those of the defenders who were creating disturbances on that side of the country. The gaols were full of persons awaiting their trial. Carhampton preceded the judges of assize with his troops, and without any form of trial, or under any warrant, drew out the prisoners and sent them on board a tender which sailed along the coast to receive them, and shipped them on board the British fleet for compulsory naval service. The local magistrates followed his example, arresting and transporting without a pretence of legality. Upwards of a thousand persons were the victims of this aristocratic press-gang."

Thus on the 11th of February of the year following we find the ship *Marquis Cornwallis* arriving with two hundred and thirty-three male and female Irish convicts. On their arrival the following comment is made: "We understand from her commander, Mr. Michael Hogan, that a conspiracy had been formed to take the ship from him, but the circumstance of it being happily disclosed in time, he was enabled to prevent it, and having sufficient evidence of the existence of the conspiracy, he caused the principal part of those concerned to be severely punished." The prisoners, on landing, were healthy, but those who had been flogged were sent to the hospital. Collins writes: "It appeared that the men were for the most part of the description termed defenders, desperate, and ripe for any scheme from which danger and destruction were likely to ensue. The women were of the same complexion, and their ingenuity and cruelty were displayed in the part they were to take in the proposed insurrection, which was the preparing of pulverised glass to mix with the flour of

which the seamen were to make their puddings."

In May, 1797, the ship *Britannia* anchored between the Heads, having on board one hundred and fifty male and fifty female convicts from Ireland; and though no other vessels entirely loaded with Irish convicts entered the harbour until 1800, the records of those days are full of Irish disaffection and attempts at escape.

Thus in January, 1798, Collins says: "The Irish prisoners who had arrived in the last ships from that country had about this period become so turbulent and refractory, and so dissatisfied with their situation, that without the most rigid and severe treatment it was impossible to derive from them any labour whatever. In addition to their natural vicious propensities, they conceived an opinion that there was a colony of white people which had been discovered situated to the south-west of the settlement, from which it was distant between three and four hundred miles, and in which they were assured of finding all the comforts of life without the necessity of labouring for them."

The result was that the principals in this emigration business were punished severely, seven of them receiving two hundred lashes each, and the remainder were put to hard labour and strictly looked after. To convince them, however, of the folly of their delusion, the Governor caused four of the strongest and hardest among them to be chosen by themselves and properly prepared for a journey of discovery. They were to be accompanied by three men upon whom the Governor knew he could depend, who were to lead them back when fatigued and exhausted with their journey over the very worst and most dangerous part of the country. Four soldiers were subsequently added to the guides, and on the 14th January, 1798, they set off from Paramatta on their trip of discovery. Ten days sufficed for the pioneers, as on the 24th of the same month the soldiers returned with three of the deputees, who, having gained the foot of the first mountains, were completely sick of their journey, though one desired to persevere.

In May of the same year we find that a party of Irishmen were brought in by the settlers upon George's River, who had been still employed in searching for a road to China. They had been wandering through the woods, going none knew whither, until they were nearly perishing for lack of food. Some people in going from Botany Bay up George's

River had lost their way, and so fell in with the escapees, who had got upon a point of land placed between two streams, where they had been nine days unable to find their way out, and would have perished had not they been rescued by the people in the boat. They were very weak and worn out when brought in.

In January, 1789, the Irish convicts who had lately arrived insisted that "their times were out," and that the connection of Ireland with England had come to an end.

About the end of 1799 the number of absconders had become so large that a proclamation was made which rendered the offence of aiding or conniving at absconding liable to signal and exemplary punishment. Thus, when the Hillsborough was moving out of the Cove and preparing for sea, several convicts

having been found on board, they were brought on shore, and each received a severe corporal punishment. When the Hillsborough was thoroughly searched not less than thirty were found to have been received on board against the orders and without the knowledge of the officers of the ship, but secreted by the seamen.

Early in the present century escaped convicts from New South Wales were found in many of the islands of the Western Pacific, to the astonishment of the mariners of that period, and the modern reader as well. They were found in Bass's Strait, Tonga, and Tahiti, and early in the present century they had landed in New Zealand and settled there.

The above details are compiled to show the manner and the enterprise displayed in their distribution.



South-east View of Sydney, N.S.W. in 1793,

Extending from the Old to the New Barracks, including the Church, Pitt and Spring Rows.



VARIOUS NOTABLE EVENTS.

The Rev. Samuel Marsden born—Two famous chiefs come on the scene—Spars cut in New Zealand for the Indian Navy, 1794—Fatal epidemics among the Maoris—First export of kauri—Discovery of Lord Howe Island—Further exploration—Departure of the missionary ship Duff—Condition of New South Wales in September, 1800.



HERE are several events which require cursory notice before the record of the century closes. They may be taken in chronological order. In 1764 Samuel Marsden was born at Horsforth, near Leeds, and on 1st January, 1793, was appointed by Royal Commission to be the

second chaplain to New South Wales. Two chiefs destined to be famous in history came upon the scene. Rauparaha was supposed to have been born about the date of Cook's first voyage to New Zealand, and Hongi Hika about the time of Cook's death.

In 1790 an epidemic broke out among the Maoris, which they called *Rewha rewha*. Thompson says it was of a dysenteric character, and was occasioned by the visit of an English ship to Mercury Bay. Of such a visit there is no record. Colenso says it destroyed nearly three-fifths of the people of the more southern part of the North Island.

In 1793 the Spanish ships, the *Discovery* and *Intrepid*, were at Dusky Bay and Sydney Cove. They had been three years and a half from Europe on a voyage of discovery and information.

On September 29, 1794, the *Fancy*, snow, left Sydney Cove. The commander, Mr. Dell,

proposed running to Norfolk Island, but affected a secrecy with respect to his subsequent destination. It was generally surmised that he was bound to some island where timber fit for naval purposes could be procured for transmission to India, from which place the snow had lately arrived. She was armed, was about one hundred and seventy tons burden, had a large and expensive complement of officers and men, a guard of sepoys, and a commission from the Bombay marine. It was also noticed that she had a great quantity of cross-cut saws on board.

On March 15, the following year, she returned to Sydney, and anchored in the Cove. It was then learned that Mr. Dell had been at New Zealand, where he had passed three months at the Thames, having called at Mangonui by the way. His time at the Thames was occupied in cutting spars for the use of the Indian navy. During the time the *Fancy* remained in the gulf her crew cut down more than two hundred large trees, from sixty to one hundred and forty feet in length, fit, it was said, for any use that the East India Company's ships might require. The narrative says the longest of these trees measured three feet and a half in the butt, and differed from the Norfolk Island pines in having the turpentine in the centre of the tree, instead of between the bark and the wood. From the natives they received very little interruption, being only on one occasion obliged to fire

upon them. "Like other uncivilised people they saw no harm in theft, we are told, and stole some axes," the chronicler says, whom we follow, "from the people employed on shore, gratifying thereby their predilection for iron, which, strange as it may appear to us, they preferred to gold. Unfortunately, iron was too precious, even here, to part with, unless for an equivalent, and it became necessary to convince them of it. Two men and one woman were killed, the seamen firing on them, declaring that they had driven off and pursued upwards of three thousand people. They readily parted with any quantity of their flax, bartering it for iron. As the valuable qualities of the flax were well known, it was interesting to the public to learn that so small a vessel as the *Fancy* had lain at an anchor for three months in the midst of numerous and warlike tribes of savages without an attempt on their part to become the masters, and that an intercourse might safely and advantageously be opened and maintained between the colonists of New South Wales whenever proper materials and persons should be sent to manufacture the flax, if the Governor ever thought it worthy of attention."

During the stay of the *Fancy* at the Thames the crew had many and almost daily proofs of the cannibal habits of the people. The relations between the visitors and the natives appear to have been cordial, notwithstanding the killing of two men and one woman for theft, as during the three months the vessel lay at the Thames, the whole of her running rigging was replaced by ropes made from the flax of the district.

In 1795 another epidemic broke out among the natives in the North, which was described as spreading like fire among the flax. It was called *Ti Ngara*, and so fatal in its effects that the living with difficulty disposed of the dead.

In the month of June, 1798, the *Hunter*, snow, belonging to the house of Campbell and Clarke, of Calcutta, came into Port Jackson with an assortment of India goods and a few cows and calves for sale. The snow was called the *Hunter* in compliment to the Governor of the settlement. That the Campbell's firm of Calcutta desired to foster a trade with the new settlement was evident, as they had previously built a ship called the *Sydney Cove*, which had been wrecked off the coast of Tasmania, the crew escaping on to Preservation Island—whence its name. In illustration of the policy of Governor Hunter, his action on the arrival of the snow

may be related, as showing his desire to crush the monopoly which the early traders of the settlement enjoyed. He caused a public notice to be circulated among the settlers in the Hawkesbury and other inland settlements that a ship having goods for sale had arrived from Bengal, and in order that every inhabitant might have an opportunity of purchasing whatever his circumstances might afford, he gave directions that no part of the cargo should be disposed of until the settlers in the different districts had stated to him what sums of money they could severally raise. A day was fixed for them to give in this account, and it was recommended to them to choose some person capable of managing their concerns, and in whose hands they could deposit their money, which, it was understood, must be in Government notes then in their possession, and not those they could purchase upon the strength of their crops.

The snow was commanded by Mr. Fern, who found that his principals had made a good venture in sending goods to New South Wales, and reaping wisdom by the experience of the *Fancy*, he resolved to go to New Zealand and load his vessel with spars for Bengal. That his enterprise was successful appears from the evidence of Mr. Robert Campbell, who, being in Port Jackson some time afterwards, stated that Captain Fern proceeded to the Thames, where his people cut down a quantity of very fine spars sufficient to load his vessel, but being short of hands, he could not have shipped them had not the natives with much alacrity and good humour assisted his people in getting them to the water side. These two Indian vessels in the Thames were probably the earliest European ships that had been loaded with New Zealand timber, and probably mark the commencement of the export kauri trade.

With great sagacity Mr. Colenso draws attention to the influence on the Maori race the introduction of the pig, the dog, the cat, and the rat has effected. Had the Maori remained isolated for another century, as they are supposed to have been between the visits of Tasman and Cook, we may conjecture, but cannot know, the results that would have been evolved, influencing their non-metallic civilisation. "These four animals," Mr. Colenso says—and he may be regarded as the last prophet of old Maoridom—"especially the two smaller ones, destroyed the choice and numerous ones of the Maori—the edible rat, the kiwi, the quail, and the ground parrot, and the birds generally; while the foreign

dog was also the cause of the entire loss of their own peculiar little dog, to them a most useful animal; and the pig caused them an enormous amount of extra work in everywhere fencing their many cultivations, as well as became the cause of much dissension, strife, and fighting."

Maritime discovery had not languished after the foundation of Sydney. In February, 1788, Lieutenant Ball found and named Lord Howe Island. It was fertile, and situated about midway between Norfolk Island and Sydney. It early became a whaling resort, and was occupied in 1833 by three men accompanied by Maori women and two Maori boys, who were taken to the island by the whaling brig *Caroline*.

In December, 1797, and in the months following, Lieutenant Bass in an open boat explored some six hundred miles of the coast line, discovered Western Port, and demonstrated that Van Diemen's Land was an island by sailing through the straits called after him.

New sealing ground was found by Captain Waterhouse, of the *Reliance*, on his road to England, in the island he named the *Penantipodes*, but did not land on.

And last, though not least in importance of the events crowding the end of the century, pregnant with interest to Polynesia, was the despatch from Spithead, in August, 1796, of the mission ship *Duff*, on board of which there

were four clergymen, twenty-six tradesmen, six women, and three children, sent as the first effort of the London Missionary Society with the hope of evangelising the heathen in the South Pacific. The settlement at Port Jackson enabled such an enterprise to be undertaken.

At the end of the century the colony had entered on a comparatively settled life. Stone buildings had been erected, mills, granaries, hospitals, batteries, barracks, churches, a house for the residence of the Governor, and public offices had been built or were building; a naval yard on the west side of Sydney Cove with appliances was in course of construction; parks and cemeteries had been enclosed, roads had been formed and bridges had been built; a vessel in frame of 150 tons burthen was on the stocks, others were building, and one already built in the settlement had achieved the honour of having first circumnavigated Van Diemen's Land; some forty thousand acres of land had been granted to settlers, free labour asked high wages; nearly eight thousand acres of land were cropped with grain; the Hawkesbury and Paramatta districts had been opened and settled; wool growing had been established; whaling, sealing, and shipbuilding had become recognised and profitable industries, and the European population resident in the Cove and the out settlements when Governor Hunter left the settlement in September, 1800, numbered 5,547 souls.



A Maori Chief Praying to his God.



Kauri Pine Tree, New Zealand.



From 1800 to 1805.

Voyage to Hauraki Gulf by two Scottish martyrs—Kauri loaded by the Royal Admiral—Friendly action of the Hauraki natives—The first printing presses in Sydney—Life at the convict settlement early in the century—A curious proclamation—Development of whaling—The first Maori seamen—The first half-caste—Sealing and whaling expeditions—Description of the sperm whale—Growth of commercial enterprise at Sydney—Colonisation of Van Dieman's Land—A trade opened up with New Zealand.



IN 1800, Rusden writes, the Rev. F. Fyshe Palmer (one of the Scotch martyrs convicted of seditious practices, the term of his banishment having expired, chartered a vessel with which he went to New Zealand for timber. Four of the martyrs, with whose story as martyrs we have here no concern, came to New South Wales in the transport *Surprise* in the year 1794. They were Messrs. Muir, Palmer, Skirving, and Margarot. Mr. Muir left the colony in the *Otter* for America in February, 1796, considering that in leaving clandestinely he was only asserting his right to freedom. A month after Skirving died from dysentery, and was buried at Farm Cove. Margarot had a varied fortune to deal with, but Palmer, who had been transported for seven years, seems to have been the most notable man among the quartette.

A young man named Ellis had been permitted to follow him into exile, and when Palmer's term of transportation had come to an end, the twain purchased a ship that had been a Spanish prize, and sailed for the

Hauraki Gulf. Their purpose was to load timber for the Cape of Good Hope, having the example of *Dell* before them, but upon their arrival at the Thames their vessel was found to be in so evil a state that it became necessary to lay her on shore to undergo a thorough repair. From the want of workmen and repairs, Turnbull says, she must have been absolutely abandoned, had it not been for the friendly assistance of the natives, and the opportune arrival of a ship of nine hundred tons, the *Royal Admiral*, on the same pursuit. The captain of this vessel behaved very well to Messrs. Palmer and Ellis, rendering all the assistance they wanted in the matter of stores, and the natives concurring in the same friendly zeal, enabled them to proceed on their voyage.

What timber Palmer and Ellis obtained at the Thames does not appear; they probably got a full cargo, as we next find them at Tongatabu seeking provisions, which the native wars there raging prevented them from acquiring. Rusden, who tracks them as a sleuth-hound, says they obtained supplies at Fiji, and ran on a reef at Goroa, but with native help succeeded in getting away with their crazy vessel. They sailed for China, but their provisions failing and their ship leaking, they took refuge in Guam, where (a year after they left Sydney), the Spanish Governor made them prisoners of war, declining to give supplies to the enemies of his country.

They were personally treated with courtesy. Palmer, however, became ill and died in June, 1802, at Guam.

The ship Royal Admiral, left at the Thames when Palmer's vessel sailed northward, stayed there some two months loading. Captain Wilson experienced rough weather when arriving, his vessel having been driven from her moorings by the violence of the wind, and narrowly escaped driving on shore; but he preserved amicable relations with the natives during his sojourn in the gulf, and was enabled to give them as good a character as they had previously obtained from Captain Dell. There were nearly one hundred men in the ship's company, and during the time of the vessel's loading the only act of hostility that took place was the plundering of an officer's tent who was on shore expediting the loading. But it was stated at the time that European accomplices had instigated the theft, as three or four convict ex-pirees who had left the ship, but who were subsequently recovered, had been actively concerned in the pilfering. A boy belonging to the vessel, who had been on shore in charge of some water casks, remained among the natives unmolested for a week. How strong the temptation the Ngatipao in this instance withstood can be found in the fact that the water casks were all iron-hooped. The principal chiefs, it was stated, and such of the other natives as had commodities to sell, were dealt with fairly and equitably by the commander of the Royal Admiral; and how excellent a place it was found for provisions will be seen when it is stated that a short piece of iron, sharpened at each end, from six to eight inches in length, and fastened to a handle so as to serve as a kind of adze, procured as much fish as served the whole ship's company of a hundred men for a day, while sweet and other potatoes were always procurable in quantities.

A portion of the Ngatipao address to Sir George Grey in 1854 evidently refers to these early transactions, and as it is out of the way of the general reader, may be here inserted. Te Karamu Kahukoti thus addressed His Excellency:—

"Do you hearken—the captains of the ships that arrived in New Zealand in olden time sought out my fathers. They left them as presents scarlet garments, some with fringes, axes also, peaches, and potatoes. At this time we first saw European axes. Our own axes were made of greenstone. With these we used to fell trees, and dub the canoes, but the trees were split with ordinary stones.

"When my ancestors and fathers received these axes, the news was heard at the Bay of Islands, it was heard at Waikato, it was heard at Tauranga, at Rotorua and Taupo; and the chiefs of those places came to get axes, for Te Haupa alone possessed those treasures.

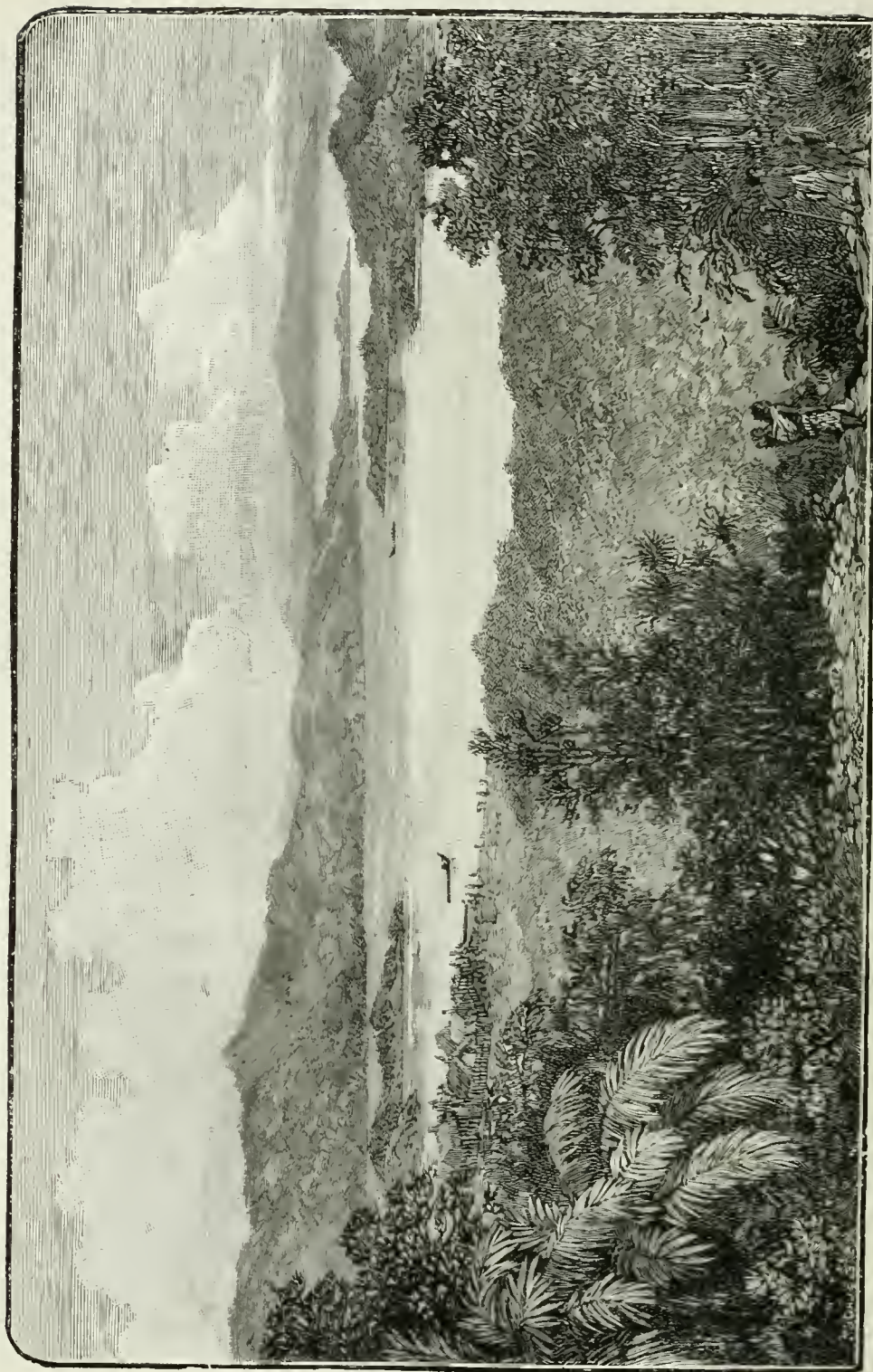
"It was then Te Raunganga (the father of Potatau) came to my mother, who was his sister, and axes and red garments were given to him, which he took to his place—potatoes also, and peach stones."

Our early records are very scanty. Collins carries us down to October, 1800, but the narrative is meagre for the latter portion of the period he chronicles. Though an Irishman somewhat himself—he was the son of General Arthur Tooker Collins and Harriet Fraser of Pack in King's County, Ireland, and grandson of Arthur Collins, the author of the "Peerage of England"—he has seldom a good word for the Irish political convicts, and seems indifferent to all common emotions in his somewhat stately prose. To him, however, as the father of Southern history, the thanks of all students are due.

Governor Phillip brought with him to the colony a small printing press, which remained unemployed until 1795, when one George Hughes being found equal to conducting the printing business, the Government orders were printed, and those written were superseded. George Howe, who published the first newspaper in Polynesia, came to New South Wales in 1800, and offered his services to the Governor as a printer. His proposal was accepted, and a small supply of material was ordered from London. Howe was a creole, born in St. Kitts in the West Indies, where his father and brother had for many years conducted the Government press. He went to London, and was engaged as a printer in several establishments, among others on the *Times*, and finally came to Port Jackson.

On 5th March, 1803, Howe published the first number of the *Sydney Gazette*, and in the first issue of the paper appears a notice on New Zealand affairs. The first leading article of the first newspaper published on this side of the world reads thus:

The utility of a PAPER in the Colony, as it must open a source of solid information, will, we hope, be universally seen and acknowledged. We have courted the assistance of the *INGENIOUS* and *INTELLIGENT*. . . We open no channel to political discussion, or personal animadversion—information is our only purpose. That acknowledged, we shall consider that we have done our duty in our exertions to merit the approbation of the *PUBLIC*, and to ensure a liberal patronage to the *SYDNEY GAZETTE*.



Coromandel Harbour, Hauraki Gulf, N.Z. Visited by Early Traders for Kauri Timber.

The first issue was of four foolscap pages, but the supply of paper proved so precarious that the weekly issue was on several occasions cut down to two pages, and paper of many kinds and colours at different times were used in the printing. The *Gazette* was generally published on Sundays, and was mainly taken up with official advertisements. One paragraph is so characteristic of the times and the conditions of life then existing, that its reprinting will afford more insight into the life of the people than pages of letterpress. It reads as follows :

The Governor having permitted Mr. Robert Campbell to land 4,000 gallons of spirits for the domestic use of the inhabitants, from the Castle of Good Hope, it will be divided in the following proportions, *viz.*, For the Officers on the Civil Establishment (including Superintendent and Storekeeper), 1,000 gallons; For Naval and Military Commissioned Officers, 1,000 gallons; For the Licensed People, 1,000 gallons; To be distributed to such persons as the Governor may think proper to grant Permits to, 1,000 gallons.

By Command, W. N. CHAPMAN, Secretary.

In the first issue of the *Gazette* we are informed that the Greenwich, whaler, Captain Law, had arrived in Sydney Harbour from the north-east coast of New Zealand with 1,400 barrels of sperm oil, and had left cruising off the New Zealand coast the following whalers, or South Seamen, as they were then called:—The Venus (Gardner), the Albion (Buncker), and the Alexander (Rhodes). Captain Buncker had been under treaty with Lieutenant King to convey some natives from Dusky Bay to Norfolk Island for the flax experiment some years before, and his notice in the first newspaper causes him to appear almost as an old acquaintance. The day after the notification of the arrival of the Greenwich, the Venus, whaler, came into the Cove with 1,400 barrels of sperm, and the information is doled out to us that Captain Gardner was nearly drowned while out after whales.

On the 7th June the Alexander, whaler, Captain Rhodes, came to Port Jackson from the New Zealand coast with 50 tuns of sperm oil. He brought word that while cruising on the coast one of the natives named Tuki, who had been at Norfolk Island with Governor King in 1794, had visited the ship, and inquired, in what English he had learned and remembered, after the welfare of his friends in Norfolk Island; and told also how his companion Uru had died some time ago. Tuki, it will be remembered, lived at Te Rawhiti, so it seems probable that the Alexander had been at the Bay of Islands. That the vessel had been fishing off the North Cape

seems almost certain, as a youth about sixteen years of age, son of the chief at the North Cape, went on board soon after the arrival off the coast, and came to Sydney with Captain Rhodes. This youth appears to have been the first person of the Maori race who, of his own volition, went to New South Wales. Uru and Tuki were carried thither against their will, but this lad appears to have been the forerunner of all the men of the Maori race, who for many years addicted themselves to seafaring pursuits. The name of the lad was written and printed Tveena*; that he was of the Aupouri tribe seems most probable, but his individuality is not known. He was entertained at the Governor's house while the vessel remained in Sydney, and was spoken of as being highly intelligent and well-behaved. He went back with Rhodes in the Alexander, and was treated in such a manner during his stay on board and on shore as would make him spread the praise of European hospitality. Rhodes spoke most highly of the hospitality of the coast natives, and Captain Oliphant, of the Endeavour, who arrived later in the year, described them as very friendly and ready to render any assistance.

About the same time that the youth from the North Cape went to Sydney there are indications of European settlement at the Bay of Islands district. Savage, who was at Te Puna in September, 1805, gives clear evidence on this head. Towards the end of his little volume he writes: "In many islands of the Pacific Ocean European fugitives and others who have been put on shore for mutinous or improper conduct have taken up their abode. A man of this description resides in this part of New Zealand; he shuns all communication with Europeans, and on the approach of a ship retires from the coast to the interior. His country, or the motives that induce him to remain here are unknown; he is spoken well of by the natives, and has adopted their manners and customs. The native female who associates with him, and one of his children, I have seen several times, and the difference between this child and those of the unmixed native is very remarkable; the native child looks you in the face with perfect confidence, this half-bred child is all bashfulness, and when you attempt to caress it, clings to its mother with marks of apprehension and distrust. Its complexion is the same as the natives, but it is distinguishable from them by having hair of a light flaxen colour. As to personal appearance it is by no means superior

* Twima?

to the native, and there is no reason to suppose that it will excel in qualities of mind."

This is the first half-caste of European parentage coming within the domain of historical inquiry in New Zealand, as the one mentioned by Cook affords no evidence of having arrived at maturity. But the child seen by Savage was noticed by Cruise in 1820, who wrote of her as a grown-up girl about sixteen years old, the daughter of a person residing in New South Wales; fair, quite English in appearance, though much sun-burnt—a pretty girl at that time living on board a whale-ship.

Who the father may have been that was thus early a resident in New Zealand—perhaps the earliest in the North Island—it is profitless to inquire, but the girl was named Tauke, and her mother belonged to Ngawhitu, a settlement between Pakaraka and Ohaeawai in the Bay of Islands, and was of the Urikapana hapu of Ngapuhi. Tauke married an European, and left issue one daughter named Te Tauhara, not long since resident at Whangarei.

The same year, 1803, on 12th July, arrived Captain Bruncker, of the *Albion*, whaler, from the east coast, thirteen months out, with sixty-five tons of sperm oil; and about the middle of October, six months from port, came also the *Endeavour*, Captain Oliphant, with 2,200 seal skins, both from New Zealand.

Thus in the nine months' record of the *Sydney Gazette* we find there were four whalers cruising on the New Zealand coast, and one vessel employed in sealing. One adventurous youth had gone across the ocean of his own volition to see how the *pakehas* lived in their own settlements, and the record is clear that the natives, both north and south—for the seal skins Captain Oliphant had obtained came without doubt from the South Island—sought to foster commercial relations with the strangers who were beginning to become constant visitors on their coasts.

When the sealing in Bass's Straits began to flag, or the animals became wary, the adventurers turned their attention to the neighbouring islands of New Zealand, where the seals were known to abound. Every bay, creek, and river was examined in the search for fresh sealing ground, and the enterprise proved remunerative. Among the earliest of the adventurers would be the party in the *Endeavour*, led by Captain Oliphant. Peron, we are told, in 1801 and 1802, found sealers in Bass's Strait killing all that came in their way. The schooner *Endeavour*, from

9th March, 1803, to 28th May, 1804, got 9,514 skins; the schooner *Surprise*, from 11th March to 15th September of the same year, procured nearly 15,500 skins; while during the month of September a vessel brought into Port Jackson 11,000 seal skins.

The sperm whale, or cachalot, contained in its head, nearly in a fluid state, for which it became hunted, the spermaceti of commerce. It sometimes reached the length of seventy or eighty feet, the head forming about one-half of the entire animal. The head was called by the whalers the "case," and is divided into compartments communicating with each other. The "head matter" is nearly pure sperm, fluid in consistency as blood, and laden out of the head of the fish with buckets fashioned for the purpose. A large whale would carry in its "case" ten or fifteen barrels—a barrel containing about thirty gallons. Between the "case" and upper jaw lies a large mass of blubber which yields nearly double the quantity that is obtained from the "case." When cold the spermaceti hardens, and assumes a somewhat snowy but flaky appearance. A large cachalot has been known to yield as much as a hundred and thirty barrels, which would have realised the whaler in some seasons as much as £1,250. The value of the catch depended on its size, from a calf of a fortnight old yielding some twenty barrels, up to the mammoth bull. When sperm whaling was in vogue, the British made use of the imperial gallon of nine barrels to the ton, the old measure of eight barrels or two hundred and sixty-two gallons being made use of by other nations.

When Europeans came first to these seas the sperm whale was found in large numbers all around the coasts; but experience has made the survivors wary, and they are now as a rule to be met with only in deep water. They swim under the surface of the water when undisturbed at the rate of from three to seven miles an hour; but being alarmed will dive, and are seen afterwards to rise slowly in a perpendicular position, with their blunt heads more or less above the surface of the water, in apparently a listening attitude, remaining in that position for fully half an hour, scarcely moving. An electrical feeling is almost at times perceptible among them. A school of upwards of a hundred have been seen spreading over the ocean, far as the eye from the masthead could reach, when one of the number being lanced, an instantaneous disappearance of the whole school takes place, all diving with great celerity and concert.

The price of the oil got from the sperm whale was greater than that obtained from the black or right whale, sometimes realising three times as much. The ships first employed in the South Sea fishery varied in tonnage from one hundred to five hundred tons, and were calculated to carry from eight hundred to five thousand barrels of oil. They were fitted with try works or fireplaces, containing two or three iron pots, each pot holding from one hundred and fifty to two hundred gallons. The fireplace was made of bricks, so laid as to form channels to preserve the floor or main deck from damage. The water was confined in a square, formed in times past of planking. When the cargo was completed, or the ship full, the fireplaces were taken down and the pots stowed away. In these pots the blubber was treated—boiled or fried—the mincing of the blubber being an important factor in the easy extraction of the oil. The fires were fed principally from whale scraps—the animal thus providing the fuel to extract his own grease. After the blubber had been sufficiently tried the oil was baled out and placed in coolers—generally made of copper—to cool and settle, when it was put into casks, sometimes of about thirty gallons called barrels, or in larger vessels holding about two hundred and eighty gallons, called tuns. Polack says: "When the heat has subsided, and the staves, if new, are sufficiently shrunk so as to insure from their leaking, the bung is put into the casks, which are carefully loaded in the hold, the bung being upwards, and the body of the casks kept apart from touching each other, bedded and quined with small blocks of wood; this is called bilge free. After the ship has had a quantity of oil within her hold some length of time, the casks are again taken upon deck. The cooper carefully examines each cask, after which they are again replaced in the hold with care and attention. Often in warm climates during the voyage salt water is poured over the casks to prevent shrinkage. A whaler of three hundred and fifty tons would make use of four boats, and carry two spare ones."

During the year 1804 the *Gazette* gives us very little information; but the first item is the sailing of the *Scorpion*, whaler, from England towards the latter end of June, 1803, bearing a letter of marque, with fourteen carriage guns and a complement of thirty-two men. Letters of marque authorised the bearer to make war upon or to seize the property of another nation, and were granted by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Property thus seized could be sold by the holders of the letters of marque; while seizing property without the authority thus conferred was called piracy. Letters of marque, as is well known, were abolished among European nations at the Treaty of Paris in 1856.

The English ambassador left Paris in May, 1803, and the Admiralty almost directly placed an embargo on the French and Dutch ships, and despatched vessels to capture them wherever they could be found. Among those thus despatched was the *Scorpion*, commanded by Captain Dagg. Shortly after her departure from the English coast she captured, we are told, two French whalers, with full cargoes, and proceeded to St. Helena, then a port of call for all vessels going south or east. Thence she visited the coast of New Zealand, and procured some 4,760 excellent seal skins and twenty barrels of sperm oil, and arrived in Sydney Cove during the first week of April in the year 1804. Captain Rhodes at the end of the year arrived from New Zealand with a hundred tons of oil, probably mainly sperm, in the *Alexander*.

The discovery of Bass's Straits formed almost a new epoch in the history of the young settlement. Until the commencement of the century, the operations of the colonists were mainly confined to bringing grain from the Hawkesbury River, lime from Botany Bay, or in visits of enterprise to the Coal River, as it was then called. But the discovery of the Straits, the success of the sealers and the whalers gave a maritime spirit to the people which had hitherto lain dormant. Port Jackson became the centre from which a new network of commerce and trade was to radiate. New islands were sought for, and those known to exist were subjected to more careful examination.

The French being desirous of forming a settlement in Tasmania—M. Peron complained bitterly of the English possessing all the land in the South Pacific between the parallels of Peru and Chili—Governor King determined that it should be occupied without delay, and in the muster roll of the Sydney barrack of 29th March, 1803, the following order appears:—

"It being expedient to establish His Majesty's right to Van Diemen's Land His Excellency has been pleased to direct Lieutenant John Bowen, of H.M.S. *Glatton*, to form a settlement on that island, and has appointed him Commandant and Superintendent of the settlement so formed until His Majesty's pleasure

is known. His Excellency has also been pleased to appoint Mr. Mountgarrat surgeon, and Mr. Williams to act as storekeeper at the above settlement until His Majesty's pleasure is received thereon."

In a record of 3rd June, 1803, an account is given of the departure from Port Jackson of some portion of the New South Wales Corps, and a few prisoners, in the *Lady Nelson*, under the command of Lieutenant Bowen, R.N.

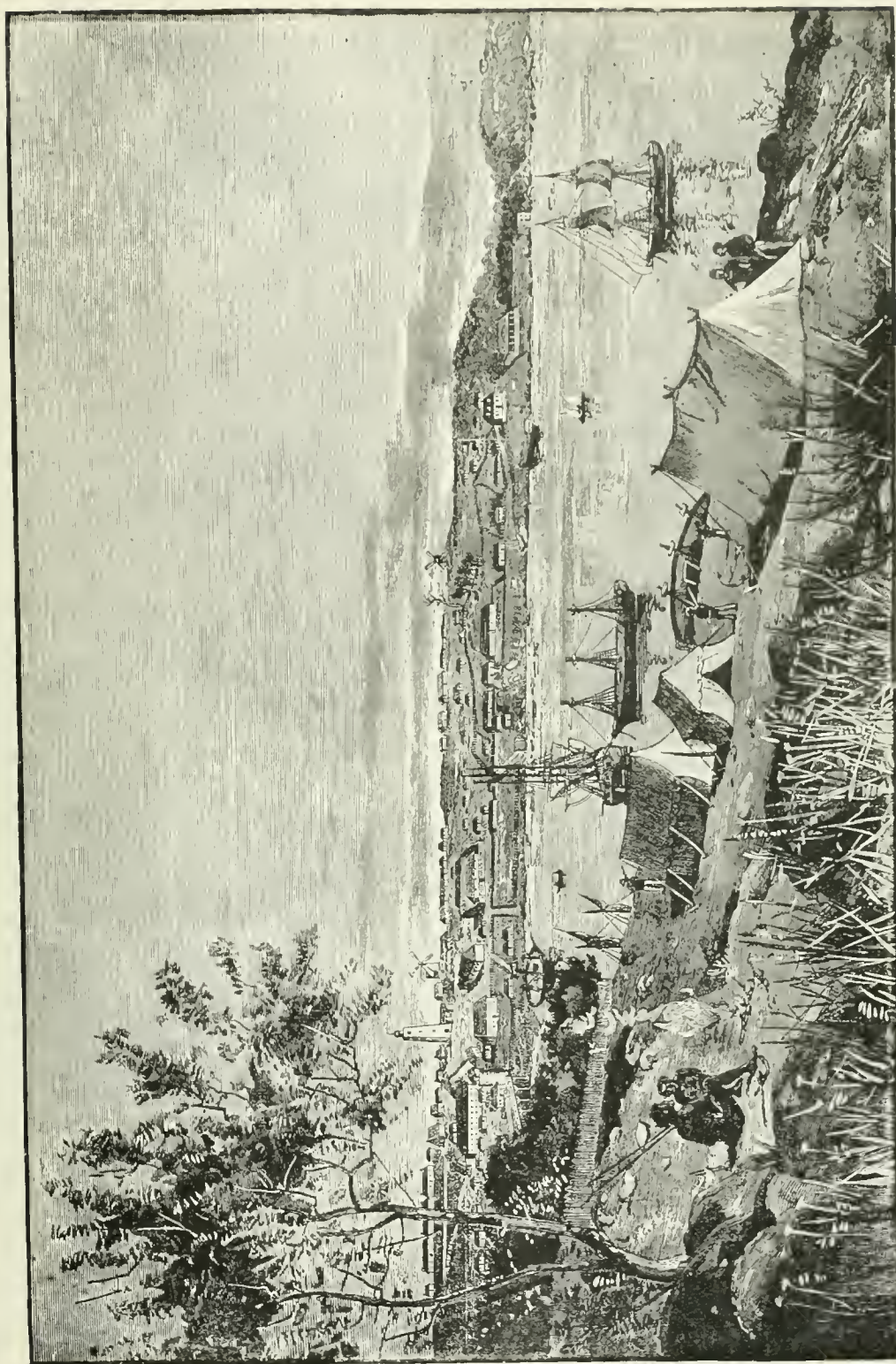
But what more immediately concerns the New Zealand portion of the colony is the fact that in 1804, Colonel Paterson, of the 102nd Regiment, or New South Wales Corps, was sent as Commandant to form a new settlement at Port Dalrymple—on the opposite side of the island to where Hobart had been founded. He named the river the Tamar, and established at the head of the western arm York Town, which became subsequently removed to the site George Town occupied.

In 1805, the *Scorpion*, from the New Zealand coast, came into Sydney harbour with between six and seven hundred barrels of sperm oil, four months out from the port; and the *Ferret*, a New Zealand whaler, had also a return of one hundred and eight tuns of sperm. There were at this time several vessels trading along the coast, whaling, sealing, or otherwise employed, but they only appear in the colonial records, as it were, incidentally, without specific mention or purpose. There were, however, in the year 1805, two Maoris who visited New

South Wales and Great Britain, and the stories of their travels may help to portray the conditions of early New Zealand settlement.

In this year was built at Port Jackson the *King George*, a vessel of two hundred tons burthen, in the short space of eleven months. She was put into the New Zealand trade, and named in compliment to the sovereign.

During the Governorship of Captain King the interests of New Zealand were carefully studied. As though he had a prescience of its becoming a British colony, he sought to lay the foundation of good fellowship between the two countries. He treated the Apouru youth who visited Jackson's Bay with kindness and consideration, and Te Pahi and his sons with distinguished honour. He sent them away laden with gifts. All along the eastern coast of the North Island the European shipmaster met with hospitable treatment, as the kindness of the Governor to Uru and Tuki at Norfolk Island became in Maori households a familiar story. It was a point of honour with a Maori chief of those days not to be outdone in hospitality. It was during his Governorship that Captain MacArthur introduced wool growing into the colony, not dreaming of the extent its proportions in future years would assume. Captain King assumed office on September 28, 1800, and left it August 12, 1806. He died at Bath in England, August 31, 1814, aged 77 years.



Sydney Cove in 1801



TE PAHI AND MOEHANGA.

Visit of Te Pahi to Sydney—Favourable impression—Introduction of the potato from Norfolk Island—The strange story of George Bruce—Te Pahi's second visit to Sydney—His meeting with the Rev. Samuel Marsden—Te Pahi's son, Matara, visits England—Cruise of the City of Edinburgh—The massacre of the Boyd—Retaliatory measures by the whalers—Death of Te Pahi—Mochanga's visit to England—Interview with King George and Queen Charlotte—His impressions of civilization—Return to New Zealand and subsequent voyages.



IN the first years of the century the fame of Te Pahi, the Maori, had travelled from the Bay of Islands to Port Jackson. The whalers had carried it thither, and sung and perhaps magnified his praises. How it came about does not appear; but in 1804 Governor King sent him a present in the *Adonis* whaler, Turnbull master, of eighteen sows and two boars; by the *Venus*, Captain Stewart, two sows and two she-goats; and by the *Argo*, Captain Bader, six sows and two boars. Tuki, who had been at Norfolk Island on the flax experiment with Lieutenant King, lived at Rawhiti, and kept up correspondence by message when possible with his host; but Uru had been dead some years when the pigs and goats arrived at Te Puna, if they ever achieved the termination of their voyage.

Te Pahi left New Zealand with Captain Stewart, the master of the *Venus*, probably early in September, 1805, as we find his arrival announced in Port Jackson from Norfolk Island on 26th November following. He was not at Te Puna when Savage got there towards the end of September. Having

expressed a desire to visit the Governor, Captain Stewart conveyed him with five of his sons to Norfolk Island, where the party received every attention from the Commandant and the inhabitants, and after staying there some time were received on board H.M.S. *Buffalo*, and proceeded to Port Jackson. Captain Houstin, who conveyed the party to the Cove, introduced Te Pahi to His Excellency and his officers, with whom the guest was domiciled and suitable accommodation provided for his sons. After Te Pahi had been with the Governor from his arrival on 26th November till his departure on 25th February following, His Excellency wrote to Lord Camden in March, 1806, in this mode of commendation: "This worthy and respectable chief for so we found him in every sense of the word after residing among us three months informed me that he had long intended this visit, being encouraged by the report of Tuki and Uru. He had undertaken it also at the request of his father, and the prospect of his country being benefited by his visit, as it had been by the great blessing bestowed on it by the two New Zealanders' return from Norfolk Island, who introduced the potato, which is now in the greatest abundance."

He was thus described by a person who was familiar with him: "He appears to be about fifty years of age, five feet eleven inches and a-half high, and of an athletic form. His

countenance is expressive and commanding, though much disfigured by being completely tattooed. He was found a man of superior understanding; he was very inquisitive, and examined with great attention the various manufactures that were carried on by the settlers. He was particularly struck with the art of spinning pack thread and cord, and with weaving, and expressed his deep concern that these arts were not known in his country. He made very shrewd and just remarks on the laws and police of the colony, and appeared very desirous to take back with him some artizans, who might introduce among his people the advantages of civilization."

That Te Pahi might receive no unpleasant impressions from his visit, he ate at the Governor's table. "He complained," the Governor wrote, "that in one instance a New Zealander had been flogged by the master of a whaler, and hoped that I would give orders that no such act would be committed in future, and very liberally observed that he supposed the master must be a bad character in his own country to commit such violence on a stranger, whose countrymen were relieving his wants. I assured him that I would give strict directions that nothing of the kind should happen again, but if unfortunately it should recur, every pains should be taken to bring the offender to justice."

Being taken to the brickfields to attend the public interment of a native of some note, whose death resulted from a spear wound, and the simple funeral rites being over, a war spectacle ensued, at which Te Pahi and his sons were decided in their expressions of contempt for the mode of warfare practised by the aborigines. He, however, highly praised the *woomera*, or throwing stick, as from its elasticity he acknowledged the weapon received increased velocity. The natives formed exalted notions of the stranger's importance, which probably arose from the deference paid to him, and his residing among the officials.

King sent him home in His Majesty's colonial vessel, the *Lady Nelson*, with gifts of fruit trees and other appropriate presents. There was a project, he writes, to procure Maoris to serve as shepherds in Australia, but Te Pahi discountenanced the idea. Rusden says he received a silver medal with a suitable inscription, and bearing on the obverse: "In the reign of George III., by the grace of God King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." The commander of the *Lady Nelson* reported, on his return, that it was evident

Te Pahi was a chief of considerable importance.

On the passage, however, the chief was taken sick, and a young man belonging to the vessel was ordered to wait upon him. So pleased was he with the attention of his attendant that he particularly requested the captain of the vessel to leave the young man with him. The captain, knowing the Governor's intentions, readily consented. The attendant was equally well inclined to accept the invitation, and thus, the New South Wales writer says, to all human appearance an intercourse was opened between the two countries which promised the most important results.

The young man lived constantly under the protection of Te Pahi, and having acquired some knowledge of the language, the chief gave him his daughter in marriage, and he became his factor and interpreter. While everything was thus proceeding to the content of the chief, to that of the young man, and to the interest of that of the two countries, a mischance, characteristic of the time, took place which is instructive as illustrating the character of early settlement in New Zealand. The story is told in an old-fashioned way in a Calcutta paper of the day, and, condoning the writer's ignorance of New Zealand life and custom, may be thus rendered:

"George Bruce, son of John Bruce, foreman and clerk to Mr. Wood, distiller at Limehouse, was born in the parish of Ratcliffe Highway in 1779. In 1789 he entered on board the Royal Admiral, East Indiaman, Captain Bond, as boatswain's boy. He sailed from England for New South Wales, and arrived at Port Jackson in 1790, where, with the consent of Captain Bond, he quitted the ship, and remained at New South Wales.

"At Port Jackson Bruce entered into the colonial naval service, and was employed for several years under Lieutenants Robins, Flinders, and others, in exploring the coasts, surveying harbours, headlands, rocks, etc. After being thus employed for several years in vessels of survey, he was turned over to the *Lady Nelson*, Captain Simmons, a vessel fitted up for the express purpose of conveying Te Pahi to Port Jackson.

"Bruce spent his first months in New Zealand in exploring the country, and in acquiring a knowledge of the language, manners, and customs of the people. He found the country healthy and pleasant, the people hospitable, frank, and open, though rude and

ignorant. Previous to his marriage he had to be tattooed, as unless he underwent that operation, he could hardly be considered an adopted member of the tribe. Six or eight months after his marriage, the ships *Inspector*, the *Ferret*, a South Sea whaler, and several other English vessels touched at New Zealand for supplies, and all of them found the beneficial influence of having a countryman and friend at the head of affairs in that island. They were liberally supplied with fish, vegetables, and other requisites that could be procured.

"The General Wellesley soon after touched at some portion of the coast—probably at Whangaroa—where Bruce and his wife were visiting, and the captain, named Dalrymple, applied to Bruce to assist him in procuring a cargo of spars and benjamin, and requested specimens of the principal articles of produce of the island, which services were cheerfully performed. Captain Dalrymple then proposed to Bruce to accompany him to the North Cape, distant about twenty-five or thirty leagues, where it was reported that gold dust could be procured, and Captain Dalrymple conceived that Bruce might prove useful to him in the search for the gold dust. With great reluctance, and after many entreaties, Bruce consented to accompany Captain Dalrymple under the most solemn assurances of being safely brought back and landed at the Bay of Islands. He accordingly embarked with his wife on board the General Wellesley, representing at the same time to Captain Dalrymple the dangerous consequences of taking his wife from the island; but that fear was quieted by the solemn and repeated assurances of Captain Dalrymple that he would, at every hazard, re-land them at the Bay of Islands. Being all on board, the Wellesley sailed for the North Cape, where they soon arrived and landed. Finding that they had been entirely misinformed as to the gold dust, the Wellesley made sail, in order to return; but the wind becoming foul, and continuing so for forty-eight hours, they were driven to sea. On the third day the wind became more favourable, but Captain Dalrymple did not attempt to regain the island, but stood on for India. Bruce now gently remonstrated, and reminded him of his promises, to which Captain Dalrymple replied, 'that he had something else to think of than to detain the ship by returning with a valuable cargo to the island. Besides, he had another and a better island in view for him.'

"On reaching Fiji, Captain Dalrymple asked Bruce if he chose to go on shore and remain there, which he declined doing on account of the barbarous and sanguinary disposition of the inhabitants. Captain Dalrymple desired that he would choose for himself, and then took from him several little presents which he himself and his officers had given to him at New Zealand; these now were given to the natives of the islands in the boats then alongside the vessel.

"Leaving Fiji, they steered towards Sooloo, visiting two or three islands on their passage. After remaining four or five days at Sooloo, they sailed for Malacca.

"At Malacca, Captain Dalrymple and Bruce went ashore. The latter was anxious to see the Governor or commanding officer, to state his grievances, but as it was late in the evening when he landed, he could not see him till the following morning, by which time Captain Dalrymple had weighed from Malacca Roads, leaving Bruce on shore, and carrying off his wife on board the Wellesley to Penang.

"Bruce acquainted the commanding officer at Malacca with his case, and expressed his wish to regain his wife, and to return with her to New Zealand. The commanding officer endeavoured to console him; desired that he would patiently wait at Malacca for a short time, as some ships might probably touch there on their passage from Bengal to New South Wales, by which he would procure a passage for himself and his wife; and that, in the meantime, he would write to Penang, desiring that his wife should be returned to her husband at Malacca. After waiting for three or four weeks, accounts were received of Captain Dalrymple's arrival at Penang, upon which Bruce obtained the commanding officer's permission and left Malacca in the *Scourge*, gun brig, for Penang, where, upon his arrival, he found that his wife had been bartered away to Captain Ross. On waiting upon the Governor of Penang, he was asked what satisfaction he required for the ill-treatment he had experienced; Bruce answered that all he wanted was to have his wife restored, and to get a passage, if possible, to New Zealand. Through the interference of the Governor his wife was restored to him. With her he returned to Malacca, in hope of the promised passage to New South Wales, but as there was no appearance of the expected ships for that port, he was now promised a passage for himself and his wife to England in one of the homeward-bound Indiamen from China. By getting to Eng-

land, he hoped from thence to find a passage to New South Wales. But the China ships only anchored in Malacca Roads for a few hours during the night, so that he had no opportunity of proceeding by any of the ships of that fleet. He then entreated the commanding officer to get him a passage in the *Sir Edward Pellew* to Penang, where he hoped to overtake the *Indiamen*. A passage for himself and his wife was accordingly provided on board the *Pellew*, and, on his arrival at Penang, he found the *Indiamen* remaining still there, but he could not be accommodated with a passage to Europe without the payment of four hundred dollars. Not having that sum, and without the means to raise it, he came on with the *Sir Edward Pellew* to Bengal, where he and his wife were hospitably received."

Neither Bruce nor his wife were heard of more.

The loss of his daughter induced Te Pahi to again visit his friends at Port Jackson, to learn whether the people across the sea knew what had become of Bruce and his wife. In May or June, 1808, a Captain Ceronci, the master of a sealing vessel called the *Commerce*, belonging to Port Jackson, called at the Bay of Islands when returning from a voyage to the south in pursuit of seals. Anchoring close to Te Puna, Te Pahi asked a passage of the captain to Port Jackson, who readily granted the request. Before sailing, however, Te Pahi desired the captain to take the vessel on to Whangaroa, as the stores in

his district were exhausted by the whalers, who made the Bay of Islands a constant port of call. Te Pahi, on his voyage to Port Jackson, touched, as was customary, at Norfolk Island, where he was entertained by the commandant, Captain Piper. Berry relates how he was dressed in certain robes of state, presented to him on his former visit by Governor King, covered with tinsel, and in some measure resembling those worn by a Merry Andrew, with some improvement emanating from his own invention.

Te Pahi, accompanied by three of his sons and several attendants, arrived at Sydney on Sunday, 10th July. He had been very ill on the passage from Norfolk Island, and was in a dangerous state when the harbour was gained. Shortly after his arrival the Lieutenant-Governor Captain Bligh, the Governor having been deposed gave directions that he should receive every possible attention, and after a stay of some months he was sent back to his own country.

It was, however, during the first visit of Te Pahi to Sydney that Mr. Marsden met him and determined to found the New Zealand Mission. Several years after the death of the brown man—when Mr. Marsden was returning from Hokianga in 1819—sitting on the stump of a tree that Te Pahi had in former years fallen to form a canoe, in the neighbourhood of Tiamai, he began to moralise on the skeins in the tangled web of life and fate, and to tell those who surrounded him how fourteen years



Te Pahi.

before he had met the chief in the streets of Sydney—the first New Zealand chief he had ever seen—who was the man who had planted the mission acorn in New Zealand, but had died before the oak appeared.

In 1807, Matara, a son of Te Pahi, was for some time in London, whither he had been sent in the *Buffalo*, where he was introduced to the Royal Family, and treated with marked attention. He returned to Port Jackson from London in the ship *Porpoise* in November, 1808, and proceeded from there to the Bay of Islands in the ship *City of Edinburgh*. Berry writes: "This young gentleman lived while he remained at Sydney in the family of the *ci-devant* Governor Bligh, and afterwards, in January following, 1809, accompanied me as a passenger in the *City of Edinburgh* to New Zealand. He spoke English tolerably, dressed and behaved like a gentleman, and, of course, lived in the cabin. He spent, however, the greater part of the day in company with a Maori who was a sailor on board. His first appearance at New Zealand in the uniform of a naval officer, not only gratified his own vanity, but excited the greatest applause from his own countrymen. In a few days, however, he resumed his national costume, and with it his national habits; but having been accustomed to delicate treatment for a length of time, his constitution proved unequal to resist the mode of living in use among his countrymen. He became affected with a hoarseness which gradually settled on his lungs, and in a few months brought him to his grave."

The *City of Edinburgh*, a vessel employed in the carriage of timber from New Zealand to the Cape of Good Hope, made a second trip to the Bay of Islands in pursuit of her business in 1809, and during the three months of her sojourn there, underwent a thorough overhaul on the Kororareka Beach. Berry, on this matter, says: "Under the auspices of the Kororareka chiefs, from 1st March to the end of May, 1809, we landed the stores and appliances of the ship *City of Edinburgh*, of 526 tons register, hove her down, completely stripped her of her copper, caulked, repaired her bottom, and resheathed her with plank made of New Zealand pine. And, after completing our repairs, we made sail for the Fijis for sandal wood, and again returned to New Zealand about the end of October in the same year, and in a little more than two months procured a full cargo of spars."

Berry further says: "Some time after our second arrival in New Zealand Te Pahi came on board, and we saw him for the last time.

He appeared then much altered, and expressed himself as deeply affected by the loss of his son. This happened a short time before the catastrophe of the *Boyd*, which the natives brought me an account of about the middle of December."

Close on the heels of the incidents already related, came to the Bay of Islands news of the massacre of the *Boyd*. Unfortunately for himself, Te Pahi was at Whangaroa when the tragedy took place. He subsequently asserted that he was altogether ignorant of the attack at Kaeo, having been at a distant part of the harbour, but hearing of the capture of the vessel, went on board, and did his best to prevail upon the natives to spare the surviving sailors, but without avail, and thereupon returned disgusted to his own place at the bay.

The tidings of the disaster spreading, reached the captain of a whaling vessel lying at the Bay of Islands, who at once put to sea, and shortly after, falling in off the coast with several other ships, the crews, upon learning the news, determined upon revenge, and hearing but not knowing that Te Pahi was active in the massacre, resolved to wreak their vengeance upon him.

In the early part of the century the chief town in the Bay of Islands was Te Puna, which was situated partly on the mainland and partly on an island adjacent. When Savage was there in 1805 it consisted in the whole of some hundred dwellings. On the mainland the dwellings of the natives were surrounded by gardens, but the island contained the pa, and was appropriated to the use of the chief and the more immediate of his following. The island was so abrupt in its ascent and so easily defended against an enemy, that it was the refuge of the natives on that side of the Bay of Islands in time of war, answering the purposes of a citadel of strength. It was also the arsenal of Te Pahi, and according to Savage, who devotes a somewhat long paragraph to the subject, the place where he had imprisoned a refractory daughter. After the attack by the whalers had been determined on, each of the ships concerned therein sent three boats at night well armed to surround the island where Te Pahi lived, landed and shot every native who came in their way. Some who could get away in canoes did so, some swam from the island to the main, but a great many were killed. Te Pahi himself, wounded in the shoulder with a musket ball, supported on each side by two women—he had married four sisters—was enabled to reach the mainland. The darkness hid others

who were wounded, and the whalers, after they had burned the whares, the crops, the canoes, and all they could burn, left the island and joined their ships.

Te Pahi did not long survive the attack of the whalers. He ultimately, it is said, lost his life from a spear wound in the side, received in battle from one of the chiefs of Whangaroa on account of his sympathy with the murdered English.

Across the bay at Kororareka lived Tara and Tupe, two men of mark, with whom the people of the Duke of Edinburgh had confidential and commercial relations. To them Berry was mainly indebted for the information he acquired relative to the massacre of the Boyd and the character of Te Pahi. It appears from a collection of all the evidence that can be obtained, that Te Pahi had nothing to do with the massacre, and that he sought to preserve the lives of the hapless Europeans, though he may have, as Thompson asserts, eaten portions of the slaughtered people. He was probably slandered to Berry from tribal jealousy, and the slanders were believed by the infuriated whalers when they heard the news of the Boyd's destruction.

King, who was a good judge of men, regarded him highly, and placed dependence on his word and deeds. Those who slandered him among his own people were probably envious of the gifts he obtained from the Europeans, and the merited renown he had acquired. The Government of the colony of New South Wales had got into an evil dram-drinking groove, and those who guided the helm at Port Jackson cared little for the purposes which the integrity of Phillip and his two successors hoped to establish. There was no check held on those who traded in the South Seas. Hasty punishment followed swiftly on hasty judgments. One race did not understand the other, and insular ignorance intensified insular prejudice. Te Pahi planted the acorn, Marsden writes. It was, perhaps, the whole of his allotted task.

When Te Pahi was on his way to Port Jackson, Moehanga was on his road to Europe. The journey of Moehanga came about in this manner. About the latter end of September, 1805, a whaler put into the Bay of Islands having a gentleman acting as surgeon called Mr. John Savage. The vessel was the *Ferret*, and commanded by Captain Skelton. She had been already successful in her voyage, having secured one hundred and eight tons of oil. The *Ferret* remained at the Bay of Islands apparently

four or five weeks, and when it became known that Mr. Savage wanted a Maori to accompany him to Europe, several proffered their services, and the doctor chose one whose countenance pleased him. He described him as a healthy, stout young man of the military class, and connected with families of the first consideration. More than this Mr. Savage did not claim for him, and no attempt was ever set up that he should be regarded as a chief of high rank or importance.

Moehanga was a representative or connection of several *hapu*—of Te Para Whau of Whangarei, of Ngatiwai of Whangaruru, and of Te Tawera of Te Rawhiti; but his father was of Te Para Whau. He was the first native who was taken to England of which there is either record or tradition, and without doubt the first Maori who ever appeared at the British Court. Dillon, who knew him well, describes him as a person of importance, "a man with a small, shrewd eye, his countenance indicative of that cunning characteristic of one brought up in a state of nature." On his voyage to England, St. Helena opened to him the first vista of civilised life, which expanded largely on sailing up the Thames. The shipping particularly astonished him, and amid the bustle of the city he felt how small an unit he was among men. Mr. Savage writes: "After landing we had some distance to walk before we could procure a coach, and Moehanga saw cause for wonder at every step he took. True to the instincts of his race, the immense stores of ironmongery excited much of his attention, and as he passed houses where these articles were offered for sale, he always observed, 'Very good country, plenty of iron.'"

Dillon's version of the experiences of the Maori in England is more entertaining than any of the others that have been published, and there seems no excuse needed for its reproduction, as Dillon was a keen observer and a pleasing *raconteur*. After inquiring whether Dillon knew Dr. Savage, and being told that he had seen him recently, Moehanga said: "'Savage was a very good man. He took me to England, and brought me to King George's house. I was a fool at that time; I did not know what was good. When King George asked me what I wanted, I told him some iron tools (*toki's*) and nails. Had I asked for muskets he would have given me a hundred. We did not know the use of them in New Zealand at that time, and set no value on them; but were I to go to England now, and King George the middy (meaning King George's son) were to ask me what I liked in

England, I would say "boo, boo" that is, musket, musket.'

"I requested him to inform me how he got to England. He gave his narrative nearly in the following words:—

"Mr. Savage came here in a whaler from Port Jackson. I went with him. We were four months going from here to St. Helena, where we lay at anchor some weeks, until a number of large ships from the Lascar's country *Indiamen* came in. We left the whaler, and went on board of one of them. We all sailed together from St. Helena to England. I saw the coast of France before I got to London, to which country I understood Marion belonged, who was killed in Paroa Bay a long time ago.

"After I arrived in London, a friend of Dr. Savage (Earl Fitzwilliam) took me to King George's house. I was dressed in my New Zealand mats. We entered a large room, and shortly after King George and Queen Charlotte came in. I was much disappointed. I expected to see a great warrior, but he was an old man that could neither throw a spear nor fire a musket. Queen Charlotte was very old too; she was bent with age. They behaved very kind, and asked me what I liked best in England to take home with me. I told them *tokis*. Queen Charlotte put her hand under her mat into a little bag that was there, and took out of it some red money (meaning guineas), and gave it to me. Queen Charlotte asked me to give her the war dance of New Zealand. When I did so she appeared frightened; but King George laughed, saying, ha, ha, ha!

"I then went out with my friends, and got the full of my hand of white money (shillings) for one of the red ones. I thought the people in England very foolish to give so many white moneys of the same size for the red one of Queen Charlotte.

"Shortly after this I got a wife with some of Queen Charlotte's red money. Her name was Nancy. She was very fond of me, and proved pregnant. She used to ask me if the child when born would go to New Zealand, and if it would have such marks on its face as mine.

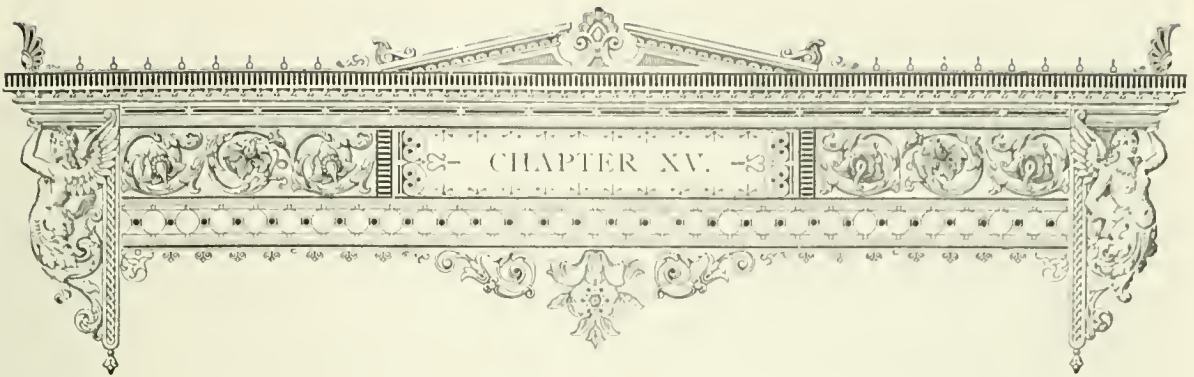
"I was then ordered on board the Porpoise, man-of-war, and went with her to St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope, and Madras, where I saw Governor Barlow, who looked very much like you. I believe he is your father. He is a great man.' (In this I did not deceive him.)"

Moehanga does not appear to have visited Port Jackson in his wanderings, as he was

apparently put on board a whaler from the Porpoise, and calling at Norfolk Island, proceeded thence to New Zealand. He wanted Captain Dillon to take him to India, to renew his acquaintance with Mr. Savage, and sailed with him in his voyage to the north in search for M. de la Perouse as far as Manicola, an island in the New Hebrides; but on his return to New Zealand he did not feel disposed to proceed further.

Mr. Savage tells us that soon after their arrival he introduced Moehanga to Earl Fitzwilliam, telling him that his lordship was a chief, and Moehanga entered the mansion with becoming respect. The furniture and paintings pleased him highly, but with the affability of his lordship and Countess Fitzwilliam he was quite delighted. Lord Milton and some noble relations of Lord Fitzwilliam's were present, who all shared in his approbation. He was a great physiognomist, and approved or disliked at a first interview. The lines of his lordship's face pleased him more than those of any man of whom he expressed an opinion. A marble bust which represented his lordship engrossed the whole of his attention for many minutes; he placed himself opposite to it, and contemplated it with great admiration. He said that on his return to New Zealand he should endeavour to carve a figure in imitation of it. He whispered when Lord Fitzwilliam turned his back, "Very good chief," and with her ladyship and the company he was equally pleased. The ornamental parts of the furniture did not make such an impression upon him as might be imagined. Of the mirrors and other splendid ornaments he merely observed they were very fine, and while Savage thought he was admiring the more striking objects, he was counting the chairs. He had procured a small piece of stick, which he had broken into pieces, to assist his recollection. Moehanga departed highly delighted with his visit, and frequently desired to repeat it, and often inquired after the health of the chief and his family.

After his return from England he got into trouble with Captain Skelton about an axe, and was beaten severely by Tara and Tupe of Kororareka, who had from early in the century laid themselves out to cultivate good relations with the Europeans whenever it appeared profitable to do so. He assured Mr. Nicholas that he had no inclination to emigrate any more, and Mr. Nicholas observed that the roast beef of old England had not produced in Moehanga any distaste for the fern root of New Zealand.



THE VENUS.

Mutiny aboard the colonial brig Venus—The mutineers take her to New Zealand—They steal a chief's daughter, who is afterwards killed and eaten at Mercury Bay—Her relatives avenge her death—Story of the expedition—A cannibal feast—Great expedition by Hongi—Five hundred villages destroyed and two thousand prisoners taken.



ON the 27th July, 1806, the following public notice appeared in the *Sydney Gazette* :—

“Whereas the persons undermentioned and described did, on the 16th day of June, 1806, by force and arms violently take away from His Majesty's settlement at Port Dalrymple, a colonial brig or vessel called the *Venus*, the property of Mr Robert Campbell, merchant, of this territory, and the said vessel then contain-

ing certain stores the property of His Majesty, and a quantity of necessary stores the property of the officers of that settlement, and sundry other property belonging to private individuals.

“Benjamin Burnet Kelly, chief mate, says he is an American. Came to the colony as mate of the *Albion*, South Sea whaler (Captain Buncker). Richard Edwards, second mate. Joseph Redmonds, seaman, a mulatto. Came out in the *Venus*. A Malay cook.

“Thomas Ford and William Evans, boys, the latter a native of this colony. Richard Thompson, soldier. Richard Thomas Evans, convict, formerly gunner's mate, H.M.S. *Calcutta*; deserted, captured, and sentenced to fourteen years. John William Lancashire, convict, by trade a painter.

“Catharine Hagerty, convict; fresh com-

plexion, much inclined to smile. Charlotte Badger, convict; very corpulent, has an infant child.

“This is therefore to caution all governors and officers in command at any of His Majesty's ports, and the Honourable East India Company's magistrates or officers in command, at home and abroad, at whatever port or ports the said brig may be taken into, or met with at sea, against any frauds or deceptions that may be practiced by the offending parties, and to require their being taken into custody wherever found; and information rendered thereof to the governor or officer in command of these settlements, or to any other British authority, that they may be brought to condign punishment. By command of His Excellency.—G. BLANCELL, Secretary. Government House, Sydney, in New South Wales, July 18, 1806.”

It appeared from the deposition of the master of the *Venus*, Mr. S. Rodman Chace, taken before the Magistrates at Yorktown on 17th June, that the *Venus* sailed from Port Jackson the latter end of April into Twofold Bay, where she remained nearly five weeks, during which period the captain found that part of the property placed in his charge had been purloined by his crew and other persons on board; whereupon he publicly charged his mate Benjamin B. Kelly with having broached a cask of spirits, which Kelly denied; that having left Twofold Bay, he proceeded to Port Dalrymple; and that on Sunday, the 8th June, being then at sea, he perceived a small

deal box belonging to Captain Kemp overboard, which he supposed contained papers. He immediately ordered the ship about, and a boat put off to pick up the box; that the boat followed it a considerable way, but the box suddenly disappearing he made a signal for the boat to return; and that he afterwards found that the box was Captain Kemp's property thrown overboard by Catherine Hagarty, a convict, who cohabited during the voyage with Kelly, the first mate; that about ten in the morning of the 16th June the vessel came to anchor in Port Dalrymple at Lagoon Beach, when Mr. House, R.N., came on board. Captain Chace afterwards proceeded to the Western Arm with Mr. House, where he delivered his despatches to the Lieutenant-Governor; and afterwards went with Mr. House on board the Governor Hunter, colonial schooner, and stayed on board that night; and on the morning of the 17th of June proceeded down the river towards the Venus and saw her underweigh, it then being about seven o'clock. Deponent put into outer cove with Mr. House, still imagining the vessel was coming up the river; but that about ten o'clock five men belonging to the Venus came to deponent and said that they had been forcibly turned out of the Venus by the first mate Kelly, the pilot David Evans and Richard Thompson, a private of the New South Wales Corps; and they further informed deponent that Kelly, Evans, and Thompson had knocked down and confined the second mate, and had taken the brig out to sea; that Kelly was armed with a musket, Evans with a pistol, and that Thompson was at the helm; which information deponent immediately communicated to Lieutenant-Governor Paterson.

A further investigation was ordered on the same day, when Chace deposed that when the vessel lay in Twofold Bay, as before stated, he had reason to believe that from the conduct of Kelly the vessel was in danger of being run away with, and he requested the master of the Marcia schooner, then lying in Twofold Bay, to inform Mr. Palmer on the Marcia's return that from the general behaviour of the people on board he did not think the vessel safe. Deponent further stated that he had also told the master of the Marcia that in case a colonial vessel came into the Bay he would give up the brig to her, as the crew were robbing and plundering the vessel, and he did not think his life safe.

The Venus had on board a considerable quantity of stores for the Tasmanian settle-

ments. The whole story is told so clearly in the "public notice" and the deposition of the captain, that little requires either comment or explanation. Lancashire, or Kelly, or whoever may have been in command of the Venus, appears to have wandered about the sea for some time, and not to have gone direct to the Bay of Islands, as Captain Bierney of the brig Commerce who returned to Sydney from New Zealand on 9th April, 1807, reported that the Venus had been at Te Puna, and that both Kelly and Lancashire had been put on shore at the Bay with two women and the child, together with some stores. The charge of the vessel had fallen into the hands of the black man, who had declared his intention of returning to Port Jackson, but was incapable of piloting her to any determinate place. Captain Buncker also brought news of the runaways, about the same date, to the effect that one of the women had died on shore at the Bay Hagerty; the other with her child he offered to take on board, but she declined the offer; and that Kelly and Lancashire had each erected a hut on shore, which they occupied when captured. Kelly, it was further stated, had been taken prisoner and sent to England in the Britannia, while Lancashire had been sent to New South Wales in the American ship the Brothers. Buncker obtained the news from Captain Turnbull, of the Indispensable, who learned that the Venus was at the Bay of Islands in December, 1806.

The people in the Venus carried away with them from Bream Head a niece of Te Morenga, of the Bay of Islands. Whether they got tired of her and sold her for some mats, is not clear, but that she passed into the hands of a chief named Hukori, who lived at Mercury Bay, seems as certain as that the unfortunate woman was killed and eaten. At the Hauraki they carried off the daughter of Te Haupa, and would, Te Haupa told Nicholas, if they could have done so, have carried away the chieftain himself.

In 1819, when Te Morenga felt strong enough to demand payment for the eating of his niece, he mustered a war party and landed at Mercury Bay to demand reparation. The story of the raid was told by Te Morenga to Mr. Marsden, from whose notes the following details are copied:—

"Some years ago a niece of his was taken from Bream Head by a brig from Port Jackson, and sold to a chief at Mercury Bay called Hukori, who still resides there, and she became his slave. Hukori and another chief

named Awaru had some difference, when she was killed and eaten by Awaru, or one of his tribe.

"About sixteen years *sic* elapsed before he thought himself strong enough to go to war. [It was, however, only fourteen.] A sister of his was also taken from the Bay of Islands and served in a similar way to the southward. Her death he had avenged. In January, 1820, he mustered his force, which consisted of 600 men—200 of his own tribe, 200 from the Bay of Islands, and 200 from Bream Head. With this force he proceeded to Mercury Bay. Awaru came in his canoe to know what had brought him thither, and on being told that he came to demand *utu* for

Te Morenga called on his men to fire, twenty of the opposite party fell, among whom were two chiefs—one named Nu Kopango, the father of Awaru, and Hoponeku. When these chiefs fell the men of Awaru ran away. Te Morenga said he told his men to halt and not pursue the flying people, as he was satisfied with the killing of two chiefs as sufficient *utu*; but his allies were not, and called a council of war, etc., which recommended that the attack should be renewed at once. Te Morenga wished to learn how Awaru was disposed, and from his father being killed he thought he would come to terms of peace. He therefore went out in search of Awaru, who had fled with his men, when he fell in with his



A Maori War Expedition.

From a sketch taken on board the mission boat accompanying it.

his having killed and eaten his niece, Awaru said :—'If that is the cause of your coming the only satisfaction I can give you will be to kill, roast and eat you.' It was arranged that the battle, which was inevitable, should come off the next day, and the place of meeting was arranged, which was a level spot opposite to where Captain Cook anchored. The two parties met at the time and place appointed. Te Morenga, who had thirty-five muskets, directed his men not to fire till he gave the word of command. Awaru, who depended on his spears and other native implements of warfare, made the first charge with a shower of spears by which Te Morenga lost one man; but when

wife and children, and some of his friends, to the number of thirty persons, whom he brought to the camp in assurance of safety. He inquired where their storehouses of potatoes were, and the wife of Awaru having pointed them out, he and his men got a supply from them. He learned from them that peace was not contemplated, and the next day, while the chiefs were consulting, they observed that Awaru had rallied his forces, and was coming down upon them. They flew to arms and soon killed a great number of the other side, and pursued them when routed. Many were driven into the sea and died; three or four hundred were left dead on the field of battle;

and two hundred and sixty were made prisoners of war, two hundred of whom came to the share of the chiefs at the Bay of Islands, and sixty went to the chiefs at Bream Head. Awaru was now conquered and fled into the woods. After the battle was over Te Morenga went to seek Awaru, and having found him asked him if he were conquered, and if he remembered their first conversation. Awaru said he had no idea that muskets could produce such effects, he having hitherto despised them, and now submitted and inquired if he could give him any information about his wife and children. Being told that they were in the camp and would be delivered to him, he was grateful and proceeded to obtain a reunion. After their delivery he said that he was much distressed about the death of his father, and asked Te Morenga to make him some compensation for the loss. Te Morenga gave him a musket, and the other chiefs also gave him some presents. Awaru then returned with his wife and family to his house, and the conquerors remained for three days feeding upon the slain."

Cruise was in the Bay of Islands when the expedition came back from Mercury Bay, and says the fleet was composed of about fifty canoes, many of them seventy or eighty feet long, and few less than sixty. "Their prows, sides, and stern posts were handsomely carved and ornamented with a profusion of feathers, and they generally carried two sails made of straw matting. They were filled with warriors, who stood up and shouted as they passed our boat, and held up several human heads as trophies of their success."

Mr. Marsden writes in 1819, on 15th September:—"On my return through the village, in company with Mr. Kendall, I observed the heads of four chiefs stuck on four poles at one of the huts. They were the heads of those Hongi had killed in battle as payment for the woman who had been taken by the crew of the *Venus* and landed at the East Cape. She was, it appears, a relative of Hongi. Te Morenga had also been to revenge the death of his sister about the same time, and both returned without meeting. Besides the heads stuck on poles there were many others, and he brought with him two chiefs as prisoners. Kendall stated that Hongi was eleven months absent—having returned about eight months since—and brought with him many prisoners of war whom he had shared with his followers."

Hongi had, Marsden says, two objects in view. The one to revenge the murder of the woman belonging to his tribe who had been taken away by the *Venus* as already stated: the other to assist Te Haupa to revenge three murders which had been committed on his tribe several years before.

Hongi left the Bay of Islands on the 7th February, 1818, with his fighting men to join Te Haupa. When they sailed from the Thames their united forces amounted to eight hundred men. Hongi says they burned five hundred villages. The settlers informed Mr Marsden that about seventy heads were brought to Rangihoua in one canoe. They also took two thousand prisoners of war, whom they brought back with them as their spoils, consisting of men, women, and children. The prisoners were made slaves.



Bust of Hongi. From a carving by himself.



MISSION PREPARATIONS.

The Rev. Samuel Marsden—His character and personal appearance—Training and ordination—The Church Missionary Society—Marsden's first memorandum on a Mission to New Zealand—Selection of Messrs. Hall and King as missionaries—Their instructions—Departure of Mr. Marsden and his colleagues—Singular meeting with the Maori chief Ruatara on board.



IN 1807 the Rev. Samuel Marsden went to England and laid the foundation of the New Zealand Mission. He had been in New South Wales some fourteen years, and had ac-

quired a general reputation for the possession of a strong amount of common sense. Such a phrase, however, only imperfectly gives an idea of a man who had perhaps the clearest head the colony possessed. He was what Englishmen call practical in all that he proposed or did. He was, moreover, of unflinching rectitude, as became a clergyman, and saw that the surest and most lasting path to a purpose was the straightest, even if it were narrow. He was a clean liver amongst those who were not; temperate and generous, self-denying, hospitable, and provident. He was pious and humane, and had, moreover, a scope so wide that he not only sought the evangelisation of Polynesia, but when he was introduced to George the Third, prayed for a gift of a couple of merino sheep to improve the breed in New South Wales. He was swift to divine the future prosperity of Australia and the isles of the sea,

and careful to impress on the religious influences of Christendom with which he came in contact that the penal settlement would prove a blessing to the surrounding nations. Slovenly in dress, Bonwick writes, and indifferent to public opinion, he took no especial pains to draw any personal regard, and proudly disdained to soothe the rancour of his foes. He was the first public man in Australia to vindicate the claims of religion, to uphold the dignity of virtue, and to lay deeply entrenched the foundations of the Church of England in the Australian colonies.

The Rev. Samuel Marsden was born at Horsforth, a village near Leeds in Yorkshire, on July 28, 1764. After being taught at a village school he was sent to the Free Grammar School at Hull, of which Dr. Joseph Milner, the celebrated ecclesiastical historian, was then head master. He left school to take part in his father's business, but having been adopted by the Elland Society—an association of members of the Church of England having the purpose to assist young men adapted for the Christian ministry to obtain an education suitable for that work—he was sent to St. John's College, Cambridge, to qualify for the ministry of the Church of England. His parents being connected with the Wesleyan Methodists, could regard the son's purpose in life with complacency. Before being ordained, he was offered a second chaplaincy in His Majesty's territory of New South Wales, and was appointed by a Royal Commission bearing date January 1, 1793.

Mr. Wilberforce was supposed to have been his patron and the cause of his appointment. On April 21st of the same year he was married to Miss Elizabeth Tristan, and left Cork in the ship *William*—Captain Folger, master—with the fleet on September 30, 1793, and arrived in Sydney Cove on March 10 of the year following.

The Church Missionary Society began its duties in the early part of the present century, and has taken the premier position among the Protestant Missionary Societies of the globe. The annual income of the Protestant missions in the British Empire for 1885 was £1,316,798, and of this amount the Church of England Societies contributed no less than £531,918. It is little more than a hundred years since Dr. Carey, the Northamptonshire shoemaker, inaugurated the movement that has achieved such results, and with which his name and memory are imperishably connected. At that time there was not a single native of Britain engaged in pioneering the way of the Gospel among the heathen. The work of evangelisation is now pressed forward from so many sides, by such varied agencies, on so vast a scale, at so large a cost, over so wide an extent of the earth's surface, that the like expansion has not been before witnessed in the Christian era. In 1796 the *Duff* sailed from the Thames with thirty missionaries for the South Pacific, but New Zealand was not included among the fields selected. All that was then known in New Zealand of the civilisation and the religion existing among the whites was the glimmering of a faint knowledge that two men, kidnapped to teach the convicts at Norfolk Island how to dress flax, had acquired during their residence on board ship, and

at the two convict settlements they had visited.

Mr. Marsden, in the early part of 1801, wrote a memorandum on the state and prospects of the London Missionary Society in connection with their movement at Tahiti, and on his arrival in England the Church Missionary Society, which was formed about the beginning of the century, requested him to draw up a memorandum on the subject of a New Zealand mission. This he did in the form of a letter to the Rev. J. Pratt, which is so eminently characteristic of the writer, besides being so pregnant with wisdom, that no apology is needed for its reprinting:—



Rev. Samuel Marsden

“Rev. Sir,—In compliance with the request of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, I respectfully suggest the following observations relative to the establishment of a mission to the Islands of New Zealand.

“It may be requisite to state that the New Zealanders have derived no advantages hitherto from commerce or the arts of civilisation, and must therefore be in heathen darkness and ignorance. Though they appear to be a very superior people in point of mental capacity, so far as any judgment can be formed from those with whom Europeans have had communication, yet they must not be considered by any means so favourably circumstanced for the reception of the gospel as civilized natives are, even though strangers to the doctrines of divine revelation. Commerce and the arts, having a natural tendency to inculcate industrious and moral habits, open a way for the introduction of the gospel, and lay the foundation for its continuance when once received.

“Since nothing, in my opinion, can pave the way for the introduction of the gospel but

civilization, and that can only be accomplished among the heathen by the arts, I would recommend that three mechanics be appointed to make the first attempt should the Society come to a determination to form an establishment in New Zealand. One of these men should be a carpenter, another a smith, and a third a twine spinner. The carpenter would teach them to make a wheelbarrow, build a boat; the smith would teach them to make all their edged tools, nails, etc.; and the twine-spinner would teach them how to spin their flax or hemp, of which their clothing, fishing lines, and nets are made.

"Though the missionaries might employ a certain portion of their time, according to local circumstances, in manual labour, this neither would nor ought to prevent them from constantly endeavouring to instruct the natives in the great doctrines of the gospel, and fully discharging the duties of catechists. The arts and religion should go together. The attention of the heathen can be gained and their vagrant habits corrected only by the arts. Till their attention is gained, and moral and industrious habits are induced, little or no progress can be made in teaching them the gospel. Much of the success of a mission depends upon the qualification of the persons employed in the work. Four qualifications seem absolutely requisite for a missionary—piety, industry, prudence, and patience.

"It will be readily admitted that sound piety is essential, and that without this nothing can be expected. A man must feel a lively interest in the eternal welfare of the heathen to spur him on to the discharge of his duty.

"A missionary should also be naturally of an industrious turn, a man who could live in any country by dint of his own labour. An industrious man has great resources in times of difficulties and danger in his own mind. Great difficulties will always be surmounted by an industrious man, while very small ones will overwhelm an idle man with despair. It is worthy of remark that in all my observations on mankind I have rarely ever known an industrious man become an idle one, or an idle one industrious. In a missionary, habits of industry ought to be fully established, or he will be found totally unfit for the arduous work of the Mission in a country where nothing has been done before him.

"It will also require great prudence and circumspection in a missionary to govern a savage mind, upon which his own very existence will depend. His difficulties will, many of them, be new; and much greater and

more numerous than he can possibly imagine or foresee. On this account he will require great patience and perseverance to bear up under them.

"The Society should have their missionaries sent out under the sanction of the British Government in England, and with an official recommendation from the Government to the Governor of New South Wales. From New South Wales they should proceed under the patronage, and with a recommendation from the Governor, to the chiefs of New Zealand. On their arrival at New Zealand they must place themselves under the protection of the chiefs, as they will have no means of forming an independent body.

"A sufficient sum should be allowed for the passage of the missionaries from Port Jackson to New Zealand, provided there were no vessels going at the time they wished to proceed to their destination. There should also be a certain sum allowed to pay the expenses of keeping up a regular correspondence with them for some time at first, as circumstances might require. Their comfort and safety may depend upon this, till the real character and disposition of the New Zealanders are better known. A small vessel from twenty to thirty tons would be sufficient for this purpose, which must be hired, if a communication between the missionaries and Port Jackson could not be maintained by any other means.

"I should not conceive that it would be necessary for them to take much wearing apparel, or any other articles of value; as whatever they have, as well as themselves, must be placed under the protection and care of the chief, the less they possess the safer they will be at first. It is not possible to know what will be really necessary for them till they arrive and are settled upon the island. It would be proper for them to take from Port Jackson or Norfolk Island, hogs, poultry, grain and flour, as this would contribute not only to their comfort, but would be acceptable to the chief.

"These are the most material points which occur to me at present. I shall feel a peculiar gratification in forwarding the benevolent wishes of the Society, so far as my means and influence may extend, should Divine Providence conduct me in safety again to New South Wales.

"As New Zealand is wholly untried ground, little can be said with certainty respecting the mission till an attempt is made. I think it highly probable that the chief will be very

anxious to keep up a communication with Port Jackson and encourage some of his subjects to come over for the purpose of learning our arts.—I have the honour, etc.,

“SAMUEL MARSDEN.

“To the Rev. J. Pratt.”

In the Eighth Report of the Society the following passage occurs:—

“Many circumstances have induced your committee to consider New Zealand as a promising sphere for the Society’s exertions. It is within ten days’ sail of Port Jackson, and not more than eighty leagues from the settlement of Norfolk Island. One of the chiefs is well known at Port Jackson; is himself strongly attached to English improvement and civilisation; and would yield, as there is every reason to think, every possible protection and support to an establishment of Englishmen under his authority. The population is very numerous. The attention of the Government has been recently turned towards these islands in the hope of obtaining naval supplies, and there is little doubt that both the Government at home and the authorities at New South Wales would protect and assist any establishment formed at New Zealand in connection with the Church of England.”

When it had been determined to form a mission to New Zealand, two agents were selected, Mr. William Hall and Mr. John King. William Hall, who was recommended by the Rev. Mr. Fawcett, of Carlisle, had been nearly twelve months when appointed under the protection of the society, and had been employed at Hull in making himself master of shipbuilding, and in acquiring a competent knowledge of navigation.

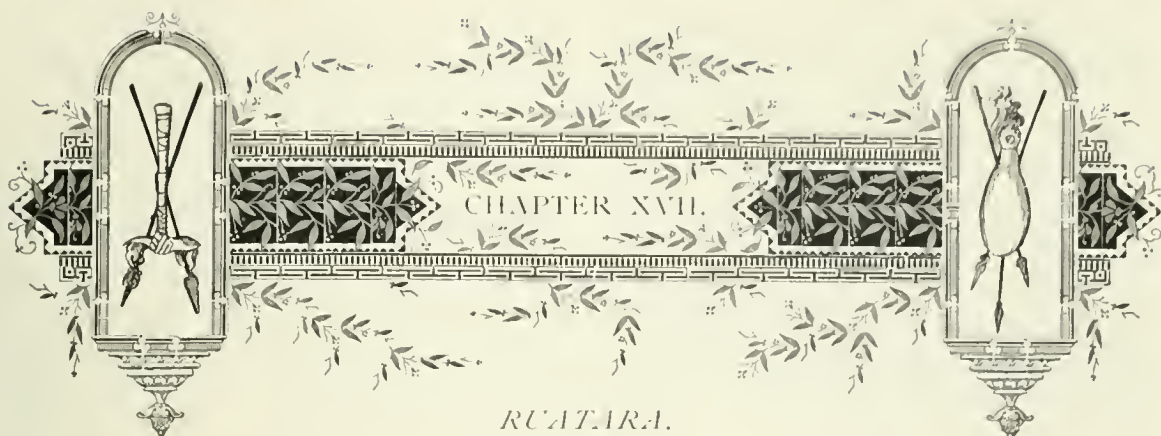
John King was recommended by the Rev. Daniel Wilson, of Oxford. The committee placed him with proper persons to instruct him in those arts which they considered would render him useful to the natives. He was supposed to have acquired a competent skill in

flax dressing, twine spinning, and ropemaking before leaving England.

It was the wish of the Society to add to these settlers a third who should follow the occupation of a smith, but a suitable person was not met with. Messrs. Jacobs liberally granted them a passage to Port Jackson in the *Ann* transport on condition of their rendering all their needful help during the voyage.

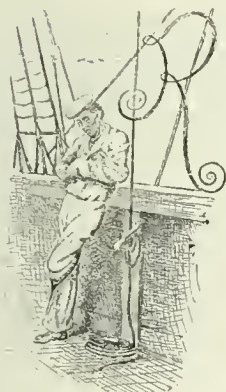
The Society told their apostles to ever bear in mind that the only object of the Society in sending them to New Zealand was to introduce the knowledge of Christ among the natives, and in order to do this, the arts of civilized life. After telling them to respect the Sabbath day, to establish family worship, at any favourable opportunity to converse with the natives on the great subject of religion, and to instruct their children in the knowledge of Christianity, the instructions add:—“Thus in your religious conduct you must observe the Sabbath and keep it holy, attend regularly to family worship, talk to the natives about religion when you walk by the way, when you labour in the field, and on all occasions when you can gain their attention, and lay yourselves out for the education of the young.”

Mr. Marsden left England with his New Zealand colleagues in August 1809; but among those on board there was a mightier coadjutor than his most earnest hope would warrant his expecting. Some time after the ship had been to sea he observed on the fore-castle among the sailors a man whose dark skin and forlorn condition appealed to a sympathy that was ever active towards the destitute and sick. He was wrapped in an old greatcoat, racked with a violent cough, bleeding from the lungs; sick and weak he seemed to have but a few days to live, though still young. He was a New Zealander of high rank, a relative of Te Pahi, and a resident of Te Puna. He was called Ruatara.



RUATARA.

Ruatara's lineage—His influence upon the introduction of Christianity—The story of his strange wanderings—Life among the whalers—Sufferings while sealing on Bounty Island—Voyage to England—Futile efforts to see King George—Shameful treatment by a ship-master—Kindness paid Ruatara by Mr. Marsden—His departure from Sydney for New Zealand—Again deceived and maltreated by the master of a whaler—Landed destitute at Norfolk Island—Return to Sydney and departure once more for New Zealand—Difficulty in teaching Maori chiefs the value of wheat.



RUATARA the Lizard, was of Hikutu, Ngatuoru and other hapu of Ngapuhi. His kainga was of Te Puna, and he was a relative of Te Pahi. He was a nephew of the celebrated Hongi Hika and the inheritor of the influence of Te Pahi. He must have left the Bay of Islands in the same year as Te Pahi, and though his story has been often told, Mr. Marsden, who

knew him perhaps better than any other European, appears to have been the most skilful narrator of the vicissitudes of the career of Ruatara; his chronicle, therefore, is reprinted. Ruatara is entitled to share with Mr. Marsden the honour of planting Christianity in New Zealand, for though he had no idea of what Christianity meant, as modern men understand it, he saw that it was something superior to Maori paganism. Mr. Marsden and Te Pahi, Mr. Carleton happily says, were each necessary to the other; each furnished means without which the labour of his associate must have been thrown away. But, he adds, for the determined support which Ruatara as a high chief was able to afford, Marsden could never have gained a footing in the land; and without the sustained labour of the civilised

European, the work of the Maori innovator, too much in advance of the time, would have withered like Jonah's gourd, and have come to an end with the premature decease of Ruatara.

The Marsden narrative contains a most life-like description of the character of the sealing and early whaling intercourse between the Europeans and the native race—an intercourse difficult to realise and almost impossible to pourtray. The story is more telling in its unstinted simplicity and conveys the truth more vividly than would be attainable in pages of generalization. What happened to Ruatara simply happened to many others whose story and career have never been told. Mr. Marsden's narrative is thus given:—

"The Argo whaler, commanded by a Mr Baden, put into the Bay of Islands for refreshments, and on leaving the Bay Ruatara embarked on board of her with two of his countrymen. The Argo remained upon the coast for about five months, and then returned into the Bay. On the vessel's final departure from New Zealand for Port Jackson Ruatara went in her, and arrived in Sydney Cove. After the vessel was ready for sea again, she went to fish on the coast of New Holland, where she remained about six months, and afterwards put into Port Jackson. During this cruise Ruatara acted in the capacity of a common sailor, and was attached to one of

the whaleboats. When the *Argo* lay in Sydney Cove Ruatara was discharged from her, but received no reward for his services during the twelve months he had been on board. On leaving the *Argo* he entered on board the *Albion* whaler, then in the Cove, commanded by Captain Richardson, and was six months on the fishery in that vessel off the coast of New Zealand. When she put into the Bay of Islands Ruatara left her, and returned to his friends. Here Captain Richardson behaved very kindly to him, and paid him his wages in various European articles for his services on board the *Albion*. Ruatara remained in New Zealand six months when the

water, salt provisions, or bread. When the *Santa Anna* arrived off Norfolk Island, the master went on shore, and the vessel was blown off, and did not make the land for one month. About five months after leaving Bounty Island the *King George* arrived, commanded by Mr Chase. Previous to the arrival of this vessel the sealing party had been greatly distressed for more than three months for want of water and provisions. There was no water on the island, nor had they any bread or meat, excepting seals and sea fowl. Ruatara often spoke of the extreme sufferings which he and the party with him endured from hunger and thirst, as no water could be



Rangihū: the Rev. Samuel Marsden's cottage at Parramatta
Sketched by the Rev. Richard Taylor in 1836.

Santa Anna whaler anchored in the Bay of Islands, on her way to Bounty Island, whither she was bound for seal-skins. Ruatara embarked on board this vessel, commanded by a Mr. Moody.

"After she had taken in her supplies from New Zealand she proceeded on her voyage and arrived at Bounty Island, when Ruatara with one of his countrymen, two Otaheitans, and ten Europeans, were put on shore to kill seals, and afterwards the vessel sailed to New Zealand to procure potatoes, and to Norfolk Island for pork, leaving the fourteen men they had landed with very little

obtained except when a shower of rain happened to fall. Two Europeans and one Otaheitan died from hardship. In a few weeks after the arrival of the *King George*, the *Santa Anna* returned, and the sealing party during her absence had procured 8,000 skins. After taking the skins on board, the vessel sailed for England, and Ruatara having long entertained an ardent desire to see *King George*, embarked on board as a common sailor, with the hope of gratifying his wish.

The *Santa Anna* arrived in the river Thames about July, 1809, when Ruatara requested that the captain would indulge him with a

sight of the King, which was the only object that had induced him to leave his native country. When he made inquiries by what means he could get a sight of the King he was sometimes told that he could not find the house, and at other times that nobody was permitted to see King George. This distressed him exceedingly, and he saw little of London, being seldom permitted to go on shore. In about fifteen days he told me the vessel had discharged her cargo, when the captain told him that he should put him on board the *Ann*, which had been taken up by the Government to convey convicts to New South Wales.

"The *Ann* had already dropped down to Gravesend, and Ruatara asked the master of the *Santa Anna* for some wages and clothing, but he refused to give him any, telling him that the owners at Port Jackson would pay him with two muskets for his services on his arrival there. About this time, Ruatara, from hardships and disappointments, was seized with a dangerous illness. Thus friendless, poor and sick, as he was, he was sent down to Gravesend and put on board the *Ann*. At this time he had been fifteen days in the river from the first arrival of the *Santa Anna*, and had never been permitted to spend one night on shore. The master of the *Ann*, Mr. Charles Clark, afterwards informed me that when Ruatara was brought on board the *Ann* he was so naked and miserable that he refused to receive him unless the master of the *Santa Anna* would supply him with a suit of slops, observing at the same time that he was very sick. I was then in London, but did not know that Ruatara had arrived in the *Santa Anna*.

"Shortly after Ruatara embarked at Gravesend, the *Ann* sailed for Portsmouth. I had been ordered by the Government to return to New South Wales by this vessel, and joined her in a few days after she had come round to Spithead. When I embarked Ruatara was confined below by sickness, so that I did not see him or know he was there for some time. On my first observing him, he was on the fore-castle, sick and ill as before described. His mind was very much dejected, and he appeared as if a few days would terminate his existence. I inquired of the master where he had met with him, and also of Ruatara what had brought him to England, and how he came to be so wretched and miserable. He told me the hardships and wrongs he had experienced on board the *Santa Anna* were exceedingly great, and that the English sailors

had beaten him very much, which was the cause of his spitting blood; that the master had defrauded him of all his wages, and prevented his seeing the King. I should have been very happy if there had been any time to have called the master of the *Santa Anna* to account for his conduct, but it was too late. I endeavoured to soothe his afflictions, and assured him that he should be protected from insults, and that his wants should be supplied.

"By the kindness of the surgeon and master, and by proper nourishment administered to him, he began in a great measure to recover both his strength and spirits, and got quite well some time before we arrived at Rio de Janeiro. He was ever after truly grateful for the attention shown to him. As soon as he was able, he did his duty as a common sailor on board the *Ann* till she arrived at Port Jackson in February 1810, in which capacity he was considered equal to most of the men on board. The master behaved very kind to him. He left the *Ann* and accompanied me to Parramatta, and resided with me till the November following, during which time he applied himself to agriculture.

"In October the *Frederick* whaler arrived from England, and was bound to fish on the coast of New Zealand. Ruatara having been now long absent from his friends, and wishing to return, requested I would procure him a passage on board the *Frederick* to New Zealand. At that time one of the sons of Te Pahi, a near relation of Ruatara, was living with me, and also two other New Zealanders. They all wished to return home. I applied to the master of the *Frederick* for a passage for them. He agreed to take them upon the condition that they should assist him to procure his cargo of oil while the vessel was on the coast of New Zealand, and that when he finally left the coast he would land them in the Bay of Islands. They were four very fine young men, had been a good deal at sea, and were a valuable acquisition to the master. I therefore agreed with him to take them upon his own conditions, on his promising to be kind to them.

"On the *Frederick* leaving Port Jackson in November they all embarked in hopes of soon seeing their country and their friends. After the *Frederick* arrived off the North Cape, Ruatara went on shore two days to procure supplies of pork and potatoes, as he was well known there, and had many friends among the natives. As soon as the vessel had procured the necessary refreshments she proceeded on her cruise, and in about six

months or a little more was ready to depart, having got in all her cargo. Ruatara finding that it was the master's intention to sail for England, requested that himself and his three companions might be put on shore agreeably to the master's engagement with me previously to their sailing from Port Jackson. At this time the *Frederick* was at the mouth of the Bay of Islands, where all their friends resided. Ruatara had got everything ready to be put into the boat, expecting immediately to be sent on shore. When he urged the master to land them he replied he would by and by, so soon as he had caught another whale, and the vessel bore away from the harbour.

"Ruatara was now greatly distressed, as he was anxious to see his wife and friends, having been absent about three years, and earnestly requested the captain to land him on any part of the coast of New Zealand; he did not care where it was, if he would only put him on shore he would find his way home. This the master refused to do, and told him that it was his intention to go to Norfolk Island, and thence proceed to England, and then he would land them as he passed New Zealand on his way.

"On the *Frederick's* arriving off Norfolk Island Ruatara and his three countrymen were sent on shore for water for the vessel, and were all nearly drowned in the surf, having been washed under some hollow rocks, and was in so much danger of losing his life that he emphatically observed to me that upon reaching the surface 'his heart was full of water.' When the *Frederick* was wooded and watered, and the master had no further occasion for Ruatara and his three companions, he then told them that he should not touch again at New Zealand, but sail direct for England. Ruatara became greatly distressed, and reminded the captain how he had violated his promise and used him very ill in refusing to put him on shore when the vessel left the Bay of Islands, where he was then within two miles of his own place, and also refused to land him at the North Cape when he passed that land, and was now about to leave him at Norfolk Island and his companions in a destitute situation where they had no friends, after all the assistance they had rendered him in procuring his cargo. However, nothing that Ruatara could say had any effect upon the master's mind, as he went on board his vessel leaving them to provide for themselves. Ruatara further stated that the master afterwards returned on shore and

took the son of Te Pahi by force on board again, though he wept much and entreated the master to let him remain with Ruatara. No tidings have been heard of this young man since he left Norfolk Island. The *Frederick* then sailed for England, and was taken on her passage home by an American ship after a severe action in which the master was mortally wounded and the chief mate killed.

"Some time after the *Frederick* sailed from Norfolk, the *Ann* whaler, commanded by Mr. Gwynn, touched there for refreshments, after procuring which she was to proceed to Port Jackson. Ruatara immediately applied for a passage to the master, who very humanely complied with his request.

"On the *Ann's* arrival at Port Jackson the master informed me that he found Ruatara at Norfolk in a very distressed state (the island had been evacuated by the Government), almost naked, as the master of the *Frederick* had left him and his companions without clothing or provisions. Mr. Gwynn further stated that Ruatara's share of the oil that had been procured by the *Frederick*, and also that of his companions, would have amounted to £100 each had they accompanied the vessel to England, and she had arrived safe, and he thought they had been very much injured. Mr. Gwynn was very kind to Ruatara, and supplied him with necessary clothing and such things as he wanted, for which he was exceedingly grateful. Ruatara was very happy when he arrived once more in Parramatta, and gave me an affecting history of the distress he suffered while in sight of his own district, and not allowed to see his wife or friends, from whom he had been absent so long, and also what he felt when the *Frederick* finally sailed from Norfolk Island, leaving him upon that island with little hopes of returning to his native country. When he sailed from Port Jackson he was supplied with some seed wheat, tools of agriculture, and various other useful articles. But of these he was despoiled on the voyage, and on his return to the colony had nothing left of all he had received. He continued with me at Parramatta till the *Ann* whaler, belonging to the house of Alexander Burnie, of London, arrived from England.

"As this vessel was going on the coast of New Zealand, he requested I would procure him a passage and he would try once more to see his friends. I accordingly applied to the master, and he agreed to take him on condition that he would remain on board and do the duty of a sailor while the *Ann* was on the

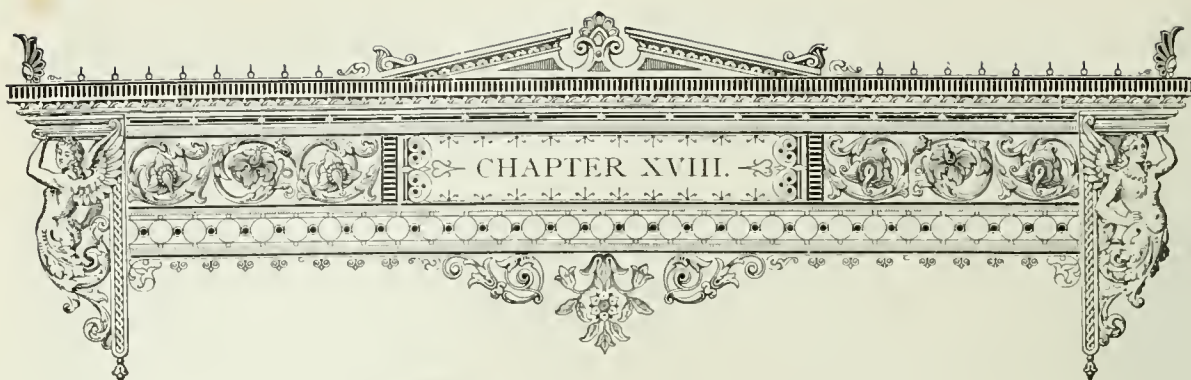
coast. To this Ruatara readily consented, and when the *Ann* left Port Jackson he embarked, taking with him some seed wheat and tools of agriculture a second time. The vessel was five months on the coast, when Ruatara, with inexpressible joy to himself and his friends, was landed. During the time he had lived with me, he laboured early and late to acquire useful knowledge, and particularly that of agriculture. He was well aware of the advantages of agriculture in a national point of view, and he was very anxious that his country should reap the natural advantages which he knew it possessed, as far as it related to the cultivation of the land, and was fully convinced that the wealth and happiness of a nation depended much upon the produce of its soil. When he landed from the *Ann*, he took with him the wheat he had received at Parramatta for seed, and immediately informed his friends and the neighbouring chiefs of its value, and that the Europeans made biscuit of it, such as they had seen and eaten on board the ships. He gave a portion of wheat to six chiefs, and also to some of his own people, and directed them all how to sow it, reserving some for himself and his uncle Hongi.

"All the persons to whom Ruatara had given the seed-wheat put it into the ground, and it grew well; but before it was well ripe many of them became impatient for the produce, and as they expected to find the grain at the roots of the stems, similar to their potatoes, they examined the roots, and finding there was no wheat under the ground, they pulled it up and burnt it, excepting Hongi.

"The chiefs ridiculed Ruatara much about the wheat, told him that because he had been a great traveller he thought he could easily impose upon their credulity by telling them fine stories, and all he urged could not convince them that wheat would make bread. His own and the crops of Hongi in time came to perfection, and were reaped and threshed, and though the natives were much astonished to find that the grain was produced at the top

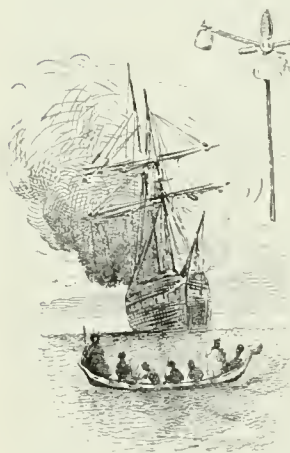
and not at the bottom of the stem, yet they could not be persuaded that bread could be made of it. About this time the *Jefferson*, whaler, put into the Bay of Islands, commanded by Mr. Thomas Barnes. Ruatara being anxious to remove the prejudices of the chiefs against his wheat, and to prove the truth of his former assertions that it would make biscuit, requested the master of the *Jefferson* to lend him a pepper or coffee mill, in order, if possible, to grind some of his wheat into flour, that he might make a cake, but the mill was too small, and he could not succeed. By the arrival of a vessel at Sydney from New Zealand, he sent me word that he had got home at last, and had sown his wheat, which was growing well, but he had not thought of a mill. He requested me to send him some hoes and other tools of agriculture, which I determined to do by the first opportunity.

"A short time after, the *Queen Charlotte*, belonging to Port Jackson, cleared out for the Pearl Islands. As this vessel would have to pass the North Cape of New Zealand, I thought there was a probability of her touching at the Bay of Islands, and therefore put some hoes and other tools of agriculture on board, with a few bags of seed-wheat, and requested the master, Mr. William Shelley, to deliver them to Ruatara, should the *Queen Charlotte* touch at the Bay of Islands. Unfortunately, the *Queen Charlotte* passed New Zealand without touching anywhere, and was afterwards taken by the natives at Otaheite; and while the vessel was in their possession, all the wheat I had put on board, as well as some other things, were either stolen or destroyed. When I received this information I was much concerned that Ruatara should be so disappointed from time to time in his benevolent exertions to forward the improvement and civilization of his countrymen, and was fully convinced that nothing could be done effectually for New Zealand without a vessel for the express purpose of keeping up a communication between the island and Port Jackson."



THE MASSACRE OF THE BOYD.

Conflicting accounts of the massacre—Berry's narrative—His expedition to recover the survivors—The chief Te Pahi falsely accused—How the captain of the Boyd was beguiled—Te Pahi exonerated from having participated in the outrage—The motive said to have been revenge for the ill-treatment of a chief on board the Boyd—Versions of the tragedy given by the Rev. Samuel Marsden and Mr. Nicholas—The story as told to Mr. Savage by Mochanga—Interesting unpublished MS. in the Grey collection, giving an account of Berry's expedition to rescue the survivors and ship's papers—His punishment of chiefs concerned in the outrage—Various incidents connected with the affair.



HERE are so many versions of the narrative of the wreck of the Boyd that the story is a hard one to tell. There were only four survivors among some seventy souls, and of these two were children, little girls, and one a boy of fifteen; the fourth, a woman, died soon after the mishap. The outlines of the crime

are, however, clearly defined.

A ship called the Boyd, belonging to Mr. George Brown, sailed from Sydney with some seventy Europeans and several Maori on board, and putting into Whangaroa to load with spars, all her European passengers and crew were killed, cooked, and eaten, save the four above mentioned. The ship became a castaway, and her cargo was destroyed.

The common and accepted account is that the crew and the passengers were murdered to avenge the flogging of a chief named Tara, called George by the Europeans. There is not sufficient evidence to disturb the common belief. All that is or can be known of the occurrence comes from native testimony, and

though a Maori or Maoris may lie for the occasion, they do not persist in untruth. If they have been lying, sooner or later they will confess the truth.

In the Church Missionary record of November, 1833, the first Bishop of Waiapu in a "Narrative of an Excursion to Whangaroa," says: "I learned to-day, at Pupuke—Ururoa's place—that the Boyd was cut off, not, as has been stated, on account of ill-treatment from the captain to the chief George, but because that chief, on his return from Port Jackson, found his parents dead through sickness, which was attributed to the influence of Europeans." On this statement Mr. Carleton remarks: "Old natives of whom inquiry has just now been made are emphatic in assertion that the instigator of the massacre was not George, but Pipi Koitareke."

Dillon says the father of Tara was called Pipi of Ngatiuru. This may be taken as a sample of the difficulty of verifying Maori history, if of early date, as the genealogical record of the families of the tribes is not always to be obtained.

George's father, we know, was among those who lost their lives when the powder on board the vessel exploded after the human feast was over, and it would have been his duty to avenge the indignity offered to his son, if such had occurred.

The supercargo of the ship City of Edin-

burgh, a Mr. Alexander Berry, was the first narrator of the massacre, and he being dependent on Maori testimony, which he could only imperfectly understand, was not likely to present an impartial and correct record of what had taken place. He, moreover, left the country early in January, a few days only after he had rescued the survivors, whom he took with him, and consequently had neither time nor opportunity to sift the details he heard from his native friends and transmitted to Sydney.

He also sent an account of the tragedy to the owner of the vessel, Mr. George Brown, who gave the letter to his brother-in-law, Mr. Constable, an extensive publisher and bookseller in Edinburgh, who published it with some remarks of his own in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, and subsequently in the fourth volume of his *Miscellany*. Mr. Berry and those associated with him also gave to two chiefs who lived on Kororareka beach a similar letter to that sent to Sydney and to the owner of the vessel, to be exhibited to shipmasters trading to the Bay of Islands. This letter tells the story of the Boyd as Berry believed it to have occurred :

(COPY.)

"The masters of ships frequenting New Zealand are directed to be careful in admitting many of the natives on board, as they may be cut off in a moment by surprise.

"These are to certify that during our stay in this harbour we had frequent reports of a ship being taken by the natives in the neighbouring harbour of Whangaroa, and that the ship's crew were killed and eaten. In order to ascertain the truth of this report, as well as to rescue a few people who were said to be spared in the general massacre, Mr. Berry, accompanied by Mr. Russel and Metanganga, a principal chief in the Bay of Islands, who volunteered his services, set out for Whangaroa in three armed boats, on Sunday, the 31st December, 1809, and upon their arrival they found the miserable remains of the ship Boyd, Captain John Thompson, which the natives, after stripping of everything of value, had burnt down to the water's edge. From the handsome conduct of Metanganga they were able to rescue a boy, a woman, and two children, the only survivors of this shocking event, which according to the most satisfactory information, was perpetrated entirely under the direction of that old rascal Te Pahi, who had been so much and so undeservedly caressed at Port Jackson.

"This unfortunate vessel, intending to load with spars, was taken three days after her

arrival. The natives informed the master the second day that they would show the spars the next day. In the morning Te Pahi arrived from Te Puna, and went aboard. He staid only a few minutes, and then went into his canoe, but remained alongside the vessel, which was surrounded by a considerable number of canoes, which appeared collected for the purpose of trading, and a considerable number of the natives gradually intruded into the ship, and sat down upon the deck. After breakfast the master left the ship with two boats to look out for spars. Te Pahi, after waiting a convenient time, now gave the signal of massacre. In an instant the savages, who appeared sitting peaceable upon deck, rushed upon the unarmed crew, who were dispersed about the ship at their various employments. The greater part were massacred in a moment, and were no sooner knocked down than they were cut up while still alive; five or six of the hands escaped up the rigging. Te Pahi now having possession of the ship, hailed them with a speaking trumpet, and ordered them to unbend the sails and cut away the rigging, and they should not be hurt. They complied with his commands, and afterwards came down. He then took them ashore in his canoe, and afterwards killed them. The master went ashore without arms, and, of course, was easily despatched.

"The names of the survivors are: Mrs. Nanny Morley and child, Betsy Broughton, and Thomas Davis, boy. The natives of the spar district in this harbour have behaved well even beyond expectation, and seem much concerned on account of this unfortunate event; and dreading the displeasure of King George, have requested certificates of their good conduct in order to exempt them from his vengeance; but let no man after this trust a New Zealander.

"We further certify that we have left with the bearer, Mete Coge, a jolly boat belonging to the Boyd we brought round to Whangaroa, who has always behaved in the best manner.

"SIMEON PATTISON.

"ALEX. BERRY, Supercargo.

"JAMES RUSSELL, Mate.

"Given on board the ship City of Edinburgh, Captain S. Pattison. Bay of Islands, 6th January, 1810."

"Tera behaved very well, and all his tribe. For that reason I gave him several gallons of oil. I came in January 17, and sailed on January 28th, 1810.

(Signed)

"W. SWAIN,
Ship Cumberland."

The report published in the *Sydney Gazette* soon, however, came to be questioned in Sydney. It was too improbable to be trusted, when men had time to examine the evidence on which it rested, and on the 1st of September, 1810, the *Gazette* gave to the story another version, which Captain Chase, of the Governor Bligh, had obtained from a native of Otaheite, who had most probably absconded from the City of Edinburgh in the December previous. According to the Otaheitian the natives who were passengers on board the *Boyd*, being displeased with their treatment during the voyage, knowing Captain Thompson's intention to take in a load of spars at Whangaroa, smothered their anger, and being applied to

accordingly, the tide being then beginning to ebb, and the crews followed to assist in the work. The guides led the party through various paths that were least likely to answer the desired end, thus delaying the premeditated attack until the boats should be left by the effluence of the tide sufficiently high to prevent an escape, which part of the horrible plan accomplished, they became insolent and rude, ironically pointing at decayed fragments and inquiring of Captain Thompson whether they would suit his purpose or not. The natives belonging to the ship then first threw off the mask, and in opprobrious terms upbraided Captain Thompson with their maltreatment, informing him at the same time



Whangaroa Harbour, showing position of *Boyd* when seized by natives.

by him for assistance in procuring the timber, sought to entice him on shore to select the trees he desired to obtain.

The narrative thus continues:—"The captain was thereby prevailed on to leave the vessel, accompanied by his chief officer, with three boats manned, to get the spars on board. The natives who had arrived in the ship being of the party, which was accompanied by a number of others in their canoes, the boats were conducted to a river, on entering which they were out of sight of the ship, and after proceeding some distance up, Captain Thompson was invited to land and mark the spars he wanted. The boats landed

that he should have no spars there but what he could procure himself. The captain appeared careless of the disappointment, and with his people turned towards the boats, at which instant they were assaulted with clubs and axes, which the assailants had till then concealed under their dresses, and although the boats' crews had several muskets, yet so impetuous was the attack that every man was prostrated before one could be used.

"Captain Thompson and his unfortunate men were all murdered on the spot, and their bodies were afterwards devoured by the murderers, who, clothing themselves with their apparel, launched the boats and proceeded

towards the ship, which they determined also to attack. It being very dark before they reached her, and no suspicion being entertained of what had happened, the second officer hailed the boats, and was answered by the villains who had occasioned the disaster, that the captain having chosen to remain on shore that night for the purpose of viewing the country, had ordered them to take on board such spars as had already been procured, which account readily obtained belief, and the officer was knocked down and killed by those who first ascended the ship's side. All the seamen of the watch were in like manner surprised and murdered. Some of the assassins then went down to the cabin door and asked the passengers and others to go on deck to see the spars, and a female passenger obeying the summons, was killed on the cabin ladder. The noise occasioned by her fall alarmed the people that were in bed, who, running on deck in disorder, were all killed as they went up, except four or five who ran up the shrouds and remained in the rigging the rest of the night.

"The next morning Te Pahi appeared alongside in a canoe, and was much offended at what had happened, but was not permitted to interfere or to remain near the ship. The unfortunate men in the rigging called to him, and implored his protection, of which he assured them if they could make their way to his canoe. This they effected at every hazard, and were by the old chief landed on the nearest point, though closely pursued. The pursuit was continued on shore. They were all overtaken, and Te Pahi was forcibly held while the murder of the unhappy fugitives was perpetrated. A female passenger and two children, who were afterwards found in the cabin, were spared from massacre, and taken on shore to a hut, in which situation Mr. Berry and Captain Pattison, of the ship *City of Edinburgh*, found them when they rescued them.

"Te Pahi was afterwards permitted by the people of Whangaroa to take three boatloads of any property he chose out of the ship, firearms and gunpowder excepted, and the bulk they divided among themselves. The salt provisions, flour, and spirits they threw overboard, considering them useless. The muskets they prized very much, and one of the savages in his eagerness to try one, stove in the head of a barrel of gunpowder, and filling the pan of the piece snapped it directly over the cask, the

explosion of which killed five native women and eight or nine men, and set part of the ship on fire."

On 13th November, 1813, John Besant, mariner, being sworn, deposed before the Rev. S. Marsden, J.P., at Parramatta, New South Wales, *inter alia*, as follows:—

"He left the ship *King George* in 1812, at New Zealand, and lived among the natives there for twelve months. That he received the following account of the loss of the *Boyd* from one of the chief's sons, who spoke English well, having been on board the *Star* with Captain Wilkinson two voyages. That when the *Star* sailed from Port Jackson to London, Captain Wilkinson got Captain Thompson, master of the *Boyd*, to take the chief Tara and his companions on board the *Boyd* under a promise of landing them at New Zealand, whither he was bound then for spars.

"That the chief informed the deponent that Captain Wilkinson, previous to his sailing for England, had paid him his oil and skins, with which he purchased clothing. He also informed the deponent that Captain Thompson had him tied to the rigging and flogged him, and kept all his things. That after the *Boyd* arrived in the Whangaroa Harbour the young chief was flogged and sent on shore immediately."

About twelve months after the date of this deposition, Messrs. Marsden and Nicholas visited Whangaroa, and heard from Tara himself the rendering of the details of the tragedy. The Europeans slept beside Tara and his wife—Mr. Marsden on the one side and Mr. Nicholas on the other. As this was the first night spent by Mr. Marsden on the New Zealand coast, we can readily understand the following expression of feeling: "I viewed our present situation with sensations and feelings that I cannot express. Surrounded by cannibals who had massacred and devoured our countrymen, I wondered much at the mysteries of Providence and how these things could be! Never did I behold the blessed advantages of civilization in a more grateful light than now."

In the statement of the Otaheitean the main facts are contained. In Besant's deposition great reliance appears difficult to be reposed; but Tara told Nicholas that the captain stripped him of everything English he had, even to the clothes he wore, so that he was received by his countrymen almost in a state of perfect nudity. After the Maori custom, all that happened him from the date of his departure to that of his return was related to

the tribe in detail. We know enough of Maori manners to be sure on this head. When all had been told and discussed, the massacre was determined on, and part of the procedure evidently was to lull the captain into a feeling of security, and the show of friendship which was manifested on the arrival of the ship was kept up to the last.

Nicholas writes that George told him "that he was taken so ill during the voyage as to be utterly incapable of doing his duty, which the captain not believing, and imputing his inability to work rather to laziness than indisposition, he was threatened, insulted, and abused by him, and tied up to the gangway and flogged most severely." When Berry asked the cause of the outrage he was told that "the captain was a bad man."

Whatever in Maori phraseology may have been the *take*, or cause of offence, or pretext for the outrage—as according to Maori usage there must be a justification real or imaginary for all outrages—it cannot be lost sight of that a Maori can frame a reasonable motive for his actions with as much facility and speciousness as a clever advocate can. But Marion du Fresne, for instance, may have violated the law of Maoridom without knowing that he was doing so, and Captain Thompson may have done the same thing, and the violation in either or both cases would have been held to be a sufficient justification for the lives that were taken in both massacres; yet *take* or no *take*, men of all races are much alike, and Maoris are as prone as others to kill in order to secure undisturbed possession of objects of desire.

Tara had been to sea for several years. The *Star*, commanded by Captain Wilkinson, had been in Whangaroa Harbour in 1805, and with her Tara went away in quest of iron and firearms. The *Star* went sealing to the Antipodes Islands, and thither Tara also went. When the sealing season was over Tara, or George, as he was called on board, was re-landed at his own place. The next vessel we hear touching at Whangaroa was the brig *Commerce*, commanded by Captain Ceronci—also a sealing craft—having as a lad Jack Marmon on board. The *Commerce* was looking for spars. While at Whangaroa Ceronci lost a watch overboard in the harbour, which the natives considered the cause of the epidemic then prevailing through the district, carrying off many of the inhabitants and the chief of the locality, a man of considerable reputation, called Kaitoke. The watch was thought an evil spirit. Te Pahi laid claim to

Whangaroa after the death of Kaitoke. After her, in 1808, the *Elizabeth*, belonging to Mr. Blackall, of Port Jackson, commanded by Captain Stewart, bound for the Fijis, touched at Whangaroa. It was in this vessel a second time that George quitted his friends and country to try what he could gain by adventure. He performed the voyage to Fiji, and went from thence to Sydney Cove, where he arrived in the November of the same year. There he met his old friend Captain Wilkinson of the *Star*, and did not require much persuasion to induce him to embark in another expedition. Most of these details are Dillon's.

It will be noticed that Dillon's narrative agrees in some respects with Besant's deposition; but whether Tara had a passage to Whangaroa provided for him by the Government in the *Boyd*, or by Captain Wilkinson, or worked his passage, or covenanted to work his passage, is by no means clear; but the natives agree almost unanimously in the statement that the captain treated him harshly, and some assert most unjustly.

Moehanga, whom Savage took to England in the *Ferret*, told Dillon that a few days after the *Boyd* had sailed from Port Jackson, the cook, by accident or neglect, threw overboard in a bucket of water a dozen of pewter spoons belonging to the captain's mess. Apprehending a rope's end he told the captain that George and his attendant had stolen them; and the captain, without sufficient investigation, ordered the New Zealand chief before him, and directed the boatswain to punish him, who, being a powerful man, performed the office with severity. In vain did George urge that he was a chief and ought not to be degraded by punishment. Captain Thompson only replied that he was a slave, thus adding insult to injury. George still insisted that he was a chief, and that upon their arrival in New Zealand the Captain should see it.

George did not leave a favourable impression on the Mission party, as Mr. Nicholas wrote: "The face of the man bespoke him capable of committing so atrocious an act. His features were not unsightly, but they appeared to veil a dark and subtle malignity of intention, and the lurking treachery of a depraved heart was perfectly legible in every one of them. He had acquired, too, from his intercourses with European sailors, a coarse familiarity of manner, mingled with a degree of sneering impudence, which gave him a character completely distinct from his countrymen, and making him odious in our view, reconciled us the more easily to their

unsophisticated rudeness. This chief having served on board some of the whalers, could speak English very fluently, and on my going up to shake hands with him, he thought proper to return the compliment with 'How do you do, my boy?' which he uttered in so characteristic a style of vulgar freedom, yet so totally unlike the blunt familiarity of honest friendship, that he excited at the same moment my abhorrence and disgust. It was necessary, however, to be very circumspect towards this designing chief, and I took care that he should see nothing in my conduct that could lead him to suspect he was at all obnoxious to me."

It was early noticed that George had imbibed a fondness for alcohol, and that a small quantity made him comparatively insane.

Commenting on the massacre in reference to the complicity of Te Pahi therein, Mr. Nicholas, who was conversant with all the facts when they were fresh in the memories of men and women on either hand, writes that "the assertions contained in Berry's letter were completely falsified, not only by the testimony of George himself, but also by the declarations of Ruatara, Korokoro, and numbers besides, who had an opportunity of knowing the particulars of the transaction, and who assured us, in the sincerity of their hearts, that Te Pahi was entirely innocent of the imputed atrocity. Indeed, I am fully convinced that this foul stigma was cast upon him from the fortuitous circumstance of his having unhappily come into the harbour of Whangaroa on that fatal morning: but what further served to fix the guilt upon him was the similarity of sound between his name and that of Tupe, the brother of George, and next to him the most prominent leader in the massacre. In addition to this, Tara and Tupe, being his mortal enemies (who were also Berry's chief friends), spread the vile calumny through the whole island, and their malevolence in the end produced all the effect they desired. To this fatal combination of causes it was owing that the name of poor Te Pahi was branded with an atrocious criminality, his people exterminated, and his little island, once the seat of his fondest hopes, deluged with blood and ravaged with desolation."

The Boyd was an English vessel about 500 tons burthen, commanded by Captain John Thompson, and owned, as before stated, by a Mr. George Brown, of London. Taken up by the Government as a transport for convicts to New South Wales, she left the Thames on the 10th of March, 1809, and arrived at Port

Jackson on the 14th of August following. She left Sydney, probably in November, for her return voyage, partly chartered by Mr. S. Lord, of Port Jackson, to proceed to Whangaroa for spars, which were to be discharged at the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. Lord also put on board a large quantity of New South Wales mahogany, seal skins, oil, and coal for the same market, in all amounting to the value of £15,000. Dillon says: "There was an East Indian captain named Burnsides who was a passenger by her, and who having by industry accumulated a fortune of £30,000, was on his return to end his days among his friends on the banks of the Liffey."

Berry heard of the catastrophe in the Bay of Islands about the middle of December, but did not at first pay much attention to the rumour, and it was not until the month had nearly come to an end that he determined to ascertain the truth, having, as he writes, received such confirmation as to compel belief, the circumstances related being not only so consistent with one another, but of such a nature as evidently to exceed the powers of invention possessed by the natives. The City of Edinburgh had been in the Bay of Islands since the end of October, and Berry and the first mate arranged to proceed to Whangaroa in the last days of the year. A supplement to the printed account of the destruction of the Boyd, was forwarded to Sir George Grey, K.C.B., by Berry, shortly before his death in Sydney. Access to this manuscript was courteously permitted for the purposes of this history; it has since been placed among the Grey collection in the Auckland Free Library. In it Berry writes:—

"Before proceeding on the expedition to Whangaroa, I called all hands, and told them I would only take volunteers, and asked who were willing to accompany me. All hands volunteered, so that I was able to make a selection, and I exacted a promise from them that they would implicitly obey me. I left the captain and all the officers on board, and the remainder of the crew to take care of the ship during my absence.

"The natives had twice attacked the ship during my stay in New Zealand, and for that reason I left the ship in the dark. I had misgivings that I might find her a mass of ruins on my return. The wind was light during the night, but at daylight it began to blow in an opposite direction to our course, and soon increased to a gale. I was in the foremost boat; the two others were far behind at uncertain distances: first one boat bore up for

the Bay of Islands and disappeared, and some time after the other.

"I struggled hard to reach Whangaroa that I might ascertain the fate of the *Boyd*, even if I could do nothing else, but was ultimately obliged also to bear up for the Bay of Islands. Reached the ship about midnight, and found that the other two boats had arrived some hours before me. Next morning, when I came on deck, I found that the weather was fine, and therefore resolved to make a second attempt to reach Whangaroa. None of the adventurers of the preceding day were yet on deck. The word was passed below 'Who's for Whangaroa?' In an instant they all appeared

were seen the remains of her cargo—coals, salted seal skins, and planks. Her guns, iron standards, etc., were lying on the top, having fallen in when her decks were consumed.

"Metenangha landed by himself, but directed the boats to a more convenient landing place where he quickly joined us with two of the principal chiefs and several of their friends who had been engaged in the massacre. Dressed in canvas, the spoil of the ship, they approached us with the greatest confidence, held out their hands, and addressed me by name in the style and manner of old acquaintance.

"I inquired if there were any survivors, to



Upper part of Whangaroa, showing where the *Boyd* drifted after taking fire.

on deck covered only with their blankets. I made a new selection and rejected all the men who were in the boat which first deserted me. This time I started immediately after breakfast. The wind was favourable, and I was now accompanied by my friend Metangaha. It was late before we reached Whangaroa, and we stopped all night inside the heads."

In the printed report the writer says: "We found the wreck in shoal water at the top of the harbour, a most melancholy picture of wanton mischief. The natives had cut her cables, and towed her up the harbour, till she had grounded, and then set her on fire and burned her to the water's edge. In her hold

which they readily replied in the affirmative, mentioning their names with great familiarity, and even with an appearance of kindness and sympathy. They were then informed that we had come to Whangaroa for the purpose of delivering the captives. I then pointed to my men and their muskets on the one hand, and to the heaps of axes on the other, bidding them take their choice, and either deliver the captives peaceably, when they should be paid for their ransom, or I would otherwise attack them. The chief, after a few moments' hesitation, replied with great quickness that trading was better than fighting. 'Then give us axes and you shall have the prisoners.'

. . . . On reaching the settlement we found a great crowd collected, of whom several of the females were decently dressed as Europeans. We were then told that the prisoners were up the country, that they would immediately send for them, and that they would be delivered up the next morning. . . . At the time appointed the natives, agreeable to promise, brought to our quarters a young woman with her sucking child—Mrs. Morley and a boy belonging to the vessel about fifteen years of age. On inquiring of the female whether there were any other survivors, she mentioned the infant daughter of Mr. Commissary Broughton, which was in the possession of the chief of the island at the entrance of the harbour. On reaching the island I sent ashore one of the followers who had received orders from the chief to demand the delivery of the child. A long conversation took place between him and his countrymen, and no child appearing for upwards of an hour I began to get greatly alarmed for its safety. This delay, I afterwards had reason to believe, proceeded from the endeavours of the natives to deliver it up in as decent a manner as possible. It was tolerably clean, with its hair dressed and ornamented with white feathers in the fashion of New Zealanders. Its only clothing, however, consisted of a linen shirt, which, from the marks upon it, had belonged to the captain. The poor child was greatly emaciated, and its skin was excoriated all over. When brought into the boat it cried out in a feeble and complaining tone, 'Mama! my mama.'

"A chief had kept the second mate alive for a fortnight, and employed him to make fish-hooks out of iron hoops, but as he did not prove himself a good workman he killed and ate him."

In his supplement Berry writes: "I told the chiefs to give instructions to bring all the books and papers from the Boyd to the Bay of Islands within three days, as I would sail at the end of that time, and if they did not I would take them to England and hand them over to King George to be dealt with for destroying one of his ships and massacring the crew."

Taking some of the chiefs from Whangaroa back to the Bay of Islands, on arrival at the ship he put them in irons, and placed a sentinel over them to prevent their escape. "The same evening," he adds, "to ensure the commission being properly executed, Metenangha sent Tawake (a young Maori who had accompanied the expedition) back

again overland to Whangaroa. At the end of three days Tawake returned in one of the boats of the Boyd, bringing back a box of letters, the log-book of the Boyd, and sundry packets of loose letters."

As indicative of the postal arrangements of that day in these seas, Berry found among the loose letters several in his own handwriting with the seals unbroken. They were those he had left in Sydney for the purpose of being forwarded to correspondents in London. Some of them contained the seconds of bills of exchange. The first of the bills had been left in Sydney, but they never reached their destination.

All the letters and papers recovered from the Boyd were transmitted from Lima to London, where they were safely received.

"During the three days," Berry continues, "the chiefs were kept in irons. Metenangha remained on board, and was very importunate for me to release them. I ordered them to be brought on the poop, and then addressed Metenangha, and told him that my original intention was to have released the chiefs as soon as I recovered the ship's papers, but that his importunities had made me more seriously reflect on the subject, and I had come to the conclusion that I was not warranted in releasing them after the atrocious act which they had committed, and therefore was determined to shoot them, and called all hands and all the Maoris who were on board to witness the execution.

"I then addressed the chiefs, telling them that if an Englishman committed a single murder he was hanged; that they had massacred a whole ship's crew, and therefore could expect no mercy; but as they were chiefs I would not degrade them by hanging, but would shoot them.

"All on board except Metenangha and the chiefs themselves were delighted. Old Tara seated himself before the mast while the preparations were proceeding. Every time I passed he looked at me with his one eye, which was twinkling with pleasure, and he nodded his token of approval. Poor Tara had a gallant son, the flower of his race. A few years before he had made a friendly visit to Whangaroa in a canoe with a few followers, and these very chiefs treacherously murdered him, and Tara was now childless.

"Two muskets were brought me; I examined them carefully, and that there might be no mistake, I loaded them myself, and put them into the hands of two South Sea Islanders, who felt themselves honoured in being allowed

to be the executioners. I told them to take good aim, in order to kill at the first shot, but they must not fire until I gave them the signal. The chiefs looked stedfastly at the presented muskets, and then covered up their faces with their mats in the same way Cæsar did, that they might die with more decency. Some time elapsed before I gave the signal, and both chiefs at the same moment uncovered their faces to see what was the matter. The signal was now given; both fired at the same instant. The chiefs remained motionless, and everyone thought that they had expired without a groan. I gave the chiefs some moments to recover themselves, and then addressed them."

The guns had not been loaded, and Berry had thought to frighten the men, and making a merit of sparing their lives. He told them he degraded them from their chieftainship, and made them vassals of the men of Kororareka,—at which nominal degradation the men of course paid no heed, beyond sending word two days afterwards that had they been shot as threatened, their friends would have taken ample revenge.

The City of Edinburgh left New Zealand laden with spars for the use of the English navy at the Cape of Good Hope about 6th

January, 1810, taking the people saved from the wreck with her. Through rough weather Valparaiso was not reached until nearly the end of May, and Lima not until August. In the latter place, from circumstances not within the scope of our narrative to detail, the ship remained ten months, during which period Mrs. Morley died. Davies, the lad, was sent on to England, from whence he returned to New South Wales, and the two children being taken to Rio Janeiro, were sent to Port Jackson in the whaling vessel Atlanta, and arrived there on 19th May, 1812.

Miss Morley, when grown to womanhood, kept a school in Sydney; Miss Broughton became Mrs. Charles Throsby; and Davies was drowned at Shoalhaven, New South Wales, in May, 1822.

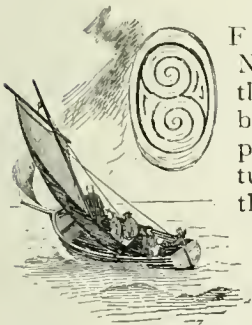
The Maoris have insisted persistently that there were several boxes of silver and gold in the hull of the Boyd, but no one has yet sought for treasure trove in the harbour of Whangaroa. Nicholas, in 1815, saw dollars taken out of the Boyd suspended from the necks of children at the Thames, and in one village that he visited there was a large piece of iron that had belonged to the unfortunate ship.





WHALING IN NEW ZEALAND.

Whaling in 1808—Marmon's account of the cruise of the whaler Hanwich—Migratory disposition and habits of the sperm whale—Misunderstanding between a whaler and the Maoris—Number and success of whalers on the New Zealand fishery—The seamen consort with native women—Shore whaling established—Fondness of whales for their young—Earnings of shore whaling parties—Dissolute habits of the whalers—Strange career of a dealer in whalebone, who was ultimately hanged for murder—The whalers' code of laws—Implements of whaling and mode of attack—A capture described—Development of the whale fisheries—An account of the New Zealand shore fisheries prior to 1840—The whaling voyage of the Bee—First settlement at Banks Peninsula—The story of an early whaler—Purchase of Bank's Peninsula by a Frenchman—Visit of American and other whalers to Cloudy Bay—Maoris bartering their women—Astonishment of the natives upon seeing a white woman—Prices of native produce in 1839—The first white man at Te-awa-iti—A picture of the settlement in 1839—Sunday at a whaling station—The whaling station at Kapiti—The advent of Te Rauparaha and Te Pahi—Visit of H.M.S. Zebra in 1832, and H.M.S. Alligator in 1834—Description of Kapiti Island—The whaling station at Evans Island—A tough old whaler and model station—Piratical act by Kapiti whalers—The whaling stations at Mana, Porirua, and Hawke Bay—Decline of the Bay of Islands as a calling place for whalers.



OF the whaling around the New Zealand coast during the season of 1808, it may be said that everything proved exceptionally fortunate. Captain Clark, of the Seringapatam, informed

Mr Birbeck, the master of the Venus, when they met at Norfolk Island, that he had obtained two

hundred barrels of sperm in a week. The Albion and the Elizabeth secured in a short space of time nine hundred and eight hundred barrels respectively, and no less than ten whalers in our scanty records are known to have been fishing around the coast of New Zealand. The Grand Sachem (Whippey, master) was an early representative of the American whaling fleet, of which Burke said: "No sea but what is vexed by their

fisheries; no climate that is not witness to their toils." The Venus (Birbeck, master), the Indispensable (Turnbull), the Commerce (Ceronci), the Sarah (Bristow), the Ferret (Skelton), the Dart, and other craft were all employed in the trade. In August the Elizabeth went into port with 100 tuns of sperm oil.

The next year we have the first record of the capture of the black whale, as the Speke, Captain Hington, arrived in Sydney Cove with one hundred and fifty tuns of black and twenty tuns of sperm oil. In 1810 the Mary, Captain Simmonds, was lost off the East Cape with one hundred and ten tuns of sperm. The crew were fortunately all saved. The following vessels are known to have been whaling around the coast during the year:—Mary, Cumberland, Indispensable, Speke, Diana, Inspector, Atalanta, New Zealander; Messrs. Simmonds, Swain, Best, Hingston, Parker, Walker, Morrison, Elder, masters.

We have the means of knowing what whaling was like on the New Zealand coast about this period, as we have a fair description of the first voyage of the *Harwich*, a brigantine of 500 tons, belonging to Sydney, and commanded by Captain Simmonds—formerly of the *Mary*, lost off the East Cape. She was provisioned for a two years' voyage, and left Port Jackson in January, 1811. The first land sighted was the Three Kings, then a favourite ground for sperm whaling. The first whale was speedily captured, and then the whole shoal disappeared, nor were more found, though the locality was cruised over for several days, when the narrator Marmon says: "We stretched across to Curtis's Island, about five hundred miles to the north-east, where in about a month we got five or six more, some of them giving fair yields of oil. After this we ran down upon Norfolk Island, where we fell in with the *Mercury*, Captain Barnet, from Tasmania. From her we shipped two additional hands and then made for Moreton Bay. Here not a solitary fish was to be seen, therefore we ran back to our old ground off Curtis's Island. Scarcely had we arrived than we fell in with a heavy gale from the north-east, raging for twenty days, in which we had to heave-to, not being able to show a rag of sail. On the twenty-first day, when the wind began to lull, we found ourselves off the Three Kings, a drift of more than five hundred miles."

The gale inflicted such damage on the ship that they had to put into the Bay of Islands for repairs, where they anchored off Te Puna 10th April, 1811. After the repairs had been completed, the old cruising ground about the Three Kings was resorted to, but the weather proving bad, Norfolk Island was looked up again, where the ship soon began to "strike oil."

The narrative proceeds: "The first day we arrived we secured three whales, which we cut in and tried out, the third day two more, and the fifth day another. Then our luck seemed to change, and not a solitary fish could we see for an entire month. We tried all our former grounds—Curtis Island, Moreton Bay, Three Kings—to no purpose, and only when off the East Cape did we catch sight of a small whale, which we secured. The weather being broken and the ship pretty full of oil the captain determined to run for Sydney and refit."

The narrative is instructive as being typical of most whaling voyages, and illustrating a remark of Polack's, doubtless

founded on experience. Writing of sperm whales he says: "These fish are gregarious, and migratory in their movements, seldom frequenting the same latitude in an ensuing season, and whalers who have procured a cargo one season have often been minus of oil by adhering to the same place in the following year. No experienced South seaman will calculate for a certainty where he may fill his ship. Those that have acted according to predetermination have returned to the port they sailed from with scarce sufficient to pay expenses."

The principal whaling grounds in the South Pacific have well-known names to those who are engaged in the trade. They are called the "on shore ground," the "off shore ground," "the middle ground," and so forth. The "on shore ground" embraces the whole extent of ocean along the coast of Chili and Peru from the island of Juan Fernandez to the Gallipagos Islands; and the "off shore ground," the space between latitude 5 deg. and 10 deg. south, longitude 90 deg. and 120 deg. west. The "middle ground" is that between Australia and New Zealand. There are, however, other grounds not included in the list—the East and West Coasts of New Zealand, and across the South Pacific between the parallels of 21 deg. and 27 deg. south.

The right whale fisheries occupy the higher latitudes in both hemispheres, which are their feeding grounds. As the winter is setting in the cows resort to the bays to bring forth their young, where they remain until the spring months, when they again resort to meet the bulls. It is not known where the latter go in the interval, but it is generally supposed to be the high latitudes where they find their food in greater plenty.

In 1812 there arrived in Sydney from the sperm whale fishery off the coast of New Zealand—it was the fashion in those days to speak of this as the best whaling ground in the South Pacific—the *Cato*, Captain Lindsey, with fifty-five tuns of oil, procured in five months. The captain spoke on the fishery the *Frederick*, Captain Bodie, with 10,050 barrels; the *Ann*, Captain Gwynn, with 600; the *Cumberland*, Swain, with 7,506; and the *Thames*, Captain Bristow, with 350 barrels.

In the year 1813 we hear of the *Jefferson*, whaler, Captain Barnes, having procured one hundred tuns of sperm oil in the short space of time from the beginning of June to September 6th. The *Jefferson* had been on the coast for some time, and the captain appears to have had a facility for misunderstandings with the

natives. An illustration will suffice to show the way they arose. He had agreed to give a musket for one hundred and fifty bags of potatoes and four hogs, but having the chief with whom he made the agreement on board before the goods were delivered, he ordered him to supply double the potatoes and pigs he had covenanted for, and to enforce compliance with his command, kept the chief a hostage until his demand was satisfied. A large number of additional baskets of potatoes had been given to the ship, when the chief was permitted to land in a ship's boat, which, with another of her boats, was to bring off the remainder of the exaction. But as soon as the natives saw that their chief was out of the power of the Europeans, they gave way to their dissembled anger, and fired on the boats.

In 1821 the following was the known success of the New Zealand whalers for the season as reported in the month of March:—

Vessel.	Captain.	Quantity.
Catherine - -	Graham -	600 barrels
Vansittart - -	Hunt - -	250 "
Janus - - -	Mowatt -	500 "
Independence -	Barrett -	800 "
Seringapatam -	Toy - -	80 "
Kent - - -	Gradan -	200 "
Ann - - -	Laurey -	800 "
North America -	Wyer - -	50 "
Indian - - -	West - -	500 "
Cumberland - -	- - -	1200 "
Prince Regent -	Anderson -	1400 "
Rambler - - -	Smith - -	500 "
Saracen - - -	Kerr - -	120 "
Woodlark - - -	Moore - -	Killed 2 whales

The list is of interest, showing as it does the number of ships employed in whaling on the coast, coupled with the information that Captain West, of the *Indian*, killed a whale, and in cutting out the under jaw took out of it thirty-two teeth of fine ivory measuring from six to eight inches in length, and weighing from six to eight pounds each.

Dillon, who was at the Bay of Islands in 1827, writes: "It is a common thing for above fourteen sail of whalers to be in the Bay of Islands during the months of December and January every year. During the winter they fish off the Friendly, Fiji, and Navigators, and return in summer to whale off New Zealand, where they complete their cargo, take in supplies of hogs, potatoes, fish, wood, and water, and refit their rigging and ships. Each officer and seaman on board has his wife at the Bay of Islands, who, on his return from the fishery, joins him and remains with him on board till the ship's departure. It often happens that these women go with their

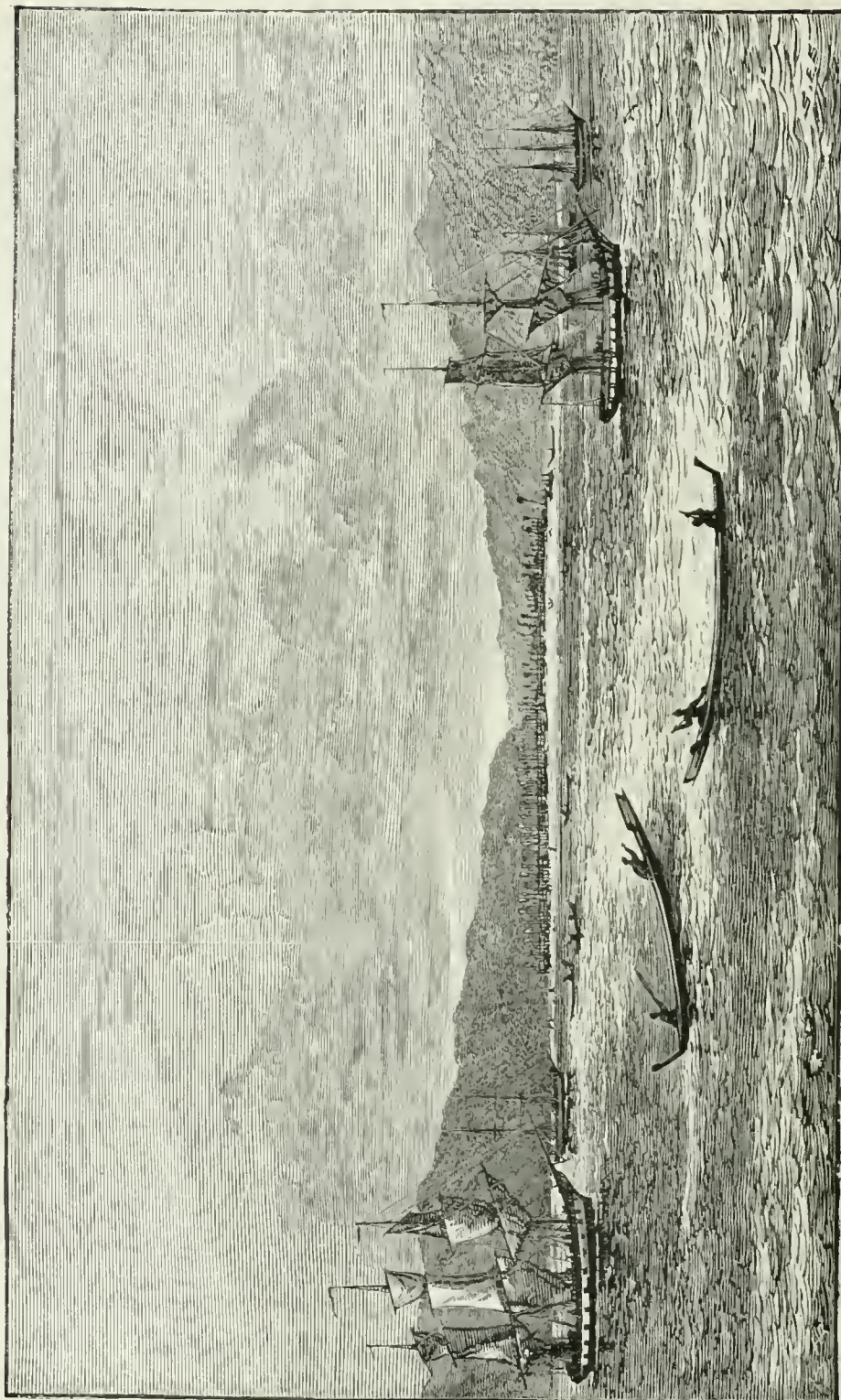
husbands (*sic*) to the fishing station, as was the case with the daughter of Pomare, who was absent when I anchored in the Bay."

In July, 1827, the prospectus of the Australian Whale Fishery Company was put before the public. Its proposed capital was £20,000, in 100 shares of £50 each, one half to be paid on subscription and the balance to be called up as circumstances required.

Shore whaling began in Cook Strait about 1829, though Guard told Colonel Wakefield that he had settled there in 1827. The feeding grounds of the sperm and black whale are seldom in the same places, for while the latter frequents coasts and bays, the former is generally found in the deep sea, and far from land. The former feed on squid, the other on small crustacea and small fish. Dffenbach writes that whales, then undisturbed, came into Tory Channel and the head of Cloudy Bay; but now in 1839 they seldom do. The first whalers were very poor, and had not even casks to put the oil in, and during several seasons they killed the whales for the whalebone only.

From May to the beginning of October the whales visited the bays to bring forth their young. They arrived from the north-west and went to the south-east, following the tide along the shores in search of smooth water. They were often seen rubbing off against the beach and rocks the numerous barnacles and other parasitical insects with which they were covered. The mother, called the cow, is always with her offspring, while the male, called the bull, is rarely seen and seldom caught—a circumstance which "would possibly act unfavourably on the number of these animals. The same result arose from the constant destruction of the calves, which were always a secure prey to the whaler."

May, June, and July were regarded by the whalers as the best months in Cloudy Bay; the three other for Tory Channel, the cause of this difference being that the whales went as far up in the inlets of the sea as they could, to bring forth their young. The boats would leave Te-awa-iti before sunrise, and return at sunset: they cruised during the day at the entrance of the Tory Channel, stationing some men on the "look out"—a long and high tongue of land—which forms the right shore of the channel. The boats could quit Te-awa-iti only in fine weather, when no wind blew from the south-east or north-east. As the mother never left the calf, nursing it with the tenderest affection, the first aim of the whaler was to kill it. If the animal were struck



Old pa and whalers at Bay of Islands in 1820

behind the fins, it was quickly killed, but not without dangerously beating about with the tail. As soon as the mother observes the threatening danger she takes the calf on her back between the fins. It has been observed that cows run away for miles with the dead calf; old cows are the most careful for their young, and never quit it, while alive. The cows are generally accompanied by one calf, but sometimes by two; and the whalers say that in this case the mothers have adopted an orphan calf. The size of a calf four months old is about twenty-four feet; one that was cut out from a cow measured fourteen feet. It was a custom among the whalers that he who killed the calf was also the proprietor of the mother, arising from the facility with which the latter was killed when the calf was dead.

The migrations of the whale, Diffenbach says, are the most interesting part of their history. They arrive at the coasts of New Zealand in the beginning of May from the northward, go through Cook Strait, keeping along the coasts of the northern island, and pass between the latter and Entry Island, or Kapiti. This is borne out by the fact that they are never seen on the opposite coast, nor do they enter the northern entrance of Queen Charlotte Sound. From Entry Island they sweep into Cloudy Bay, and at the end of October they go either to the eastward or return to the northward. From the month of June they begin to show themselves near the Chatham Islands, where their numbers increase with the termination of the season. During the remaining six months of the year the ships cruising in the whaling ground fall in with many whales. This whaling ground extends from the Chatham Islands to the eastward of the northern island of New Zealand, and from thence to Norfolk Island.

It may be noticed that some of the whales did not go to the eastward by Cook Strait, but selected the route by way of Preservation Inlet and l'ouveau Strait, as we find the earliest recorded fishing station in the Middle Island at its southern end; one being established at Rakituma, or Preservation, by one Williams in the year 1829. For years it used to employ three, four, and five boats, and from 1829 to 1836 its catch used to vary from 120 to 176 tons.

The shore whaling parties were worked by the agents of Sydney capitalists, and they procured annually on a rough average 500 tons of oil. The Sydney merchants supplied casks and freight for the oil and bone, and paid the

fishermen £10 per tun for the former and £60 per tun for the latter. The selling price in Sydney was about £25 for the oil, which yielded £10 in London, and a similar advance in the bone. The men were paid in slops, provisions, and spirits. The stations were generally established near projecting headlands, close to which there was deep water, and where a good view could be had of the offing, and of any whales which might chance to sport there. It required a large sum of money to equip a good whaling station. A pair of shears had to be erected in order to raise the immense carcasses above water so that they could be more expeditiously cut up. It was also necessary to build try pots in which the blubber was boiled. Three or four well built and well found boats completed the outfit. All these establishments seem to have been conducted on the same system. The men employed in the active part of the work were paid by a percentage of the proceeds of the catch. The chief headman's share was one-eighteenth; a headman's, one-twenty-eighth; a boat-steerer's, one-sixtieth; a cooper's or carpenter's, one-seventieth, or monthly wage; a boatman's, one-hundreth. The remainder was the share of the merchant at whose expense the station had been fitted out, who also had the advantage of taking the oil at his own valuation, which was very much in his favour.

During the whaling season the store which was attached to the station was allowed to remain empty, but as soon as it drew to a close a ship came with a supply of spirits and goods suited to the tastes of the place, and received a return freight of oil. Each man had then a credit to the amount of his share, if he had not, as was generally the case, an old debt to wipe out. Forthwith all hands gave themselves up to drink the infamous rum, or arrack, with which they were supplied, and continued to do so as long as their credit lasted. Then followed several months' idleness and misery, during which time they were badly fed, and frequently became a prey to *delirium tremens*. Sometimes, having exhausted all their rum and eatables, they would embark in a body and visit the nearest station, where, if they found their comrades in a better plight than themselves, they would remain till they had eaten and drank up all they had, and then, with increased numbers, make an inroad into the next station, and so on till all within reach had become reduced to the same state of poverty.

The merchants who filled out these stations encouraged this mode of life as much as

possible in order to bring into their purses a larger gain: for instead of paying in cash for the oil they paid in property, which was retailed much above the cost in Sydney. The men being generally in debt, and having no money, were in a manner bound to the place, for they could always obtain on credit from time to time a supply of necessaries, just sufficient to keep them till the commencement of the next season. Indeed it would be difficult for any of them to leave the country, for no other vessels ever came near them except those of their employers, in which, if they had wished, they could not have obtained a passage. Not even a letter from them was

the ships which touched on the coast. But the men who returned regularly with the oil to Sydney, or were then entering on their first season, went with such of their comrades as were well known by the natives to the different villages in the neighbourhood for the purpose of procuring a helpmate during the season. Regular bargains were struck between the experienced headsman or boat-steerer and the relations of the girl selected, and in most cases the bargains were punctually adhered to."

There are some interesting details concerning the early trade in whalebone, which largely came from New Zealand. Thierry

Tawell.

New South Wales, Nc.

Post Bill

At *days' sight I promise to pay* *or*
bearer, Five Pounds Sterg.

Value recd. *Sydney,* *day of* *18*

Stans.

Ste.

Five

John Tawell.

Entd.

Nc.

suffered to reach their friends at a distance, all alike being destroyed at sea, as there existed a great jealousy lest any information relative to the fisheries should be made public in Sydney.

Wakefield says: "A very important part of the preparation for a whaling season was providing the party with native wives for the season. Those men who had remained during the summer were generally provided with a permanent companion, among whose relations they had been living either in perfect idleness or employed in cultivating a small patch of land, or in buying pork and potatoes from the natives and selling them again for goods to

gives us the following details:—"Tawell, who was hanged for murder, obtained a considerable portion of his money by buying up all the whalebone that trading vessels at an early period brought into Sydney. This he sent to a London house, where it was manufactured into combs, handles for various brushes, and other articles of domestic use. He was the first person in the colony who converted whalebone into an article of profitable export. Tawell was a man who attained some notoriety in England from poisoning a woman who was dependent upon him for support. A few minutes after he had done the deed he started from Slough to London by the railway train,

but the train was outstripped by the electric telegraph, and on his arrival in London he was speedily arrested.

"This happened, it must be understood, after his transportation to New South Wales, whither he had been sent in the first quarter of the century. Previous to his transportation his occupation in England was that of a commercial traveller. He had been convicted for forgery. The first count of the indictment charged him with forging a bill for £1,000; the second with uttering it knowing it to be forged; and a third with having a forged bill to that amount in his possession. The first two counts, on conviction, would have made him liable to a capital punishment; the last to transportation for life. The prosecution was so compromised that on his consenting to plead 'guilty' to the last charge, which he did, the Crown entered a *nolle prosequi* on the two first counts.

"Accordingly he came to the colony a convict for this offence. His career was a remarkable one. It exhibited a strange mixture of great shrewdness and money-making talent, combined with an outward show of religious observance. Besides being a commercial traveller for some time, he had been in an apothecary's shop in England. On obtaining partial exemption from convict discipline, he became the principal druggist, and had the showiest shop of that kind in Sydney, which after prosperously conducting for many years, he sold the business, it was stated, for £14,000. This sum he invested in buildings and other pursuits of profit.

"During his commercial career he was in the habit of issuing paper currency, or promises to pay, a specimen of which is shown on page 160.

"He had once been a member of the Society of Friends, he wore the broad-brimmed hat, appeared always in a neat and carefully-adjusted costume, and his whole appearance and manner impressed me with the notion of his being a very saintly personage. He always sought the society in public of persons of reputed piety. He was often met in the street accompanied by a secretary or collector to a charitable institution, whom he assisted in obtaining contributions for benevolent objects. At one time he took up the cause of temperance in such a silly manner that he ordered a puncheon of rum he had imported to be staved on the wharf in Sydney, and its contents poured into the sea, saying that he would 'not be instrumental to the guilt of disseminating such poison throughout the

colony.' At another time his zeal took an apparently religious turn. He built in Macquarie-street, Sydney, a commodious meeting-house for the Society of Friends, on the front of which was inscribed on a large square stone inserted into the wall, some such words as

JOHN FAWELL

TO THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

He conveyed no title, however, to the Society to secure to them the tenure of the property. After his execution it was sold with other portions of his estate, the Crown having waived its right to the forfeiture of his property. Such in rough outline were the salient details of the history of the man who realised a large portion of his wealth from developing the whalebone trade of the South Pacific."

Of the shore whalers Wakefield writes: "It is very remarkable that there exists among the whalers a certain code of laws, handed down by tradition, and almost universally adhered to, relating to adverse claims to a whale. Each whaling bay has its own law or custom, but they are generally similar. It is recognised, for instance, that he who has once made fast has a right to the whale, even should he be obliged to cut his line, so long as his harpoon remains in her, and each harpooner knows his own weapon by some private mark. The boat making fast to the calf has a right to the cow because she will never desert her young. A boat demanding assistance from the boat of a rival party shares equally with its assistant on receiving the required help. These and many other regulations are never written down, but are so well known that a dispute rarely arises, and if so, is settled according to precedent by the oldest headman.

"The men are enrolled under three denominations: headsman, boat-steerer, and common man. The headsman is, as his name implies, the commander of a boat; and his place is at the helm except during the moment of killing the whale, which task falls to his lot. The boat-steerer pulls the oar nearest the bow of the boat, fastens to the whale with the harpoon, and takes his name from having to steer the boat under the headsman's directions, while the latter kills the whale. The common men have nothing to do but to ply their oars according to orders, except one, called the tub-oarsman, who sits next the tub containing the whale line, and has to see that no entanglement takes place. The wages are

shares of the profits of the fishery, apportioned to the men according to their rank—the headsman getting more shares than the boat-steerer, and the boat-steerer than the common man. The leader of the ‘party’ commands one of the boats, is called the ‘chief headsman,’ and is said to ‘head’ the party, as each headsman is said to ‘head’ his own boat. The boat-steerer or harpooner is likewise said to steer the boat to which he belongs, or more frequently its headsman. Thus on meeting two whalers and asking them what is their situation, one might answer, ‘I heads the Kangaroo,’ while the other would say, ‘and I steers Big George.’

“The whaleboat is a long clinker-built boat, sharp at both ends, and higher out of water at the head and stern than amidships, about twenty to thirty feet long, and varying in breadth according to the make. At the stern, a planking even with the gunwales reaches five or six feet forward, and is perforated perpendicularly by the loggerhead, a cylindrical piece of wood about six inches in diameter, which is used for checking the whale-line by taking a turn or two round it. On this, too, it is customary to cut a notch for every whale killed by the boat. The old-fashioned boats were generally made to pull five oars, the rowers of which were called respectively, beginning from the bow, the boat-steerer, bow-oarsman, midship-oarsman, tub-oarsman, and after-oarsman. Boats are now built, however, for the shore-parties, to pull six, seven, and even eight oars. I believe an uneven number is the best, as in that case there remain an equal force on each side of the boat when the boat-steerer, who is also harpooner, stands up to do his work. The boat is steered by means of a long and ponderous oar, called the steer-oar, which leans on a piece of wood fixed to the stern-post, and is confined to its place by a strap reaching from the top of the stern-post to the end of the support. The oar, however, moves freely in this loop, and is generally covered with leather for eighteen inches of its length to protect it from wear and tear. Close to the handle is a traverse iron peg, which is held with the right hand, and serves to turn the oar. The headsman stands up to steer in the stern-sheets, and exhibits great skill in the management of the steer-oar, which is twenty-seven feet long in large boats. In a rough sea an inexperienced person would not fail to be thrown overboard by it, but a whaler manages it with great ease and grace.

“The oars pull between thole-pins, which always have a small thole-mat and spare pin attached, and are also protected by leather. On the opposite side of the boat to the tholes, below the level of the thwarts, a piece of wood with a small niche is strongly fixed to the side of the boat. This is for ‘peaking the oars,’ or placing the handles into, without taking the oar out of the thole, so that the blade of the oar remains out of reach of the water, whether sailing or running when fast to a whale. A boat in the act of peaking her oars to stop, is said to ‘heave up.’ The mast and large lug-sail are stowed while rowing under the after-thwart, with the other end projecting on the starboard hand of the helmsman, who can thus stow or unstow it himself. A whiff, or light flagstaff, with fancy colours attached, is stowed with the mast and sail. The mast is shipped in the bow, or second thwart, and the halyards are made fast to the midship thwart. These boats are very fast under sail, and will bear a great press of canvas. In the bow of the boat a planking similar to that in the stern reaches some three or four feet aft, and has at its after end a notch large enough to admit a man’s leg. This is to steady the harpooner while striking the whale. One of the forward thole pins is called the crutch, from having branches on it which support the harpoons ready for use. The harpoon is an iron weapon shaped like the top of a *fleur-de-lis*, and barbed so as not to draw out. It is placed on an ashen handle five feet long, and its point is covered by a small wooden case. The line is already fast to them, and communicates with two tubs in the middle of the boat, in which two hundred fathoms of whale line are neatly coiled. Spare harpoons and lances with oval steel-pointed heads, all covered at the points, are ranged under the thwarts. A light wedge is in the head-sheets, a water keg and a bottle of grog are placed in the stern-sheets, with the pea coats of the crew, and a box of biscuits if they expect to remain out late. Sometimes a ‘spade’ is added to the armoury of the boat. This is a sharp iron weapon, like a small baker’s shovel, on a long handle. It is used by some of the boldest whalers to cut about the whale’s tail, and render her less dangerous after she has been struck.

“The boats are fancifully painted by their headsmen with mouldings of different colours, and a ‘nose’ different from the body. In the nose is generally painted some fanciful design, as a star, a crescent, a ball, or an eye.

The name, too, frequently figures along the outside of the stern-sheets.

"The words of command are, as they need be, short and clear. One side is called the two-side, where the two oars are in the five-oared boat, and the other the three-side; but in giving directions the headsman only says pull two, back three, or *vice versa*. The other terms of head all, stern all, peak, heave up, etc., require no explanation. These boats are remarkably lively in a sea-way, will run very long before a gale of wind with safety, and will land safely through a very high surf. They often run on when they are obliged to reef the sail by fastening the weather yard-arm to the gunwale, and are believed capable of standing any weather." The following is a graphic description of a whale hunt by the same authority:—

"At length, one morning early in May, a whale is signalled from a hill near the bay, where a look-out is constantly kept. Three or four boats are quickly launched, and leave the ways at a racing pace; the boats of the rival stations are seen gathering towards the same point; and the occasional spout of the whale, looking like a small column of smoke on the horizon, indicates the direction to be taken. A great deal of stratagem and generalship is now shown by the different headsman in their manœuvres to be first alongside. The whale may probably go for two or three miles in one direction, and then, after the various speed of the boats has placed them in a long file, tailing one after the other, suddenly reverse the position by appearing close to the last boat. The six and seven-oared boats have greatly the advantage while the chase continues in a straight line, but the short old-fashioned five has the best of it if the fish makes many turns and doubles. It is very common for some of the boats to dog the motions of that of a rival party commanded by a headsman of known experience; and thus two boats may sometimes be seen starting suddenly in a direction totally opposed to that taken by the others, and a race shortly begins between these two, the rest having no chance. The 'old file' in one of these two has guessed from some circumstance in the tide, wind, or weather, or from some symptom noticed in the last spout, that the fish would alter its course a point or two; and another headsman who has been attentively watching his movements, declares that 'George is off,' and with a fresh word of encouragement to his crew, follows swiftly in his wake.

"The chase now becomes animating. This last manœuvre has cut off a considerable angle described by the whale; her course and that of the boats almost cross each other, and the crisis seems approaching. The headsman urges his rowers to exertion by encouraging descriptions of the animal's appearance. 'There she breaches!' shouts he, 'and there goes the calf. Give way, my lads; sharp and strong's the word! There she spouts again! Give way in the lull; make her spin through it. George a'n't two boats' length ahead of us. Hurrah! Now she feels it; pull while the squall lasts. Pull! Go along, my boys.' All this time he is helping the after oarsman by propelling his oar with the left hand, while he steers with his right. This is technically called 'backing up.' Each oar bends in a curve; the foam flies from her bows as a tide ripple is passed, and both boats gain perceptibly on the whale. 'And there goes flukes!' continues the headsman as the huge animal makes a bound half out of the water, and shows its broad tail as it plunges again head first into the sea. 'Send us along, my lads. Now give way. Hurrah, my bonnies, hearty and strong. Hurrah! I'll wager a pint there goes the calf again! I'll wager she tries out eight tun if she makes a gallon. Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah, then! Three or four strokes more, and she'll come up under our nose. Stand up, Bill.' The boat-steerer peaks his oar, places one leg in the round notch in the front of the boat, and poises the harpoon with line attached over his head.

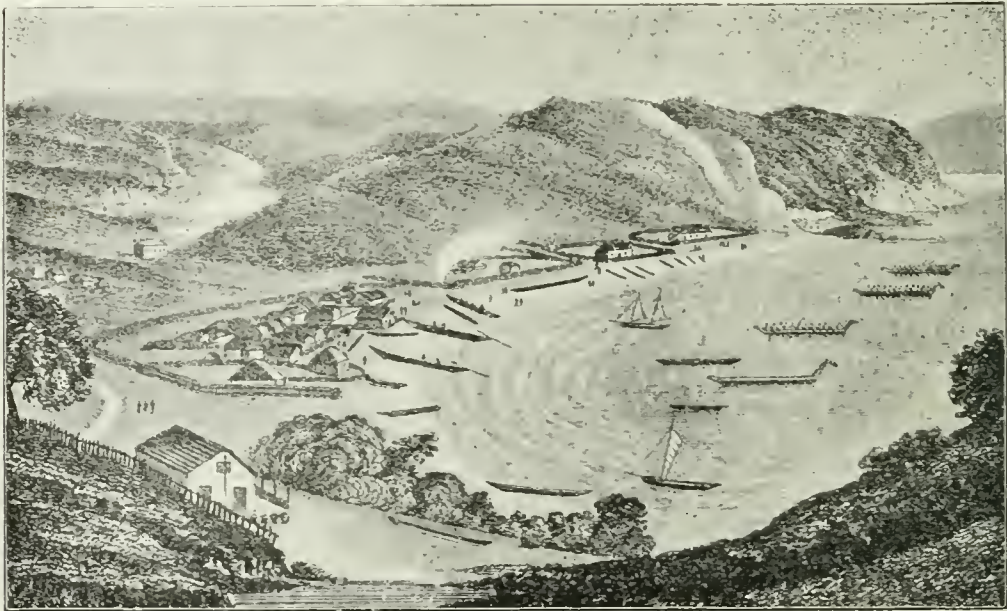
"A new hand pulling one of the oars begins to look frightened, and flags at his work, looking occasionally over his shoulder. A volley of oaths from the headsman, accompanies a threat to 'break every bone in his skin if he funks now,' and beginning to fear the man more than the fish, he hardens his heart and pulls steadily on.

"A momentary pause is occasioned by the disappearance of the whale, which at last rises close to the rival boat. Their boat-steerer, a young hand lately promoted, misses the whale with his harpoon, and is instantly knocked down by a water keg thrown full in his face by his enraged headsman, who spares no 'bad French' in explaining his motives. Our original friend then manœuvres his boat steadily to the place where the whale will probably appear next. 'Pull two, back three!' shouts he, following a sudden turn in the whale's wake, and as she rises a few yards in front of the boat, he cries in rapid succes-

sion, 'Look out!—all clear!—give it her!' and the harpoon flies true and straight into the black mass. This is called 'making fast.' 'Peak your oars,' says the headsman; the line whistles over the bow; a turn is taken round the loggerhead to check the rapidity with which the line runs out, and the boat flies positively through the water, forming ridges of foam high above her sides. The men sit still, with folded arms, by their peaked oars, the boat-steerer with a small hatchet in his hand to cut the line should any entanglement occur; and the after-oarsman occasionally pours water on the loggerhead, which smokes furiously. Now is shown the skill of the headsman in steering the boat at

but another boat of the same party, which had hove-up or peaked oars when the chase was resigned to the two, comes up in answer to a whiff hoisted by our boat, and fixes a new harpoon in the whale as she rises to take breath. She soon becomes exhausted with her efforts, runs less rapidly, and rises more frequently to the surface; and the headsman at last foresees the lucky moment.

"'Come aft,' he cries, and he and the boat-steerer change places. The boat ceases her progress as the whale stops to rest. 'Down oars—give way,' are the orders given in sharp clear tones; and the crew, at least the old hands, know that he is nerved for his work by the decision apparent in his voice, and the



Kororareka Beach, Bay of Islands, in 1836.

this tremendous speed, and in watching every motion of the frightened whale. Now he gives directions to 'haul in' when the line slackens; now says 'veer away again,' as the fish takes a new start, and ever and anon terrifies the new hand who can't tell what's going to happen, into a sort of resignation. The others seem to think the 'running' rather a relief from work than anything else; they positively look as if they would smoke their pipes, were it not against all rule.

"The whale rapidly takes the line, and the two hundred fathoms in the boat are nearly exhausted by its sudden determination to try the depth of water, technically called sounding,

way in which he balances the sharp, bright, oval-pointed lance.

"The whale seems to sleep on the surface; but she is slowly preparing for a move as the boat comes up.

"He follows her every movement. 'A steady pull. Row dry, boys. Lay on! Pull two, back three. Lay on! Head off all! Lay me alongside!' and as the whale slowly rolls one fin out of water the lance flies a good foot into the spot below where the 'life' is said to be. The quick obedience to his instant order of 'Starn all—lay off!' saves the boat from annihilation as the whale swings round its huge tail out of water, and brings it down

with a tremendous report. She then breaches, or leaps, and plunges in every direction. The headsman continues to direct his crew and boat-steerer, while he poises a new lance and keeps just out of the vortex formed by her evolutions. The assistant boat and a third one have come up, and being all of the one party, watch outside the splashing for the best chance. One goes in, and having fixed a lance, receives a blow which smashes the boat and two men's legs. The third boat picks up the men. Our first man at last gets steered into the vortex, gives a well aimed lance in the 'life,' and retreats from the foam, which receives a roseate hue. The monster leaps out of the sea, flourishing her tail and fins, and strikes the water with a noise as loud as cannon. She wriggles, and plunges, and twists more furiously than ever, and splashes blood over the boat's crew, who still restrain their excitement, and remain collected in all that they do. She is now in her 'flurry'; she is said to spout thick blood, and is a sure prize. The boat by great good management escapes all accident, and the headsman chuckles as he cuts a notch on the logger-head and gives the crew a 'tot all round,' promising the novice that he will have to treat the party to a gallon to-night, in order to pay his footing on killing his first fish."

The year 1830 was an especially prosperous season for the whaler. By the Elizabeth, which came to Sydney on May 18, from the whale fishery at the Bay of Islands, the news came that on March 18 there were no less than ten vessels at the Bay of Islands with full cargoes of oil, besides two others spoken at sea. The following are their names and particulars concerning them :---

	Quantity.
Royal Sovereign (King), London	2,000 barrels
Elizabeth (Dean), London	1,600 "
Cadmus (Snowdon), London ...	2,200 "
Princess Mary, London ...	1,600 "
Ann (Christy), London ...	1,000 "
India, United States ...	2,700 "
Elizabeth (Hart) ...	600 "
Woodlark (Grimes), Sydney ...	1,100 "
Tigress (Hedges), Sydney ...	400 "
Caroline ...	40 tuns
Lynx ...	600 barrels
Clarkstone ...	7 "
Total	14,500

Reckoning eight barrels to the tun, the foregoing ships, including the cargo of the Caroline, give a total of 1,852½ tuns, which valued at from £60 to £70 a tun,

would have given a total of from £111,000 to £130,000.

Sydney had now become a large whaling centre, as the following vessels sailing out of Port Jackson were engaged in the trade, and most of them were cruising in New Zealand waters.

Name.	Owners.
Pocklington, ship	Jones & Walker
Lynx, ship	Jones & Walker
Woodlark, ship	Jones & Walker
Harriet, ship	Kaimes & Brown
John Bull, ship	Kaimes & Brown
Australian, ship	Cooper & Levey
Courier, brig	Cooper & Levey
Clarkstone, ship	De Mester & Co.
Cape Packet, ship	De Mester & Co.
Elizabeth, ship	R. Campbell & Co., jun.
Caroline, ship	R. Campbell & Co., jun.
Huia, brig	R. Campbell & Co., jun.
Ann, brig	J. Sturt
Albion, ship	J. B. Bettington
Tigress, brig	Mossman & Co.
Caroline, schooner	Geo. Burns
Currency Lass, schooner	Donisson & Cobb
Lord Rodney, brig	Blaxland & Co.
Nereus, brig	Ropsey & Greenway
Caroline, ship	William Dawes
Lady Blackwood, ship	Campbell & Co.
William Stoveld, brig	Bell & Farmer

The increase of the produce of the whale fishery naturally made the people of Sydney jubilant, and one of the papers published there is found saying: "Three years ago New South Wales had but three vessels engaged in the sperm whale fishery, altogether about 450 tons, and the New Zealand trade was unknown. She has now 4,000 tons of shipping engaged in the sperm whale trade alone, and more than 9,000 tons of shipping have been entered outwards from this port for New Zealand only since the 1st January last to the 31st July last, viz., in six months."

Early in 1831 the Elizabeth, belonging to Robert Campbell and Co., jun., came into Sydney harbour with 361 tuns of sperm oil, the produce of an eighteen months' cruise. This was the most valuable cargo of oil that had yet been brought into the port, as estimated at only £60 per tun the gross return was some £22,000. This year the whaling trade began to expand largely, and black whale oil to swell the exports, as will appear from the subjoined table, divided into sections. It is, of course, impossible to know the amount of the oil that went direct to England and America during either this or succeeding years, but the following particulars of vessels whaling and their returns made up to the end of June, 1831, affords approximate data for

forming an estimate of this difficult but interesting question:—

WHALING VESSELS IN SOUTH PACIFIC AND THEIR YIELD FOR THE YEAR 1831, MADE UP TO JUNE 30, 1831.

Vessels belonging to Port Jackson.

Name.	Tuns.	Name.	Tuns.
Lady Blackwood ...	254	John Bull ...	179
Lynx ...	180	Cape Packet ...	210
Woodlark ...	245	Lord Rodney ...	166
Courier ...	185	Australian ...	265
Clarkstone ...	244	Juno ...	212
Caroline ...	198	Waterloo ...	68
Elizabeth (Fowler) ...	303	Caroline ...	68
Pocklington ...	204	Elizabeth (Finnes) ...	269
Ann ...	179	Albion ...	311
Total ...		3,800	

Vessels belonging to English Owners, but having Agents in Port Jackson.

Name.	Tuns.	Name.	Tuns.
Harriet ...	211	Tigress ...	292
Venus ...	288	William Stoveld ...	187
Total ...		878	

Vessels owned in England, but Sailing from Port Jackson.

Name.	Tuns.	Name.	Tuns.
Mary Jane ...	249	Genii ...	164
Lady Rowena ...	323	Hashmy ...	323
Total ...		1,059	

The total yield, it will be seen, is 5,737 tuns; the bulk, or two-thirds, we may conclude to be the produce of New Zealand waters.

RETURN OF OIL, ETC., EXPORTED FROM NEW SOUTH WALES FROM THE YEARS 1830 TO 1840 INCLUSIVE.

Year.	Sperm Whale.	Black Whale.	Whal'bone.	Sealskins.	Value.
	Tuns.	Tuns.	Tons. cwt.	No.	£
1830	983	98	9 16	9,720	59,471
1831	1,571	505	28 5	4 424	95,509
1832	2,491	695	43 6	1,415	147,409
1833	3,048	418	—	1,890	146,855
1834	2,760	975	43 15	890	157,354
1835	2 898	1,159	112 0	641	180,439
1836	1,682	1,149	79 0	386	140,220
1837	2,559	1,505	77 8	107	183,122
1838	1 891	3,055	174 0	3 cases	197,644
1839	1,578	1,229	134 14	7 cases	172,315
1840	1,854	4,297	250 0	474	224,144

Any further attempt to narrate the progress of the whaling trade as a whole in the southern waters would mainly resolve itself into a list of ships and the value of their cargoes, varied at times by the names of

captains and owners of ships. Such a list would be as tiresome and profitless to peruse as it would be laborious to compile. The table already printed, however, renders such a list unnecessary. There remains, perhaps, something to add as to the establishment of shore or "gang" whaling, and the whaling stations competing with the Bay of Islands, besides the attempts to organize the whaling industry in southern waters, which from time to time agitated the minds of those engaged in the industry.

From the lack of classification the early records of the colony, buried in New South Wales, are not available for the information of the public; but what details of shore whaling exist prior to 1840 in New Zealand are in a large measure due to the sagacity of Dr. Shortland, who, when he had an opportunity to copy them some forty years since, was swift to note their importance. The details of whaling stations south of Banks Peninsula which follow are due to his sagacious prescience. The information of the southern districts here supplied are the fullest we can hope to obtain.

Places, Owners, etc.	Year.	No. of Boats.	Fish Caught.	Off in Tuns.
Rakituma, Williams ...	1829	3	—	120
" Jones and Palmer	1830	4	—	143
"	1834	3	—	114
"	1836	5	45	170
Aparima, Jones ...	1840	—	—	101
Omaui, Joss & Williams, 2nd fishery	1838*	—	—	120
Awarua, Jones ...	1838	2	—	53†
"	1839	2	—	80
"	1840	2	—	65
Mataura, Chaseland and Brown	1836	—	—	30
Waikawa, Groce [Sydney]	1838	—	—	50
" Jones ...	1840	—	—	32
Tautuku, Palmer	1839	—	11	74
"	1840	—	11	72
Matau, Palmer	1838	—	5	25
Taiari, Weller	1839	—	—	70
"	1840	—	3	15
Otakou, G. and E. Weller	1833‡	4	—	158
"	1835	12	—	260
Otakou and Purakaunui	1839	12	—	65§
Otakou, Hoare ...	1840	2	—	14§
Waikouaiti, Wright and Long	1837	—	—	—
" Jones	1838	—	41	145
"	1840	—	—	104
Onekakara, Hughes	1837	—	23	88
"	1840	—	19	55

* These two fisheries were abandoned after this season, the Lynx, a vessel of 500 tons, with a full cargo of oil, having been wrecked in going out of the harbour.

† Ten tuns may be added to each year's produce for tounge's oil.

‡ An equal number of natives and Europeans were

Two whaling stations had been established at Banks Peninsula in 1836—one at Piraki, and the other at Roumataki—we learn from the report of H.M.S. Britomart which was there in August, 1840, but whalers, it will be remembered, were found there when Stewart took Rauparaha to Akaroa in 1832 to avenge the death of Tamaimaranui.

In 1836 the whalers that were early at Banks Peninsula got full cargoes. The Peraki station in 1840 contained twenty male and two female European residents besides five Maori women. It had been established four years, and it seems probable that it had one or more shore gangs for the capture of black whales and their calves. Since the establishment of the station it had been visited by five French, one Danish, and one American whaler, H.M.S. Britomart reported, but the captain probably knew nothing of the Sydney returns.

Peraki station belonged to the celebrated "Captain" George Hempleman, who long waged a controversy with the authorities concerning some land he purchased in 1837 from "Bloody Jack," as he was called. As claims went in those days, there is no doubt but what his were good, and his occupation of the land

employed in the first four years; latterly, only half as many of the former.

¶ To this quantity must be added the oil produced by the vessels, four or five in number, that fished in the harbour this year.

§ During these three years nearly an equal quantity of oil was taken by the shipping which entered the harbour as that taken by the shore parties. The number of Europeans employed on the establishment from 1838 to 1840, inclusive, averaged seventy-five to eighty men. During the years 1841, 1842, 1843, nineteen sail of vessels entered the harbour, principally French.

¶ Calculated from the average of $5\frac{1}{2}$ tons to a whale.

gave his claim a character which precluded it from being classed among those taken up for speculation.

Hempleman left Sydney on a whaling voyage, commanding the brig Bee, at the end of November, 1835. It was found that they had a stowaway on board in the unusual form of a woman, who, for love of Mr. Wright's nephew, braved discovery and a forced return. The woman was sent back in the Governor Bourke. After the usual incidents following a whaling voyage, the ship was found at

Banks Peninsula on 17th February, 1836. They found a convenient place for hauling the brig ashore and removing her copper as was desired, and either by design or arrangement, on 18th April of the same year, commenced building a house of timber and raupo as a whaling station, the Maoris helping them at their work. While thus engaged the American ships Friendship and Nile arrived, and on 20th May the Caroline, Captain Cherry. As before stated, whalers were plentiful at Akaroa this year. Good fortune followed the Bee, as in August the ship was full, and putting to sea she made a safe and quick voyage to Sydney.

The trip of the Bee was a very successful one, and Hempleman

determined to return to Peraki if possible: but the owners of the Bee, Messrs. Long and Wright, objected to Hempleman having his wife on board, and he therefore persuaded Messrs. Clayton and Duke to establish a whaling station at Peraki, to be visited at intervals by vessels to remove oil and supply provisions. At Christmas the party sailed from Sydney in the schooner Hannah, which proceeded to Queen Charlotte Sound, where they disembarked a party who went north to Poverty



"Johnny" Jones, an early Otago whaler and trader.

Bay, and then proceeded to Akaroa, where they landed on St. Patrick's Day, 1837, when the first settlement on Banks Peninsula was made. The people used to sleep in casks for some time before they had their houses up. Hempleman's house was of sawn timber brought from Queen Charlotte Sound. Here he lived and buried his first wife, an English girl, a free immigrant to Sydney.

Hempleman left a gang behind him, and this was probably the earliest party of shore whalers on Banks Peninsula, for though there were Europeans resident there as far back as 1830, they do not appear to have systematically gone to work as shore whalers. In March, 1837, Hempleman was back from Sydney, having purchased a piece of land from "Bloody Jack," of which the boundaries are described as follows:—"From Mowry Harbour south to Flea Bay north, including Wangahou, as agreed by the undermentioned, viz., by payment of our big boat, by name the *Mary Ann*, including two sails and jib. Extent of land fifteen miles east, south inland. Signed by John Luhawaike, Toby X Partridge, Jackey X White, Allon X, Tommy Roundhead, Tyroa X, Kikaroree X, Walkatourea X Ahane, King John X, Jackey Gay X, Banga X; and witnessed by Simon Crawley, Jack X Miller, Alfred Roberts, James X Creed."

Hempleman seems to have had a great dislike and contempt for the Maoris. He kept several native servants, and the severe thrashings he administered reached the ears of the Government, and on the visit of the *Britomart* to Akaroa, Captain Stanley, who was in command of that vessel, ordered him on board with the whole of his dependants, and read an official letter to him, warning him against his proceedings, and informing him that if the cruelties were continued, steps would be taken to punish him severely. It is not known whether this remonstrance had very much effect, and none knew that he had received such a document till it was found among his papers after his death. He was born at Altona, the principal city of Schleswig Holstein, in 1799, and died on the 13th February, 1880.

In August, 1838, a Captain L'Anglois, the master of a French whaler, purchased, he asserted, from the natives of Banks Peninsula, a block of land defined in the claim as follows:—"All Banks Peninsula, with the exception of the Bay of Hikuraki, and Oihoa on the south, and Sandy Beach, north of Port Cooper; the supposed contents, 30,000 acres." Upon the captain's return to France

he ceded his right and title to his purchase to a company consisting of two mercantile houses at Nantz, two at Bordeaux, and three gentlemen of Paris, who formed a company called the *Nantz-Bordeaux Compagnie*, reserving to himself an interest to the amount of one-fifth in the said company, and giving up the deed of sale from the natives, as his subscription of 6,000 francs, to become a partner to the amount of one-fifth in the company.

In 1835 we get notice of whaling at Port Cooper, as the *Lucy Ann* carried to Sydney from thence ninety tuns of black oil and a few tons of whalebone. She had been absent from Port Jackson four months when she returned, and the captain stated that had not the weather been so rough—he had been there from May to September—he could have filled his ship. There does not appear at this time that there were any gangs stationed there, nor were there in 1840, as is evident from the *Britomart's* return. In 1836 season, however, two vessels filled from the Port, the *Friendship*, Captain West, with 2,300 barrels of black, and 700 barrels of sperm oil. The *Nile* also filled with 2,500 barrels.

There were north of Banks Peninsula whaling stations at Kaikora, Cloudy Bay, Queen Charlotte Sound, Porirua, Mana, Kapiti, Taranaki, Kidnappers, Hawkes Bay, Mahia, Portland Island, Cape Runaway, and other places; of most of which the records are lost. What scanty notices survive may be grouped together under the different localities. Of the whaling stations at Kaikora we have been unable to obtain any trustworthy evidence.

Among the earlier notices we have of shore or gang whaling in Cook Strait is the following letter, which tells us how Mossman had gangs there in 1831:—"Cloudy Bay, ship *Elizabeth*, July 27, 1831. By the *Dragon* I beg to inform you that we have on board 1,600 barrels of oil, and are in a fair way of getting more. The following fishers are in Cloudy Bay:—*Dragon*, full; *Courier*, 300 barrels; *Venus*, 800 barrels; *William Stoveld*, 300 barrels of black oil and 400 of sperm; *New Zealander*, empty. Mossman's shore gangs have procured 170 barrels. The *Jane* arrived yesterday. The *Juno* left this place about three weeks back for Bank's Island with 100 barrels of oil.—From Master of *Elizabeth* to owners."

In 1835 the *New Zealander* brought to Sydney a cargo of black oil which had been discharged from the *Cornwallis* and *Denmark*

Hill at Cloudy Bay, and reported the following vessels lying there:—The *Caroline Cherry*, Denmark Hill, Cornwallis, Socrates of Hobart Town, Proteus, Louisa, and the *Charles* from London, with the two American whalers, the *Halcyon* and the *Warren*.

Later in the year we are told that a small body of natives had made an attack on the settlement, but were easily repelled and not afterwards seen.

On the 20th August the year following the following American and other vessels were found in Cloudy Bay:—

Jane Stewart, Gardner	... 500 barrels	American
Erie, Dennis	... 450 "	"
Jasper, Raymond	... 450 "	"
South Boston, Butler	... 450 "	"
Benjamin Rush, Coffin	... 120 "	"
Tuskalusu, Hussey	... 300 "	"
James Adams, Duce	... 300 "	"
Mary Mitchell, Jay	... 400 "	"
Vermont, Topham	... 400 "	"
Mississippi, Rossitte	... 180 "	French
Franklin, Morton	... 180 "	American
Rosly Castle, Richards	... 100 "	Sydney
Cheviott, Bateman	... 200 "	London
Faronte, Bunting	... 250 "	American
Warren, Mayhew	... 600 "	"
Samuel Robinson, McKenzie	500 "	"
Total	... 4,780 barrels	

In Cloudy Bay in 1836 Captain J. Greene, of the *Mediterranean Packet*, reported that the season had been very unprolific for several causes. First, from the prevalence of south-east winds making the bay a lee shore; the whales preferring calving and rearing their young in the more quiet waters to be found under the lee of the weather coast. Second, the unusual scarcity of whales' feed. Third, the great number of shipping resorting thither, as when the spout of a whale was seen no less than seventy or eighty boats would be seen to set off in full pursuit.

Mr. T. Pitts Johnson in 1839 thus describes Cloudy Bay in his "Plain Truths Regarding New Zealand and Australia":—

"There was a whaling establishment belonging to the firm of Messrs. Wright and Long, of Sydney, within a cable's length of where we were lying. Three ships and the establishment took in all about twenty whales during the time we were there, a space of about ten days. Our captain purchased a large quantity of oil from one of the vessels at £22 and £18 per tun, whereas if the man had taken it to Sydney he would have got £26 to £28 per tun. We were offered large quantities of whalebone at a very low price. After the ships had cut off the blubber

sufficiently clean to answer their purpose, the carcase was towed on shore by a crew of men who called themselves 'tonguers.' These men take off what little blubber the ship's crew have passed over, and also take out the tongue and try it all over. By this means they procure a tolerable quantity of oil which they sell to the captain of the vessel from which they have taken the carcase. After oil is boiled out of the blubber, the latter serves for fuel, and makes most brilliant fires, and the ashes which it produces cleans the ship, rigging, etc., better than anything else. A great portion is kept for this purpose.

"When evening came on I am certain that we had not less than two hundred and fifty natives on board. A man, accompanied by several females, came up to the chief officer who was standing on the poop, and very quietly asked him, in about the following manner, if he wanted a wife during his stay: 'White man, you wantee womanee, little one, big one, old one, young one?' Three of the youngest women who were with him, two of whom were most decidedly pretty, he told us, were his daughters, and that he only let these go to the captains; that is to say, to any person who dines in the cabin, all of whom they suppose bear this honourable distinction. They were not more than twelve to fourteen years of age, delicately formed, and well proportioned.

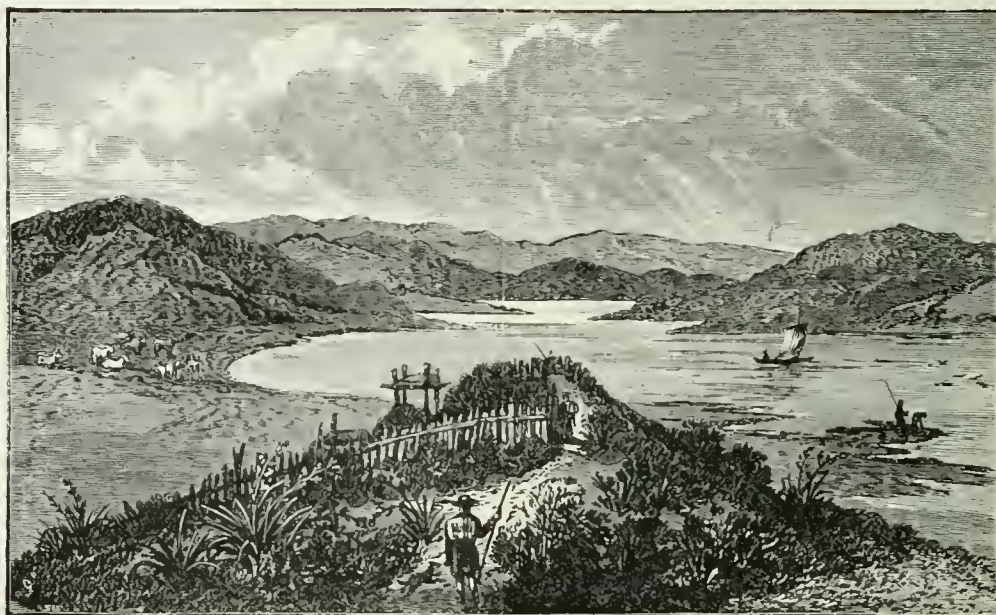
"I was told by the second officer the following morning that there was not one of the sailors, from the carpenter and boatswain down to the cook and youngest apprentice, who had not a wife that night, and the ill state of the healths of the crew fully proved that they had paid most dearly for their licentiousness. These girls remained on board during the whole of our stay in Cook Strait, and the day previous to our sailing the captain had some very heavy demands upon his slop chest, for articles of clothing to remunerate these damsels, and during the whole time continual applications for tobacco from the sailors to gratify the almost insatiable desire their wives had for the taste and perfume of this destructive weed. The men also parted with a portion of their grog every day to these ladies, who, in my opinion, took it more greedily than I ever saw a European. On board the whaling vessels, while they stay any length of time, these women are useful to the sailors in washing their clothes.

"I had my wife with me during my stay in New Zealand, and their surprise at seeing a white woman was prodigious. The cabin

doors were literally crammed with visitors to pay their respects to her. They were very civil and made her presents of two native birds. My wife gave one of her dames a pair of gilt earrings, of which she was excessively proud, and immediately fastened them to her nose and neck. To another she gave a dress, and I can assure my readers this lady was the envy of the whole of the dark race. Many of the females appeared in shirts, the gifts of various lovers, some red, some blue, and some had once been white, but from their continually wearing them both day and night, it was next to impossible to describe their colour.

of about forty pounds weight. Firewood may be purchased at about three New Zealand pounds of tobacco for about two tons weight. Many vessels trade continually from Sydney and Hobart Town to New Zealand in the purchase of pigs, potatoes, and firewood, which pays them remarkably well."

In Cook Strait there are some details of interest that may be recorded. Johnson says: "The first white man who established himself at Te Awaiti on the beach was M. Guard, who in 1827 was sailing master of a small vessel, and ran in at the south-eastern entrance in a channel in a gale of wind. He built a house, and with his companions



Porirua Bay, an early resort of whalers.

"All the men have muskets, and from inquiries made among them we found there were few boys of thirteen or fourteen who were not provided with their weapons of offence. They will not purchase a gun with a percussion lock; flintlocks ranking highest in their estimation.

"You can buy a pig weighing from five to seven and eight stone of fourteen pounds, for a pound of negro-head tobacco—a pound of tobacco is ten figs, be they large or small, and as some of the small fig tobacco run as many as eighteen to the pound, it is of course best for any person to purchase; it costs about 1s. 6d. to 2s. per pound generally in Sydney; a basket of potatoes or turnips, both of which are very good, for a fig of tobacco for a basket

carried on sealing and whaling with great annoyance and risk from the natives, and but little profit to themselves. At one time the natives were so ill provided with potatoes and other provisions that the white adventurers subsisted on whales' flesh and wild turnip tops; and during many seasons such was the want of workmen and implements that the blubber of the whales caught was thrown away for want of casks to hold the oil, and the bone was only turned to account when any market could be found for it."

Wakefield in 1839 gives us a view of the settlement known as the Little River or Te Awaiti. Te Awaiti, it may be stated, was situated on the east side of Tory Channel,

about two miles from its southern entrance and twenty-eight miles from the northern entrance of Queen Charlotte Sound. He writes: "After prayers on board we landed and visited the whaling town of Te Awaitei. Dicky Barrett's house was on a knoll at the far end of it, and overlooked the whole settlement and anchorage. There were about twenty houses presented to our view. The walls were generally constructed of wattled supplejack, called *karrau* (*sic*) filled in with clay, the roof thatched with reeds, and a large unsightly chimney at one of the ends, constructed of either the same materials as the walls, or of stones heaped together by rude masonry. Dicky Barrett's house was a very superior edifice, built of sawn timber, floored and lined inside, and sheltered in front by an ample verandah. A long room was half filled with natives and whalers. His wife, E. Rangi, a fine stately woman, gave us a dignified welcome, and his pretty half-caste children laughed and commented on our appearance to some of their mother's relations in their own language. He had three sons of his own, and had adopted a son of an old trader and friend of his named Jacky Love, who was on his death-bed, regretted by the natives as one of themselves. He had married a woman of rank, and his son Dan was treated with that universal respect and kindness to which he was entitled by the character of his father and the rank of his mother.

"We found Williams' whare in the centre of the town, and Arthur's perched up on a pretty terrace on the side of the northern hill, which slopes from the valley. A nice clear stream runs through the middle of the settlement. Some few of the whalers were dressed in their Sunday clothes, but a large gang were busy at the try works boiling out the oil from the blubber of a whale lately caught. It appears that this is a process in which any delay is injurious. The try works are large iron boilers with furnaces beneath. The men were unshaven and uncombed, and their clothes covered with dirt and oil. Most of them were strong muscular men, and they reminded me as they stoked the furnaces and stirred the boiling oil of Retzsch's grim imagination of the forge in the forest in his outline illustrations of Schiller's ballad of 'Fridolin.' On asking one whether they always worked on Sundays, he answered, contemptuously, 'Oh, Sunday never comes into this bay.' An Australian aboriginal native was one of this greasy gang, and was spoken of as a good

hand. The whole ground and beach about here was saturated with oil, and the stench of the carcasses and the scraps of whale flesh lying about in the bay was intolerable.

"In a bay separated by a low tongue of land from the main valley of Te Awaitei we found another whaler named Jimmy Jackson, who had a snug little cove to himself. He was positively equal in dimensions to Williams and Barrett together. The comfortable obesity of Williams had been previously remarked, but Barrett was perfectly round all over. He gave us a hearty welcome, and never ceased talking from the moment we entered the house until we returned on board. He had been, we found, ten years here, being one of the first settlers. He declared the Pelorus River to be an excellent place for a settlement, and offered to introduce my uncle to an old friend of his in Cloudy Bay, Jack Guard."

Wakefield adds in another place: "The artisans seemed to be the best off. Carpenters and blacksmiths get ten shillings a day, and insist upon payment in money. Williams had amassed a good deal in this way, and having laid it out in purchasing goods of all sorts from whale ships, he drove a good trade on shore, knowing whom to trust."

There were about twenty-five half-caste children at Te Awaitei. They were all strikingly comely, and many of them quite fair, with light hair, rosy cheeks, active and hardy as the goats with which the settlement also swarmed. The women of the whalers were remarkable for their cleanliness and the order which they preserved in their companions' houses. They were most of them dressed in loose gowns of printed calico, and their hair, generally very fine, was always clean and well combed. It was evident that the whalers' seamenlike habits of cleanliness had not been abandoned, and they had effected that change at least in their women, who seemed proud of belonging to a white man, and had often, we were informed, protected their men from aggression or robbery.

Kapiti at an early period in the century became a whaling station. Somewhere about 1821 the island passed into the possession of Ngatitooa by capture, but when the first Europeans settled there is unrecorded. When Rauparaha and Te Pahi, however, obtained possession of the island they would embrace every opportunity to solicit intercourse with the traders who came in their way, as there are not lacking indications that the Ngatitooa

migration was mainly induced by the desire to acquire firearms. It was for this purpose that Te Pehi at all events went to England, and it is not at all unlikely that the first Europeans landed at Kapiti were those whom he sent thither on his return in the Queen Charlotte, and we know that the Queen Charlotte left Sydney for New Zealand on 20th January, 1828, and returned on 29th March following. Travers says in his "Life and Times of Te Rauparaha," "that before a certain event took place, which was in 1829, Kapiti had been visited by some European whale ships, and Rauparaha at once traded with them for guns and ammunition, giving in exchange dressed flax and various kinds of

the command of one Joe Rowe, a trader in preserved human heads. It is sufficient to say in this place that the trader not only lost his boat and his venture, but his head also, which was preserved in the usual manner."

In 1832 H.M.S. Zebra was at Taranaki, having gone thither in consequence of a report which had been circulated that the Waikato tribes meditated hostilities on the settlers, *i.e.* flax dealers and others in the district, but finding the alarm groundless she pursued her voyage to Kapiti, where she arrived on the 16th March, 1832, and learned that the chiefs and warriors had gone to Banks Peninsula, whereon she consequently



Thom's Whaling Station, near Porirua, Wellington.

fresh provisions, including potatoes." There is great difficulty in fixing the date of the early visits of the whalers, it being only known to have occurred between the *huke whiri mui* of 1827 and the *huke mai i raro* of 1829. A *huke* may be described as a party of emigrants. One of the witnesses was very clear in the Manawatu Rangitiki case of the Queen Charlotte brig visiting Kapiti.

Taylor says: "On the 14th January, 1831, a man named Andrew Powers entered the Wanganui River from Kapiti, being one of a party concerned in a trading expedition under

proceeded through Cook Strait on her voyage to Tahiti."

H.M.S. Alligator visited the island 12th October, 1834, and Marshall, after stating that there was a low tongue of land which ran out a considerable way, forming a natural bay, describes how a native village had been built there, while hauled up on the beach were several large canoes. The opposite shore was, however, literally covered with canoes and huts. Several of the natives, he says, came off to the vessel, among whom was Rauparaha, who was disappointed so few

Ngatiruinui were killed, and that more were not brought down for him to eat. The last portion of his remarks on the island are, however, of the most interest. He says: "Some of the natives wore convict clothing, such as is used at the penal settlements at Norfolk Island, whence on various occasions the felons confined there have managed to escape in open boats. An Englishman named Bell had resided on the island for several years."

Kapiti, on the Entry Island of Cook Strait, is about twenty-five miles in circumference. It is wooded and hilly, the highest peak rising to a height of 1,780 feet in the centre of the island. The western side is steep, but on the east the hill slopes somewhat more gently towards the beach. At the south-east end of the island are three small conical-shaped islets called Hiko, Mayhew, and Evans. Mayhew and Hiko islets are each about half-a-mile in circumference. Evans Island, or the Sugar Loaf, lies a little more than a mile to the north-east of Hiko and Mayhew, and three-quarters of a mile from Kapiti; the Passage Rocks, as they are called, exist midway between the islet and the island.

Wakefield writes: "The whaling station on Evans Island we found to be more complete, and under more thorough discipline and efficient management, than those in Port Underwood or Te Awaitei. The boats put off after a whale just as we arrived, and struck us by their precision and good appointment. The head of the party was a determined looking man of middle age named Tommy Evans. His party had taken two hundred and fifty tuns of oil, and he told us that his own profits alone would amount to £300 for the season.

"When the *Tory* was lying at Kapiti in October, 1839, a brig was seen to the southward making vain attempts to reach the anchorage against a north-west gale. Ignorant of the locality and weak-handed, the captain was exposing himself to the unfavourable tide and losing ground. Tommy Evans, the 'old man' who headed the principal station, started in the worst of the gale to get on board. The vessel was badly managed, and by wearing instead of tacking, missed the boat, which was thus left about three miles from the station in the midst of a heavy tide rip to struggle back against a spring tide and gale of wind. For two hours the boat remained pulling in the same spot, unable to advance. At length the tide slackened, and we saw the tired crew haul up

the boat on the ways. The brig was by this time ten miles off, and the gale more violent than ever. One of the men muttered as he walked to his house that he had not signed to pull after Sydney brigs. The old man turned round with a string of oaths saying, 'You grumble, do you? I shall pull out to her again. Launch my boat,' and it was with great difficulty that he was dissuaded from his enterprise which would probably have been his last.

"This man's station was always a model of discipline. His boat might have been taken for a fancy gig from a man-of-war or yacht. She was painted flesh colour, with a red nose bearing the Prince of Wales's feather; and her name, the 'Saucy Jack,' was painted near the stern. The crew were generally in a sort of uniform; red or blue worsted shirts with white binding on the seams, white trousers, and sou'westers. A mat was in the stern-sheets; the tholes were carefully covered with matting; the harpoons, lances, mast and sail, and the very whiff were protected by covers of canvas painted green. When she dashed alongside a vessel at anchor the oars were shipped, and the steer-oar was drawn in and received by the after-oarsman as the headsman left the boat. She was then shoved off with a line from her bow thwart to the vessel, each man remaining at his place in regular man-of-war style. The same order and discipline is preserved at the different look-outs where the men land while waiting till whales appear. If there is deep water the boat is moored off the beach, as between Waikanae Point and Otaki the boat is hauled up out of the tide and supported by chocks, and a boat-keeper constantly attends to her. Two fires are lighted for each crew; at one are the headsman and boat-steerer, the rest of the crew at the other."

The island of Hiko, or where he lived, had been purchased by an American captain named Mayhew, who resided at the Bay of Islands, but had a store on the islet for the supply of the whaling stations, and a clerk to manage it. It was stated that there were to be twenty boats fitted out at the Kapiti whaling stations the season of 1839-1840.

Wilkes writes: "While the whale ship *Adeline*, Thomas Brown, master, was lying at Kapiti on the 12th December, 1839, for the purpose of refitting with wood and water, at about two p.m., as the third officer and five of the crew were employed in towing off a raft of water, being about one mile from the ship, they were boarded by a whaleboat having

a crew of eight Europeans and one New Zealander, under one James Harrison as headsmen, armed with pistols and knives being part of the persons employed by Raymond and Young, who forcibly took possession of the boat and cut off the raft, threatening instant death to anyone who should make resistance. Having thus captured the boat they at once made sail, and ran for their establishment on the shore, about six miles distant. The captain, on perceiving the piratical act, at once followed with two boats, but did not succeed in overtaking them until they reached the shore and had hauled the captured boat up on the beach. While on his way he was pursued by another boat, which kept firing at him. The captured boat was surrounded on the beach by from thirty to forty desperate looking men, all more or less armed. Of these Harrison became the spokesman, declaring that they had taken the boat and meant to keep it at the risk of his and all the party's lives, to which speech they signified their assent. Captain Brown repeatedly cautioned them against such acts of piracy, but his caution was received with curses and all kinds of abuse, and finally a pistol was presented with the declaration that he, Harrison, would blow out the brains of Captain Brown if he attempted to rescue the boat."

Diffenbach states: "In 1839 the produce of the establishments on these islands was four hundred and sixty-six tuns of oil, and thirty tons of whalebone, obtained by twenty-three boats; of which six belonged to the station on Evans Island, two to that of Mayhew, eight to two other stations at Kapiti, and seven to two other stations abreast of Mana. To this quantity must be added the tongs' oil, so that the whole quantity may be stated at five hundred tuns."

Mana,* or Table, lying some dozen miles

* Soon after the massacre of Wairau, Rangihaeata erected the stronghold opposite Mana, which is represented in the accompanying plate. It was guarded by enormous wooden posts sunk very deep into the ground, and firmly lashed together by means of flax rope and aka. The approach to it from seaward was guarded by a reef of rocks running a long way out into the straits. Above the pa was a *nahi tapu*. Beyond is seen the island of Mana, or Table Island, at the southern side of which is situated a small pa belonging to Rangihaeata, where stands his celebrated carved house, called *kui tangata*, or "eat man." The opposite shores of Cook Straits are distinctly visible, with the rugged and in many places snow-capped mountains of the Middle Island making the direction of Queen Charlotte Sound. In the foreground are canoes belonging to Rauparaha, with the flax (phormium) growing upon the grassy bank adjoining the

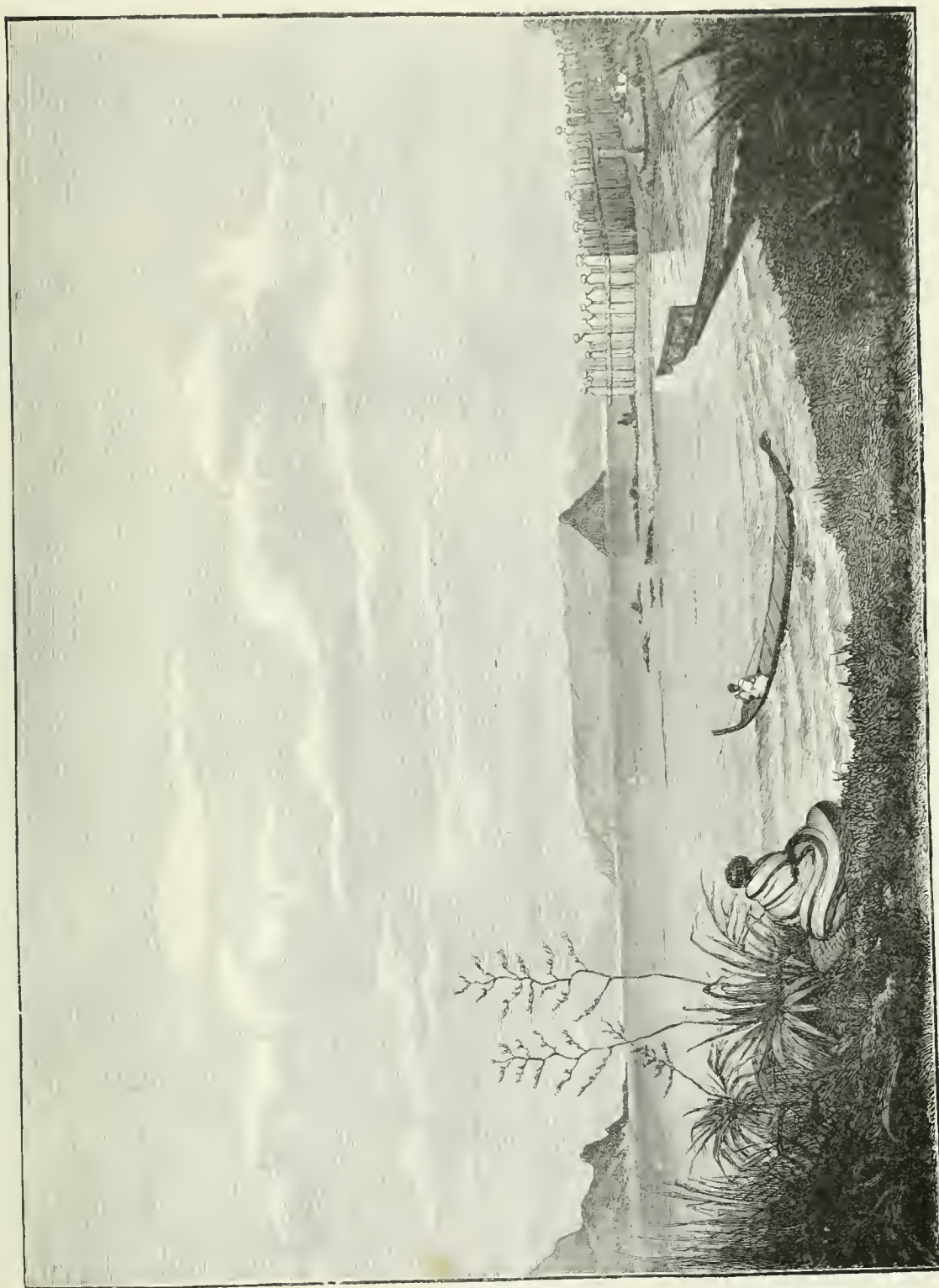
north-north-east off Cape Terawiti, had also its whaling station from an early date. The first white owner of the island was a Mr. Bell, whose white widow, according to Wakefield, quite mad, lived among the natives, and had acquired all their habits and ways of living. The island was called Table Island from being flat on the top, with high cliffs all round except on the side towards the main, where a snug amphi theatre contained the pa where Rangihaeata usually lived and the establishment of the European resident. In 1839 the island contained a small flock of sheep and perhaps fifty head of cattle. Kapiti at this date also possessed cattle, claimed by a Mr. Cooper, of Sydney. Both the islands, however (Kapiti and Mana), had passed into the occupation of several different Europeans, whose titles appear to have remained unchanged while they preserved friendly relations with the vendors.

In 1836 we are told that the Ngatitoa were disposed to be hostile towards the shipping and Europeans at Mana. The cause of the hostility appears to have been as follows:—

"A native chief brought supplies of potatoes and produce to a barque from Hobart Town, and the payment offered him not being sufficient to satisfy him, he, observing a small tomahawk in one of the boats, took it as part payment for his supplies. On being requested to restore the article purloined, he refused, when a scuffle took place, and one of the boat's crew took a lance and thrust it through the man's body under the right breast. It need not surprise anyone to know that the boat's crew was fired at and another outrage chronicled."

There was a whaling station at Porirua called Parramatta. It was situated on a low point of clear land on the north side of the narrow gut with which the waters of Porirua Harbour communicate with the bay. It was owned by a man named Joseph Thoms, but who was nicknamed "Geordie Bolts." He had been crippled in an encounter with a whale, and had the reputation of never being able to face another. His appearance was by no means so attractive as that of Barrett's. Independently of the deformity arising from his accident, he was of small stature and repulsive features. Nor had he acquired the same character for hospitality and kindness to either natives or fellow countrymen which was universally accorded to Dicky Barrett.

beach. Mana is distant about five miles from the mainland, and has long been a celebrated resort of the shore whalers who frequent Cook Straits.—*Angas*.



Rangihaeata's Pa with the Island of Mana.

He was married to a near relation of Rauparaha, and by means of this alliance succeeded in securing for himself security and a rude prosperity.

The whaling station at Hawkes Bay was founded at an early date. In 1837 we hear of the Governor Bourke having lost a boat's crew there by desertion, the men having taken a whaleboat and laden her with provisions and gone North.

In 1839 the natives burnt down a whaling station belonging to a Captain Clayton, which was formerly owned by Messrs. Greenway and Batman, Captain Clayton having only just taken possession.

In 1833 the news came to Sydney that when the *Lucy Ann* left the Bay of Islands that so plentiful was the oil at New Zealand from the number of whales that were within the power

of the ship, that twice her present cargo could have been obtained had she possessed a sufficient number of casks.

Towards the latter period of the fourth decade in the century, however, the Bay of Islands came to be regarded as an expensive port of call when compared with other stations in the South Pacific, and as the white population of Kororareka increased, provisions became dearer, and the popularity of the port declined.

The following whaling ships called at the Bay of Islands during the year 1836:—British whalers, twenty-five; New South Wales do., thirty-five; American do., forty-nine; Van Diemen's Land do., four; French do., three; total, one hundred and sixteen. This may be considered perhaps the year when the shipping attained its greatest proportions.



A Maori Tiki, worn round the neck.

The illustration represents the ordinary size of the tiki worn round the neck. It is a family heirloom, passed down from generation to generation, and accordingly held in great veneration. The design, as will be observed, is a rude and grotesque representation of a human figure, a red substance like wax being employed to represent the eyes.



CANNIBALISM.

Cannibalism common among primitive people—Inquiry into its origin—The custom in Fiji—Horrible feast witnessed by Mr. Rommilly at New Ireland—The first white men eaten by Maoris—Shocking illustrations of the eating of human flesh—Experiences of an early trader—Crew of a sloop eaten—Uncertainty of life among the New Zealanders.



ALMOST as soon as Europeans were acquainted with the Maori race the suspicion became engendered that they were addicted to cannibalism. In less than half a century it became manifest that they were greedy feeders on human flesh. They never positively denied the fact of their eating their fellows, but put the question on one side when they were asked as to the habit. The practice appears to have been common among all the tribes, although individual members are said to have loathed the custom, and refused the use of men and women as food. The abstainers among the men were few, although the women were forbidden to partake of human flesh.

It is almost idle to speculate how the custom of men eating men and women arose, but the practice long since appears to have been widespread among many races in many parts of the world. Malthus thought it must have originated from extreme want, but there are many reasons for disregarding the hypothesis.

A French writer propounds the theory that cannibalism went out of fashion in part

through the influence of a totem-kindred which had man, not a beast, for a totem, and which was therefore under a religious obligation not to eat men. However that may be, it is reported that Porphyry wrote that both the Egyptians and Phœnecians would rather partake of human flesh than that of a cow. Asia from time immemorial has had its cannibals among the Battas, who ate their fellows raw and living; and the Kookees who infest the Blue Mountains of Chettagong, within one hundred and fifty miles of Calcutta. That the Africans in some parts of the continent ate their fellows is certain, and many will call to mind the words of St. Jerome, who says: "When I was a young man I saw in Gaul the Attacotti, a British nation, who fed on human flesh."

Snorro Sturleson, in his life of Alcuin Athelstan, says the corpses of the sacrificed men and dogs were suspended in the sacred groves; a great fire was lit in the temple, over it was hung a caldron, and the flesh was roasted or otherwise prepared. In Mootka Sound blood was quaffed from the veins of the living with delight. The flesh of all who were killed in battle, Sulieman says, was eaten in China; and Marco Polo tells the same story of the Tartars.

These examples are cited to show from a host of others that have been gathered, how common the practice was when the world was younger, and to afford what may be

regarded as a partial apology for a race who were quick to throw off the habit of man-eating when they understood the loathing it engendered among people whose friendship they sought to gain, and whose customs and mode of life they aimed to copy.

Bonwick, as usual, has some curious illustrations. He says: "The practice is either a question of taste or the gratification of revenge. M. Roches says that with the New Caledonians it is an affair of taste and instinct. With one of the Papuan races of New Guinea, people when old and useless are put up a tree, round which the people sing 'the fruit is ripe,' and then shaking the branches, tear the falling creatures to pieces, and eat them raw. With the Flores Islanders the son cuts up the body of the father, and sells the pieces. The Fauns have their butchers' shops, with joints of men. The Fuegians, when very hungry, will select an old woman, holding her over the smoke to quiet her, and after a hasty roast devour her."

Lubbock observes: "The highest praise the Fijians gave to a favourite dish was the statement that it was as tender as a dead man. Nay, they were even so fastidious as to dislike the taste of white men, to prefer the flesh of women to that of men, and to consider the arm above the elbow and the thigh as the best joints; and so greedy that human flesh was reserved for the men alone, being too good to be wasted upon the women. When the king gave a feast human flesh always formed one of the dishes, and though the bodies of enemies slain in battle were always eaten, they did not afford a sufficient supply, but slaves were fattened up for the market. Sometimes they roasted them alive and ate them at once, while at others they kept bodies until they were far gone in decay. Ra Undreundre, chief of Rakiraki, was said to have eaten nine hundred persons himself, permitting no one to share them with him."

The rough savagery among the Tahitians seems to have been in some measure shaded off as it were. Ellis says: "In the reign of Tamatafetu it is related that when a man of stout or corpulent habit went to the island, or low land on the reef, he was seldom heard of afterwards. The people of the island imagined those missing were destroyed by the sharks; but for many years the servants of the king followed them to the island on the reef, and having murdered them, baked them there. When the bodies were baked they wrapped them in leaves of the hibiscus and plantain, as they were accustomed to wrap their eels or other fish taken and cooked on

the island; then they carried them to the interior where the king and his servants feasted on them."

In "Brett's Guide to Fiji" the editor says:—"Many white people think that cannibals eat human flesh like dogs quarrelling over a bone, tearing it to pieces with hands and teeth. It is not so. Take a peep at what has taken place lately at Bau. Imagine a heathen temple in the middle of the square of the town; outside observe four or five large stones set firmly in the ground, shaped like a roughly constructed Cleopatra Needle. The precincts around the temple are enclosed with a neat open-reeded fence, inside of which are seated many warriors, with their big heads of hair combed out until it stands erect and stiff, like an immense mop made of bristles. The priest mutters a few words, and a victim is brought into the circle and laid down with face to the earth. Four men, two upon each side, then pick up this being by the arms and legs, swinging him backwards and forwards a few times, and then dash his head against the upright stone, knocking his brains out. He is used like a battering ram. Another and another is served in the same manner until the list is completed. The bodies are now quartered and apportioned out by the priests, each house receiving its share. The flesh is cut up into small pieces like dice, and put into a large earthen pot of native manufacture and cooked. All this is done in silence; seldom is a word spoken. When this horrid meal is ready the inmates of each house are warned of the fact by a sign. All sit in a ring around a large wooden platter or dish. The women are sent away, and each man whispers to the waiter, 'Bring me so and so,' naming perhaps the first man he killed in battle. The attendant crosses the floor of the house, looks and searches about in the roof near the eaves, and taking out a wooden fork of two or three prongs he goes back and hands it to his chief in a peculiar manner, as if he were ashamed of the action. The owner of the fork then gently inserts it into one of the dice pieces of flesh, opens his mouth wide so that it does not touch his lips, and draws the meat off with his teeth. This ceremony is conducted throughout as though each man were afraid of his neighbour."

The Rev. Lorimer Fison says:—"It must be borne in mind that the test of cannibalism is sharpened by revenge. It is a glorious thing to kill the man against whom you have a blood feud, but that is not enough. You

don't disgrace him by knocking him on the head, or sending a spear through him. That is an accident which might happen to anybody; it rouses fierce wrath and hunger for revenge, but it brings no shame. But you can bake your enemy, or boil him, after he is killed, and eat him; then both he and his clan are disgraced. And if he be too strong for you during his lifetime you may satisfy your revenge by digging him up and eating him after his funeral, if you can get at his grave."

A modern writer says the Aztecs pushed human sacrifices to a frantic extent, and as late as the Spanish conquest they were still ritualistic cannibals, eating the flesh of human victims. Down to the time of the Incas, and even in their days, human sacrifices were practised in Peru, and cannibalism accompanied them at earlier periods. In Polynesia the practice generally survived till a late period, and still lives to the present day. Within a few years only, Mr. Rommilly saw a cannibal feast in New Ireland where, after a victory, no less than six men were killed and eaten. As the experience was so unusual an abstract of his description is annexed. He says, *inter alia* :—

"On my arrival at the town there was a great sound of merry-making and laughter. This was what we saw when we entered it. On the branches of the big tree in the centre of the clear space were six corpses hanging by the necks, their toes just touching the ground. On examination it was easy to distinguish the spear wounds which had first laid them low. But besides these wounds there were numerous others, which had been inflicted after death by young savages serving their apprenticeship of war and brutality, and which were sufficiently strong evidence of the desperate nature of those hand-to-hand conflicts which we had seen on the fall of friend or foe.

"After a long pull at my flask I sat down with my back to the tree and watched the women. They had made fires, and were boiling large pots of water. It did not strike me at once what this was for, but I was left a very short time in doubt.

"As soon as the water boiled it was ladled out in cocoanut shells and poured over the bodies one by one, after which they were carefully scraped with bamboo knives. It was simply the process of scalding and scraping that every dead pig goes through after he has been killed. The hair of the head was carefully cut off and preserved, probably to adorn some future helmet.

"The women all this time were laughing and joking, discussing the points of each man, most of whom they seemed to have known by name and reputation in life. There were no ceremonies of any sort so far. The whole thing was done in the most matter-of-fact way possible. When the bodies had been thoroughly scraped I was given to understand that nothing more would be done till the return of the men.

"But now the business of the evening was about to commence. A mat of plaited palm leaves was laid down, and one of the bodies was cut down from the tree where they had been hanged. A very old man, apparently the father of the tribe, advanced into the centre of the crowd, where an open space had been left to give him room to conduct his operations. He had five or six of the bamboo knives in his hand, and with his thumb-nail he was stripping the fibres off their edges, leaving them sharp as razors. The body was then placed on a mat, and the first operation must, I am afraid, be left undescribed. Suffice it to say that after the body had been cleaned some of the more perishable parts were thrown to the women as you might throw food to the dogs, and were barely warmed at the fires before they were eaten. The head was then cut off and carefully placed on one side on a leaf. Meanwhile the old butcher with his feeble voice and toothless gums was delivering a lecture on the man he was cutting up. He spoke of him as a warrior who had performed great deeds, which he enumerated, rejoiced in the fact that his wife and family would be left to starve, and in fact in many ways showed himself to be a thorough brute.

"It would serve no good purpose to describe minutely the rest of the proceedings. It is enough to say that all six bodies were cut up into very small pieces. Each piece was carefully wrapped in a stout leaf, and was bound up tightly with sinnet. The thigh and shin bones were preserved intact. They are used for making handles to spears. These spears are not meant for fighting, but are profusely ornamented, and are usually kept in the houses devoted to their carved images. When all six bodies had been cut up, the pile of little parcels wrapped up in green leaves had assumed considerable dimensions.

"Now came the chief's turn. He had to portion out the whole according to strict laws of precedence, and no doubt he acquitted himself to every one's satisfaction.

"The ovens were opened; the flesh divided

into as many parts as there were ovens; a little pile was put into each oven and then covered up with hot stones. The bones and other *debris* which were not wanted were wrapped in mats and carried into the bush to be buried, and the only things left were what I should perhaps have been most glad to have seen disposed of, namely, the six heads.

"The flesh in the ovens had to be cooked for three days, or till the tough leaves in which it was wrapped were nearly consumed. When taken out of the ovens the method of eating is as follows: The head of the eater is thrown back, somewhat after the fashion of an Italian eating macaroni. The leaf is opened at one end, and the contents are pressed into the mouth till they are finished. As Bill, my interpreter put it, 'They cookum

"At present the cannibals in the world may be numbered by millions. Probably a third of the natives of the country where I am now writing (New Guinea) are cannibals; so are about two-thirds of the occupants of the New Hebrides, and the same proportion of the Solomon islanders. All the natives of the Santa Cruz Group, Admiralties, Hermits, Louisiade, Engineer, D'Entrecasteaux Groups are cannibals; and even some well authenticated cases have occurred among the black fellows of Northern Australia. Most of the Louisiade cannibals are a mild-tempered pleasant set of men. As a rule there is nothing as to which natives are so reticent, or the practice of which they will deny so readily, as cannibalism."

The first European who most probably fell



Human Sacrifice at Tahiti, witnessed by Captain Cook.

that fellow three days, by-and-by cookum finish, that fellow all same grease.'

"For days afterwards, when everything is finished, they abstain from washing, lest the memory of the feast should be too fleeting."

The same author gives us the following pertinent remarks:—"In the Solomons there are only certain families who are allowed to touch human flesh, and no young man, unless he had greatly distinguished himself, would eat it. In the New Hebrides it is usually dried in the sun or jerked, and there it seems to be looked on more as an article of food than in most places. But in New Ireland human flesh was eaten in the most open matter-of-course way by young and old, women and children, and it was spoken of as delicious food, far superior to pork.

into the Maori maw was the man who lost his life with Tasman in Cook Strait, and though there is no evidence of the fact, it seems unlikely the Maoris would have thrown away so much "good food" from a dislike of its white skin. Furneaux's party in Cook Strait tempted their lust, and soon after "a larger fish" was got in Marion du Fresne, till the maximum massacre was found in the pillage of the Boyd. It will suffice to say that between 1774 and 1809 more than a hundred Europeans had been killed and eaten on the shores of New Zealand. Sailors gave the shores of New Zealand a bad name, and traders counted their risks when they went thither. It is a common saying that man-eating among the New Zealanders had originally a sacrificial character; but whether such a statement can

be upheld is as yet unknown. Women were not allowed to eat human flesh in New Zealand, neither were they in Fiji, but whether the compliance with the rule was willing or enforced there are no means of determining.

Tested by the sacrificial theory given to the New Zealanders by those who have become enamoured of the fair side of paganism, it is interesting to give a few examples of Maori cannibal practice and custom. Earle says:

"We ran towards the fire, and there stood a man occupied in a way few would wish to see. He was preparing the forequarters of a human body for a feast. The large bones having been taken out, were thrown aside, and the flesh being compressed, he was in the act of forcing it into the oven. While we stood transfixed by this horrible sight a large dog which lay before the fire rose up, seized the bloody head, and walked off with it into the bushes, no doubt to hide it for another meal. In this instance it was no enemy's blood to drink; there was no warrior's flesh to be eaten. They had no revenge to gratify; no plea could they make of their passions having been roused in battle, nor the excuse that they ate their enemies to perfect their triumph. This was an act of unjustifiable cannibalism. Atoi, the chief who had given orders for this cruel feast, had only the night before sold us four pigs for a few pounds of powder."

Earle, it will be seen, noticed a body prepared for eating among friends, and not upon the field of battle, where many are eaten at one time, as on the battlefield of Totara, and for such a preparation as Earle saw the process may be thus described: After the head is taken off the artist proceeds to open the breast, and the heart forms a delicate morsel. A longitudinal cut is then made from the shoulders to the wrists, which are cut crossways, leaving the hands hanging. The three bones of the arms are then taken out. The same is done from the thigh to the ankles, which are also cut crossways, leaving the feet hanging. The leg bones are then extracted, and the ribs, backbone, etc., are very neatly taken from the body, leaving nothing but flesh, with the exception of small bones in the hands and feet. These last are then scorched over the fire until the skin comes off, and it is then in a fit state to put in the *umu*. When done sufficiently it is taken out and parcelled to those who are to partake. The flesh when thus done of a full grown person is as coarse as horse flesh, the fat yellow, like that of Welsh mutton, and it has a skin, or rather a rind, like a pig, but of a savoury smell.

After the Maori knowledge of firearms, the skin of the buttocks of the men—generally tattooed—was taken off the body to make covers for cartouch boxes, among those who were not professed Christians. For the information of the curious it may be said that the skin thus used for cartouch boxes was about two-tenths of an inch thick.

Mr. Earle also tells us how, "on the night of his arrival at Hokianga in the Governor Macquarie, a chief set one of his slaves to watch the kumara grounds in order to prevent the hogs committing havoc therein. The lad, delighted with the novelty of the vessel, and more intent on seeing her coming to anchor than watching the pigs, suffered them to stray where they should not. His master arriving when the hogs were thus trespassing killed the boy with a blow of his tomahawk, ordered a fire to be made, and the lad's body was forthwith roasted and eaten."

"In June, 1831 Polack writes, a Hokianga chief [the names of the persons and their descendants being well known, are omitted], went shooting, and previous to his leaving his village desired a female slave to prepare some sweet potatoes against his return. She did as she was told, but the chief was so long absent that the food got cold, and she ate them. On his return he demanded the meal he had ordered, but was told how it had been appropriated; he then called the hapless woman to him, and without speaking a word despatched her with a blow on the forehead with a tomahawk. He had for some time been cohabiting with her. He sent for his friends—the body in the meantime was dressed, cooked, and on their arrival eaten; and to use the expression of a chief who partook of the feast, on his pointing out the oven to me in which the body had been cooked, not a bone was left unmasticated. The feast took place about five miles distant from his residence."

Another act of a similar wanton nature is narrated by the same writer as occurring at Waihou, a river some few miles distant from the mouth of the Hokianga. "A European named Anscow proceeded down that river in a boat, accompanied by a crew of natives; he carried with him the usual trade, such as blankets, powder, and tomahawks, to purchase flax or hogs. He arrived about sunset at a village called Whakarapa, and as the tide had ceased to flow, put up there for the night. He was received hospitably, and was promised a quantity of hogs early in the ensuing morning. Provisions were cooked for him and his attendants.

"Anscow had not been long seated, when an interesting slave girl arrived, apparently about fifteen years of age, and remarkably handsome. Her approach was no sooner discovered, than an old decrepit chief woman hobbled forth from her hut, and made use of the most vehement language to the girl, who, it appeared, had absented herself without leave for two days. After the old crone had vented forth her objurgations, which she was unable to continue through exhaustion, she turned to a ferocious-looking fellow who was standing by her, and desired him to kill the girl immediately. The ruffian did not wait for a repetition of the request, but ran to the boat, and seizing one of the tomahawks which had been brought for barter, he struck the miserable girl a blow on the forehead with the implement that cleft her head in twain. This was the work of an instant, before Anscow could interfere and purchase her, which he could have done for a musket.

"The body was then decollated, opened, and the entrails washed and placed in a basket; the limbs cut in pieces at the different joints, attended with circumstances at once horribly disgusting and obscene. The head was thrown to the children as a plaything, and these little miscreants rolled it to and fro like a ball, thrusting small sticks up the nose, in the mouth, ears, etc., and latterly scooped out the eyes. The remains, in several pieces, were then put into baskets and taken to the river to be cleansed from the filth it had received by being mangled on the ground. The ovens were heated, some vegetables scraped, and the whole was cooked. A large party partook of the body.

"Anscow was in a state of intense agony during those proceedings, and felt fearful for his own life. Some of the body was presented to him in a small basket, and he was derided for his refusal.

"At earliest dawn he had his boat launched into the water. The crew did not partake of the body. When the boat was afloat all the trade was put in together, with the tomahawk that had been used for the horrid deed. The villagers placed in the boat the remnants left uneaten of the cooked body, done up in some small baskets, as a present to be conveyed to their friends. In vain Anscow protested against the abhorred freight being placed in the boat; it was put in forcibly against his will, attended by three of the villagers. On arriving below the river these men landed and carried the food to their friends. The tomahawk was thrown by

Anscow, in presence of them, into the deepest part of the river; he then returned to the settlement he had departed from."

In 1821 a vessel called the *General Gates* left Boston, in the United States of America, on a sealing voyage. On the 10th of August following five men and a leader, named Price, were landed near the south-west cape of the Middle Island for the purpose of catching seals. Within six weeks the success of the men amounted to 3,563 skins, which had been salted and made ready for shipment. One night, about eleven o'clock, their cabin was surrounded by a horde of natives, who broke open the place, and made the Americans prisoners. The flour, salt provisions, and salt for curing skins were all destroyed, as their use and value was all unknown to the savages. After setting fire to the cabin and everything else that was thought unserviceable, they forced the sealers to march with them for some days to a place known by the name of Looking Glass Bay, to the north of Caswell Sound, from a remarkable perforation in a rock, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles from whence they set out. The only food they had was roasted fish. After resting a day at this place, they were made to travel a further distance of two hundred miles in a northerly direction, until they came to a large sandy bay. The natives then took John Rawton, and having fastened him to a tree, they beat in his skull with a club. The head of the unfortunate man was cut off and buried in the ground; the remaining part of the body was cooked and eaten. Some of this nauseous food was offered to the sealers, who had been without sustenance for some time, and they also partook of the body of their late comrade. The five survivors were made fast to trees, well guarded by hostile natives, and each day one of the men was killed by the ferocious cannibals, and afterwards devoured, viz.: James White and William Rawton, of New London, in Connecticut; and William Smith, of New York. James West, of the same place, was doomed to die also; but the night previously a dreadful storm, accompanied by thunder and lightning, frightened the natives away, and the two remaining Americans found means to unfasten the flax cords that bound them. At daybreak next morning they launched a small canoe that was within reach, and put to sea without any provisions or water, preferring death in this way to the horrid fate of their comrades. They had scarcely proceeded a few yards when a

number of natives came in sight, who rushed into the water to catch their prey; but the Americans eventually eluded their grasp, despair lending them strength to paddle beyond the reach of their pursuers. They remained in this exhausted state three days, and were then taken up by the Margery, a flax trader and sealer of Sydney.

When the *Coromandel* was at anchor in August, 1821, the natives of that locality killed one of their own race, and partially devoured the body. The remainder they brought alongside, and distributed to any persons having appetites inclining that way, while they those in the canoes ate the rest. The attention of the persons on board the *Coromandel* was specially drawn towards the greedy manner in which one individual appeared to suck the marrow from the thigh bone of the man on which he was regaling himself.

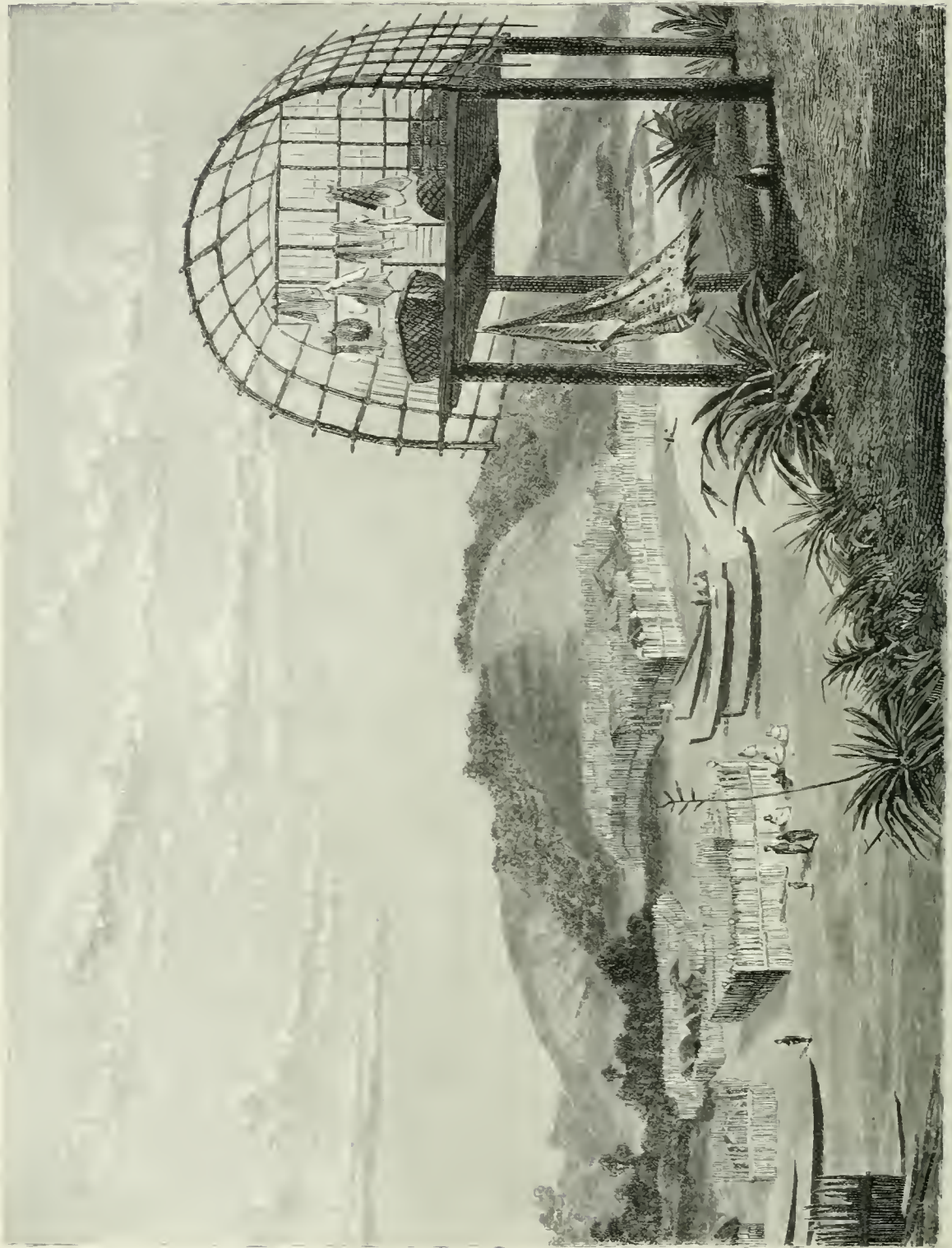
Thomson writes with force that, when cannibalism is found common among races of men, sensual love of human flesh invariably influenced the continuance of the custom. The natives looked on human flesh as desirable and toothsome food, and scrupled not to assure Europeans that if they were once to eat it they would not care for pork or other meat, it was so much superior. In the instance of two young girls who had been killed at the Bay of Islands in comparatively late years, and cooked for *utu* in war, they were killed, it should be remembered, by their own sex, the women killing the girls and the men eating them. This practice was not at all a cause for comment as being unusual, but is noted to show among other facts how cannibalism brutalised both sexes. Wherever the New Zealanders came from it appears evident they brought cannibalism with them, and that it had its roots outside of New Zealand. If the first emigrants to New Zealand had surrounding them any myths as to the sacrificial character of cannibalism, we may feel certain that their meaning and the tradition thereof had nearly worn themselves dim before the advent of the European in New Zealand.

In Thompson's story of New Zealand are found the following remarks concerning the cooking of human flesh. Having been revised by the late Mr. C. O. Davis, they perhaps may be regarded as near to accuracy as aught we are likely in the future to obtain on this subject. He wrote: "After a battle the

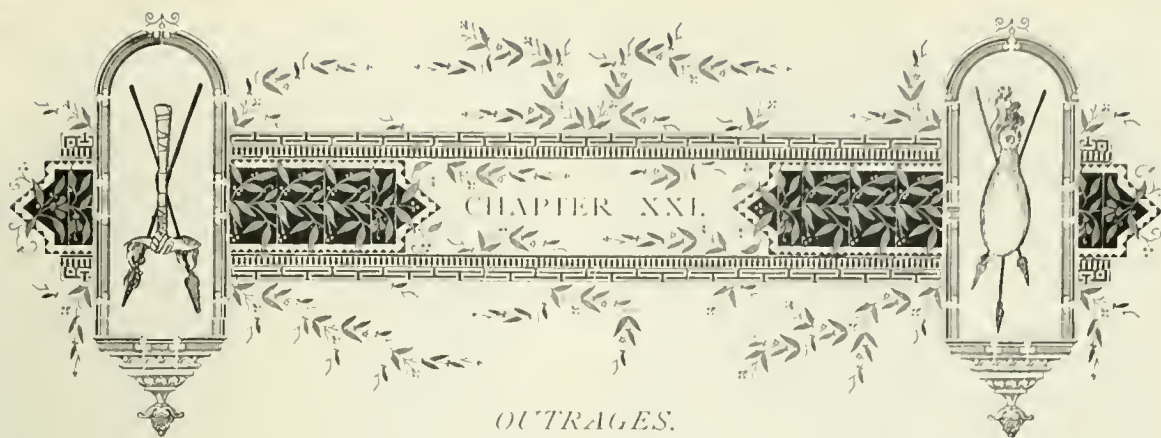
enemy's dead were collected, and their bodies were cut into pieces. Sometimes they were only disembowelled and roasted whole. One corpse was set aside as a trophy sacred to the god of war, and its hair and right ear were kept for the purpose of removing the *hapu* from the war party. Cooking ovens were now dug in the earth in two long rows, and the flesh in the one oven was set apart for the gods. This sacred oven had a wreath of fern round its edge, and two pointed sticks stuck on the top, upon one of which there was a potato, and on the other a lock of human hair. The flesh was often kept in the ovens for twenty-four hours. The chief commenced the feast, and this was occasionally done by swallowing the uncooked brain and eyes of some fallen warrior. If the chief's sons were present they partook next, and then the whole army, with bloody hands and passions maddened by fighting, singing, and gorging themselves like boa-constrictors. Men have died after such banquets. The whole body was devoured with the exception of the lungs, stomach, intestines, and other parts. When the warriors were surfeited, the remains were collected and packed in baskets, and sent round to friends and allies to ensure sympathy, perchance, and co-operation."

Few New Zealanders confidently expected to die in peace full of life. Some member at least of almost every family was killed and eaten. It was the fate of the race. Some who were not slain in battle were the victims of surprise. Each generation of each *hapu* and family had a feud to remember and avenge. Every *pa* throughout the land was fortified, and existed only by the prowess of its warriors or the strength of its fortification. There were no detached visitors as guests in surrounding *pas*, unless the circumstances were extraordinary. Armed men moved or travelled in bands to prevent surprise, and those who had wandered among other than their tribal lands were few, unless they were members of a contingent led by a native chief of enterprise and rank, or were perhaps under the guardianship of a native confederation. There was no security for life within the *pa* nor without it, unless the sound of the foot of the sentinel was heard marching on the rampart.

Yates tells us that when a head had been taken in battle and kept as a trophy, taunting language was frequently addressed to the mute symbol of dead vitality.



Taupo Pa, Cook Strait, Noaitoa Village.



OUTRAGES.

Governor Bligh's war on the grog trade—Rum used as currency—The arrest and deposition of Governor Bligh—Outrages committed upon the Maoris and their consequences—Story of the ship Brothers—Fruitless expedition by the captains of four whalers—Circulation of false reports—Outrage committed by the master of the Parramatta avenged by the natives—Efforts to prevent the perpetration of outrages—Enactment by the Imperial Parliament to punish persons guilty of outrages—The notorious brig Elizabeth—A horrible story—Account of a Maori migration and biographies of the chiefs Rauparaha and Te Pahi—Mr. Montefiore's visit to New Zealand to establish trading stations.



FROM the time of the departure of Governor King until the arrival of Governor Macquarie, New South Wales proper was in a very restless, feverish condition. From August 13, 1806, to January 20, 1808, Governor Bligh reigned over the colony, but from that date till the end of 1809, the office of the Governor was usurped by the officers of the New South Wales Corps. Bligh was deposed, and his deposition had an evil influence over the South Pacific. He

appears to have threatened the "grog" traffic, and the interests thus threatened were sufficiently powerful to place his person under arrest and to bid defiance to his proclamations. Governors Hunter and King were beaten by the same influence, and Governor Bligh, who was a less cautious man than his predecessors, and bolder withal, was imprisoned under the pretext of designs against the common weal.

The currency was "rum," and the officers of the New South Wales Corps had the rum traffic almost entirely in their own hands.

Mr. John MacArthur, who was active in imprisoning the Governor, when giving evidence on the trial of the officer who usurped the Government—Colonel Johnston—in 1811, in reply to the question, "Has not the barter of spirits been always practised by every person in the colony, as a matter of necessity, from the want of currency?" answered, "I know of no exception; as far as my observation went it was universal; officers, civil and military, clergy, every description of inhabitants, were under the necessity of paying for the necessaries of life, for every article of consumption, in that sort of commodity, which the people who had to sell were inclined to take; in many cases you could not get labour performed without it."

Governor Hunter saw only one way to break up the monopoly, and that was to recall the corps to England; but they were too firmly rooted to be recalled on a mere

The view of Taupo Pa, Cook Strait, given on the opposite page, was sketched by Angas in 1844, who writes: "This view is taken from the hill immediately above Rangihaeata's Pa, a stronghold which the chief has erected since the massacre of Wairau, to which he may retreat in case of attack. The Maori village occupying the shores of the bay is called Taupo Pa, and belongs to Rauparaha, being inhabited by a portion of the Ngatitoa tribe. The situation of the pa is about a mile from Porirua, on the northern shores of Cook Strait. On the brow of the hill, as represented in the foreground, is a singular erection of sticks, much resembling basket work, elevated on four upright posts, and having a semi-circular top. Within this cage-like building are placed a variety of different articles, household utensils, skins, calabashes, and dried fish; and a garment suspended beneath flutters in the wind. This is a wahi tapu, or sacred place of peculiar construction, serving as a receptacle for goods and property that have become subject to the law of tapu for a certain length of time, and are placed here by the tohunga or priest, who alone has the right of approaching the sacred articles."

recommendation. When they had taken the government of the colony into their own hands it was time for the Imperial authorities to move.

Bonwick says: "Nominally the Governor claimed the sole control of all imports, but absolutely the leading officers and merchants possessed the advantage. This gave the monopoly of this profitable article of exchange, *i.e.*, spirits, and they used this privilege to the filling of their own pockets and the flooding of the colony with vice and misery. Upon Captain Bligh's coming these facts became apparent. Others might have seen the same yet feared to encounter the risks and danger of a contest with the evil. He passed through the country parts and beheld a half clad, ignorant, and almost savage people. He saw them farming magnificent land, yet living in squalor, filth, and neglect. The main causes were brought before him. He recognised one in the desolation of drink, and the other in a monopoly of trade by a few Sydney dealers, and those in most cases connected with the Government."

The Hawkesbury district was then the chief seat of agriculture, and the home of penury. The inhabitants piteously held up their hands for relief. His reply was, "Shut up the grog shops." He assumed the dictator. The drink should not be sold there; and it was not. This was looked upon as a great hardship in Sydney by the traders, and some of the settlers in the district also complained. But during the few months the law was in force their rags gave place mysteriously to good clothing, crime almost disappeared, and more land was brought into better cultivation.

The arrest and deposition of Governor Bligh was one of the most high-handed proceedings in colonial history, and showed how the New South Wales Corps had become demoralised by the trading practices of its officers and their long emancipation from strict army discipline. The correspondence connected with the affair was presented to the Government of New South Wales in the centennial year of 1888 by the relatives of Major Johnston, the officer who issued the order of arrest. The request upon which action was taken ran as follows. (The number of signatures subscribed by means of marks is notable.)

January 26, 1808.

Sir,—The present alarming state of this colony, in which every man's property, liberty, and life are endangered, induces us most earnestly to implore you instantly to place Governor Bligh under an arrest and to assume the command of the colony. We pledge ourselves at a moment of less agitation to come forward to

support the measure with our fortunes and our lives.—
We are, with great respect, sir,

Your most obedient servants,

John McArthur	James John Grant
John Blaxland	Samuel Terry
James Mitcham	John Waldron
S. Lord	J. Nelson
Gregory Blaxland	Samuel Foster
James Badgery	Thomas Allright
Nicholas Bayley	George Phillips
G. Blaxcell	Thos. Broughton
Thos. Jamison	Joseph Hodges
C. Grimes	his
Thos. Hoff	Joseph X Ward
D. Wentworth	mark
Thos. Laycock	James Wilshire
Thos. Moore	Jno. Gowen
Robt. Townson	William Thorn
Isaac Nichols	James Evans
Wm. Evans	his
Jesse Malcock	Robert X Lewes
John Beddington	mark
William Baker Setter	James Sandercorn
Wm. Jenkins	Wm. Fielder
Nathl. Lucas	John Driver
Henry Rapp	W. Bennett
his	Rev. Jas. Robinson
Henry X Sykes	J. D. Thorley
mark	Johns. Griffiths
R. Sidaway	Owen Connor
Augustus Alt	Hugh McAtoy
Henry Williams	his
David Bevan	Wm. X Davis
Jas. Larra	mark
Edw. Hills	his
J. W. Lewin	John X Hughes
W. Blake	mark
Geo. Bayley	Wm. Biggs
Thomas Bayley	J. Collingwood
R. Fitzgerald	Thos. Brown
Thos. Abbott	Cornelius Henning, J.P.
John Connell	Richd. Oldham
Wm. Baker, S.K.	Joseph Morton
N. Divine	Patrick Marman
William Stewart	Wm. Watkins
Jno. Apsey	W. Hennis
his	Jeremiah Cavanagh
Rich. X Cheers	John Griffiths
mark	Francis Cox
Thos Jones	Robert Lack
his	Wm. Hohns
Martin X Short	Robert Brown
mark	Thomas Hartman
Thomas Broadhurst	William Blue
Donald McMe	Thos. Legg
Ralph Hoare	Thos. Parsaneig
his	Matthew Elkin
George X Bowers	Thos. Moxon
mark	John Davis (millwright)
his	Richard Wade
Abraham X Moore	Jno. Eure
mark	John Anson
John Pawley	Lewis Jones
his	Richd. Palmer
George X Guest	his
mark	Abrahm. X Levy
William Grosvenor	mark
Nathaniel Lloyd	his
William English	Daniel X Deicon
J. J. Lutton	mark

William Bon	his
David Batty	George X. Connaway
William Wale	mark
T. Boulton	John Richard
Richard Tucker	Joseph Flood
John O'Hearn	John Hansley
Thomas G. Lawrance	Edw. Smith
his	Absalom West
James X. Parrott	Charles Williams
mark	Thomas Becker
William Geogh	Charles Walker
Valentine Wood	his
his	John X. Hohns
Matthew X. Kearns	mark
mark	Jas. Macpoy
John Lyster	Charles Evans
Thos. Carey	Patrick Decoy
Wm. Hadney	Richard Harding
Thomas Jennings	Henry Yeates
James Hardwick	Jonathan Green
John Graham	James Wild
John White	George Cooke
Joseph Underwood	his
Henry James Purcell	Andrew X. Fuzer
Daniel Cubitt	mark
Reuben Ather	

To Major Geo. Johnston, Lieut.-Governor, and Commanding the N.S.W. Corps.

The letter addressed by Major Johnston to Governor Bligh ran as follows:—

Head Quarters,
January 20, 1808.

SIR,—I am called upon to execute a most painful duty. You are charged by the respectable inhabitants of crimes that render you unfit to exercise the supreme authority another moment in this colony, and in that charge all the officers serving under my command have joined.

I therefore require you, in His Majesty's sacred name, to resign your authority and to submit to the arrest which I hereby place you under by the advice of all my officers, and by the advice of every respectable inhabitant of the town of Sydney.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

GEORGE JOHNSTON,

Acting Lieut.-Governor and Major,
Commanding the New South Wales Corps.

TO WILLIAM BLIGH, ESQ., F.R.S., Gr.

The following deposition relative to the circumstances of the arrest was made by Corporal Marlborough:—

Lance-corporal Marlborough came before me this day, and deposeth that he was the man on duty on the 26th January, after Major Johnston had taken command. I was ordered to search for the late Governor Bligh; that on himself and a soldier of the name of Sutherland examining a scalene upstairs in the Government House where a servant sleeps, he put a musket under the bed and touched Governor Bligh, which made him make a noise, and on feeling caught Governor Bligh by the collar, and dragged him out. On his getting up Governor Bligh put his hand in his bosom, and deponent, supposing he might have arms, told him if he attempted to resist he would put him to death; and on Governor Bligh declaring he had no arms, deponent told him he would treat him like a gentleman; and on Governor Bligh

asking deponent what he was going to do with him, was informed that he would keep him until the adjutant came who at the instant came in, when Governor Bligh said to the adjutant that if he had done anything wrong he was led to it. Mr. Minchin, on coming in, assured the Governor his person was perfectly safe, and offered his arm to take him to the major, who was downstairs. Deponent further says that he had twice examined the scalene before. The bedstead had no curtains, and was extremely low. Governor Bligh was in his full uniform, with his sidearms and medal on.

MICHAEL MARLBOROUGH.

Sworn before me, 11th April, 1808. E. Abbott, J.P.

Sir Henry Parkes, in forwarding these documents for publication on the occasion of the centennial celebrations of New South Wales in 1888, observes: "You will see that many of the 'founders of families' are among those whose names are signed to the papers. Joseph Flood is the only one that I notice whose son the Hon. Edward Flood is still living. The Abbotts have no connection with the Abbotts of to-day. John M'Arthur, John Blaxland, Simeon Lord, Thomas Jamison, and others have scarcely any of their race left."

Governor Bligh, after his imprisonment and visit to Tasmania, proceeded to England, when his administration was vindicated, and he was made a Rear-Admiral. Major Johnston was tried by court-martial and cashiered, but returned to the colony, where he was already wealthy through the possession of lands. The New South Wales Corps was recalled, and ceased to exercise its baneful influence on the colony.

Long was the memory of Bligh cherished among the convict and emancipist class, for as late as 1835, the *Sydney Gazette*, which was then under emancipist control, when reviewing the proceedings of that early period, and writing of the arrival of Macquarie, said: "We cannot see why he did not hang the whole pack. The aristocracy, as they were then called, would have dangled nobly as skeletons on the fort, their bleached and rattling bones would have taught the virtue of constitutional obedience to some of those petty mushrooms who have since drunk a sort of libellous infection from the impunity with which their ancestors and others were allowed to escape the halter."

It was not a matter for surprise that the disorder which was rife in the central authority in Polynesia should extend to where its influence was weakest. Whalers and sealers could afford to laugh at a restraint that at the best was nominal; while the native population of New Zealand became abandoned to their

own devices. The officers of the New South Wales Corps had quite enough on their hands without chiding refractory traders. They had their grog to sell, their servants to protect, and there was the charge of mutiny hanging over them. There was lawlessness in Sydney, and the fear of reprisals from the natives alone kept the traders in check on the high seas. This time—that of the great rebellion in New South Wales—was the beginning almost of the period when every man did as he thought best in New Zealand.

Soon almost as the traffic with the South Seas was opened outrages on the inferior race began. Mr. Savage, who was at the Bay of Islands in a whale ship, in September, 1805, remarks: "In many instances where disagreement takes place between Europeans and savages the former are the aggressors. The lowest profligate of Europe fancies himself a superior being, and treats the untaught native of a peaceful isle as an animal almost unworthy his consideration; he communicates the diseases of civil life, and commits acts of treachery and outrage without the least remorse. Acts of this description are handed down to posterity by tradition among the natives, and they revenge the injuries done to their ancestors upon all Europeans that come within their power. A fact came to my knowledge respecting a transaction of bartering one article for another with these people which demonstrated a great want of humanity, but as I have no wish to injure the party I shall carefully suppress its publication."

Each of the earlier travellers, could he be examined, would have a similar story to tell. But after the massacre of the Boyd took place, in New Zealand, especially, the outrages became more marked and unwarranted. When the raid on Te Pahi was sought to be justified by false evidence, the common plea for all offences against the natives was legitimate reprisal or self-defence. One of the earlier cases on record, after 1809, is that of the *Brothers*, a ship belonging to Port Jackson. The *Brothers* calling at one of the Northern ports for provisions, the New Zealanders behaved very well, trading kits of potatoes for single nails. Ten of the crew, taking a boat, went on shore, however, and began to destroy the growing crops of potatoes and kumaras, and on the natives remonstrating, murdered one or more of them. They refrained from reprisals upon the captain assuring them that he would make such representations to the Governor as would secure the punishment of the malefactors. The

details were furnished by Mr. Marsden soon after his return to New South Wales, and a few months only after Lieutenant Macquarie assumed office. The story of the *Venus* and the abduction of the Maori women we have already detailed, but a tithe only of the occurrences that gave our race an evil name have obtained a notoriety sufficient to ensure remembrance.

Captain Dalrymple's outrage on Bruce and the daughter of Te Pahi cannot be regarded as a solitary example of its kind. The treatment Ruatara received from the whaling and sealing captains place them in a very unfortunate and criminal position. Many of the early mariners of the century were little better than buccaneers, and the bearing of letters of marque very often only saved them from the charge of piracy. The difficulty, however, is to gain evidence of the outrages inflicted on the native people, as those who inflicted them were their own chroniclers. Sometimes, however, facts are too strong for language to conceal their character. Thus, after the massacre of the Boyd, a young native woman told the captain of the *Perseverance* that the natives held four Europeans prisoners, but of what country was not known; while the only names that could be made out were "Brown," "Cook," "Anthony," and "Harvey," evidently a rumour, not identified with the people who escaped. The record, however, of what follows is instructive.

"Upon receipt of this information the captains of the *Perseverance*, *Speke*, *Diana*, *Experiment*, *Inspector*, and *Atalanta*, which vessels were then in the Bay of Islands, accompanied by a party of seamen, penetrated into the interior of the country, a distance said to be fifty miles, in search of the captives, but the search was unsuccessful. When the party first landed on the mainland the natives fired on them, we are told, and killed one man belonging to the *Inspector*, after which, it is said, a sharp skirmish took place, in which sixteen or eighteen natives were killed, but no Europeans were hurt."

One man, moreover, was sometimes mistaken for another. One of the chief factors in the Boyd transactions was Te Pahi, and it was through a similarity of sound in the name that the slander of Te Pahi having led the murderers was sustained. George, otherwise known as Tara, bore the same name as Berry's friend, the Ariki of Kororareka. In the *Sydney Gazette* of 1810 the assertion is made on several occasions that the son of Te Pahi, who was in England when Marsden

was there—having been taken thither by Governor King, and returned in the Porpoise with Captain Porteus and Lieutenant Oxley—was mixed up in the Boyd atrocity, whereas he died some days before the Boyd entered the Whangaroa harbour.

Besant gave evidence before Mr. Marsden in 1813, that while he was in New Zealand he received the following account of the loss of the schooner Parramatta, belonging to Port Jackson, which put into the Bay of Islands in distress for want of provisions and water:—

“The natives supplied them with pork, fish, and potatoes, as many as the vessel could stow. After the schooner had received her refreshments the natives waited to be paid for them. The people belonging to the schooner threw the natives overboard, fired upon them, and immediately weighed anchor. The deponent saw three of the natives who had been wounded with small shot by the crew of the Parramatta. A heavy gale of wind coming on, which set in to the harbour, blew the vessel on shore between Cape Brett and the district ruled over by Tara, where the wreck of the vessel lay. After the vessel was wrecked the natives revenged themselves on the crew for firing on them and depriving them of their provisions without payment, and cut them all off.”

On the 1st December, 1813, there was issued in the *Sydney Gazette* a Government proclamation which, after reciting that many outrages have taken place by Europeans towards the natives of New Zealand, Otaheite, and other islands in the South Pacific Ocean, by way of preamble, goes on to say:—

It is hereby ordered and declared by His Excellency the Governor, that from and after the first day of January ensuing, no ship or vessel, either of British, India, or plantation registry, shall be suffered to clear out from this port, or any other port within the territory of New South Wales for New Zealand, or for any island or islands whatsoever in the South Pacific Ocean or South Seas, unless the master of the said ship or vessel is of British or Indian registry, and the master and owners of the said ship or vessel, if of plantation registry, shall become bound, by his and their deed or deeds in writing, to be signed with his or their seals, to the naval officer of this port, or such other port in this territory as such ship or vessel may clear out from, in the penal sum of one thousand pounds sterling, to be paid upon breach of the condition thereunder to be written, which condition shall be as follows, that is to say—Whereas the ship or vessel called the.....of..... registry, whereof.....is master, and.....is (or are) owner (or owners), is about to be cleared out for New Zealand, or for the South Seas, or for some of the islands in the South Seas, pursuant to a certain proclamation of His Ex..... the Gov..... bearing date the first day of December, 1813.

Now the condition of this obligation is such that if the above bounden..... master of the said vessel, and the

officers and crew of the said vessel, shall each and every of them peaceably and properly demean themselves, and be of good behaviour towards the natives of New Zealand, or of such of the islands in the South Seas as the said vessel may touch at in the course of this her voyage; and if they shall not commit any acts of trespass upon the plantations, gardens, lands, habitations, burial grounds, tombs, or properties of the natives of the said islands, or any of them; and if they shall not make war, or cause war to be made upon them, or in any way interfere in the disputes, quarrels, or controversies of the said natives, or stir up, excite, or foment any animosities among them; and if they shall leave the natives of the said islands to the free, uninterrupted, and undisturbed enjoyment of their religious ceremonies, rites, or observances; and if the said master, officers, or crew, or any of them, shall not ship any of the male natives of any of the said islands, nor take away such natives from any such islands without their free will and consent, and the free will and consent of their chiefs and parents or others to whom they may be subject. And if the said master, officer, &c., &c., shall not ship or take away any of the female natives of the said islands from the said islands without such free will and consent as aforesaid, and also without having first obtained the consent and approbation in writing of His Excellency the Governor of this territory, or other person actually administering the powers of government in the same; and in case the master or commanding officer of such vessel shall by and with such consent as aforesaid ship any male native or natives of any of the said islands, either as a mariner, or diver, or for any other purpose whatever, then and in that case, if the said master or commanding officer shall discharge from the said vessel all or any such male native or natives so shipped on board the same, wheresoever he shall be requested by him or them so to do, first paying him or them such wages or price as may lawfully or reasonably be due to him or them for his or their services at the time of such discharge, then this obligation to be void and of no effect, otherwise to remain in full force and virtue. And whereas the natives of all the said islands are under the protection of His Majesty, and entitled to the good offices of his subjects, all persons whatsoever charged by the oaths of credible witnesses with any acts of rapine, plunder, robbery, piracy, murder, or other offences against the laws of nature, and of nations, against the persons or properties of any of the natives, or of any of the said islands, will upon due conviction be further punished with the utmost rigour of the law.

Given under my hand, &c., this first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and thirteen.

LACHLAN MACQUARIE.
J. T. CAMPBELL, Sect.

December 4, 1813.

At the end of the year the following notice appeared in the *Sydney Gazette*:—

NATIVES.

SIR: We, the undersigned, request you will as soon as convenient call a meeting of the inhabitants of this colony to take into consideration some measure for affording support and relief to the natives of the South Sea Islands who may come to Port Jackson, and to promote their civilisation.

We are, Sir, your obedient servants,

S. MARSDEN.	ALEX. RILEY.
D. ALLAN.	W. BROUGHTON.
G. BLAXCELL.	D. WENTWORTH.
J. OXLEY.	S. LORD.

To WM. GORE, Esq., Provost-Marshal, &c.

The meeting was convened for Monday, the 20th December following, when a society was formed, called the New South Wales Philanthropical Society for the protection of such of the natives of the South Sea Islands who may arrive in Port Jackson; and at a meeting subsequently held on 12th January, 1814, a sum of £180 was received in donations, and a further sum of £49 7s. promised as annual subscriptions to the society. Among the subscribers were the Governor, £21; the Lieut.-Governor, £10 10s.; Judge Advocate, £10 10s.; Rev. Samuel Marsden, £10 10s.; — Allan, Esq., £10 10s.; W. Broughton, Esq., £10 10s.; Darcy Wentworth, Esq., £10 10s.; — Oxley, Esq., £10 10s.; J. T. Campbell, Esq., £10 10s.; — Blaxcell, Esq., £10 10s.; — Riley, Esq., £10 10s.; — Redfern, Esq., £10 10s.; Geo. Howe, Esq., £10 10s.; and others £5 5s. each, while every person giving one guinea per annum remained a member while he continued to pay his subscription, and those who gave £10 10s. became life members.

Another order issued 19th November, 1814, declared, *inter alia*: "Any neglect or disobedience of these orders will subject the offenders to be proceeded against with the utmost rigour of the law on their return thither viz., New South Wales, and those who shall return to England without first resorting to this place shall be reported to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, and such documents transmitted as will warrant their being equally proceeded against and punished."

The foregoing regulations being found insufficient to prevent outrage from the masters and crews visiting the islands, an Act was passed in the British Parliament in the month of June, 1817, entitled, "An Act of the 57th of the King for the more effectual Punishment of Murders and Manslaughters committed in Places not within His Majesty's Dominions."

In the preamble and main portion of the bill it is stated, "That grievous murders and manslaughters had been committed in the South Pacific Ocean, as well on the high seas as on land, in the islands of New Zealand and Otaheite, and in other islands, countries, and places not within His Majesty's dominions, by the masters and crews of British ships and other persons, who have, for the most part, deserted from or left their ships, and have continued to live and reside amongst the inhabitants of these islands, whereby great violence has been done, and a general scandal and prejudice raised against the

name and character of British and other European traders: And whereas such crimes and offences do escape unpunished by reason of the difficulty of bringing to trial the persons guilty thereof: For remedy whereof be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the passing of this Act, all murders and manslaughters committed, or that shall be committed in the said islands of New Zealand and Otaheite, or within any other islands, countries, or places not within His Majesty's dominions, nor subject to any European State or Power, not within the territory of the United States of America, by the master or crew of any British ship or vessel, or any of them, or by any person sailing in or belonging thereto, or that shall have sailed in or belonged to, and have quitted any British ship or vessel to live in any of the said islands, countries, or places, or either of them, or that shall be there living, shall and may be tried, and adjudged, and punished in any of His Majesty's islands, plantations, colonies, dominions, forts, or factories, under or by virtue of the King's commission, or commissions, which shall have been or may hereafter be issued under and by virtue and in pursuance of an Act passed in the forty-sixth year of his present Majesty, entitled An Act for the More Speedy Trial of Offences committed in Distant Countries or upon the Sea."

The Act for the more effectual punishment of murders and manslaughters committed in places not within the King's dominions and applicable to these seas, was followed by an Act, passed on the 19th July, 1823, enlarging the jurisdiction of the colonial courts to cases of treasons, piracies, felonies, robberies, and other offences. Sir Thomas Brisbane, the Governor of New South Wales, forthwith, on the passing of the Act, issued a proclamation, dated 17th May, 1824, enforcing its execution.

His Excellency said, when writing to the Church Missionary Society, "I have considered it incumbent on me to issue the accompanying proclamation in consequence of many diabolical acts of outrage committed by British ships in these seas, and more particularly on a recent occasion at one of the Friendly Islands by the Rambler, whaler, when the master paid the forfeit of his life, otherwise he must have been tried for his life here. I have directed that this proclamation

shall be read to all crews of vessels leaving this port with the intention of going among the islands, and that a copy should be left with the master, as the new Charter of Justice enables us to try individuals for crimes against these unoffending natives, and I shall not fail to act in conformity with the proclamation in all cases of outrage."

The proclamation herein referred to set forth that, "Whereas misguided persons often commit gross outrages in the islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans and elsewhere, against the interests of the fair trader and to the extreme injury of the unoffending natives thereof, and of others, and that the supreme courts in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land having power to punish such offences, His Majesty's subjects are called upon to enforce the execution of this law, as well by information to be given to public officers, civil, naval, or military, as by any other lawful means."

But the outrage which attracted the greatest attention was that of the notorious Elizabeth schooner, and which formed the subject of Parliamentary inquiry. To enable us to understand the matter clearly a page or two of Maori history will have to be narrated.

In the early part of this century the Ngatitooa tribe had three men of mark, whose names will be perpetuated in the English history of the occupation of New Zealand. They were called Te Pehi, Rauparaha, and Rangihaeata. The Ngatitooa were an offshoot of the Tainui migration, branching as a separate tribe about the twelfth generation from Hoturoa, being older in point of tribal existence than either the Ngatiraukawa or the Ngatimaniapoto. Until 1820, or thereabouts, the Ngatitooa occupied land around the harbour of Kawhia, which may be called the ancestral home of the Tainui people. Hoturoa landed on the east side of the island, and the canoe Tainui, dragged over the Otahuhu portage, sailed to the mouth of the Manukau harbour, and from thence to Kawhia. This probably took place about the date of the death of

King John, as the Ngatimaniapoto have an unbroken line of twenty-nine generations from Hoturoa to children not yet having reached the age of puberty. If five or six generations of Maori ancestors since the arrival of the migrations are held to be mythical, a very great difficulty will be experienced in accounting for the ramifications of the tribes, and their increase in the shorter period assigned to the duration of the Maori race in New Zealand.

From causes which are not fully known at a period early in this century, the Ngatitooa tribe determined to emigrate to the south where men were not so thick and food more abundant. It was not, however, until about

the year 1820 that what may really be called the Ngatitooa migration took place, Rauparaha leading the tribe to possess lands which had been marked out by a war party in 1818. The taua consisted of some two hundred Ngapuhi, all armed with guns, according to the evidence of Matine Te Whiwhi, and sixty Ngatitooa who had no guns, before whom the inhabitants of the southern district "became as nothing." After three months' occupation the local tribes Ngatiapa, Muaupoko, and Rangitane were sufficiently subdued to enable Ngatitooa to consider their conquest effectual, when the warriors returned, Ngatitooa to Kawhia, and Ngapuhi to the Bay of Islands. An uncertain interval elapses before the emigrants left

Kawhia to possess the land the taua had acquired. The emigrants probably got away in 1819 or 1820. Evidence given before the Native Lands Court in 1869 somewhat clears the cause of the migration. The witness, one of the emigrants, said, "We came down because we wanted to get near the ships of the Europeans. All our women and children came with us. We brought our clothes. On starting we had no intention to return to Kawhia."

Ngatitooa gave their lands to the Waikato people, and burned their carved house, named Te Urungu-Paroa-a-te-Titi-Matama, before their departure, as others in positions re-



Te Rauparaha.

From a drawing by K. L. Sutherland, R.N.

quiring heroism had burned their ships. Living on the seaboard, they were a roving as well as a maritime and daring people.

While the emigrants were proceeding on their way—part on shore and part in canoes—another taua went south, and further harried the tribes Ngatittoa intended to dispossess. How long it took the heke to get to Ohau does not seem clear, but about the year 1824 we may consider the immigrants settled on Kapiti Island, Waikanae, and Porirua. Kapiti was in the path of the migration of the black whale, as they annually came from the north on their road to Cook Strait in quest of calving places. Ere tradition has

bound by marriage to Ngatittoa, held what may be called the richest eel-ponds on the west coast of the North Island. To the Maori the eel was as favourite a dish as it was to the eel-fed monks of another clime, of whom the song relates, in not very intelligible Saxon, "Merrie sang the monks in Ely, as King Canute went sailing by." But sea and land were alike fruitful. That time had not destroyed the eel-weirs was evident, when the Superintendent of Wellington visited the Ngatiapa district, by the natives giving him a dish of twenty thousand eels for his dinner.

But Hongi had found a better plan to obtain firearms than barter. Discarding



Te Pehi.



Tattooing on the face of Te Pehi.

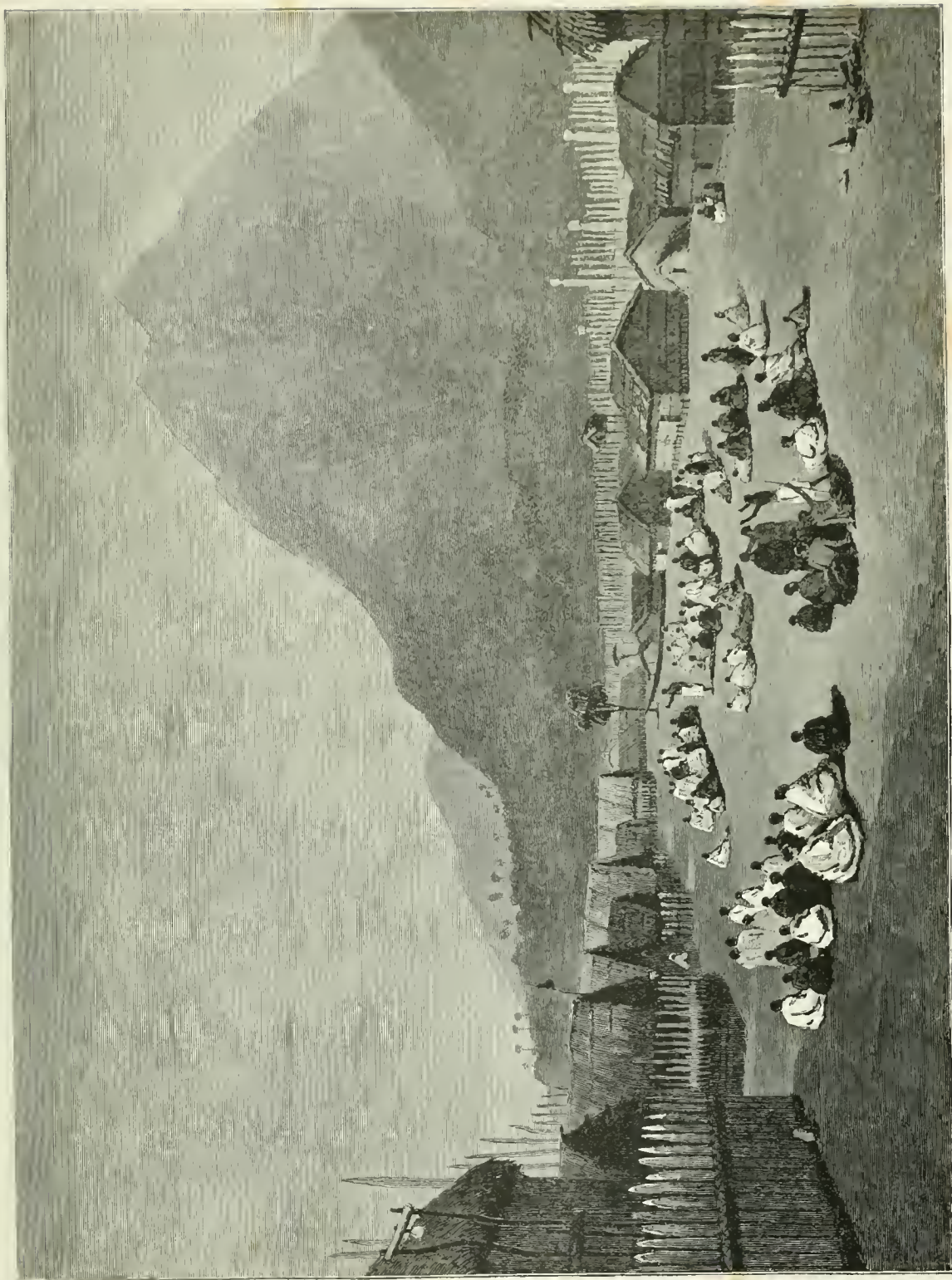
From a drawing by himself.

any memory Cook Strait appeared to have been what may be called a whaling river, in the bays of which the female whales found shallow water to bring forth their young.

Rauparaha and his companions, when spying out the character of the southern land in company with Patuone and Ngapuhi, saw the whale ships in Raukawa or Cook Strait, and either divined or were told that the best chance of obtaining firearms such as Ngapuhi carried, was to be found in barter with the strangers who came whale hunting. Two things Ngatittoa had in view—firearms and fat lands. Kapiti was an island fortress, and in the stream of the whale trade. Ngatiapa, who had been partially subdued and partly

trade, he went and saw the King of England, and got guns and munitions of warfare, and a coat of mail, beside many other things for his journey; and the question became debated among Ngatittoa why one of their chiefs should not also do as Hongi had done, and go and see the King of England, and bring back to Kapiti a vessel loaded with guns and powder, as report said Hongi had done at the Bay of Islands. And so it happened that Te Pehi was chosen, or volunteered for the service.

Several writers mention Te Pehi as being an uncle of Rauparaha; but it seems difficult to divine how such a relationship came about. Te Pehi came south with Rauparaha, and



TU KAITOTE; the Pan of To Whare Whero, on the Waikato River.

(Taupiri Mountain in the distance.)



achieved the conquest of Kapiti, which became the headquarters of the migration, Waikanae and Porirua being shore residences. The island on which three large pas were built became a fortress to the rovers, where safety could generally be found if the shore tribes combined and conspired against their piratical guests. There was a good harbour on Kapiti, where the canoes brought with them from Kawhia and other places could obtain accommodation. It was a troubled time; life was cheap, hard to keep; firearms were becoming abundant, and men had, as it were, to sleep armed. Thus, after one of the conflicts with the shore tribes, while Ngatitoo and their allies were feasting and sleeping all unsuspectingly at Waikanae, the enemy came upon them at night, killing many women and children, some fifty or sixty souls in all, among whom was the daughter of Te Pehi, who was killed and cooked, her body being carried in a *taha*, or bark basket, to Wanganui, and there eaten. So writes Mr. Taylor, who adds: "Pehi felt the loss of his child, and determined on taking signal revenge; but to do it effectually it was necessary to have a large supply of guns and ammunition." Here springs the motive power of Te Pehi making a voyage to England.

What is known of the wanderings of Te Pehi is told mainly in the volume entitled "New Zealanders," 1830, in "The Library of Entertaining Knowledge," which, rightly or wrongly, is ascribed to the facile pen of Lord Brougham. It appears that in 1824 (?) when the South Sea trader *Urania*, Captain Reynolds commanding, and owned by Messrs. Staniforth and Gosling, of London, was on her way through Cook Strait, that three canoes, containing between seventy and eighty men, were seen pulling towards the vessel. The crew, imagining that the natives were hostile, prepared to give them a hostile reception, most of the trading vessels in these waters at that date being well armed and doubly manned. The narrative goes on to say: "As the largest canoe approached, one of the natives in it stood up, and by signs and a few words of broken English intimated his desire to be taken on board." This was Te Pehi. His request was refused by the captain, on which he sprang on board and ordered the canoes to retire to a distance, to show that his intentions were peaceful. He then by signs and broken English asked for firearms, and on being refused announced his intention to go to England and see King George. "Embarrassed by this resolution,

the captain, after trying in vain to persuade him to re-enter his canoe, at last ordered three of his stoutest seamen to throw him overboard. Te Pehi, however, perceived what was intended, and instantly throwing himself down on the deck, seized two ringbolts with so powerful a hold that it was impossible to tear him away without such violence as the humanity of Captain Reynolds would not permit. When this struggle was over, the chief, feeling himself firmly established on board, called out to his people in the canoes, and ordered them to return to land. His command was instantly obeyed," showing that the programme had been rehearsed before the rover had left the shore. For some days the captain thought of landing Te Pehi along the coast, but the winds fought for the Ngatitoo chieftain, and his good manners and affability speedily made him a favourite. At Monte Video he saved the captain's life. Captain Reynolds fell overboard, and would have been drowned, it is said, when Te Pehi plunged into the water, "and having hold of him as he was sinking, supported him with the one hand while he swam with the other, till they were both again taken on board." Arrived in England, Te Pehi got the measles, and was tended in his sickness by the captain and his wife with a solicitude that did them honour. Dr. Traill, of Liverpool, "in the early part of the year 1826," was called in to visit him as he lay sick of the measles, attended by a surgeon by whom he had been vaccinated some weeks before. Under Dr. Traill's care the sick man soon became well, and was subsequently a frequent guest at the doctor's house. The doctor became attached to Te Pehi, and the patient became more than commonly fond of the man who had cured him. The New Zealander was taught to ride on horseback, and was taken journeys in a gig, to see regiments inspected, articles of utility manufactured, while most of the details of English life were thrown open to him. He was as much at home with the taint of the flesh of men cleaving to his teeth in English society as was in after times the tall, graceful, lounging figure of Te Whero Whero at Government House in Auckland. Captain Reynolds, it appears, lost his employment after his return to England, and not being in affluent circumstances, a Treasury order was given enabling the captain to draw a weekly allowance for the support of his guest; "and it was at the same time intimated that he should be sent back at the expense of the Government to his own country."

Leaving Liverpool Te Pehi went to London, and soon after to New South Wales, the Government having presented him with agricultural and other useful implements; and he was furnished with orders on the Governor of Sydney for different domesticated animals.

Dr. Traill considered Te Pehi, when he was "called" to see him in Liverpool, in the vigour of life. From the time he was seen in London until his reappearance among his own people in Cook Strait, his record appears obscure, though much diligence has been employed in the search. Te Hiko, who succeeded him, became a man of mark, mixed up with the New Zealand Company in land transactions, and an active agent in obtaining utu for his father's death. Te Pehi, although he had not gifts of firearms repeated in his case as in that of Hongi, managed, before his return to New Zealand, to obtain considerable property, and a collection of guns and ammunition.

After the return of Te Pehi from New South Wales—probably in 1827—he took part with Rauparaha and others in expeditions against Ngaitahu. The pretext for hostilities against Ngaitahu came from a boast of their chief Rerewhaka, who resided at Kaikoura, that if ever Rauparaha set foot on his territory he would rip open his body with a shark's tooth. Speaking disrespectfully of sacred persons in those days was a grave offence. The boast of ripping open the body of Rauparaha cost hundreds of lives, and that of the boaster himself. Offence soon followed to Rangihaeata, by a chief of the Ngatikuhungunu, who, fearing the consequence of his rashness, fled across Raukawa or Cook Strait, and took refuge with the people who had re-established themselves about Kaikoura. Rauparaha, in company with Te Pehi, Pokaitara, Te Ara Tangata, and others, again crossed the strait in search for the fugitive offender and those who had given him shelter. He was found at a place called Omihī, situated a little to the north of Amuri Bluff. The usual fate happened to the captured people, and with friendship on his lips but guile in his heart, Rauparaha went on to Kaiapoi, as he said, to barter firearms for greenstone. His character was tersely described by the late Judge Maning, who said that he had "either conquered by force, or made tools of by policy, or destroyed by treachery, almost everyone he came in contact with." The return of Te Pehi, and continued trading with whalers, had made Ngatitoa the possessors of large quantities of

arms. Mr. Montefiore, two years later, stated that two thousand stand were to be found at Kapiti.

On the third day after the arrival of the pirates at Kaiapoi, Mr. Mackay says that Te Pehi, while engaged bargaining with one of the chiefs for some greenstone, and finding some difficulty in gaining his point, lost his temper and said, "Why do you with the crooked tattoo resist my wishes?—you whose nose will shortly be cut off with a hatchet!" The utterance was a taunt and a threat—a taunt that the poverty of the man had been unable to obtain the services of a skilful tattooer—a threat of the destruction of the pa from the mouth of the second in command. After a short consultation, it was resolved by the Kaiapoi people that the eight chiefs then in the pa, among whom were Te Pehi, Pokaitara, and Te Ara Tangata, should be put to death. One of them, Pokaitara, was invited to the house of one of the chiefs named Rongotara, whose daughter had fallen into his possession at Omihī, and as he stooped to enter the old chief took hold of his mat, saying, "Welcome, welcome, my daughter's lord," at the same time killing him with a blow on the head with a stone club. This was the signal for a general massacre. Rauparaha was too wary, however, to be found in such a defenceless position, and gathering his forces together, withdrew to Omihī, when after killing and eating all their prisoners, the taua went to the Waiau and crossed over to Kapiti.

Such was the story as told by Ngatitoa, but the Kaiapoi people gave a different version to the development of the feud. In the simple language in which the petition of the natives of Kaiapoi to the House of Representatives in 1869 is couched, they say that when Rauparaha came to Kaiapoi after the killing of the people at Kaikoura and Omihī, "the old chiefs of Kaiapoi wished to make peace, and sent Tamaiharanui to see Rauparaha. On their meeting they made peace, and the talk of Tamaiharanui and Te Pehi was good. After Tamaiharanui had started to come back, Rauparaha went to another pa of ours, called Tuahiwi, and there sought for the grandmother of Tamaiharanui. They dug up her body and ate it, all decomposed as it was. Tamaiharanui was greatly distressed, and threatened to kill the war party of Te Rauparaha. Then his elder relatives, the great chiefs of Kaiapoi, said to him, 'O son, do not, lest further evil follow in your footsteps.' He replied, 'It would

not have mattered had I been away when this decomposed body was eaten, but as it is, it has taken place in my very presence.' Well, as the chief gave the word, Te Pehi, a great chief of Ngatitoo, and others were killed. Then Rauparaha went away."

Accepting either version as the reader chooses, the main fact comes out clear. Te Pehi was killed soon after his return from England by Ngaitahu in the provincial district of Canterbury.

Matters could not be expected to end here. A blood debt had been created, and an atonement had to be obtained. Ngatitoo, at Kapiti, brooded over a means for revenge, which was to be signal and complete. Some few months after the death of Te Pehi a vessel came from Sydney, bringing some natives to their home, among whom was a brother of Rauparaha. In Foveaux Strait the natives learned the details of the calamity which had befallen the tribe in the loss of one of their most famous men, and the captain of the vessel, seeing their sorrow, "proposed that if they would engage to load his vessel on their arrival at Kapiti with flax and pigs, he would convey them to Akaroa where Tamaiharanui lived to avenge the death of their relatives. The natives who were on board willingly consented to the proposal, and it was arranged that after the vessel had been to the Auckland Islands to land a party of sealers," the design should be carried out. But, on the arrangement becoming known to some passengers who were on board, they compelled the captain to abandon his intention, "and the vessel subsequently sailed for Wellington without any attempt being made to carry out the project." But the idea put into the heads of the natives found lodgment there, and if one captain would not do what was wanted another would. In this case, as in many others, "the means to do ill deeds made ill deeds done," and so it came to pass that a man named Stewart, captain of the brig Elizabeth, was at hand, and willing to carry out the plan of kidnapping Tamaiharanui by charter.

What follows has been told by many, but each has a different story to narrate, although there appears little doubt but what the truth can be gathered by careful analysis. "Takou" is a corruption of "Otakou," the form in which "Otago" was formerly spelt. From a semi-official report drawn up by the Rev. Mr. Marsden for the information of the Governor of New South Wales the main outlines of the story can be gleaned. Of the many varying

versions put before the public, that given by Mr. Marsden seems most worthy of credence, when its wild offshoots are pruned and the spelling modernised.

"Parramatta, 18th April, 1831. May it please your Excellency,—The following is a statement given by Ahu, the youngest brother of the chief Tamaiharanui, of the murders committed at Akaroa by the natives of Kapiti and the Europeans belonging to the brig Elizabeth:—

"Kapiti is a native settlement situated on the west side of New Zealand, not far from Mount Egmont, at or near Cook Strait. The name of the chief is Rauparaha. At this settlement there is a good harbour for ships. Takou is another native settlement, situated on the Middle Island, and the south side of the strait. The name of the chief of Takou was Tamaiharanui. Some years ago a chief belonging to Kapiti, named Te Pehi, went on board the ship *Urania* that was on the coast, and would not leave her, he was so anxious to see England. On his way to Europe he visited South America, and was both at Lima and Rio Janeiro in a Liverpool vessel, which landed him at Liverpool, where he met with very many friends. He visited all the principal towns in England, and also the city of London. He returned to New South Wales in the same ship that our present postmaster [Mr. Raymond] came out in, and gave me an account of his travels. He brought with him considerable property. After some time he returned to Kapiti to his friends. He was not long at Kapiti before he crossed the straits and landed on the Middle Island, and visited Takou. On his third visit to Takou he was killed by the natives there, in consequence of some difference between the chiefs of Kapiti and the people of Takou. After his death, his brother came to Parramatta, and informed me that Te Pehi had been killed at Takou. Not long after four of the chiefs came to Parramatta from Kapiti. I introduced them to your Excellency at Parramatta. They were invited into the drawing-room. Mrs. Darling and the children came in to see them. They sat down upon the carpet, and Mrs. Darling directed the servant to bring in a sweet cake, which was given to them. The head chief, Rauparaha, was one of them.

"Since Te Pehi, their friend and relation, was killed, the natives of Kapiti have been anxious to obtain satisfaction for his death, according to the custom of their country. When the Elizabeth arrived at Kapiti, the chief Rauparaha had got a quantity of flax

for sale. He offered it to Captain Stewart if he would go to Takou and apprehend Tamaiharanui, and deliver him up at Kapiti. To this Captain Stewart agreed, or Mr. Cowell, who appeared to have been an active agent in these horrid proceedings. When the above arrangements were settled, the captain of the Elizabeth sailed from Kapiti, taking with him two chiefs and about fifty men as a protection. On their arrival at Takou the vessel was anchored, and the captain went on shore in his boat. The first person he met with was a very old man, sitting on the ground, smoking his pipe. This old man was the father of Tamaiharanui (Te Wakatitiro). The captain went up to him, and spoke to him in a kind manner, and stroked his head, saying at the same time, 'Poor old man! poor old man!' He then inquired of the old man where the head chief was. He replied that he was in the flax ground with the women, who were dressing flax. The captain desired him to send a boy to call him, which he did. The captain had brought ten muskets and two casks of powder with him, which were carried up to the chief's house to put him off his guard, as the natives state. When the chief arrived the captain received him in the most friendly manner, and invited him to go on board, and promised him some muskets and powder. When the chief learned that the vessel came from Kapiti, he hesitated much, and wished to know what the captain wanted with him on board. He told him that he had plenty of muskets and powder, and that he wanted to give him some, and he had already sent ten to his house. At length the captain, by his attention and promises, prevailed with him to go into the boat. He took with him his youngest brother, Ahu who is now with me, and whom your Excellency saw with me in Sydney, and two of his daughters, young girls. Two canoes attended him on board laden with flax. When the boat came alongside, the chief had two *meres* (which are hand weapons of war always used by the New Zealanders; they are generally made of stone, sometimes of hard wood). The captain took one of the *meres* from him, and Mr. Cowell the other. When they came on deck the captain desired him to go forward to the fore-castle. The captain then took hold of the chief's hand in a friendly manner, and conducted him and his two daughters to the cabin, showed him the muskets, how they were arranged round the sides of the cabin. When all was prepared for securing the chief, the cabin door was locked, and the chief was

laid hold on, and his hands were tied fast. At the same time a hook with a cord to it, was stuck through the skin of his throat, under the side of his jaw, and the line fastened to some part of the cabin. In this state of torture he was kept for some days, until the vessel arrived at Kapiti. One of his children clung fast to her father, and cried aloud. The sailors dragged her from her father, and threw her from him. Her head struck against some hard substance, which killed her on the spot. Ahu, who had been ordered to the fore-castle, came as far as the capstan, and peeped through into the cabin, and saw his brother in the state above-mentioned. The captain told him he would not kill him, but he should be his slave, and he would take him to England with him. After the chief was secured, the boat was sent on shore, and brought off the ten muskets and the two casks of powder. The chief's wife and two of the chief's sisters came with her in the boat, not knowing what had happened to Tamaiharanui. The men that came off in the two canoes when the chief came were all killed, and the women who were with them. They had one hundred baskets of flax with them, which were received on board the vessel. Several more canoes came off also with flax, and the people were all killed by the natives of Kapiti, who had been concealed on board for the purpose, and the sailors who were on deck, who fired upon them with their muskets.

"After these natives had been cut off, two white men were observed to leave the shore in a canoe with two natives. The boat, with sailors, and the canoes belonging to the natives who had been murdered, were manned with the people from Kapiti, who were ordered on shore to kill all the inhabitants they could find. They were directed to keep out of the way of the two white men who were coming to the vessel. When they arrived they went on deck, as they had brought some pigs to exchange for tea, sugar, etc. When they saw the situation of the chief they cried much. The captain wanted the natives who were on board to kill them, and told them if they did not they would go to Port Jackson and tell the Governor, and he would send and kill them. But the natives said they would not kill the white men; they did not like to kill them. These men had been with the chief of Takou some time; they had each of them a wife, and one had two children. The name of one of them was 'Jem,' and the other 'Charley.' They were both brought to

Sydney in the *Elizabeth*, but returned to Takou the first opportunity. The evidence of these Europeans, if it could be got, would be very material.

"Ahu reports that the parties who went on shore murdered many of the natives; the poor old man was also killed. None escaped but

two sisters. When they arrived they were killed, and their bodies dressed on shore and sent on board in baskets.

"Signed, SAMUEL MARSDEN."

Mr. Joseph Barrow Montefiore, who was in New Zealand in 1830, gave evidence on this matter before a Committee of the House



Ijiko, son of Te Pehi.

those who fled into the wood. Mr. Cowell told Ware that he shot five persons. The bodies of those who were killed on shore were dressed, and taken on board to eat. When they had got all the flax on board, the vessel sailed for Kapiti, with the chief, his wife, and

of Commons, and having had personal intercourse with Captain Stewart and Tamaiharanui, is a credible witness as to what he saw and may have heard from the imprisoned chief, who slept in the next room to him on board the brig for several nights; but the

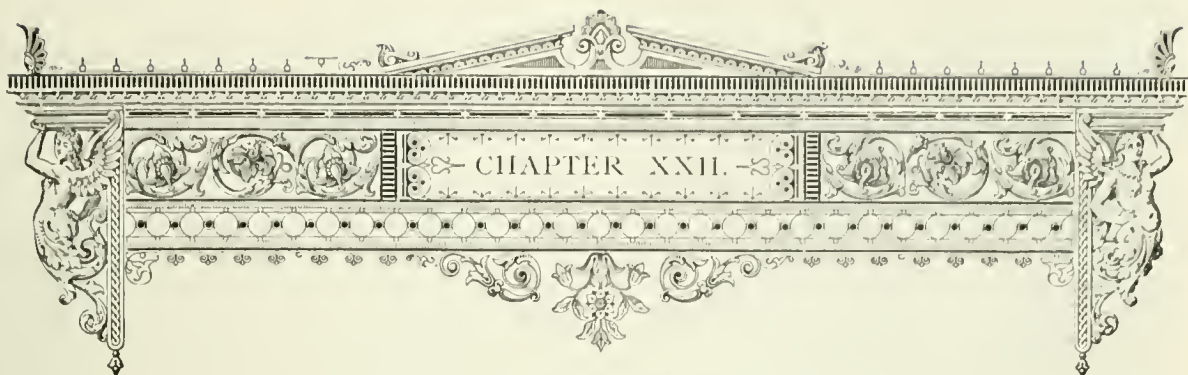
statement he repeats of what Captain Stewart told him must be received with great caution. Mr. Montefiore, it may be said, returned to Sydney, from whence he came in the brig in which the tragedy was mainly enacted. From him we learn that the Elizabeth was "regularly armed, carrying eight guns besides two swivels on her taffrail, and well found in every description of small arms." The witness came to New Zealand in a vessel he had chartered for the purpose of "making a tour of the islands of New Zealand, and to visit every place he possibly could for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the character, as well as the habits and disposition of the natives," as he had an idea of "forming extensive mercantile establishments" here. But "after visiting one or two places," he "met the Elizabeth at Kapiti, and having heard the details of the massacre, he was deterred from proceeding further in consequence of expecting that the whites would be slaughtered." "The brig," he says, "which I had chartered then went round the island, but I would not go myself, and was obliged to take refuge in this very ship where this great chief *i.e.*, Tamaiharanui was in irons." With this explanation we may hear what Mr. Montefiore has to say. He writes: "He, the chief, is kept by the captain as a hostage until the charter party is fully arranged. Te Hiko and Rauparaha had dispatched about 2,000 slaves to make flax, and in six weeks from the date of his arrival she is to be filled as per agreement. Fifty tons of flax, valued at £1,200, was the price promised to be paid for the charter. I expostulated with the captain on his conduct; he said he saw the folly of it, but having gone so far he must keep him. I begged him to take him *i.e.*, the chief up to Sydney. In four or five weeks afterwards, no flax coming in, the natives not having fulfilled their charter, I was anxious to get up to Sydney. I told him I was quite certain he would not get his flax. He set sail, but gave up the chief Tamaiharanui into the hands of his enemies. He was given up, and I went on shore and saw the whole process of his intended sacrifice.

I did not see the man killed, but I know he was killed during the night, and the following morning the widow of the great chief Te Pehi, who had been killed, had his entrails as a necklace about her neck, and his heart was cut into several pieces to be sent to different tribes, allies of Rauparaha."

The story which is told that a hook was fastened under the chin of the captured man and that he was kept in that state for two or three days on board the brig Mr. Montefiore contradicts most emphatically, saying "the story is bad enough without aggravation. I saw the chief; he was as fine a man as ever I saw in my life; had there been any appearance of the hook alluded to it could not have escaped my notice. He was cruelly confined enough, for his legs were in a state of mortification from the irons the captain had put on them."

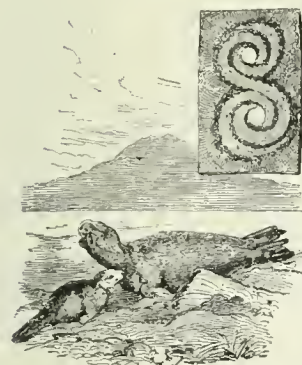
Taylor said that when Tamaiharanui had been captured, "Te Hiko, the son of Te Pehi, entered the cabin and stared fixedly at Tamaiharanui for nearly half an hour without saying a word; he then approached and drew back the upper lip of the captive chief and said, 'Those are the teeth which ate my father.'" After the warfare on shore had ceased and the pa had been taken, five hundred baskets of human flesh, Taylor adds, "were brought on board, which the captain professed to believe was only pork, and some say that much of it was cooked in the ship's coppers." Shortland says the daughter of Tamaiharanui, called Roimata the tears, jumped overboard when near the Heads at her father's command, seeking to escape the fate of a slave, and was drowned. The Elizabeth arrived in Sydney on 14th January, 1831, with thirty tons of flax on board.

Proceedings were taken in Sydney to punish Stewart, but as the chief witnesses were sent out of the country, the malefactor escaped, and met his death by being washed overboard when going round Cape Horn. In the instructions given to Mr. Busby, when appointed British resident in New Zealand, the causes of the failure of justice were made plain.



SEALING AND ADVENTURE.

Sealers from the Sydney Cove killed and eaten—The story of James Caddell—Discovery of the Auckland Islands—Mode of conducting sealing—The story of John Marmon—First trade with the Morioris—The brig Commerce at Mercury Bay—Curious story of a sailor named Stewart—A New Zealand Enoch Arden—Relations between sealers and the natives—Discovery of Campbell Island—Discovery of Macquarie Island—Abundance of seals there: a catch of eighty thousand—Four years spent on Solander Island—An extraordinary story of suffering—Another sealing party four years on an uninhabited island: their mode of life—The fate of the Betsey: a melancholy story of the sea—Records of severe earthquakes—Decrease of seals owing to ruthless destruction—Heartless abandonment of four seamen at the Snares—Attack by natives on the sealer Sophia—Cruel treatment of escaped convicts on sealing ships—List of sealers trading from Port Jackson in 1824—Decline of the sealing trade—Settlement of Europeans in southern New Zealand—Influence of alliances formed with Maori women.



SOME time during the year 1806 a sailing vessel called the Sydney Cove left Port Jackson for the sealing ground on the New Zealand coast. On arriving in the vicinity of the South Cape a boat landed a gang of men to pursue their calling. All the gang were killed and eaten, soon after landing, save a lad named James Caddell, who escaped a similar fate by running up to a chief named Tako and catching hold of his garment. The chief being *tapu* at the time, the life of the lad could not be taken. He subsequently married the daughter of Tako, and became tattooed. He visited Sydney in 1823, and told his story to the *Gazette*. He returned, Polack says, from Port Jackson to New Zealand with renewed pleasure. He had nearly forgotten the English language. By the South Cape was meant the southern part of Stewart Island,

the insular character of which was not known until some years after the date when the sealer Sydney Cove called there.

In August of the same year, Captain Abraham Bristow, in the ship *Ocean*, belonging to Mr. Samuel Enderby, discovered the Auckland Islands, while engaged in whaling. He again visited them in 1807, in the ship *Sarah*, and formally took possession for the Crown, landing some pigs while so doing. These islands speedily became the resort of sealers, who congregated there for many years. The group consists of one large and several smaller islands divided by narrow channels. The largest island is about thirty miles long and fifteen miles broad. Ross, who was there in 1840, writes: "By the side of a small stream of water, and on the only clear spot we could find, the ruins of a small hut were discovered, which I have since learned formed for several years the wretched habitation of a deserter from an English whale ship and a New Zealand woman." The Admiralty published a plan of the island in 1823, from information supplied by Captain Bristow.

About this time sealing came to be re-

cognised as a lucrative industry, though the sealing trade was at its zenith of prosperity in Sydney between the years 1810 and 1820. A fair idea of the way in which it was conducted, and of the kind of men the sealers were in those days, can be gathered from the "Adventures of John Marmon," published in the *Auckland Star* in the year 1881. Marmon, it must be understood, was born in Sydney in 1798, and was sent to sea in 1807 in the brig *Commerce*, belonging to Port Jackson, which carried Te Pahi to Sydney on his voyage to discover what had become of Bruce and his daughter. The *Commerce* was sent to the Auckland Islands, with some thirty persons on board, to fill up with seal skins or other articles of profit. She left Sydney on 6th November, 1807, and performed what to us now can only appear an extraordinary voyage, considering her destination.

The first land sighted was the North Cape, the twelfth day out; the Chatham Islands on the twenty-second day, Bounty Island on the thirty-first, and on the forty-fourth day, with a fair wind, they ran for their destination. The narrative says: "We arrived at the Auckland Islands about the 20th December, in mid-summer, when the flush of beauty was on all nature. But we were not alone. Two sealing gangs were on the ground before us, and as they appeared to consider Enderby Island, where the seals mostly congregated, their exclusive property, there seemed likely to be opposition to the landing of our party. It was necessary to resort to stratagem to effect our object, and, as all is fair in love and war, Captain Ceronci betook himself to the following means. Accompanied by a single sailor, he went ashore and represented his mission to be, not sealing, but search after a missing vessel, the *Fanny Morris*, Captain Adams, that had been out from Sydney now eight months, at the same time inviting the gangs to accompany him aboard and get grog. Their suspicions allayed, the men consented to do so, and no sooner were they comfortably settled down for a jolly good carouse, with some of our sailors told off for the purpose and instructed to ply them with drugged rum, than down went our boats, and our sealing party started for shore. The landing was managed, however undignified a part we may have played in it, but the devil looks after his own. In this transaction I was completely nowhere. Not putting much faith in the diplomatic capacity of ten years' experience of the world, the skipper had ordered me to be locked in his cabin lest I

should be 'pumped' as to our mission by some of the strangers. So I was perforce content to listen to the revelry within and bustle without, biting my nails with vexation that I had not seen the world ten years before I did.

" 'A fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind,' Cavanagh* used to teach us, and I felt kindly to the poor beggars, when, with haggard looks and bloodshot eyes, they staggered on deck the next morning to learn the trick that had been played on them. I felt inclined to re-echo their deep curses and respond to their threats of vengeance, but if they could wreak them at will, I had no opportunity to do so, so of necessity was quiet."

After waiting a few weeks in their anchorage to establish more friendly relations between the rival sealing gangs, in which they succeeded, the *Commerce* set sail, and after sighting the Trapps, bore up for the Chatham Islands, where they cast anchor and proceeded to trade for seal skins. This, it may be noted, was the earliest trading transaction of the Europeans with the Moriori of which we have any record. After purchasing three hundred skins the ship proceeded to Mercury Bay, where the chronicler stood, he said, upon the spot on which Cook had stood little more than a quarter of a century previous.

Mercury Bay natives in those days bore, according to Marmon, an evil reputation, evincing a love for Europeans when baked, and Ceronci only allowed his crew to go ashore in parties heavily armed and able to defend themselves. The natives, however, were anxious to trade their kumara, taro, and mats for muskets and iron. All the traders were, as a matter of course, covered with red ochre, and the utmost vigilance was necessary to prevent the Europeans from infringing the unwritten and almost unknown law of Maoridom.

The party on shore from the *Commerce* had a Chatham Islander with them, who, having resided for some time at the Bay of Islands, was able to act as an interpreter between the natives and Europeans. He too rendered the party some service, as they had violated the law of *tupu*, all unconsciously, while on shore, and only succeeded by an opportune breeze in getting away before the natives had time to get on board in sufficient numbers to retard, if not to prevent their departure. The knowledge of the Moriori enabled him to predict what was going to happen. Captain Ceronci called at Te Puna on his way north, and was

* A Sydney schoolmaster on the "Rocks."

welcomed by Te Pahi, who won golden opinions from the sealer.

In 1809, Stewart Island was found to be detached from the Middle Island of New Zealand by a seaman trading out of Sydney Cove, of the same name as that which the island retains. It may interest the curious to know that in 1840 Stewart was written Stuart in official publications. The discoverer's memory will be retained as long as Thomson's "Story of New Zealand" is read. He described him by birth as a Scotch Jacobite who had seen the world and drunk Burgundy. After residing many years in New Zealand he returned to Scotland to see his forlorn wife; but she conceiving him dead had long before wedded another, and now denied his personal identity. Affected by this reception in the house of his fathers, he returned to New Zealand, took up his abode among the natives, and in 1851 died at the age of eighty-five years in a destitute state in Poverty Bay. To the day of his death Stewart wore tartan of the royal clan, and was occasionally seen sitting among the natives, passing the pipe from mouth to mouth, and relating tales of his fishing adventures, which in length and variety resembled those of Sinbad the Sailor.

Shortland, in his report of 1844 on the condition of the Southern Island natives, after stating that tribal differences had been healed, and intermarriage between the rival tribes having taken place, so that their interests became one, remarks: "In this condition were they when European sealers first began to frequent the coast. In their intercourse with these frequent disputes arose relative to women or thefts, and blood was at times shed; the Europeans adopting the native mode of obtaining satisfaction by killing the next party they met with. By degrees, however, a more friendly relation was established, for it was perceived that much benefit resulted from the intercourse with the foreigners. A small island on the north-west of Rakiura, now called Cod Fish, was given up as a residence for white people, where they built houses, and cultivated the land, assisted by native women who lived with them as their wives."

In 1810 Campbell Island was discovered by the master of the brig *Perseverance*, owned by Mr. Robert Campbell, of Sydney. The master's name was Frederick Hazelburgh. He described the island as being about thirty miles in circumference, mountainous in character, and containing several good harbours, of which those on the eastern side were the

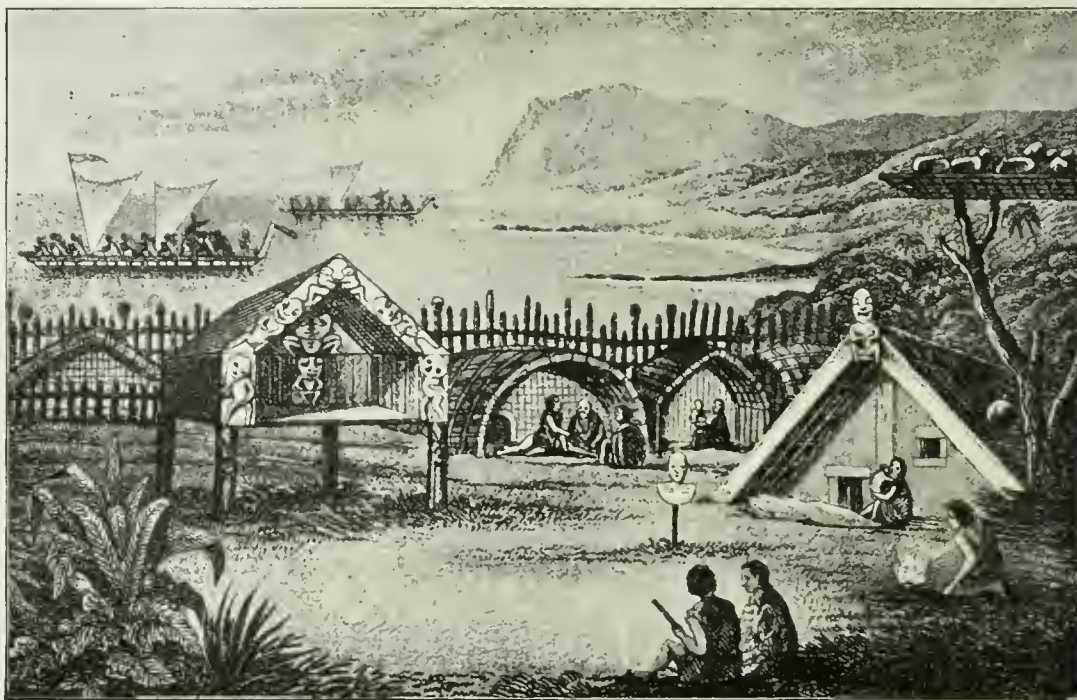
best. The most southern he called after the name of his vessel. It is situated in 52° 30' S. latitude, and 169° E. longitude. When the *Erebus* was there in 1810, close to her anchorage some huts were found on each side of a cove, as well as the graves of several seamen, who had evidently been employed on the seal fishing, and among them that of a French woman who had been accidentally drowned by the upsetting of a boat in the harbour, but the record of how she got there and lost her life in such an outlandish place is not told.

The most southerly of the outlying islands of the New Zealand Group is Macquarie, discovered in 1811, and called after the Governor of New South Wales. It is about eighteen miles long and five miles broad. It lies about six hundred miles to the south-west of New Zealand proper, though only just outside the boundaries of New Zealand waters. It is separated, Professor Scott says, from the Auckland Group and Campbell Island by very much deeper water than that which lies between them and New Zealand. There is, he says, a great valley three thousand fathoms deep between Macquarie Island and the Auckland and Campbell Islands, while the sea between them and New Zealand is not one thousand fathoms deep. It is a solitary island, but it has two outlying rocks. One called the "Bishop and Clerk" lies thirty miles to the south of the south end; the other, called the "Judge and Clerk," is seven miles to the north of the North Head. When first discovered, the sealing master, who was the discoverer, procured a cargo, it is said, of eighty thousand skins. For several years it was a busy sealing place, and gangs of men were constantly on the island, and sealing vessels standing on and off the shore, ready either to go to sea, or to receive the skins and oil that were floated out to them. The island should be well studded with graves, did it contain mementoes of those who early in the century lost their lives, in their fight for wealth from the skins and oil of the seals which frequented its shores. It was the nearest land to the great Antarctic Continent, and was thus eminently fruitful for what appeared for many years an inexhaustible sealing ground. But the success was for a few years so great, and gave such an impulse to speculation, that in a few years the reapers exceeded the harvest, and the supply was said to be exhausted:

After the discovery of Macquarie Island and the impetus the seals found there gave

the sealing trade, the colder latitudes were ransacked for fresh sealing ground. Thus in March, 1812, we are told that the ship Campbell Macquarie, Captain Seddons, was to sail to the islands of Campbell and Macquarie for the relief of the gangs employed there by the house of Underwood, with the further design of endeavouring to effect new discoveries in the higher southern latitudes. Such paragraphs are common, showing how the spirit of enterprise permeated the minds of the Sydney merchants. When the Campbell Macquarie arrived at Campbell Island, of the six men left there by the Mary and Sally,

were subjected to hard treatment and exposure while engaged in their calling. Those who used to form a kind of larder from the General Gates have been already mentioned; but those were exceptional, not ordinary cases. Of the latter kind a few illustrations may be given. For instance, the brig Perseverance upon the 12th of May, 1813, made Solander Island, and there found five men, some of whom had been there four and a-half years, and the others nearly three years. Among them was a native of New South Wales, who had lived in habits of perfect amity and good understanding with his unfortunate com-



From a sketch by Polack, in 1830.

Interior of a Kainga in the North Island

only one was found alive, and when she reached Macquarie Island, four Lascars and an European she intended to remove, left there also by the Mary and Sally, had also died. It is characteristic of our race that they speak of Indians and Lascars as such, without seeking to individualise them, while the names of most Englishmen who die are sought to be embalmed in record. Thus the man who died at Macquarie, we are told, was Thomas McGowen.

Some of the adventurers in the southern portions of the Middle and Stewart's Islands

panions. They were clothed in seal skins, of which their bedding was also composed, and their food had been entirely made up from the flesh of the seal, with a few fish occasionally caught and a few seabirds that now and then frequented the island. The birds they salted for a winter stock. The catching of fish was very precarious, and the flesh of seals they entirely lived on during the summer season. They had attempted to raise cabbage and potatoes, of which plants one of them happened to have some of the seed when unhappily driven upon the island; but their

first and every subsequent experiment failed, owing to the spray of the sea in gales of wind washing over the whole island, which rendered culture of any kind impracticable.

The main island is nearly one mile in length, and rises almost perpendicularly from the sea, while adjoining it is a smaller islet which lies about one mile to the westward. They had long endured calamity, but had until the last few months prior to their relief entertained some hope of succour which, from a length of disappointment, had gradually merged into a state of hopelessness; and but a few days before the *Perseverance* went thither they had by general concurrence agreed to contribute as much as possible to each other's comforts, as no expectation of relief was any longer, they considered, to be encouraged or indulged.

The island upon which it was their misfortune to be cast was about five miles in circumference, very difficult of access on account of the high surfs and almost perpendicular rocks abutting on the sea, and of so forbidding an appearance as to any possibility of effecting a landing as not to incline shipping of any kind to touch there, though the castaways had seen several vessels at a distance while imprisoned on the island.

The person who narrated the isolation of the party, wrote:—"After leaving this inhospitable shore with the poor creatures who had so long inhabited it, the *Perseverance* shaped her course for New Zealand, and anchored at the mouth of the harbour of Port William.* A party endeavoured to penetrate the country, but this was impracticable to any great distance, owing to the woods and thickets, the latter of which were impenetrable, and in fact, the whole surface of the earth in that part is reported to be entirely covered over with woods and thickets, which extend to the edge of the sea."

Later in the same year, just before Christmas, we are told "that there arrived from a sealing voyage, after a sixteen months' absence from Port Jackson, the colonial schooner Governor Bligh, Mr. Grono, master, with fourteen thousand seal skins, and about three tons of elephant oil. She brings from the west coast of New Zealand a gang of men, consisting of ten persons, left by the brig *Active*, Captain Bader, so long ago as the 16th of February, 1809, in charge of Mr. David Louriaston. The *Active* went from Sydney on the 11th of December, 1808, and having landed her people on an island about

a mile and a-half from the main of New Zealand, sailed again for Port Jackson, but doubtless perished by the way, and has never since been heard of. The people who were left as described were reduced to the necessity of living for nearly four years upon the seal, when in season, and at other times upon a species of fern, part of which they roasted or boiled, and other parts they were obliged to eat undressed, owing to a nausea it imbibed from any culinary process.

"They were left upon the island with a very scanty allowance of provisions, and the vessel was to come to Port Jackson for a further supply. They had a whaleboat, and their only edged implements consisted of an axe and a cooper's drawing knife. In a short time they procured eleven thousand skins, part of which Mr. Grono conveyed to Sydney. In hopes of finding upon the mainland some succour which the small island did not afford, they went thither, but were nearly lost by the way, as some of the lower streaks of the boat were near falling out, owing, as was imagined, to the nails being of cast iron. On their safe arrival, however, they found an old boat on a beach, which, it subsequently appeared, had been left there by Mr. Grono on a former voyage. With the aid of this additional boat, when both were repaired, they projected an excursion to some of the more frequented sealing places, and were on the point of setting out, when a tremendous hurricane in one night destroyed the boats and put an end to their hope of relief. The only nutritive the place afforded was a species the fern root, resembling a yam when cut, and possessing some of the properties of the cassava. This they could only procure at a distance of six or seven miles from their hut, which was near the sea side, and had it been plentiful would have been a desirable substitute for better diet; but it was unfortunately so sparingly scattered among other shrubs as to be found with difficulty, and they solemnly affirmed that they have for a week at a time had neither this food nor any other whatever. With the assistance of a canoe made up of seal skins, a party visited their former island, and found their stacks of seal skins much injured by the weather, but did all they could for their preservation. This was their seal depôt, and out of the usual season they now and then found a solitary straggler, in some instances when they were so reduced by famine as to be scarcely capable of securing those that Providence threw in their way.

"With their axe, adze, and drawing knife,

* Port William, northern part of Stewart Island.

they afterwards built a small boat, but with intense labour, as without a saw they could only cut one board out of each tree; the hoops upon their provision casks were beaten into nails, and by the same patient and laborious process they at length projected the building of a small vessel, and had provided eighty half-inch boards for the purpose, all cut in the way described. The fortunate accident of Mr. Grono's touching there, however, preserved them from further suffering and peril."

The *Betsy* sailed from Port Jackson on a sealing voyage to Macquarie Island 28th December, 1814. Her crew consisted of twenty-seven Europeans and six Asiatics, under the command of Mr. Phillip Goodenough. She was owned by the house of Underwood, of Sydney. She arrived at Macquarie on the 13th of February, 1815, and there landed thirteen Europeans, when she proceeded to the Auckland Islands and remained there pursuing the purpose of her voyage until she sought to return to Macquarie Island in August. During her stay at the Auckland Islands she lost one European (Thomas Wilman) and a Lascar from scurvy. The captain sought in vain to make Macquarie Island, and after beating about for three weeks bore up for Port Jackson. In this he also was unsuccessful from the setting in of heavy gales from the north-west, and was compelled to run for New Zealand. The allowance of water was now reduced to three half pints a day, the greater part of which they were obliged, from the want of bread, to mix with flour. They had a stock of salt pork on board, but could not use it owing to the scarcity of water. On the 18th September the ship's rudder was carried away, and an attempt was made to steer with a cable, which proving too laborious for the few hands that were able to work, a rudder was constructed, which also was carried away on the 26th September, when to steer with a cable became their only resource. The master and eight Europeans were now laid down with scurvy, while the Lascars were found of little service in working the ship. The Europeans fit for work were only four, when the allowance of water was reduced to a pint a day and the flour to six pounds per man per week, the sick, however, only being allowed four pounds. As the flour and water was the sole aliment on the ship, the few who were capable of working became too exhausted to continue labour during the night, and at sunset the vessel was allowed to drift whither the winds or currents took her.

On the night of 28th September Lorenzo (a Portuguese) died, and two days afterwards Thomas Wilson. On Thursday, the 5th of October, John Moffat, the first mate, died, and on Sunday one Cordova, another Portuguese, when the ship was in sight of Cook Strait. The water was now reduced to half a pint a day, and the hope of getting ashore elated the people for a short time; but the ship was again blown off from the land. On the 23rd October, having a good offing, and well to the northward of the Bay of Islands, the crew able to work endeavoured to run the vessel in, but a sudden squall coming on the mainbrace and topsail sheet gave way, when the topsail was blown to shreds, and the jib and foresail were rent to pieces. The vessel in consequence drifted again off the land. There was not sufficient strength left to repair the damage, and the vessel in consequence drifted to and fro for several days. On the 28th October the water cask was dry, and the boats became the last hope of the people. Having with much exertion got a whale and jolly boat watertight, the survivors left the ship twenty miles at sea on the morning of the 29th October, having previously committed the body of the third officer, William Grubb, to the deep. Four helpless men were put into the jolly boat to be towed ashore by the whaleboat, in which were the master, Thomas Rogers, Thomas Hunt, and five Lascars. After rowing for upwards of an hour and a half without making any sensible headway, the jolly boat was cut adrift, and its inmates left to their fate. The whaleboat now unincumbered made way perceptibly, and after twelve hours' labour she reached the coast of New Zealand. The persons who were left to perish in the jolly boat were John Tyre, John Gable, William Davis, and Frederick Holstein. A few days after reaching the shore Mr. Goodenough died, and the survivors learned that the vessel had gone ashore on a distant part of the same coast and gone to pieces.

As to the abandonment of the men in the jolly boat, the survivors said that it was an act necessary for the preservation of their own lives, otherwise all must have perished. After the determination to leave the sick had been come to, the jolly boat was drawn alongside, and a bag of flour taken out of it, with a Lascar who had been put in to bale her out, as she leaked very fast, and that with the exception of one of the men requesting to have his jacket as he felt cold, no conversation passed when they were abandoned. The boat could not have floated more than two hours

from her leaky condition. Out of the nineteen persons who were in the vessel eight got on shore alive, viz., the master, Mr. Goodenough, Thomas Rogers, Thomas Hunt, and five Lascars, one of whom died shortly after landing, as did Mr. Goodenough on the 1st of November. They were all stripped by the natives on landing; their remnant of flour, about 50lbs., was taken from them, and a few potatoes given them instead. The two Europeans were separated from the Lascars, and taken away at dusk in a canoe for the purpose, as they were made to understand, of being eaten.

After proceeding about a mile and a-half they saw a large fire, near where they were landed and received by a concourse of natives, who obliged them to carry a basket of potatoes towards another group of men and women, among whom were the four Lascars, who upon being questioned as to the treatment they were likely to receive, told them it had been resolved to eat them both. They were also, the same night, on the 2nd of November, placed in a hut, and next morning taken further along the coast, sinking with fatigue, long fasting, and uncertainty. After some days they were given to understand their lives would be spared them, but they were the property of their first captors. Fern root and dried fish were the only diet the place gave, and the supply was scant. On the 9th of November a ship came in sight, but did not approach the land. On the 11th they saw a brig coasting the shore, which the chiefs told them they could board if they could reach her. They made an attempt to do so by repairing an old canoe, but failed. On the 29th of January, 1816, they left the place where they had been for some time, the name of which they said was Murimotu, on the north-east part of the North Cape, and went to Ringatau, thirty-five miles to the north-west, but where their condition became worse, and they returned to Murimotu. On the 23rd of February the brig *Active* took them off, when the four Lascars were left with the Mission settlers at the Bay of Islands.

On the 28th May following there arrived in Sydney from Macquarie Island the *Elizabeth* and *Mary*, belonging to Mr. Underwood, with a cargo of oil and the portion of the crew of the ill-fated *Betsy* that had been left there in the early part of 1815. She also brought up a gang left on the island by a former vessel not in the same employ, whose situation had become deplorable from the want of provisions, their entire stock having been expended in

October, since which date they had lived on such aid as could be afforded by the gang of the *Betsy*. Those arrived in the *Elizabeth* and *Mary* gave a most distressing account of the dangers they experienced from innumerable earthquakes which visited the island from the 31st October to the period of their leaving the island, which was on the 5th of May.

A journal kept by those resident on the island states the first shock to have taken place on the 31st October, at 1 p.m., which overthrew rocks, and gave to the ground the motion of a wave for several seconds. Men were thrown from their legs, and one was hurt by his fall seriously. At 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. others were felt, and during the night there was a constant succession of earth tremors, all of which were accompanied by rumblings in the earth. They continued at intervals until the 9th or 10th November, but the first shock was the heaviest. The sealers on the west coast of the Middle Island of New Zealand reported earthquakes the same year.

The seals in 1815 had sadly fallen off on the Macquarie Islands. Only five or six thousand skins were the year's produce, while one hundred thousand had been the first season's catch. The females and pups were slaughtered indiscriminately, so that the means of increase were almost annihilated. The prospect of increase from repose and the security it would beget was precluded by the ravages committed on the younger seal by the large number of wild dogs bred from those unthinkingly left on the island by the first sealing gangs employed upon it. The birds, which were numerous, and which were found capable of sustaining a number of men without any other provision, disappeared from the same cause. Their nests, which were mostly in accessible positions, had been despoiled of their young and the older birds themselves surprised and devoured by wild dogs. It was from these concurring causes that the sealing gangs on Macquarie Island became so destitute for lack of provision.

In May, 1817, Captain Coffin, of the American ship *Enterprise*, met with three men on one of the small islands called the Snares, who had some years previously been left there by the *Adventure*, schooner, Captain Keith, of London. As represented by them to Captain Coffin, the *Adventure* had been sealing among the islands, and falling short of provisions, the captain submitted to their choice whether they would go on shore or starve afloat, stating it to be impossible for the provisions to hold out for the whole of the



Sealers at Half Moon Bay, Stewart Island.

crew. The men said they went ashore much against their will, taking a few potatoes only with them, which they planted, and had lived on the produce, with the birds and seals that fell in their way, ever since. Their number was originally four, but one had died, and all had the same dreary prospect before them. These men had written discharges from the captain of the *Adventure*, and surprise was expressed that the vessel did not call at either of the Tasmanian settlements and return for the abandoned men.

On the 12th of November, 1817, Mr. James Kelly, the master of the *Sophia*, sailed from Hobart Town on a sealing voyage, and anchored at a place called "Port Daniel"* on the south-east side of the southern portion of New Zealand, as it was then described, on the 11th of December of the same year. The master, Mr. Kelly, went on shore the same day, and met with a friendly reception from the natives, which was attributed to the knowledge the latter had of one of the crew named W. Tucker, who had been well treated by them, and engaged their apparent friendship in former visits, and who was called by them Wiori.

On the following day Mr. Kelly with his boat manned with six men, among them Tucker, went to Small Bay, outside of the harbour's mouth, and distant from the vessel about two miles. The natives here also received them kindly, and to whom Tucker appeared equally well known, being challenged generally by the name of Wiori. Mr. Kelly made the chief of this village a small present of iron, and proceeded to his dwelling to barter for potatoes, leaving one man to look after the boat. On reaching the house of the chief Mr. Kelly was saluted by a Lascar who told him that he had been left there by the brig *Matilda*, Captain Fowler. Mr. Kelly inquired after the boat's crew that were said to have been lost previously near Port Daniel, and learned that Brown, who had charge of the boat, with six men, had been killed and eaten by the natives. The Lascar then offered his services in bartering for potatoes for the vessel, and appeared familiar with the native tongue.

By this time a number of natives had assembled in the village, about sixty of whom were in the yard of the chief's house, where the boat's crew were standing. In an instant a great shout was made, when Mr. Kelly,

John Griffiths, and Voto Violo were thrown down by the mob. Tucker, with the remaining two, Dutton and Wallon, were also seized, but got out of the mob and into the boat, where they found the man Robinson, who had charge, reeling on the beach from a wound in the head. Thinking it impossible that any of the rest could escape, they immediately launched the boat. In the meantime Mr. Kelly, however, was engaged in a contest with the natives, and luckily having about him a new bill-hook, he effected his escape, being only speared through the left hand, after wounding his principal opponent on the head.

In escaping from the yard Mr. Kelly saw Violo lying on the ground, but did not see Griffiths any more. When Mr. Kelly reached the beach Tucker was still on it, while Wallon, Robinson, and Dutton were in the boat backing her out of the surf. Mr. Kelly made the boat and was dragged by her through the surf, calling on Tucker to follow, who would not do so until too late. A number of savages immediately rushed on the beach armed with spears and hatchets. Tucker kept calling on them not to hurt Wiori, but, regardless of his entreaties, he was first speared in the right thigh by the man Mr. Kelly had wounded on the head, and who was then covered with blood, and immediately knocked down in the surf, where Mr. Kelly and his three men in the boat saw the unhappy Wiori cut limb from limb, and carried away by the savages, having only time to utter, "Captain Kelly, for God's sake don't leave me."

When Mr. Kelly returned to his vessel he found on board a number of natives of the village which they had first visited on the previous day. These, however, Captain Kelly sent on shore, and without further intercourse proceeded on his voyage. Captain Kelly regretted having listened to the persuasion of Tucker and the wish of the other men to go on shore without firearms, to which the loss was attributed, but the captain had reason to believe that these people were impelled to revenge by the recollection of two or more of their people having been shot by Europeans.

Some of the sealing masters were great ruffians, and the world was little the worse for their being eaten by the Maori. They inveigled or smuggled convicts on board their vessels, and then condemned them to a more bitter servitude than they had escaped from. When the *Dromedary* was at the Bay of Islands information was received that the

* Port Daniel, probably in Foveaux Strait. The *Sophia* was the first ship commanded by Mr. Kelly, and was owned by a Mr. Birch. In 1819 Kelly received the appointment of harbour-master and pilot for the Derwent.

master of the American ship *General Gates*, Captain Riggs, had several persons of that class on board his vessel. On examination it was found that eleven of his crew were escapees. Eight were brought back: an officer of the 84th Regiment was left to secure one that had been sent on shore, and Captain Riggs confessed that the remaining two had been put upon the island of St. Paul with some of the Americans to kill seals, and to be picked up at a future date. The escapees were squalid and miserable in the extreme; they had been most cruelly treated, and some of them had been flogged with barbarous severity.

In January, 1823, Captain Grono, of the brig *Elizabeth*, came into Port Jackson from the west coast of the Middle Island of New Zealand with 1,500 seal skins. He brought with him seven men—five Europeans, one American, and one New Zealander—who came off in a boat to his vessel while on the sealing ground, and told the person in charge, Captain Grono himself being absent, that their boat and their party belonged to the American sealer the *General Gates*, Captain Abimilech Riggs; that the natives were very hostile to the crews of trading vessels, and to the sealing gangs in the vicinity; and that a party of natives had lately killed four of their gang. The American above mentioned was the chief officer of the *General Gates*, called Burnham. When Captain Grono heard the story he went on shore to the camp of the gang with a boat's crew, and took the party prisoners under the idea that they were runaway convicts. One only of the seven proved such, and the others were free men. Captain Grono barely escaped censure for his meddling.

On the 27th July, 1824, the *Samuel*, Captain John Dawson, came to anchor in Cook Strait, having been carried there by contrary winds. The crew were employed for a day or two in procuring wood and water, and were on the most friendly terms with the natives. On the 31st of the month the master, Mr. John Dawson, and five seamen, named John Clurty, George Tewly, John Harris, John McLaughlin, and another whose name is not given, went on shore unsuspectingly and unarmed, no previous misunderstanding having arisen. They had scarcely touched the shore when the natives rushed upon them and despatched them with their clubs. The remainder of the crew weighed anchor and proceeded to Port Jackson.

In 1824 the following vessels were employed in sealing out of Sydney, chiefly on the coast

of New Zealand and its adjacent islands:—The *Wellington*, *Elizabeth*, and *Perseverance*, belonging to Mr. Joseph Underwood; the *Belinda*, the property of Messrs. Berry and Woolstonecraft; *Elizabeth*, belonging to Messrs. Levy and Grono; *Samuel*, owned by Mr. Jones, of London; *Sally*, the property of Mr. Thomas Street, and another *Sally* belonging to a Mr. Hervell; the *Glory*, owned by Mr. Griffiths; and a vessel whose name has not survived, the property of Captain Watson, of the *Aquila*.

The seal trade at this period was computed at about seventy or eighty thousand skins a year, of which the above-mentioned ten vessels brought to Port Jackson from forty to fifty thousand, while the vessels on their way to England conveyed thither the remainder of the take. The sea elephant oil was also assessed at three hundred and fifty tuns per annum. A seal skin in Sydney was worth about fifteen shillings.

The best sealing days of New Zealand at this date may be said to have passed, as we are told on good authority that the south-west portions of the coast had been so hunted by sealers who had killed off the pups and females so thoroughly for the sake of eating them, that the seal promised to soon become extinct.

The prediction proved comparatively true, as on the 27th of January, 1826, there arrived in Sydney Cove the brig *Queen Charlotte*, that had spent six months in a cruise searching for new sealing ground and only brought back eight hundred and forty-nine fur skins. The captain, however, obtained from the south of New Zealand six tons of prepared flax, and communicated the intelligence that the natives of the Middle Island were becoming industrious in preparing flax for barter.

The next year we learn that sealing in Bass's Strait was virtually at an end, as the sealing gang belonging to Messrs. Cooper and Levy, after nine months' work, had only succeeded in procuring between sixty and seventy skins.

In 1830 the total export from Sydney was only some ten thousand skins, and year by year it gradually became less; though in 1831 the *Henry* came into Port Jackson with twelve thousand skins, which may be regarded as the last of the large returns.

There is evidence of the early intercourse of sealers with the Maori race in the southern portion of New Zealand in the number of half-breeds who were found there. Polack, who had evidently given the subject his attention, stated in his evidence before the committee of

the House of Lords in 1838 that on the South Island there were Europeans who had lived there for the previous thirty-five years.

The Maori woman was a very different person to the females the sealers in Bass's Straits captured from Tasmania. She founded a home for the man who had chosen her, and endowed him with a part of the influence of the tribe to which she belonged. He, in a manner, married into the tribe. Her influence procured him safety and food. He belonged to a higher civilization than she did, though too often of the lowest class. She was very often better than her companion. He was very frequently a banished man, but yet helping in his banishment to build up England's greatness.

The New Zealand sealer was better off than those who were buried, as it were, further south. It is difficult to read without emotion the scattered notices in our literature referring to those early pioneers. Sealers lie buried in all the seal islands of the Southern Seas, many of them unknown, many having a story to tell, but no story-teller. Many of them drank and used profane language, were careless about marriage rites; but in New Zealand they evangelised the women they dwelt with, and taught the men of the tribe the superiority of a boat to a canoe. They put down cannibalism, and looked askance at infanticide. They built houses with chimneys, made their women and children wear European clothing, if that were an advantage,

and eat the pork and damper on which they lived after the European fashion. Their women bore them in most all cases numerous half-castes, and who, well fed and healthy, were so fair of visage as to be a source of paternal pride. The youngsters were taught to wash their skins and comb their hair. Cleanliness in this case ran a dead heat with godliness. The mothers in such families, Wohlers writes, had better food, better clothing, better dwellings than the other women of their race who had Maori husbands, and this raised their minds to a higher level of humanity.

Many of the men were outlaws and crime hardened, without doubt, but they kept the remembrance of one day in seven as a day of rest. They taught their boys the English idea of fair play, and their daughters, while unmarried, the theory, if not the habit, of chastity. There were no women of his own race for the sealer to mate with. White women and white civilization were behind him and beyond his reach, but the woman who cooked his food and suckled his children became his life companion, and the main element in a new home he was founding in a new world. She was not his leman to be discarded when tired of, as were many in the north, but the centre of the small world beyond which he had no future. The sealer's wife needed no one to give her lessons in chastity.





THE EARLY FLAX TRADE.

Despatch of expeditions from Sydney to examine and work the New Zealand flax—Failure of the enterprise—Observations on native cultivations—Hospitable treatment of a distressed crew by the natives of Otakou Bay—A New Zealand Company formed at Sydney in 1814—Attack by natives on two Sydney vessels at Mercury Bay—Gallant and successful defence by the crews—Trial of flax fibre in Sydney—Extent of the trade between Sydney and New Zealand in 1828—New Zealand flax companies projected in England—A flax store at Maketu burned—Pakeha-Maoris and their pursuits—Difficulties encountered by early traders—Experiences of a flax trader at Rotorna—Outrage by the natives—Messrs. Montefiore's store at Mokau plundered and the trader maltreated.



VERY early in the century the Sydney merchants and emancipists entertained the idea of working the New Zealand trade, in which timber and flax were regarded as the chief constituents. The tragedy of the *Boyd*, though it may have retarded the first steps of the enterprise, did not prevent the Sydney traders from keeping, to use a New Zealand political phrase, their project steadily in view. Mr. Marsden told the Missionary Society that the merchants had put off, but not abandoned their intention, even when all the details of the massacre of 1809 had become known.

In the summer of 1809-1810 they accordingly despatched from Port Jackson a party of ten men in a vessel called the *Experiment*, under the charge of a Mr. Leith, to remain in New Zealand to collect and cultivate flax, the party to be followed by the Governor Bligh. Captain Chase, with stores and provisions.

It appears that the party was landed about the Bay of Islands district, when the *Experiment* proceeded on some other object

included in her voyage, as the flax party, not finding the Governor Bligh at her appointed place of rendezvous at the expected date, came back to Sydney in the *New Zealander*, Captain Elder. Chase finding the party sent to New Zealand by the *Experiment* had abandoned the purpose for which they had been fitted out, returned to the parent colony, going through Foveaux Strait.

Chase left Port Jackson on the 27th March, 1810, his instructions being to remain some time at the Bay of Islands in the event of the *Experiment* not arriving there before him, and to use every endeavour to induce friendly relationship with the natives.

On the 28th of April, off the east coast, he fell in with eight canoes fishing, one of which came alongside, having a native on board with whom Chase was well acquainted, who told him that a brig—which Chase had no doubt was the *Experiment*—had gone away ten days before, and on the 30th April Moehanga, who had been to England in the whaler *Ferret*, gave him a letter from Mr. Leith, of the *Experiment*, instructing him how to proceed, and giving him the course he intended to take. The result of the voyage is unknown.

On the 20th of April, 1813, Messrs. Jones

and Gordon proceeded from Sydney to New Zealand to ascertain the areas of the New Zealand flax fields, and the probability of rendering them a profitable branch of mercantile enterprise. The vessel employed by the charterers was the *Perseverance*.

The portion of the report Messrs. Jones and Gordon published of the country they had travelled over, and the opinion they entertained of the flax trade and profit, is as follows:—"We proceeded to examine the flax plant, both as to quality and quantity, and found two distinct species, one of which attains the height of six or seven feet, and seeds; the other not more than three or four feet, and never producing seed, as far as we could possibly discern. Both kinds appear very strong, but the shorter seems of the first quality. The quantity we perceived was not considerable, as it only occupied the beach side of a large lagoon, and a small quantity along a sandy beach extending along the harbour to the eastward. At the edge of the brushwood it gradually diminishes, so that at the distance of ten yards not a single root of flax is to be seen.

"The weather being excessively severe, with heavy falls of sleet and hail, commencing the beginning of May, the progress of the gentlemen engaged in the expedition was much retarded; but they, nevertheless, determined to prosecute their inquiry as far as circumstances would admit. As soon as the weather permitted they made an experiment on the flax, and found that it yielded when dressed about one-half of its own weight undressed. The necessary process, however, appears to require such very considerable manual labour that without machinery to perform the work no attempt can possibly be attended with success.

"Crossing the Foveaux Strait they discovered an excellent harbour, which they gave the name of Port Macquarie (Jacob's River), which lies about north-north-east from Port William. The boats made a landing on the largest of these islands probably Dog Island, and gave it the name of Jones, in compliment to a gentleman of the party. The natives thereabouts were very civil and obliging, and the flax grew in considerable quantities about the lagoons and marshes (probably the Awarua lagoon). After a research as far into the interior of the country in various directions as could possibly be effected, the gentlemen who conducted the party came to a resolution to proceed to Port Jackson, whither they brought many of

the best flax plants they could procure, well satisfied from the whole tenor of their observation that to render the manufacture of the flax at New Zealand productive would require an extensive capital."

The researches of Messrs. Jones and Gordon appear to have been confined entirely to the southern part of the Middle Island, while those of the party in the *Experiment* and the Governor Bligh were only made in the north. Neither, it would appear, resulted in any practical value beyond making the islands better known. But some other interesting details came out of the voyage. For instance, a young man of the name of Williams, who accompanied the *Perseverance*, and was described as a dresser and manufacturer of the flax plant, stated that the natives of that coast attend to the cultivation of the potato with as much diligence and care as he ever witnessed in other places. A field of considerably over a hundred acres presented some well cultivated beds filled with rising crops of various ages, some of which were ready for digging, while others had been but newly planted. Dried fish and potatoes proved the chief support of the natives.

The late J. T. Thompson very pertinently and truthfully says (of which we have in the voyage of the *Perseverance* an illustration): "In the old maps of Foveaux Strait (there called Favrite Strait) we recognise the presence and influence of the Sydney whalers and sealers. Thus the Waiau is named the Knowesley River; Jacob's River, Port Macquarie; the Bluff, Cape Bernandine, etc. The Bluff Harbour was not at that time known, and the New River just indicated."

There are not many favourable notices of Southern natives of this date, but one which refers to Otago certainly deserves remembrance. In 1815, a Captain Fowler, of the *Matilda*, requested the editor of the *Sydney Gazette* to make public the treatment he received among the inhabitants of Otakou Bay, where he remained eleven days, having gone thither in great distress.

The vessel was manned with Lascars, who were emaciated by fatigue, and having been for a long time without vegetables or fresh provisions, and having but a few gallons of water left, were in an evil state. Soon as Papuhi, the chief, knew of the state of the people on board he collected a large fishing party and provided the crew with fish. Their potatoes, which were not more than half-grown and *tapu*, they gave in abundance to the famished men. Such of the crew as were

able were subsequently employed in procuring water, which was a mile distant from the ship, but from the impediments they met with from the flax plant in rolling the casks, the labour was more than they could well perform. The chief observing this, went himself to their assistance, and his example was followed by his people.

He visited the vessel at sunrise every morning, and was personally attentive at all times to supply the crew with food. He noticed the running rigging to be in a decayed state, the vessel having suffered a long continuance of bad weather, and without any prefatory remark sat down on deck with a number of his people, men and women, and commenced rope-making after the manner of the country, which was performed by plaiting four strands of flax something in the way that carriage whips are made in England, which proved an excellent substitute for a more expensive cordage. Captain Fowler spoke of the chief in the highest terms of regard and veneration. His stature was full six feet and a-half in height; he was athletically formed, and his countenance was as benign as his manners were mild; commanding obedience more as the father of a family than as a chieftain of a barbarous people. On leaving he desired the captain, if coming that way again, to call and visit him.

At the end of the year 1814 the following advertisement appeared in the *Sydney Gazette* :

NEW SOUTH WALES NEW ZEALAND COMPANY.

Wanted, for the brig *Trial*, six able seamen and twenty steady, unincumbered men who can give undeniable reference for character, if required, to proceed to New Zealand, for and on account of the New South Wales New Zealand Company, for any term not exceeding five years, on most liberal terms. Persons having some knowledge of hemp or flax, and the manufacture thereof, will receive a preference. For particulars apply to Mr. Lord, Macquarie Place, who is authorised by the said Company to treat with such as may answer the above description. Also a carpenter, a blacksmith, and one pair of sawyers.

There appears to have been some trouble in getting hands, or in the affairs of the company, as the *Trial* did not leave Sydney until the 20th May following the appearance of the advertisement. Though intended to sail for the Marquesas, it was arranged that she should call at New Zealand, and there join the *Brothers*, which had left Port Jackson two days earlier than the *Trial* on an expedition, the main purpose of which was the collection of flax. The two vessels met, and remained at the Bay of Islands a month, and from thence took a south-east course, trading

with the natives as they went along the coast, and making a short stay at a harbour in the vicinity of Mercury Bay, which they called *Trial Harbour*. Its position was put down 36° 40' south and 175° 49' east longitude, where they were received kindly by the natives, who promised to have a quantity of flax for sale prepared by the date of the return of the vessels, which ran towards Cook Strait, and after running down a considerable extent of coastline, returned to *Trial Harbour*. The natives appeared no less friendly than before, but not having procured the flax according to promise, preparations were made for quitting the place. The vessels were to sail on Monday, the 21st August, but they were attacked on the noon of the preceding day, and the decks of both vessels taken possession of by a large number of natives.

Mr. Hovell's account of the seizing of the vessels was, that about half-past twelve p.m. he observed a number of canoes alongside both vessels, but that from the friendly terms he was on with the chiefs and the natives generally, he had no suspicion of any design on the part of the natives against the vessels, both of which were provided with boarding nets, through the interstices of which they bartered their commodities with the New Zealanders.

The *Trial's* people were down at dinner. Mr. Hovell was on the quarter-deck folding a mat with a friendly chief named *Ngarutu*, near to whom was another chief. The latter on some signal, supposed to have been given by the former, sprang upon Mr. Hovell with his club and struck him on the back of his neck; he reeled, half stunned; a second blow was levelled at him, which he avoided by rushing forward and precipitating himself down the fore-castle hatchway. The assailants now crowded on the upper deck, of which they obtained complete possession, while several who had intruded themselves between decks were opposed by the crew and killed. Those above tried to "ship" the main hatch in order to shut the crew below, but to prevent this two men were stationed at the hatchway who kept them off with muskets.

Their numbers increased, and a rush was expected. A constant fire was kept up, however, from below, and the natives crowded aft on the quarter-deck to keep clear of the firing up the hatchway. The cabin skylight afforded an opportunity of firing upon them, and the medium being embraced, two discharges drove them off the quarter-deck.

They appeared astonished and confounded at the unexpected attack through the skylight, which proved fatal to several; when the assailants ran forward, determined to persist in their attempt of capturing the vessel. In passing forward they were again fired at from the hatchway, and at this critical moment there arrived one "Jacky Whare," a native who had at one time belonged to the *Trial*, and by his directions to cut the cables of the two vessels, the crews were placed in difficult circumstances.

The vessels soon drifted ashore, and the assailants, to avoid the firing, crowded in and about the long boat. All appeared lost; yet to avoid falling alive into the hands of the natives, the crew came to the resolution of blowing the vessel up. But a steady discharge of seven muskets drove the natives overboard, and the crew regained possession of the deck, which the natives had held for four hours. They now saw the *Brothers* within half a cable's length, aground, with over one hundred natives on the deck, when the swivels of the *Trial* were turned upon her, which, with the aid of musketry, soon cleared her of her assailants. Mr. Burnett and his people regained the deck of the *Brothers*, from which they also had been driven, and a joint fire was kept up as long as the natives were within its reach, which did considerable execution.

Mr. Hovell, who had command of the *Trial*, states that the natives at and about *Trial Harbour* had no knowledge of firearms, and expressed the utmost surprise at the discharge of a musket. They had no clothing or any implements that could indicate a previous acquaintance with Europeans but an adze, which it was ascertained, they had procured at the *River Thames*.

Mr. Burnett's report of the affair states that at half-past twelve he heard a shout from the *Trial*, and immediately his own decks were crowded with natives who had previously been alongside his vessel; that he was instantly aware of the intended assault, and seizing a musket shot one of the foremost of the assailants. Mr. John O'Neal, mate of the vessel, and a native of the colony for some time defended Mr. Burnett against the attacks of several adversaries with an empty musket. He was himself attacked and fell overpowered. Thomas Hayes was thrown wounded into a canoe, and killed on shore. Joseph Marsden and George Hallegan, the former wounded, jumped overboard, and were protected by a chief's wife. The latter rejoined the vessel, and supposed Marsden, who did not return, to

be still alive. William Morgan, a boy, was also wounded, as was Mr. Burnett, though not badly. The next morning the two seamen who had been killed on board the *Brothers* were interred. On board the *Trial* were killed Matthew Jackson, a European, and Letia, a Pomatou native. The *Trial* proceeded then to Otaheite, and Mr. Hovell returned to Port Jackson in the *Brothers*, where she arrived on the 1st November.

The mission record throws another light on this flax trading expedition. It says five Europeans and not less than one hundred of the natives were killed in the conflict. At the Bay of Islands the natives were highly offended with the crews, and would probably have cut them off had not the *Active* been in the Bay, and the settlers located there.

Before, however, they left the Bay of Islands, a chief was defrauded of a quantity of flax and many baskets of potatoes; and there is sufficient reason to believe that the vessels were filled with native women the evening before the attack.

The attack, the same authority says, took place on the 20th of August, 1815, in Mercury Bay, from whence the vessels returned to the Bay of Islands on the 31st of August.

When the *Active* came back from New Zealand with Mr. Marsden she brought a considerable amount of flax in her cargo, and the chaplain wishing well to the trade, a favourable notice of the new article of import was published in the *Sydney Gazette*, which contained also the following advertisement:—

SHOEMAKERS' HEMP AND SEWING TWINE.

Robert Williams, Ropemaker, Castlereagh Street, respectfully informs the public in general that he has received a quantity of excellent hemp per brig *Active* from New Zealand, and that in a few days he will be able to supply the above articles superior in strength to any ever yet manufactured in this colony; and trusts his future supplies of hemp will enable him to continue a constant supply at a more moderate price, and remove the present inducement for substituting Bengal twine.

In February, 1820, there was a trial made in Sydney of the relative strength of English rope and that made from New Zealand hemp. It appears that Williams, the advertising ropemaker living in Castlereagh Street, went on board H.M.S. *Dromedary*, Captain Skinner, for the purpose of testing the two fibres, when five fathoms of New Zealand-made rope of three inch, fifty-seven yarns, dragged 5 tons 13 cwt., and broke with a strain of 5 tons 19 cwt., while a three-inch English rope of sixty yarns broke with a strain of 4 tons 3 cwt., and a second coil of the same size parted with a drag of 4 tons 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.



Volcano of Tongariro, with Motupoi Pa, from Roto-aire Lake.

In 1827 Messrs. Cooper and Levy imported into New South Wales, in the Elizabeth, ten tons of dressed flax. There were also this year advertised the premiums offered by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacture, and Commerce, for the Cultivation of the *phormium tenax*, or New Zealand flax. For planting the greatest quantity of land, not less than one acre. Prize, the Ceres gold medal or thirty guineas. A full account was to be given to the Society of the plants and of the soil grown in, the exposure undergone, the mode of cultivation, the distance between the plants, and at least a dozen of the longest leaves, with certificates that the exhibits stood three winters in the open air.

According to the statistical returns of New South Wales for 1828, New Zealand flax to the extent of sixty tons, and valued at £2,600, was exported from Sydney to England during that year. To what extent the trade increased some idea may be formed from the following facts:—During the

Angas, whose picture of Tongariro and adjacent pa is given on the opposite page, wrote in the following terms of the mountain and its surroundings at the time of his visit in 1844. The mountain has, of course, often been ascended since, and is now open to any adventurous tourist. "The mountain of Tongariro must be regarded as the centre of volcanic action in the Northern Island of New Zealand. It is situated in the very heart of the interior, amidst a cluster of snow-clad peaks, elevating its vast truncated cone like a huge cauldron, from which volumes of steam and jets of scalding water and mud are constantly issuing. The height of this boiling volcano has never been correctly ascertained; it is supposed to exceed 7,000 feet. [The height is 6,500 feet. Its neighbour, Ngauruhoe, is 7,481 feet. and Ruapehu, 8,878 feet.] Mr. Bidwell is the only person who has ascended the cone, from which the aqueous eruptions burst forth, but there is a still higher summit which is not visible from the lake on which human foot has never trod. Te Heuheu, the principal chief of the neighbouring Taupo lakes, has laid a strict *tapu* upon the mountain so as to prevent anyone from ascending it. So rigid is this law that neither presents nor any other means will induce him to grant permission. Indeed, so much is the Tongariro dreaded by the natives, that many of them are afraid to look upon it, and cover their faces as they pass a certain angle of the road where the crater suddenly presents itself to view. The strongly fortified pa of Motupoi stretches into the lake of Rotoaire at the base of the mountain. It covers a neck of land surrounded on each side by water, and its approach is guarded by a double palisade with trenches and embankments. At the period of my visit the occupants were employed in repairing fortifications, as they daily expected an attack from a party of the Waikato tribes. A canoe is represented landing in the surf, with another crossing the lake in which a native is holding up his blanket to serve the purpose of a sail. A squall is passing over the mountain, and the kaka, a species of parrot of a brown colour which is domesticated by the New Zealanders, is figured sitting upon a stick fastened at the head of the canoe."

the year 1830 twenty-eight distinct vessels, averaging 110 tons burthen each, made in the aggregate fifty-six voyages to New Zealand; the total tonnage of vessels cleared out for New Zealand being that year 5,888 tons. In the same year twenty-six distinct vessels of the average burthen of 111 tons, arrived from New Zealand, having made in the aggregate forty-six voyages inwards, their total tonnage amounting to 4,059 tons. It also appears that of eighteen vessels which cleared out from Sydney for foreign states, South Sea islands, and fisheries, fifty-six were for New Zealand, and of sixty-four reported as arrived under the same heads forty-six were from the same place. These voyages were undertaken chiefly for the purpose of procuring flax.

In August, 1830, it was announced that the Marine Department of the Government in England were purchasing all they could obtain at £45 per ton. In the following month it was found that the natives were unwilling to trade; indifferent even to the acquisition of muskets and powder, of which they had purchased sufficient for their wants, the *Argo*, a coast trader, returning to Port Jackson in ballast. Polack, who was a trader himself, writes: "In 1830 a trader showed me his calculations on the expenses and profits attached to the procuring of flax. He employed two collectors to reside among the natives, on whose diligence he placed much reliance, and in twelve months they had collected 160 tons, most of which was very ill-dressed and some of it useless.

Expenses of a small brig, charter, etc.	£1,600
Collectors' salaries.....	140
Cost of the article at the lowest rate, £5 per ton	800
Insurance charges, stowage, etc.....	230
	£2,770
Value in Sydney, cash at £17 a ton	2,720
Loss	£50

In 1832 the paralysis in the trade commenced, which was occasioned by the falling off in quality and forcing the trade in the endeavour to increase the supply. The price fell from £40 to £20, as the English manufacturers complained of the shipments being badly cleaned, ill-assorted in the bales, and often falsely packed. Mr. Bigge, the Commissioner of Inquiry to New South Wales, recommended, in his report on agriculture and trade, that a certain number of convicts should be employed in planting the New Zealand flax, either at Emu Plains, in Tasmania, or at other of the Government farms, and when the trade

began to fall off, the Norfolk Island flax was again remembered, and New Zealanders were sent there to see what could be obtained. The experiment, however, was as unsuccessful in the one country as in the other. Those who were sent there returned with three casks, the produce of their labour; but the fibre was found to be coarse and not to be compared with that obtained from New Zealand.

The botanist Cunningham observed in 1830, after describing the native method of preparation, "Simple as appears this mode of separating the flax from the leaf by a shell in the hands of those savages (*i.e.*, the Maori), still the European has not succeeded in his endeavours to prepare the fibre for himself, either by that or any other means that have been tried; nor has any instrument or piece of machinery yet been invented to enable him to strip off and prepare this valuable filament for the English market. The Port Jackson traders must still be dependent on the native women and their shells for the cargoes they obtain."

Flax cleaning was laborious and badly paid work. It would take a good cleaner to scrape fifteen pounds weight of it in a day, but the average hand would not produce more than ten pounds, for which he would obtain one negro-head of tobacco and a pipe, two sheets of cartridge paper, or one pound of lead.

In 1833 flax seems to have hardened in price in England, as both in this year and 1834 there were two companies projected there to stimulate its manufacture. That of 1833 was proposed to be a "National Factory" with a capital of £200,000 in 5,000 shares of £40 each. The deposit was one pound per

share, for which applications were to be made to W. O. Tucker, Esq., solicitor, No. 1, Bank Chambers, Lothbury, but no deposits were requested to be paid until after a general meeting of the shareholders. The prospectus of the other company proposed the same capital, but the shares were £100 and £5 deposit per share. The estimated profit of this second projection was thirty or forty per cent. Nothing was heard of either of them beyond their proposal.

In March, 1836, at Maketu, the flax store belonging to Mr. Richard Jones, of Sydney, and conducted by Mr. Tapsel, was burned down, and about a hundred tons of flax destroyed or carried away. The mischance

arose from a native quarrel between the tribes in which Mr. Tapsel became involved. Many natives lost their lives in the quarrel but no Europeans. Such incidents as these often occurred *after* the scraped or dressed flax had been sold to the Europeans. The Rev. Mr. Wade, who was in the Bay of Plenty when the raid took place, wrote that it



Native Stores for Flax.

arose through a Rotorua chief killing another in cold blood, the murdered man being a brother of Te Waharoa.

After the Europeans had become familiar with New Zealand most villages had, at least, one European resident, called a *pakcha-Maori*, purchasing provisions and flax. Such a person was generally under the protection of the chief of the village, and married, either by native custom or legally, to a relative of his of rank and influence. Most of the villages had flax houses for storing purposes. In one village, a small one, they were nearly eighty feet in length and thirty in breadth. This was in the Kaipara district, and may be taken as a fair sample of other houses in other

villages. They were put together by poles and raupo, the lower parts open, with only poles placed across. The prepared flax was *lapu*, and therefore safe from Maori depredation. The pakeha dealer was rarely allowed to deal with another tribe than his own. The flax was sold to the trader by weight and paid for in trade. The flax in a basket—the measure of sale—generally weighed from eighty to a hundred pounds, and was usually carried on men's shoulders or in canvas to the purchasers. It was prepared generally by the women and slaves. The separation of the fibre from the flag-like leaf was thus performed: The apex is held between the toes, a transverse section is then made through the succulent matter at that end with a common mussel shell, which is inserted between that substance and the fibre, which readily effects its separation by drawing the shell through the whole of the leaf.

"Some of the difficulties and dangers ran by the early flax collectors," Polack says, "are almost incredible when regarded in the light of modern days. For instance, Mr. S. A., junior partner in a respectable firm in Sydney engaged in this trade, established a settlement at Tauranga, in the Bay of Plenty, and a branch station on the island in the Rotorua Lake, situated in the elevated plains of the interior. He had commissioned a European to purchase the dressed article from the natives. Mr. S. on arriving at one period at the station, was requested by the principal chief of the district to remove the trade to another village outside the lake, as the natives intended to change their residence near some plantations at a distance from the island, and to carry flax to that isolated place, he added, would be too burthensome. Mr. S. complied, and on the following day superintended the removal.

"A large canoe was brought expressly to remove the goods. About one-half the trading materials was disposed of in the canoe, when a scuffle ensued between the natives and the Englishmen in the canoe. Mr. S., together with another respectable trader, hastened to his assistance, and perceived the natives around began to be troublesome. A powerful native attempted to drag Mr. S. into the canoe, and would have succeeded if that gentleman had not hastily drawn a dirk to defend himself. This was wrested away, and the native would have overpowered him had not Mr. S. fortunately drawn forth a pistol and presented it. The man then hastened away.

"The poor man who was first assaulted in the canoe was soon overpowered and thrown into the lake, when several muscular fellows threw themselves in after him, kept his head under water, and ripped up his stomach with knives. Mr. S. and his companion seeing his blood crimson the water, ran to the house, determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible. A crowd assembled of upwards of three hundred natives, who were infuriated, and attempted to draw them from the house and tear them to pieces. The two traders presented their pieces, which kept for a few seconds these furies at bay, when about a dozen young chiefs rallied and attempted to interfere and save them. This the savage multitude were not disposed to grant, when these protectors environed the hut, and determined to guard the Englishmen with their lives. The din and clamour was terrific. This lasted for full twenty minutes, during which the Europeans were kept in dreadful suspense. The hut they had taken shelter in was small, made of dried rushes, and the barbarians without threw firebrands to burn them within the place, but they were as quickly plucked away by their young friends. The gentlemen heard the tumult among the savages arising from the distribution of the body of their murdered comrade, and heard the promises of the head chief that all should participate in human flesh as soon as the white men were taken from the house.

"After some time the fury of the savages subsided in some degree, and the young protectors entered the hut, and brought the Englishmen forth. Mr. S. inquired why they had acted so unaccountably; he was told in answer that he had no business to remove the trade from the island. On Mr. S. demanding from the principal chief if he had not done so at his request, no answer was given. He next requested to know what they required him to do; he was answered, 'Remove your goods when you please, we repent of what we have done, our anger is past,' on which several chiefs ran into the house and carried everything that was left into the canoe. The goods that had been previously placed there had all been stolen; these were now mostly returned, and the natives deported themselves as if nothing had happened, except the principal chief, who approached the gentlemen and cried *the lament* over them. This hypocritical wretch had been the sole cause of the disturbance. Mr. S. now demanded the body of his unfortunate countryman, but a very small portion of the viscera and an arm

was all he could recover. These remains were placed on the hut, which was set fire to, and were speedily consumed. The trade was then taken to the mainland, and carried by the natives to the new plantation, but as early as an opportunity offered, the station was abandoned by the Europeans."

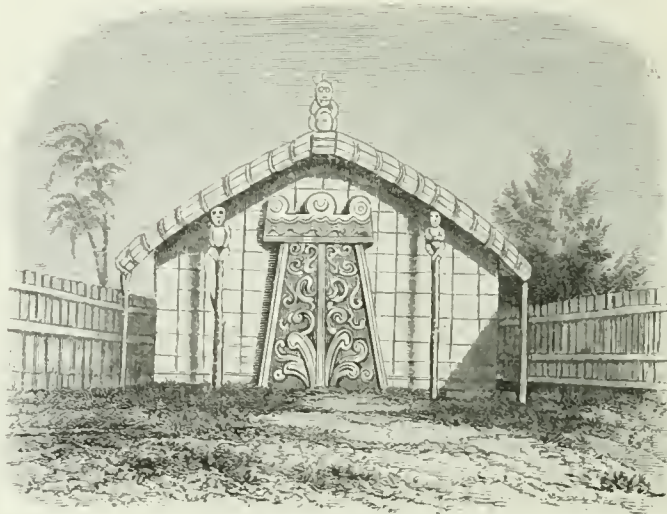
Another instance: "In January, 1832, Mr. Thomas Ralph, a young man respectably connected in Sydney at the period referred to, in the employ of Messrs. Montefiore & Co., of Port Jackson, resided on the banks of the river Mokau, in latitude $38^{\circ} 30'$, on the west coast. The tribe among whom he was stationed are known by the patronymic of Maniapoto. In conjunction with the numerous tribes on the river Waikato, they had proceeded to make war on the natives who resided south of Mokau, near to Taranaki, on the coast of Cape Egmont. No particular cause for hostilities existed at the time, unless the ancient customs of *utu* or retaliation for the death and actual devouring of some of the ancestors of the war party. The opportunity afforded of a voluptuous banquet and the collecting a number of slaves—chances that a native can scarce ever resist at any

time—proved very attractive in this instance, as the force congregated together amounted to nearly four thousand men; but the arbitrary dispositions of the several leaders would, on the slightest clashing of mutual interests, in the possession of a slave for instance, turn round to war against each other with the same implacable and sanguinary animosity, during or after the campaign, as they now felt towards the enemy that had thus combined them together.

"Ralph was deserted by his tribe, who left behind them only two old men, and a decrepit woman. The pa, thus left unprotected, induced a large party from near the river Autia, in about latitude 38° , to make a descent on the villages of the absent enemy. This attempt was put into execution, and one

evening early, after the departure of the Maniapoto, this hostile force arrived in great numbers and surrounded the house in which Ralph and his native wife resided. The two old sages left in the village effected their escape, but the aged woman they slaughtered and devoured. Night setting in, these plunderers were afraid to attack the lonely cottage, but contented themselves with cutting off every chance of escape to the inmates. At daybreak a serious quarrel arose among the tribes respecting the person of the white man, the major party insisting on his death, that each chief might have a portion of his body; others, with not less interested motives, proposed carrying him prisoner to Kawhia, and selling him as a slave, obtain a large price from his countrymen, which would answer for division

among themselves. Ralph kept within the house until their fury had subsided, each individual having something to say on the subject, and everyone vociferating his opinions at the same moment. He was called forth, and on appearing before these hordes, he was in the hazard of being killed in the skirmish that ensued for the possession of his person. His death was again resolved on, but,



Store House for the Kumara.

with the usual fickleness of the people, was deferred, one chief intimating if the Maniapoto killed any Europeans on their route, Ralph should be sacrificed to the *Atua*. His wife, who was the daughter of a principal chief of the absentees, was forcibly separated from him, nor was he permitted to speak a word to her, whose ultimate fate must remain unmentioned. A rush was then made at the house, which was broken in at every point, the many articles of merchandise plundered, and the flax store, containing nearly twenty tons of that material, the property of Messrs. Montefiore and Co., wantonly burnt by the multitude. They proceeded to strip Ralph of his clothes, leaving him in his shirt only. After stripping the villages, and setting fire

to the huts, they departed for their settlements, forcibly compelling Ralph to travel with them in the wretched condition he was in. The slaves were made to carry the plunder.

"In this journey, through the almost impenetrable thickets of the New Zealand forests and bushes, the bare-footed Englishman was necessitated to undergo almost incredible hardships, and rocky places which the accustomed natives can scarcely tread without feeling the unpleasant effects completely lamed the hapless man. When the natives had food for themselves they gave Ralph a share, but this allowance was but scanty, as is invariably the case with a wild horde of savages without any foresight or resources to meet such privations. Fern root procured along the road and a few unripe potatoes dug up from the plantations of the people they had plundered, were their sole sustenance. In vain Ralph requested the chief to let him make his way to the banks of the Kawhia, and promised to procure them any ransom they chose to name. This was sternly refused. He then tried by every possible method, with insults, then cowardice, to cause them to finish their barbarity by putting a period to his existence with the friendly tomahawk. This had no effect, as they observed, his life as a slave was infinitely more serviceable to them than his death, as in the latter event quarrels would arise among these easily excited and irritable people in the apportioning of his body. The torments he suffered among these marauders caused him to attempt to escape, which he accomplished one night, proceeding some distance; but his

want of knowing the localities around Kawhia, whither he proposed to direct his way, caused him to lose the track, and early next morning he heard the shouts of the natives, and soon perceived his pursuers running after him with the impetuous fury of bloodhounds. About twenty of the savages now came up with him, and though alone and an unarmed man, approached him with trepidation, advancing with uplifted tomahawks. He would have been sacrificed on the spot, but a young chief interfered by throwing him down and placing himself on the prostrate body of Ralph, saved his life. The shirt formerly left him was now taken from him, and a filthy remnant of matting was thrown to him in exchange. He was then compelled to return, and his death was at once resolved on. As he was sitting on the ground eating a few potatoes that had been thrown to him, a common person stole silently behind him, pointed the muzzle of a musket close to Ralph's head, snapped the lock, but the piece missed fire. A repetition was about being attempted, when a chief took away the piece and saved him. He again prayed them to put an end to his misery, feeling regardless of life, worn to a skeleton with the hardships he had undergone, and lacerated from head to foot with the hard usage he had received. He at length arrived at the settlement of these savages, and shortly after sent a messenger to Captain Kent, who resided on the Kawhia River, to inform that gentleman of his capture, who immediately furnished him with the means of ransom, and after some delays he was permitted to join his deliverer."





ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH MISSION.

Effect of the massacre of the Boyd on the mission project—The Rev. Samuel Marsden's determination to establish the mission at all hazards—His mode of procedure—Certain fortuitous circumstances—Purchase of the brig Active—Departure of Messrs. Hall and Kendall to report—Favourable reception at Bay of Islands—Return with New Zealand chiefs to Sydney—Entertainment of the chiefs—Mr. Marsden's departure to personally establish the mission—Difficulties attending the embarkation—Arrival at North Cape and reception by the natives there—Peaceful negotiations with the people of Whangaroa—Landing at the Bay of Islands—The kainga at Te Puna—Surprise of the natives on seeing cows and horses—Naval Sham fight in canoes—Mr. Marsden's first sermon on New Zealand soil—Erection of mission buildings—Life on shore—Grant of land for mission purposes—Departure of the Active—Death of Ruatara and suicide of his wife—Return of Mr. Marsden to Sydney—Seminary formed for the instruction of young Maoris—Plan of operations—Success of the institution—Conduct of the students; their manners completely changed—Temporary suspension and recommencement of the institution—The buildings finally rented as a grammar school.



OME of the earliest news that must have reached Mr. Marsden on his return from England would have been the massacre of the Boyd, to be soon followed by the alleged complicity of Te Pahi, and his punishment and death.

Feeling ran so

high in Port Jackson, we are told, that it was not safe for a New Zealander to be seen in the streets of the settlement. Ruatara was taken away to Parramatta, where the headquarters of Maoridom in New South Wales had been established, and remained there six months. Mr. Marsden commenced making inquiries as to the cause of the outrage, and soon came to the conclusion that the generally accepted account of the tragedy was a mis-

representation. The idea of a mission to New Zealand had, however, to be deferred in order to afford time for the public anger to cool, the causes of the outrage to be learned and understood, and the permission of the Governor obtained to authorise the absence of the chaplain from the settlement, and to choose another to fulfil his duties. Mr. Marsden's duties were in New South Wales, and his life was too valuable and his services in too great request to be jeopardised by being placed in contact with cannibals.

Writing to England to the Missionary Society on the 3rd May, 1810, Mr. Marsden says: "On our arrival at Port Jackson I found the merchants here had formed a determination to make a settlement at New Zealand, in order to procure hemp, etc., which that island produces. The people were appointed who were to form the settlement, and every other necessary preparation made, and the ship ready to sail under the sanction of the Government, when at the time of her departure a vessel arrived from New Zealand

bringing information that a ship called the *Boyd*, which had sailed from Port Jackson for timber to carry to India, had been burned by the natives, and the ship's crew murdered. This news for the present has diverted the merchants from their intention."

He also says: "Ruatarā is much disheartened. No doubt," he adds, "but various reports will be spread in England against the New Zealanders, but it should be remembered that they have none to tell their story or to represent the injuries which they have suffered," and he then informs his correspondents how "Ruatarā promises to go over to New Zealand and see what state his country is in, and to return again to Port Jackson and to bring six of his own people with him to live with me, and to learn our trades."

Further on we are told that the merchants of Port Jackson will endeavour to make a settlement on the North Island, and that what has taken place has not in the least altered the intention of the Society's settlers going to New Zealand, as they would probably be safe there even under the present circumstances, as they would offer no injury to the natives, though he should not feel himself at present justified in allowing them to go. He was anxious, however, for their occupation, as while they were on board the *Ann* he allowed them no time to contract habits of idleness.

But the evil tidings of the *Boyd* were not all that Mr. Marsden had to ponder over on his return. The mission at Tahiti had not been successful, and several of the missionaries had abandoned their stations and taken refuge in New South Wales. It was feared by some and stated by others that the Polynesian mission would have to be abandoned; but sooner than such a thing should happen, Mr. Marsden wrote, he would give up his chaplaincy and go himself and live at Otaheite. The runaway missionaries were all provided for at Parramatta, at the chaplain's cost. Thither also had Messrs. Hall and King gone to await for better days, and there also they were joined by Mr. Kendall, who, rejected at first, was after one or more refusals, allowed to join the mission settlers, with his wife and family, on the 10th October, 1813.

Early in the century, it appears, Marsden had made up his mind to annex New Zealand to Christendom, if possible. He had ere this probably discovered the end that was awaiting the aboriginal race among whom he resided. Their barbarism was hopeless—that of the New Zealander was full of hope. Governor King was the firm friend of New Zealand,

and a friend also of Marsden. Te Pahi had been in Sydney and had won golden opinions. Moehanga had been in England, and, patronised by Royalty, had secured much attention. After him had gone Matara, the son of Te Pahi, who was in England when Marsden left. Successive voyagers had paid the race tributes of admiration, although intercourse had proved its members to be treacherous, savage, and revengeful.

The Maori was a practical man, however, with a strong commercial bias, and the commercial side of his character Mr. Marsden determined to sap. He valued European intercourse for what it obtained him, and cared more for the possession of an axe or a musket than the knowledge of the Decalogue. Civilisation, Mr. Marsden said, must pave the way for conversion, and when the Church Mission determined to send out pioneers, a ship carpenter and a shoemaker, in accordance with the first apostolic selection, were chosen. "You cannot," Mr. Marsden said, "form a nation without commerce and civil arts," and how to make a boat and wear clothing were rudimentary lessons.

Fortune appeared to smile on Mr. Marsden in his desire to propagate the faith. It is stated that when the missionaries first brought the Gospel to the Maori they inquired of their atua whether the white teachers' message was true, and in every case they received an affirmative answer. There would appear in the chance meeting of Marsden and Ruatarā some of the "divinity which shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will." Of all the men in Maoridom Ruatarā was perhaps the most able to aid Mr. Marsden in his labour of enlightening the tribes, and he was thrown into the teacher's hands plastic through sorrow and sickness—clay ready to mould to the hands of the potter.

Ruatarā without doubt was grateful to Mr. Marsden for his care towards him in sickness and on ship board, and gathered from that source his unshaken repose in Mr. Marsden's integrity and truthfulness. The charge of ingratitude has been brought against the race by persons ignorant of their habits and customs on the ground that the language contains no word to express gratitude. Gratitude, however, is an abstract term, and the language is deficient in abstract terms. Human nature is much alike in all the races, and what is true of one people as a whole may broadly be said to be true of all. A Maori can be as grateful as a Jew, and a Christian as any or either.

In 1813 the mission project to New Zealand again came to the front. In the thirteenth report of the Society it was announced that Mr. Kendall, with his wife and family, had left England to join the mission in the *Earl Spencer*, transport.

Mr. Marsden wrote to England: "When I hear from Ruatara again I shall be better able to gauge of the probability of beginning the mission at New Zealand." This was on the 13th of June, to Mr. Pratt, and the letter carries the following postscript:—"Since I closed my letter Captain Parker has come in from New Zealand with a ship full of sperm oil. Ruatara treated him very kindly, and Tara wants Europeans to go and live with him."

Annexed to the fourteenth report is a paragraph of Mr. Marsden's, which says: "A young man, a native of America, with whom I conversed yesterday, has been living for a year and more with the natives. He left the island with Captain Parker, and he himself would be glad to go and live with them if any Europeans would go with him."

A missionary meeting was held in Sydney on the 20th December, 1813, William Gore, Esq., Provost-Marshal, in the chair, when the Rev. S. Marsden submitted fifteen resolutions that were adopted.

As time, however, softened the remembrance of the shock occasioned by the massacre of the Boyd, permission was given by the Governor to Mr. Marsden to charter a vessel and to send out the three missionaries as pioneers, if a captain could be found sufficiently courageous to risk his life and ship in such an enterprise as a voyage to New Zealand. A reluctant promise from the Governor was also obtained that if on the ship's return all had turned out well Mr. Marsden should not be hindered from following. After much consideration, Mr. Marsden went further than he at first contemplated, as finding the sums asked for the charter of vessels excessive, he purchased the brig *Active*, of one hundred and ten tons, for the service and convenience of the mission, as well as for the purpose of keeping up a regular intercourse between the islands and Port Jackson, which he considered highly necessary, and which would be attended with very beneficial consequences. As the men engaged as missionaries were craftsmen, and were intended to be employed in their callings to earn their cost of maintenance, so by trading the vessel was intended to earn the cost of her expenditure. The vessel having been purchased, Messrs. Hall and Kendall

were sent on an expedition to New Zealand to report on the state of the country and the chances for the establishment of a mission station. Mr. Marsden directed them to go to the Bay of Islands in the first place, and gave them particular instructions for their guidance. They were to use every precaution with the natives in their intercourse to avoid friction, to make themselves acquainted with Ruatara especially, and other chiefs they came in contact with, and to bring him or any of them to New South Wales who might evince any inclination to visit it. That they might commence on their landing a species of trade with the inhabitants, he supplied them with whatever articles he thought most proper to be exchanged, and gave them also some presents which they were to make among certain individuals as their judgment might direct.

Accordingly, on the 4th of March, 1814, the brig *Active*, under the command of Captain Dillon, sailed from Sydney Cove for the purpose of establishing a friendly intercourse with the natives of New Zealand, for which purpose, Messrs. Kendall and Hall, by the direction of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, accompanied him. The *Active* called at the Derwent on her way, and arrived at the Bay of Islands on the 10th of June, where the people on board were most hospitably entertained during their stay of six weeks. While remaining in the Bay the ship *James Hays* touched there, and after procuring a few spars took her departure for Europe. The *Jefferson*, whaler, Captain Barnes, had been there about six weeks before the *Active* arrived, and on the 6th of August the latter fell in with the *Campbell Macquarie*, Captain Siddins, bound for the islands to the north.

The *Active* returned to Port Jackson on the 22nd of August, 1814, and brought with her several natives of distinction from the Bay of Islands district. Their names were Ruatara, Hongi, and Korokoro, otherwise called Mauhikitea, of Parupuwaha hapu, who lived at Paroa. Of these three there appears no doubt respecting Tenana, of Waimate, nor of "Tommy Tui," named Tuara, of whom we shall here more anon. Carleton says the number who accompanied Hall and Kendall was seven, but the notice in the *Gazette* of the 27th August reads thus: "Three chiefs, one of whom has been to England, and three others of inferior rank, expressing a desire to visit the colony, were received on board the *Active* as passengers. Shortly after their arrival they were introduced into

the presence of His Excellency, who treated them with particular kindness, and made them presents with which they were, as well as with their reception, highly gratified."

They were entertained, as may have been expected, by the chaplain at Parramatta. The *Gazette* expressed an assurance that wherever the strangers might go within the limits of the settlement they would receive treatment such as would inspire in their minds notions of Europeans very different from those the conduct of some of the colonial traders had in their own country possibly impressed them with.

Mr. Marsden, writing of the employment of his visitors, says, *inter alia*, "The chiefs are all happy with us at Parramatta, and their minds enlarging very fast. Beholding the various works that are going on in the smith's and carpenter's shops, the spinning and weaving, brickmaking and building houses, together with all the operations of agriculture and gardening, has a wonderful effect on their minds, and will excite all their natural powers to improve their country. At present I spend all the time I can spare with them.

"As I have many complaints to settle as a magistrate, they frequently attend, when I explain to them afterwards the different crimes and punishments that each has committed, and what sentences are passed upon them. With respect to agriculture, they visit different farms, observe the plough at work, some men with the hoe, some threshing, etc., etc."

In a letter to the Rev. Josiah Pratt, dated 22nd September, 1814, Mr. Marsden writes: "Nothing could contribute so much to the civilization and improvement of the New Zealanders in all useful knowledge as a free and open communication with Port Jackson. Men, from report, can form little idea of the comforts of civil life; these comforts are so far out of their reach that when they are told of them they can give no credit to the relation."

After commenting on the outrages committed on the New Zealanders, and the importance of maintaining a vessel in New South Wales for the sole purpose of promoting the mission, and a probability of the vessel defraying a portion of the expense it would entail, Mr. Marsden says, "New Zealand must be always considered as the greatest emporium of the South Seas, from its local situation, its safe harbours, its navigable rivers, its fine timber for shipbuilding, its resin, native flax, etc., specimens of which I

intend sending to the Society by this conveyance.

"The owners of South Sea whalers will, I think, readily contribute their aid to the Society in this undertaking, as their ships on the coast of New Zealand may safely put into the Bay of Islands and obtain such refreshments as they may require, when once the missionaries become resident there, without any apprehensions of their crews being cut off; whereas at present they are in considerable danger. I need not point out to the owners of South Sea whalers how much it is in general against their interest for any of their ships to put into the harbour of Port Jackson for refreshments.

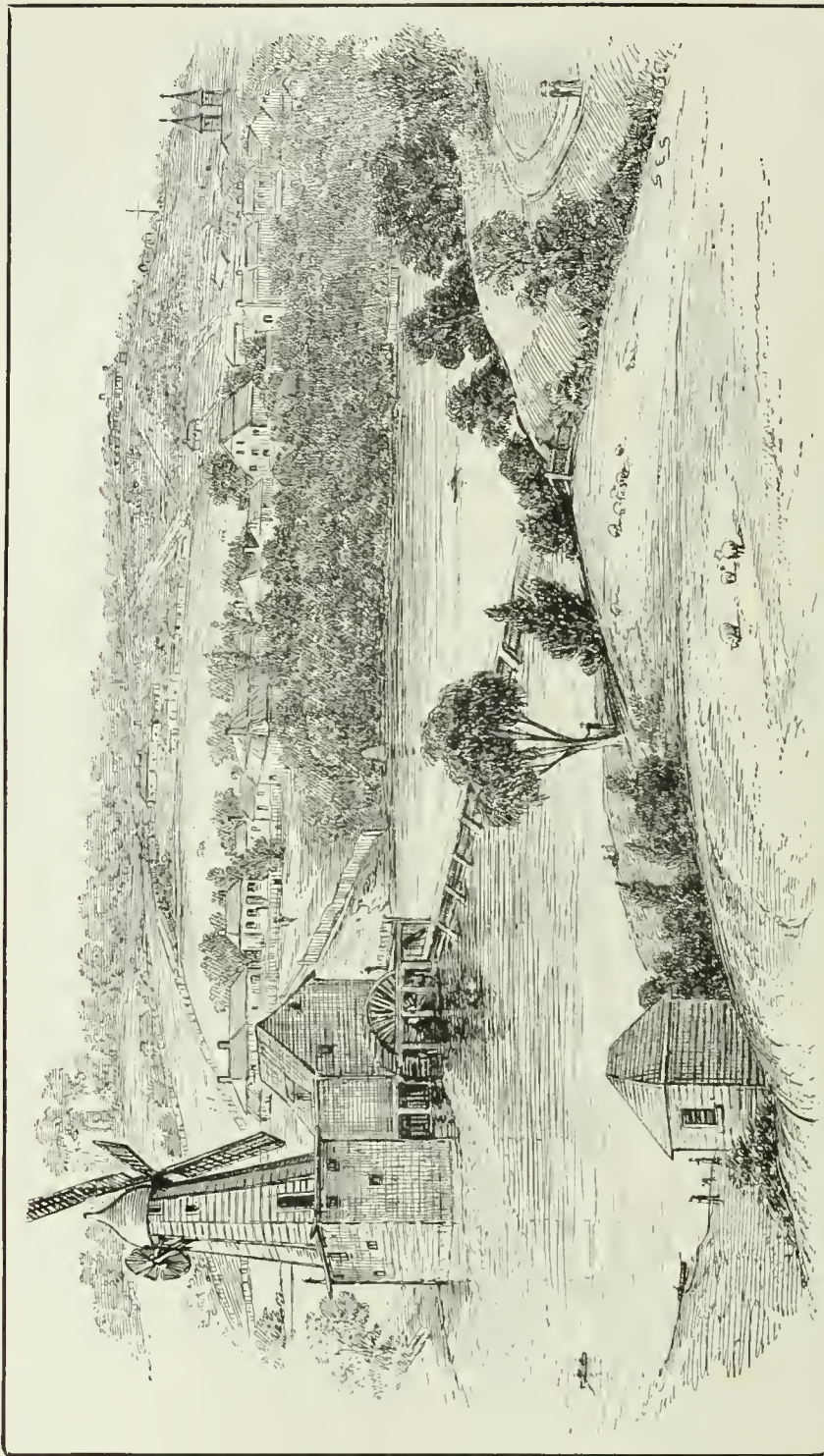
"Their captains and crews are almost certain to be removed from the dangerous connections which they there form. It would, therefore, be greatly to the advantage, pecuniarily, to all those concerned in the sperm whale fishery, to give every support to the mission at New Zealand.

"His Majesty's ministers, I should think, will also take the mission into their favourable consideration from the official communication which his Excellency Governor Macquarie had made to them on the subject."

He adds in a postscript, after the manner of his custom, "Had the Active returned without obtaining the object of her voyage it was my intention to sell her immediately, and not to call on the Society for any money on her account, but the object of the voyage has been more than answered."

Though Mr. Marsden had determined to proceed to New Zealand to found a mission, it is necessary to remember that being an officer in the employ of the Government of New South Wales, he had to obtain permission. New South Wales being a penal colony, people had to give due notice of their intention to leave it, if they proposed doing so. The rule was absolute. Thus, when Mr. Marsden intended going to New Zealand, the following notice appeared in the *Sydney Gazette*: "The Rev. Mr. Marsden, intending shortly to sail for New Zealand, all demands upon him, either of a public or private nature, are to be presented immediately for payment, and such persons as are indebted to him are requested to settle their accounts."

Mr. Nicholas, who went to New Zealand with Mr. Marsden, has a curious hypothesis about this custom which may be worth notice. He writes: "Among the port regulations existing at the colony is one which directs that no vessel shall put to sea without



Sketched by the Rev. R. Taylor in 1836.

View from our Cottage at Parramatta.

having previously mustered the passengers and crew at the secretary's office, where their names and other particulars respecting them are to be formally taken down. The reason assigned for this order is plausible enough; to prevent convicts from making their escape, and debtors from running away without settling with their creditors; but as a fee of half-a-crown is required from each individual, even after his character is proved to be correct, I cannot help thinking that all this preventive caution is used only to fill the purse of the Governor's secretary, who makes no inconsiderable sum by this species of exaction. Mr. Marsden and the New Zealand chiefs were obliged to submit to this demand."

There were other arrangements to be made than those which referred to leaving the settlement, of which the following advertisement will afford some idea:—

Government House, Sydney,
Saturday, 12th November, 1814.

CIVIL DEPARTMENT.

The Rev. Samuel Marsden, principal Chaplain of this territory, having solicited permission to proceed by the brig *Active* to New Zealand for the purpose of endeavouring to effect a friendly intercourse with the natives of that country, and promoting the benevolent views of the Church Missionary Society by introducing among these natives the knowledge of the Christian religion and the arts of civilised society, and His Excellency the Governor giving due consideration to the importance of the objects which may by these means be effected, is pleased to grant Mr. Marsden leave to proceed by such opportunity as he may choose to embrace on the object of his mission to New Zealand, and to be absent from hence four months from the date of his departure.

No. 2 directs Rev. Benjamin Vale to perform Mr. Marsden's duties during his absence.

No. 3. His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to appoint Mr. Thomas Kendall (missionary) to be one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace in the Bay of Islands, in New Zealand, and those immediately contiguous thereto. Mr. Kendall is therefore to be respected and obeyed as such throughout the said islands and places.

By command of His Excellency.

J. T. CAMPBELL, Secretary.

PROCLAMATION.

Government House,
Sydney, New South Wales,
9th November, 1814.

CIVIL DEPARTMENT.

It having been represented to His Excellency the Governor that the commanders and seamen touching at or trading with the islands of New Zealand, and more especially that part of them commonly called the Bay of Islands, have been in the habit of offering gross insults and injury to the natives of those places by violently seizing on and carrying off several of them, both males and females, and treating them in other respects with injudicious and unwarrantable severity, to the great prejudice of the fair intercourses of trade which might be

otherwise productive of mutual advantages; and His Excellency being equally solicitous to protect the natives of New Zealand and the Bay of Islands in all their just rights and privileges, as those of every other dependency of the territory of New South Wales, hereby orders and directs that no master or seaman of any ship or vessel belonging to any British port, or to any of the colonies of Great Britain, resorting to the said islands of New Zealand shall in future remove or carry therefrom any of the natives without first obtaining permission of the chief or chiefs of the district within which the natives so to be embarked may happen to reside, which permission is to be certified in writing under the hand of Mr. Thomas Kendall, the Resident Magistrate in the Bay of Islands, or of the magistrate for the time being in the said district.

It is also ordered and directed by the authority aforesaid, that no master of any ship or vessel belonging to Great Britain, or any of her colonies, shall land or discharge any sailor or sailors, or other persons from on board his ship or vessel, within any of the bays or harbours of New Zealand without having first obtained the permission of the chief or chiefs of the place, confirmed by the certificate of the Resident Magistrate, as in the foregoing case.

Any neglect or disobedience of these orders by the masters or seamen belonging to ships or vessels trading from hence to or having any intercourse with New Zealand, or the adjacent isles, will subject the offenders to be proceeded against with the utmost rigour of the law on their return hither; and those who shall return to England without resorting to this place will be reported to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, and such documents transmitted as will warrant their being equally proceeded against and punished there, as if they had arrived within this territory.

And with a view to carry these orders into due effects His Excellency is pleased to direct that the following chiefs of New Zealand, viz., Duaterra, Shunghi, and Korrakorra, be, and they are hereby invested with power and authority for that purpose, and are to receive due obedience from all persons to whom these orders have reference, so far as they relate to the obtaining permission to remove or carry away any of the natives of New Zealand, or the adjacent isles, or to land or discharge any sailors or other persons thereon.

By command of His Excellency the Governor.

JOHN THOMAS CAMPBELL, Secretary.

The vessel cleared on the 19th of November, 1814, having on board thirty-five persons, composing such a motley gathering as could hardly be found in any other country, or even in the Southern Seas, for any other purpose than that for which they were gathered together. The clearance form gave the following as the persons on board:—

THE SHIP'S COMPANY.

Mr. Thos. Hansen, free settler, master.
Alexander Ross, came free in the *Surry*.
John Hunter, free by birth in New South Wales.
Thos. Hamilton, free by servitude.
William Campbell, free by certificate.
War-ra-ree, New Zealander.
Tommy, ditto.
Dicka-hee, Otaheitan.
Punnee, Bolabolan.

PASSENGERS.

Rev. Samuel Marsden, principal chaplain of New South Wales.
 Mr. William Hall, missionary.
 Mrs. Dinah Hall, wife of Mr. William Hall, missionary.
 William Hall, aged three years, son of ditto.
 Mr. Thos. Kendall, missionary.
 Mrs. Jane Kendall, wife of Mr. Thos. Kendall.
 Thomas, Henry, and William Kendall, children to ditto.
 Mr. John King, missionary.
 Mrs. Hannah King, wife of Mr. John King.
 Philip King, aged fifteen, son to ditto.
 Thomas Hansen, junior, son to the master.
 Mrs. Hannah Hansen, wife to the master.
 Walter Hall convict, specially permitted to embark on security being given for his return in three years by the Reverend Samuel Marsden.
 Henry, alias Patrick Shaffery, convict, security ditto.
 Richard Stockwell, convict, security ditto by Mr. Kendall.
 Mr. John Liddiard Nicholas, settler.
 Ruatarra, Shunghi, Korra-korra, chiefs in the Bay of Islands, New Zealand.
 Tui, Jacky Miti, Tommy, Young Shunghi, Tenana, New Zealanders.

In all, 35 persons.

According to the practice of the time, the Governor gave the natives several articles of great value, in addition to handsome uniforms. Many of the people of Sydney were equally generous, and a stallion and two mares and a bull and two cows formed by no means an unimportant portion of the freight. Nicholas tells us that the little brig with its human beings, "together with sheep and pigs for our live stock, and an immense quantity of poultry belonging to the missionaries, with the addition of goats, cats, and dogs, and a variety of other animals, contained such a heterogeneous collection that it might justly be said to bear a perfect resemblance to Noah's ark."

Bad weather detained the brig in Watson's Bay, and though several attempts were made to get out, Nicholas says "the ship was too clumsily built to sail against the slightest opposition of the weather." During the week they were weather-bound the temper of the chiefs on whom the success of the enterprise mainly depended changed. They became gloomy, sullen, reserved, and suspicious (*pouri*). The same thing had happened them as befel their descendants a quarter of a century later, when they were asked by Governor Hobson to cede their sovereignty to the British crown. They had been told that the missionaries would be followed by such large numbers of their countrymen that they would spread all over the land and either destroy their race or reduce it to slavery; to look around in New South Wales where

the inhabitants had been despoiled of their possessions or shot with great cruelty, and were on the sure road to extinction, and to take warning by their fate. In such a position Mr. Marsden did the wisest thing he could have done. He made no protestation, he attempted no argument. He simply told the chiefs that if they believed this to be true, and had no longer reliance on him and his intentions, he would order the vessel forthwith to return to Sydney Cove, where the missionaries and their families could be landed, and all idea of their holding intercourse with New Zealand should be abandoned. The mere threat was sufficient, and the wind becoming favourable the vessel cleared the Heads on Monday, November 28th, 1814.

When passing the Heads an incident took place which is too significant of the time and its circumstance to escape mention. Nicholas says: "We were followed by a boat, and desired by the people in it to deliver up to them a fugitive convict, who, they said, had contrived to secrete himself on board our ship. Mr. Marsden immediately directed a search to be made, but the person sought for was not to be found, and though the New Zealanders said they had seen a strange man, the sailors declared that he could not be on board. While appearing satisfied with the report they made, the boat took its departure. However, when we had got to some tolerable distance from the harbour, not only the fellow who was the object of their pursuit, but also another, who had likewise concealed himself, appeared walking without the least concern."

The voyage was a long one, or so it would appear to us, as it was not until Saturday, the 17th of December, that the brig was off the North Cape, and the natives were sent on shore to open communication. Food was wanted for the cattle, and though some of the Europeans were desirous of going on shore, they were forbidden by Ruatarra from so doing. But the natives of the district were as eager as the men on board to open communication, and soon a canoe approached close enough for those in it to catch a rope that was thrown to it from the brig, when six of the fourteen people it contained came on board, and the chief, who was among the visitors, ordered the eight who remained in the canoe to go back to the shore and bring off some pigs for the use of the ship. Mr. Marsden explained to the chief the purpose of the mission, the purport of the Governor's proclamation, and the appointment of Mr. Kendall as a magistrate to reside in the Bay

of Islands district. He was gratified with the idea of white men settling in the country, because, like others of his countrymen, he saw that it would be for the apparent profit of his race. The following extract from the journal of Mr. Nicholas cannot here be out of place:—"A piece of India print which Mr. Marsden presented to this chief was received by him with admiration and delight; he gazed on the different figures represented on it with a wild amazement, his eyes sparkling with joy, while throwing it over his shoulders he seemed to think of nothing else but this novel decoration. Neither he nor those by whom he was attended had any other clothes on than a small mat made of the flax, which covered their backs, and had adhering to it long pieces of rush work resembling thatch, which hung down on the outside, and the mat serving them for a close garment was bound round their middle with a belt of a peculiarly strong texture.

"Everything on board afforded matter of astonishment and curiosity to the rude sons of nature. The cows and horses, animals they had never seen before, excited their surprise in a wonderful degree, and one of them seeing a cow with her head stooping down, inquired with much earnestness in what part the mouth was. No less were they astonished with the operation of shaving, for while Mr Marsden was going through this necessary process upon deck, they stared at him with rivetted attention; and one of them continued the whole time with his mouth wide open, gaping at him, nor did he close it until the razor had completely executed its office. On seeing the reflection of their faces in the looking-glass, which for our amusement we placed before them, they started back in a transport of delight, and betrayed their astonishment with many ludicrous emotions.

"While waiting the return of the persons whom the chief had sent on shore, two canoes loaded with various kinds of fish came out to supply the ship, and a single tenpenny nail was sufficient to purchase a fish of 10lb. or 12lb. weight.

"These canoes had scarcely left us when we were visited by two others of a different description—the war canoes—which brought them a variety of articles for the purpose of traffic. One of them contained twenty-four men, the other thirty-three. A brisk trade commenced, and the exchange of commodities on both sides proceeded rapidly."

Some dozen canoes visited the mission brig during the day, and it was not until the day

was far spent that Ruatara and Hongi returned with a quantity of green food for the cattle, and the intelligence that all wars had ceased during his absence. Mr. Marsden wanted to go on shore and spend the night among the people who had visited them, but the caution of Ruatara and Hongi prevented what they considered an exhibition of rashness.

On the Sunday following, the party entered Doubtless Bay, made somewhat conspicuous in our early annals from being the place from whence the two natives were taken in 1793 by Lieutenant Hansen to teach the convicts of Norfolk Island the Maori mode of manufacturing flax. The island in the bay was named, the natives told their visitors, Norfolk Island, to commemorate the remembrance of the island properly so called, on which Uru and his companion, Tuki, had been sojourning with Governor King.

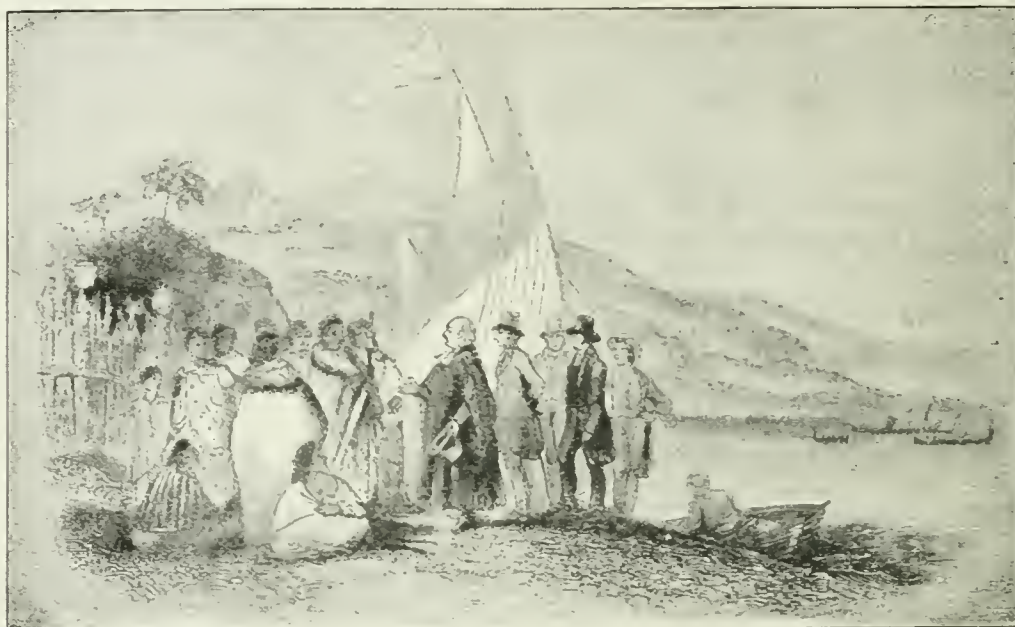
The next morning found them directly in front of the harbour of Whangaroa. From the entrance of the harbour they stood over to the largest of the Cavalles and anchored there, finding it possessing a village of fourteen huts. Having explored the island and fraternised with the inhabitants, on the following morning, Tuesday, they anchored between the Cavalles and the mainland on which the brothers Tara and Te Pahi were encamped with about a hundred of their followers, where they had collected to attend the *tangi* on the death of some chief. George, or Tara as he was named by his own people, fought shy of an interview, but Mr. Marsden was a peacemaker wherever he went, and thought that his first duty was to establish amicable relations with the people of Whangaroa, who had since the Boyd episode in their history been regarded as dangerous, and shunned. The Whangaroa people were also in disgrace with other hapu of their tribe, as the people of the Bay of Islands had now for many years been sedulously fostering confident habits of intercourse with the Europeans. These relations the massacre had disturbed. The mission station had been arranged to be fixed at Te Puna, and the site was too near Whangaroa to allow of hostile relations existing between the hapu of the two places if the people could be brought into concord. It was certainly necessary that Mr. Marsden should understand the native version of the Boyd story, beside obtaining an idea by observation of the number of the people who had acquired so wide and infamous a notoriety. So Ruatara was directed to

interview George, and should he prove to be in a placable mood, to make arrangements for his visiting the ship; a plan which was changed by Messrs. Marsden, Nicholas, Kendall, and Hall, accompanied by Ruatara and Hongi, going on shore and visiting the people.

Berry tells a story, in his dramatic way, that throws light on the relations of the tribes in the northern district of the East Coast in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands. Tara, as before stated, was an Ariki who lived at Kororareka. He had a gallant son, Berry says, the flower of his race. A few years

history of all the northern hapu, and those resident at Whangaroa form no exception to the rule. Though closely allied with the people resident at Te Puna, they had frequently attacked their relatives, and had, as we have already seen, incurred the enmity of those living at Kororareka. Something stronger than tradition also fixes the odium of the Marion massacre on the Ngatipo, so that it was incumbent on Messrs. Hall and Kendall to secure the friendship, if possible, of the people who were to be their near neighbours.

It appears that after landing at the mouth of the harbour the party passed through a



Landing of Rev. S. Marsden in New Zealand, December 19. 1814

before the massacre of the Boyd occurred, he had made a friendly visit to Whangaroa in a canoe with a few followers, and these very chiefs, who had been active in the massacre, had treacherously murdered him, and Tara was now childless. There were, at least, two hapu living at Whangaroa in the beginning of the century, perhaps three. There were the Ngatiuru on the Kaeo stream or river, and the Ngatipo who lived near the mouth of the harbour. The Ngatiuru were, however, the dominant hapu, being allied moreover to Hongi. Both these hapu were concerned in the Boyd outrage, with which Marmon more than hints Hongi sympathised, if he did not participate. An obscurity rests over the

large village crowded with inhabitants, and after walking some half-mile, came to the place where the taua were encamped, on a hill which rose in a conical shape to a considerable height. There, about one hundred and fifty warriors were congregated under the command, it would appear, of the three brothers, Tara, Te Puhi, and Ahuruhuru, the sons of Pipikoitareke.

Ruatara and Hongi led the white men into the camp of their own kinsmen. After the new arrivals had been welcomed, the war dance was performed and food was prepared for the visitors.

Nicholas was a good hand at describing what he saw, and some of his details are

worthy of close attention, as they pourtray primitive Maoridom. He says: "The chiefs, to distinguish them from the common men, wore cloaks of different coloured (dogs') fur, which were attached to their mats and hung down over them in a manner not unlike the loose jackets of our Hussars. The dress of the common warriors only wanted the fur clothes to make it equally rich with that of their superiors, for it was in every other respect the same, and sometimes even more showy. Many of them wore mats, which were fancifully worked round with variegated borders, and decorated in other respects with so much curious art as to bespeak no less the industry than the taste of the ingenious worker. The mats of others among them were even still more beautiful, for they were of a velvet softness and glossy lustre, with devices which were equally tasteful with those already described.

"These mats were all made from flax, and some dyed with red ochre, so that the appearance they presented was gay and characteristic. Each individual wore two of them, and some even more, the inside one being always tied round with a belt in which was stuck their *patoopatoo*.

"With the exception of the chiefs there were very few of them tattooed, but all had their hair neatly combed and collected in a knot upon the top of the head, which was ornamented with long white feathers. Many of them had decorations made of the teeth of the enemies they had slain in battle hanging down from their ears, dollars taken from the Boyd, and rude representations of the human form made of green talc hanging down their breasts. The greater part of the men carried spears of different lengths, battle-axes others, some a *taiaha*, and long clubs made of whale-bone were common." Te Pupi, the brother of George, had a *mere* beaten out of bar iron polished so brightly that Nicholas marvelled how it were done.

When the Europeans were collected together to eat their mid-day meal, the natives surrounded them in a solid phalanx, not a single feature of the repast escaping their notice and comment. Few of them had seen a white man eat before, and while staring with surprise many would call to those around to note the manner of the pakeha feeding. Nicholas observed among the crowd some venerable old men who regarded the new comers—the *taurua*—with silent contemplation, and seemed rather to be occupied in endeavouring to evolve a reason for their

visiting the country than in taking any notice of what they did. They noticed in each settlement a small enclosure surrounding each hut, in which there was a shed where the inhabitants used to take their meals. Why the women ate apart from the men, or why food was always eaten outside the whare in which men and women slept, are customs to us as unexplained as they were to the earliest observers.

Mr. Marsden and his companions spent the night on shore amid their strange companions, and heard from the people who killed and ate their countrymen their version of the deed and the causes they assigned for the massacre. "Awaking Nicholas says, at the dawn of day, a strange scene presented itself to his view. An immense number of human beings, men, women, and children, some half naked, others loaded with fantastic finery, were all stretched about him in the open air in every direction, while the warriors with their spears stuck in the ground and their other weapons lying beside them, were either peeping out from under their mats or shaking from their dripping heads the heavy dew that had fallen in the night. Tara and Te Puihi with three or four of their chief men were invited to go on board to breakfast, an offer which they quickly accepted, after which the various presents that were intended to be given to their late hosts—pieces of red India print, plane irons, scissors, nails, fishhooks, and other articles of trade, were selected from the stores—and distributed by Ruatara to the various persons to whom the gifts were to be bestowed, beginning with Te Puihi as the eldest, and then to Tara and others according as age or rank dictated. With the presents were given copies of Governor Macquarie's proclamations, the rough substance of which it was sought to explain. The breakfast, presentations, and speech-making being over, the natives returned on shore and the ship proceeded on her way."

Early on Thursday, 22nd December, the Bay of Islands was entered, and after firing a salute with the great guns and musketry as a mark of respect to Ruatara, Mr. Marsden had the boat lowered, and, accompanied by Mr. Nicholas, went on shore. They landed at the opening of a narrow valley, through which a small meandering stream found its way to the sea, the steep hills on each side, in some places almost perpendicular, being covered with fern and trees. On the top of a hill that rose to the left with a rugged ascent, and overlooking the harbour, was Rangihoua, now

the residence of Ruatara, and lately that of Te Pahi.

Rangihoua, or Te Puna, as it may indifferently be called, contained a population of one hundred and fifty or two hundred souls, and there appears much doubt whether in 1815 any other kainga in the Bay of Islands district contained a greater number. "On the shore (Mr. Nicholas writes, we found collected a number of the natives, men, women, and children, whose countenances and manners indicated very plainly the pleasure we afforded them by our visit. Mr. Marsden's name was familiar in their mouths, and they crowded round him with strong marks of affectionate regard. On the arrival of the boats with the cattle they appeared perfectly bewildered with amazement, not knowing what to conclude respecting such extraordinary looking animals. Cows or horses they had never seen before, and diverted now from everything else, they regarded them as stupendous prodigies. However, their astonishment was soon turned into alarm and confusion, for one of the cows that was wild and unmanageable, being impatient of restraint, rushed in among them, and caused such violent terror through the whole assemblage, that imagining some preternatural monster had been let loose to destroy them, they all immediately betook themselves to flight.

"But this cause of panic being removed, they did not hesitate to return, and Mr. Marsden, mounting the horse, rode up and down the beach, exciting their wonder in a tenfold degree. To see a man seated on the back of such an animal they thought the strangest thing in nature. Though Ruatara, on his return from his former visit to Port Jackson, had described the nature and use of the horse, his account appeared so preposterous that it only excited ridicule. Having no name in his language for this animal he thought that *kirche*, their term for a dog, would be the best designation he could adopt. On telling them that he had seen large kirehe carry men and women about in land canoes (meaning carriages) they would put their fingers in their ears to prevent themselves from listening to him, and desired him to speak the truth. A few of them, however, more curious than the rest, to prove his veracity, would mount upon the backs of their pigs, saying they must be more fit for the purpose of riding than the kirehe, and endeavouring to gallop them about in the style of European horsemanship they quickly

tumbled into the dirt, and became quite as incredulous as their sceptical companions. This was, therefore, a day of triumph to Ruatara, as it afforded him an opportunity of convincing them by ocular demonstration of the truth of his statement. The cattle, on being landed, were found in a thriving condition, except the cow belonging to Hongi, which appeared in a very weak state."

The female portion of the mission staff visited the chief wife of Ruatara at Te Puna on the same day, where they were initiated into the mysteries of wearing flax mats, and afforded, we may be assured, full scope for the gossip of the tongues of their dark skinned sisterhood. Two European women had been living in the Bay of Islands six or seven years before, and one of them had been buried there: but then those were convicts, while the new arrivals were free women, a distinction we may be certain Ruatara and others would be careful to point out. But the intercourse which had existed between the whalers and Ngapuhi on the East Coast for a dozen years had made their women more learned in feminine matters than those in other districts of Maoridom. Nicholas noticed that the unmarried women of the bay had become adepts in the art of solicitation, and records how that the *ariki* of Kororareka, Tara, some seventy years of age, had for his second wife "a lady whose face was familiar to all the English sailors who happened to touch at the Bay of Islands, and known to them by the soubriquet of 'Mrs. Go-shore,' probably from the fact of her having cohabited with a Captain Jones on board his ship, and who had taught her a smattering of the English language."

On Saturday the natives improvised or arranged a naval sham fight for the entertainment of their guests, Korokoro on the one side, Ruatara on the other. The combatants were nearly equal in numbers, Ruatara having mustered about two hundred combatants, and Korokoro not quite so many. Korokoro early in the morning came across the Bay, the chiefs standing up in their canoes, brandishing their spears and shouting their songs of defiance or incentive. The different chiefs all standing up with their mats thrown over their shoulders, their hair decorated with white feathers, and their faces painted with blue or black pigment, gave a realism to the scene that may be easier imagined than described.

The mission party did not go on shore on the Friday until the afternoon, as there was

a native trial on for adultery with which they desired to have no concern. Mr. Marsden, however, was consulted as to what the punishment should be, and according to the custom of the time advised the application of the cat-o'-nine tails, and thirty lashes were inflicted on the culprit who had been taking liberties with one of the three wives of Ruatara. Nicholas found out a leading principle of the Maori law for adultery, which may be given in his own way to prevent misconception. He says: "If the criminal connection is discovered in the hut belonging to the female, the man is pronounced the seducer, and therefore consigned to death, while the woman escapes with a sound beating; but if the contrary takes place, and the woman is detected in the man's hut, she is sentenced to lose her life, and the man is allowed to escape punishment, which is a rendering of the Maori custom that exception must be taken to."

The Sunday was also Christmas Day, and Ruatara, desirous to mark the event, managed on the Saturday, with some planks and an old canoe, to fit up a place where Mr. Marsden could hold divine service, and improvised a reading-desk, which answered the purpose well, we are told; while at a short distance in front were long planks supported like forms for the Europeans to sit on. The pulpit and reading-desk, Mr. Marsden tells us, were covered either with black native cloth or some duck purchased at Port Jackson. Ruatara had also fenced in some half acre of ground, and erected a flagstaff on the highest hill in the village.

"On Sunday morning (Mr. Marsden writes, when I was upon deck I saw the English flag flying, which was a pleasing sight in New Zealand. I considered it as the signal and the dawn of civilisation, liberty, and religion in a benighted land. I never viewed the British colours with more gratification, and flattered myself they would never be removed till the natives of that island enjoyed all the happiness of British subjects.

"About ten o'clock we prepared to go ashore, to publish for the first time the glad tidings of the gospel. I was under no apprehension for the safety of the vessel, and therefore ordered all on board to go on shore to attend divine service, except the master and one man. When we landed we found Korokoro, Ruatara, and Hongi dressed in regimentals which Governor Macquarie had given them, with their men drawn up, ready to be marched into the inclosure to attend

divine service. They had their swords by their sides, and switches in their hands. We entered the enclosure and were placed on the seats on each side of the pulpit. Korokoro marched his men and placed them on my right hand, in the rear of the Europeans; and Ruatara placed his men on the left. The inhabitants of the town, with the women and children, and a number of other chiefs, formed a circle round the whole. A very solemn silence prevailed—the sight was truly impressive. I rose up and began the service with singing the Old Hundredth Psalm, and felt my very soul melt within me when I viewed my congregation and considered the state they were in. After reading the service, during which the natives stood up and sat down at the signals given by Korokoro's switch, which was regulated by the movements of the Europeans, it being Christmas Day, I preached from the second chapter of St. Luke's gospel and tenth verse, 'Behold, I bring you glad tidings of great joy,' etc. The natives told Ruatara that they could not understand what I meant. He replied that they were not to mind that now, for they would understand by and by, and that he would explain my meaning as far as he could. When I had done preaching he informed them what I had been talking about. Ruatara was very much pleased that he had been able to make all necessary preparations for the performance of divine worship in so short a time, and we felt much obliged to him for his attention. He was extremely anxious to convince us that he would do everything in his power, and that the good of his country was his principal consideration. In this manner the gospel has been introduced into New Zealand, and I fervently pray that the glory of it may never depart from its inhabitants till time shall be no more."

Sunday over, the natives commenced a large building for the missionaries to reside in. It was sixty feet in length and fourteen feet in breadth, divided into four compartments, we are told—one for each family. The smith's forge was erected, and progress was made with charcoal burning. Every one capable of working who could be spared from the ship was busily employed in erecting accommodation for the mission station. On the morning of Sunday, January 8th, the missionaries and their families were all on shore with Mr. Marsden celebrating divine service in the new building, where the chiefs and many of the natives attended and behaved with the greatest propriety. Ruatara's wife,



Colossal Tiki at Raroera Pa.*

however, could not be made to wear the English clothes that Mrs. Marsden had sent her; her countrywomen, she said, laughed and jeered at her, but the day was kept as one of rest, and her husband's flag was hoisted at his fort soon as the morning appeared.

Wednesday afternoon Mr. Nicholas found Mr. Kendall and Mr. Hall comfortably placed in their new dwellings. They had a number of natives employed in securing the roof against rain, the sawyer was engaged in his craft, the smith preparing charcoal, and the wife of one of the chiefs was put by Mrs. Hall to the wash-tub, rubbing linen at a great rate. In fact, the newcomers had so shaken themselves down into their new surroundings that on Thursday, the 12th, Mr. Marsden was enabled to man the brig and proceed on a voyage of discovery to the Thames. The ship's company was as strangely assorted as that which came from Port Jackson. Mr. Nicholas, after giving their names, summarized them in this manner: "Total savages, 28; civilized people, 7: total of both, 35."

We do not get many glimpses of the mission folk in their new habitation, the scribe being mainly employed in narrating what befel the brig on her cruise, and the habits of the natives he came in contact with on shore. Messrs. Hall and Kendall had proposed that the mission station should be placed on the level ground opposite the entrance of the harbour, but they were overruled on this head by Mr. Marsden, who considered no mere advantage of site could weigh with the assumed native protection which would be found at Te Puna. Mr. Marsden's sagacity was subsequently confirmed and made plain. After the return of the Active from her cruise to the Thames, inquiries elicited the reply that "nothing particular had occurred," while they were away, and "that the party was all in good

* Angas, writing in 1844, says: "Not far from the magnificent tomb or papatupakau of the daughter of the Waikato chief Te Wherowhero stand several colossal tikis or obeliscal posts of wood carved with grotesque representations of the human figure, and painted with kokowai or red ochre. Of those still remaining in a state of preservation the one represented in the accompanying plate is, perhaps, the most remarkable. It is difficult to conceive the precise intention of this elaborate specimen of Maori skill in the art of carving, but it probably has some connection with their mythological traditions, and may be intended to portray some of their ancestors, who, according to the legendary tales of the people, landed in a canoe from the eastward, bringing with them the kumara or sweet potato. The name of their great ancestor was Maui, the same by which the lower figure in the carving is designated by the inhabitants at the present day. The height of the image is upwards of fifteen feet."

health and spirits." Progress had been made in the settlement, the blacksmith had begun to work in his forge, Mr. Hall had erected an additional room to his dwelling, and had employed two of the natives permanently. Mr. Kendall had got two scholars under his care, and a steel mill had been erected for grinding meal. But none of the avocations of the pakeha attracted so much attention as that of the smith. To watch his various labours the natives would seat themselves for hours together in his forge, looking at each other with significant amazement whenever any part of his operations appeared more intricate than usual. On these operations they made remarks among each other, and at first all their senses were astonished at the malleability of iron in its heated condition. They always took care to keep at a secure distance from the sparks that were struck out by the hammering, of which they seemed extremely apprehensive; and aware of their fears in this particular, one of them was put into a serious plight for the sake of a little harmless amusement. "This man," Mr. Nicholas says, "was looking on while the smith was taking what is termed a welding heat, and just as the hammer-man began to strike and the sparks to fly out, I took hold of his mat and giving it a violent shake called out with instantaneous alarm, 'Fire! fire! fire!' when springing from my hands with an inconceivable agility, he escaped from the forge almost before I could suppose he was frightened."

Mr. Nicholas went to dine with Mr. Kendall, and thus he narrates his experience: "Arriving at the house I found the door completely beset by a crowd of the natives, whose curiosity to observe all the actions of the pakeha would induce them to remain there from morning to night, without even once stirring from it, unless urged by hunger, an impulse they were always unable to resist. The chiefs would generally force their way in, and as surely leave behind them a plentiful stock of vermin, to the great annoyance of poor Mrs. Kendall, who complained to me sadly of their filthy habits."

There were few cases of theft while the brig remained in the Bay or on the coast. The natives being put upon their honour felt that stealing was almost as bad as violating the *tapu*. The policy of the chiefs in the Bay of Islands was to cultivate amicable relations with the Europeans, which pilfering would be likely to disturb.

Before the departure, however, of the head

of the mission it was considered necessary to have some definite arrangement as to the possession of the land that was being occupied by the settlers. Mr. Marsden, whose schemes and plans appear to have been well thought out, had brought with him from Port Jackson two parchment deeds drawn up in proper form on behalf of the Church Missionary Society, which only required to be signed by the owners of the soil and the price agreed upon to complete the transfer. As this may be regarded as the first valid sale of land in New Zealand, the deed of transfer may be given in full, and such details as are supplied by Messrs. Marsden and Nicholas.

The former writes: "For the purposes of attestation the ingenuity of Hongi furnished a ready contrivance, and that chief drawing upon the deeds a complete representation of the tattooing of the countenance of Kuna, to which the latter set his mark, it served as the ratifying symbol of the agreement. These deeds Mr. Kendall and myself witnessed on the part of the settlers, and a native, whom they called a carpenter, drew the *moko* of one of his cheeks as a corresponding testimony for the New Zealanders. The ground, which consisted of about two hundred acres, Kuna and Whare now declared to be *tapu* to all but the white people, and henceforth the natives were not allowed to enter it without the concurrence of the missionaries."

The following is an exact copy of the agreement:—

Know all men to whom these presents shall come, that I, Ahoo-dee O Gunna, King of Rangee Hoo, in the island of New Zealand, have, in consideration of twelve axes to me in hand now paid and delivered by the Rev. Samuel Marsden, of Parramatta, in the territory of New South Wales, given, granted, and bargained, and sold, and by this present instrument do give, grant, bargain, and sell unto the Committee of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, instituted in London, in the Kingdom of Great Britain, and to their heirs and successors, all that piece and parcel of land situated in the district of Hoshee, in the islands of New Zealand, bounded on the south side by the Bay of Tippona and the town of Rangee Hoo, on the north side by a creek of fresh water, and on the west by a public road into the interior, together with all the rights, members, privileges, and appurtenances thereunto belonging, to have and to hold to the aforesaid Committee of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, instituted in London, in the Kingdom of Great Britain, their heirs, successors, and assigns for ever, clear and freed from all taxes, charges, impositions, and contributions whatsoever, as and for their own absolute and proper estate for ever.

In testimony whereof I have to these presents, thus done and given, set my hand at Hoshee, in the island of New Zealand, this twenty-fourth day of February, in the year of Christ one thousand eight hundred and fifteen.

Signatures to the grant { THOS. KENDALL.
J. L. NICHOLAS.

The deed, it will be seen, bore the date of February 24, and Mr. Marsden's leave of absence was fast coming to an end. The purpose of the mission had been accomplished. The Gospel had been "preached," settlers had been "planted" to teach what they knew of religion, civilisation, and art. No converts had been expected or made, but a child of Christian parents had been born in this kingdom of heathendom, and this infant Mr. Marsden, before he went on board to take his departure, baptized in the presence of the natives. An unit may be said to have been added to the Church. After the celebration of divine service on Christmas Day the natives performed their war dance. Ruatara was known to be dying, and Mr. Marsden had much trouble to see him before his departure, a heathen priest being with him night and day. Four days after the brig sailed Ruatara died, and his chief wife hanged herself to follow her husband to the spirit land. Thus, though a Christian mission had been planted in the "high places" of Maoridom, it had yet to take root.

A large concourse of people assembled to witness Mr. Marsden's departure. Nicholas says they flocked from all parts of the surrounding country, and many were present who had previously come from remote districts. Chiefs pledged themselves to befriend the European settlers now that it was considered probable that the days of Ruatara were fast passing away; and men of importance and the sons of powerful chiefs with their attendants accompanied Mr. Marsden to New South Wales. On February 25, at one p.m., the *Active* started on her return journey, when the usual *hongi* on departure of friends took place. The natives who went in the *Active* were:—Tupi of Kororareka, the brother of Tara; Te Morenga; Te Rangi, brother of Korokoro; Te Nana, a kinsman of Hongi; Totori, a servant belonging to Tupi; Hara, a servant belonging to Te Morenga; Inokiki, a kinsman of Korokoro; Tongamuru, a kinsman of Ruatara; Atu, son of Totori of Kawakawa; Kaitara, son of Pomare.

Five convicts were also to be taken back to Port Jackson—four men and a woman—who had passed into the hands of Mr. Marsden, who was a strict disciplinarian as a servant of the Crown similarly circumstanced perforce must become. Midnight found the vessel near the Cavalles and Doubtless Bay was reached at noon on Sunday, 26th February. Monday they were off the North Cape looking for flax to form

a portion of their return which they acquired on the day following, when they proceeded on their way to Port Jackson. The following estimate was made of the value of the cargo of the *Active* which is one of the earliest "manifests" that we possess of ships employed in the New Zealand trade :

4,848 feet of timber at 2s. 6d. per foot	£606	0	0
Duty, 1s. per foot (deduct)	242	0	0
1,344 pounds of flax at 1s. per pound	394	0	0
Fish and pork	67	4	0
	20	0	0
Value of cargo	£451	4	0

Mr. Marsden and his party landed in Port Jackson on Tuesday, 23rd March, and immediately announced his arrival to the Governor, his leave having expired. The purpose of his visit was plain; but the mission he had founded sought to develop civil and religious life amid a barbarous and savage people, without any knowledge of their language, customs or manners, without even a book, letters, or the common appliances of instruction with which such purposes are generally achieved.

THE NEW ZEALAND SEMINARY AT PARRAMATTA.

A number of natives of New Zealand being in the habit of resorting to Parramatta after the return of Mr. Marsden from England to New South Wales, the idea of a New Zealand seminary naturally arose. In 1810 we find Mr. Marsden telling Mr. Pratt, in one of his letters, "I have three New Zealanders living with me, two of whom are the sons of chiefs." The idea gathered in strength even before the establishment of the mission in 1814. Mr. Marsden having suggested to the Society the advantages that would accrue from the education of some young New Zealanders, the committee agreed to the proposal. The clergymen of the colony, at a meeting held on the Society's affairs, agreed to forward to England their judgment on the plan.

The idea was to form a small establishment for the instruction of youths in the simple arts, such as spinning and weaving their native flax, manufacturing it into twine and cordage, and in blacksmiths' work and agriculture. Such an undertaking, they said, would not only be beneficial to the natives, but would afford security for the settlers sent there, as the youths would be in a sense hostages for their kind treatment, the sons of

chiefs being probably the inmates of the establishment, the annual expense of which, for the hire of necessary buildings, purchase of tools, overseer's wages, and support of the natives, and contingencies, was put down at the modest sum of £200 a year. The establishment was forthwith formed on the Society's account with four young men then at Parramatta staying with Mr. Marsden, who were all connected with the principal families near where the settlers then resided.

The eighteenth report of the Society contains the following notice of the movement:—"A seminary has been established at Parramatta under the superintendence of Mr. Marsden for the instruction of New Zealanders in those arts which are most likely to be beneficial to their country. In January, 1817, this seminary contained eleven young men whose conduct was exemplary."

Four of them had been with Mr. Marsden, he writes, "between one and two years (he was writing in January, 1817). Two of them can speak the English language pretty well, and have acquired a considerable knowledge in the common concerns of civil life. They can now dress their own flax, and one of them can spin a web of canvas very well."

In May, 1818, there were twelve natives in the seminary occupied in the acquisition of useful arts. Some were employed rope-making and twine spinning, and others attending to agricultural processes. Nine of them were about to return to New Zealand in the *Active*. In September the number was six, two having sailed for England a short time before in the *Claudine*. At this date we are told that Mr. Marsden proposed to improve it and extend its scale of operations. It was his intention to put it on such a footing that the natives who entered it might be employed partly in agriculture and gardening, and partly in learning the simple arts, combined with moral and religious instruction.

The success of the seminary in 1819 was so marked that Mr. Marsden was enabled to write as follows:—"After having natives living with me more than four years I cannot entertain a doubt of the success that will attend the establishment of a seminary here. I am now erecting a commodious building on an estate which I purchased on the banks of the river opposite to the town of Parramatta. The situation is very pleasant and convenient in every respect. The estate contains upwards of one hundred acres of land; and every operation of agriculture, gardening, nursery, etc., may be carried on together with the

exercise of the simple arts. When the buildings are completed there will be accommodation for any missionary who may visit Port Jackson while he remains in the colony. Here the natives can be taught and constantly employed. The produce of their labour will contribute something towards their support. They shall learn to plough and sow, and reap, with the management of horses and cattle, and whatever else may be deemed advantageous to them. It will be my object, when a chief's son has learned to plough and has become acquainted with a team of bullocks to let him take them home with him."

Twenty-four young New Zealanders, the report says, have been under Mr. Marsden's care for different periods of time from August, 1817, to March, 1819. He bears honourable testimony as to their conduct: — "They have all conducted themselves with the greatest propriety. There is not an individual in the colony who can make with full justice the least complaint against them. Some of them make considerable progress in English, and improve themselves greatly in the knowledge of agriculture, of which they are very fond. These men will be ready, in their own country, to forward the views of the Society in promoting its civilisation."

"They visit our orchards and vineyards, and are much astonished to see the fruit, and anxious to promote the cultivation of them in their own country. Various things here which they had never before seen furnish us with much conversation about the Maker of all. They see such a difference between our civilised and their savage state that they

cannot be persuaded that the same God made both them and us. When I tell them that there is but one God they advance many arguments to prove my assertion incredible."

In July, 1819, when Mr. Marsden was about to embark on a second visit to New Zealand, twelve natives came over, who, with four others before in the seminary, were left by him to be employed in learning to make bricks or nails, or in blacksmith's work, or some other useful trade.

On Mr. Marsden's return from New Zealand in November, 1819, Mr. Samuel Butler, son of the Rev. John Butler, accompanied him in order to act as a teacher at Parramatta until his services should be wanted in New Zealand. Five sons of chiefs went with them. Mr. Butler writes: "From what I have seen of those New Zealand youths who have been in that seminary, I am persuaded that it is a matter of the first importance always to have there some of the children of the principal chiefs, as they will not only have an opportunity of seeing, but of being initiated in the customs and manners of civilised life. Those who have been at Parramatta for any length of time do



Mr. G. Clarke.

not appear like the same persons when they return. Their natural ferocity seems very much softened, their minds enlightened, and themselves more than ever attached to Europeans, and especially to the missionaries. They relate also to their own people the things that they see and hear, which has a great tendency to make a favourable impression on their minds, and to open their eyes to see our intention in coming among them."

Mr. Marsden, with greater sagacity, says:

"It is very pleasing to see the sons of the rival chiefs living with me and forming mutual attachments. By the sons of chiefs living together in civilised life, and all receiving equal attention, they will form attachments which will destroy that jealousy which has kept their tribes in continued war." In February, 1820, there were twenty-five New Zealanders in the seminary.

In the twenty-second report we are told: "The seminary at Parramatta for New Zealanders has been for the present suspended, the change of habits and climate being found injurious to the health of the natives, and to require a degree of attention to them which under present circumstances could not be paid."

Writing on this head Mr. Marsden says: "Three of the young men who lived with me at Parramatta and returned in the Dromedary have died. Seven have died this year who were with me at the beginning of it—four in New South Wales and three in New Zealand. These young persons belonged to the first families in the Bay of Islands. The death of the youths seems to have attached the New Zealanders more than ever to the Europeans, though I thought it would have had an opposite effect. Many others are urgent to send their children to Port Jackson. My opinion is that if half the New Zealanders were to die in their attempt to force themselves into civil life, the other half would not be deterred from making the effort, so anxious do they seem to attain our advantages."

In the year following we are told that Mr. Clarke was instructing some natives of New Zealand and the Sandwich Islands who were at Parramatta, for though the seminary established there for New Zealanders had been suspended, the natives visit it at all opportunities, on which occasions every endeavour was made to bring them acquainted with the English language and manners.

From his fourth visit Mr. Marsden was more than ever convinced of the importance of a seminary in New South Wales for the instruction of the New Zealand children, and resolved on his return to renew the attempt to establish such an institution, with the further view of providing education therein, also for the European children of the mission who were now becoming considerable. The Governor offered some land near Mr. Marsden's for the purpose; but it being poor and lacking water Mr. Marsden declined the offer. He writes: "I have fixed on some good land which I purchased a few years ago

where there is plenty of water with other local advantages, within sight of my own house, and a little distance from the town. When the seminary is built and it is found to answer I will make over to the Society as many acres as may be deemed necessary; the buildings will be of freestone, not large and expensive, but sufficient to make a trial with. If the seminary should not answer the buildings will be valuable and the land will always be worth what it is now, and the Society need not pay for it until the institution is perfectly established. I shall consider myself responsible for all the expenses till approved by the Committee. When the buildings are completed, and there is a fair prospect of success, I will then leave it at their option to purchase them or not."

Mr. Marsden, at this period, had six New Zealanders living with him, all young men of good family.

The party of Davises landed in New South Wales on the 7th of May, but did not proceed to New Zealand until August. Mr. Richard Davis had been a tenant farmer, occupying Woodrow Farm, of two hundred and sixty acres, in Dorsetshire. Having strong religious convictions, he was accepted by the Church Missionary Society in 1823, on the recommendation of the Rev. J. N. Coleman, M.A., incumbent of Ventnor, and sailed for New South Wales in November, 1823. The friends of Mrs. Davis were strongly opposed to her engaging in what they regarded as a quixotical expedition, and she was offered a good farm in the parish of Stourton-Caundle, rent free, if she would remain in England and refuse to go to New Zealand, but she determined to accompany her husband. On arrival at Parramatta Mr. Davis had some of the native youths in charge during his stay, and thus writes concerning them: "I have had some of the New Zealanders under my instruction for some time, and am happy to tell you that I am much pleased with their behaviour and disposition. They learn to read and write very fast. I teach them to read in the morning till ten o'clock, then I take them out to work till two, when they go to their dinner, and afterwards I teach them to write."

In September, 1824, Mr. Marsden writes: "I am getting on very fast with the seminary. I have six youths with me at present; they improve much and behave well; there were ten, but four have returned to New Zealand. In about a month I shall have them in the new building, as sufficient accommodation may then be had for them and the school-

master. A man who is a weaver and can instruct them in all the branches of the flax business, is now living with his wife in the school till the other parts of the building are completed.

"Our leading men, from what they see, are fully convinced that the mission will succeed.

Several of the New Zealanders now living with me lately spent the evening with the Judge, and gave much satisfaction to him and other gentlemen present."

Mr. Marsden recommended that a clergyman should take charge of the institution, and suggested that such an one could occasionally visit New Zealand; and at other times, by taking his own colonial duty, might enable him to renew his visit to the mission, and might, in case of necessity, act as the Society's agent and representative in the colony.

In the next report we are told that the main building and the two wings are covered in, and the wings were inhabited. On the 17th March, 1825, there were with Mr. Marsden five New Zealand youths who had made considerable

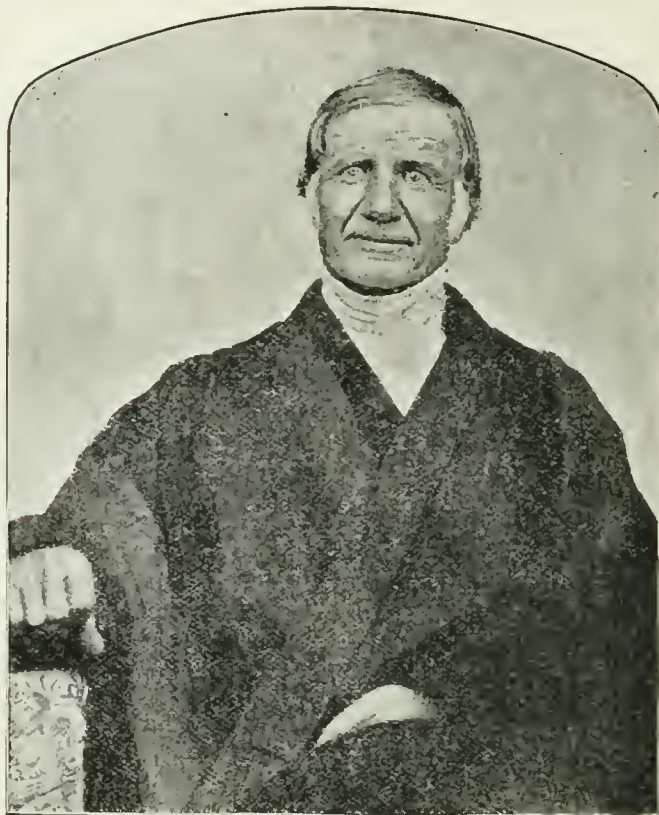
improvement. There were at that time about twelve New Zealanders in the colony with some natives of Otaheite, the Friendly Islands, and other parts, wherefore Mr. Marsden remarks:—"New South Wales is the point from which the light of the gospel will shine on the unnumbered islanders of the South

Seas. It is pleasing to see them coming among us so freely, and with such implicit confidence."

The next year we are told that "the New Zealand Seminary at Parramatta is now completed. Mr. William Hall and his family, with four New Zealanders and nine natives of New Holland, reside there. On Sundays he reads the service and lectures to the convicts and settlers in the vicinity."

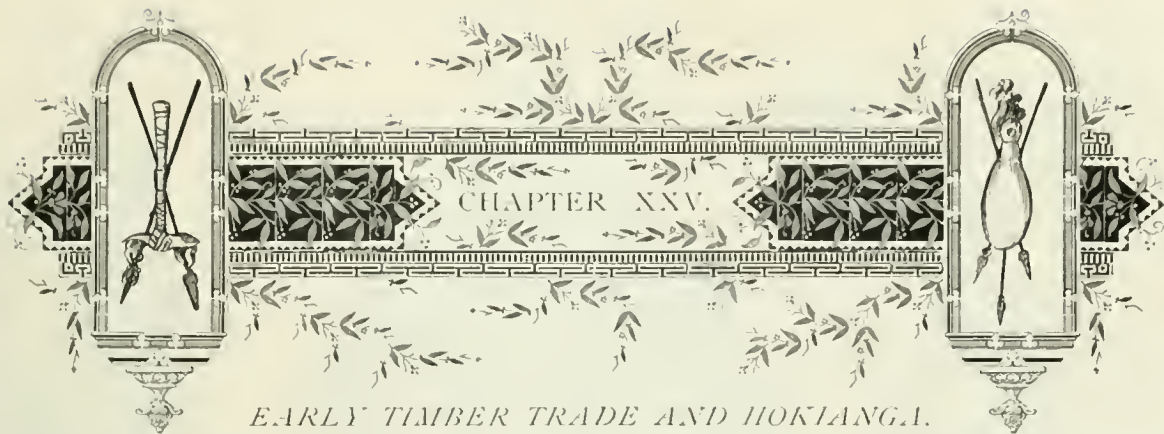
From January, 1827, the building in which the New Zealand Seminary was held was rented by the Corporation from the Grammar School.

Where the Grammar School was situated in Parramatta diligent inquiry has failed to discover. Its memory, as well as that of the Maori establishment at Parramatta, appears to have passed away from the memory of the living.



The Rev. Richard Davis





EARLY TIMBER TRADE AND HOKIANGA.

The beginnings of the timber trade—Duties levied on New Zealand timber at Sydney—Attempt by Maoris to seize the ship Harriet in 1817—Cruise of H.M.S. Dromedary in 1820 in search of kauri pine—Exploration of the Hokianga River—The Prince Regent the first vessel that entered the harbour—Friendly disposition of Hokianga natives—H.M.S. Dromedary loaded with spars at Kawakawa and Whangaroa—H.M.S. Coromandel loaded with spars at the Thames—Wreck of the Cossack at Hokianga.



THE ship *City of Edinburgh*, Captain Pattison, was, in 1809, loaded with timber in the Bay of Islands for the use of the British Navy at the Cape of Good Hope. The timber was procured by native labour, and most probably obtained in the Kawakawa. There does not appear to be any earlier record of the timber trade at the Bay of Islands district than this transaction in the nineteenth century. Marion

du Fresne doubtless obtained his timber from the same locality, but his supply could hardly be called a trading transaction; while the shipment from Dusky Bay to Port Jackson, and those from the Thames to India and the Cape of Good Hope, have received distinct and earlier notices.

The *Perseverance*, Captain Keiramguard, appears to have been one of the earliest of the colonial trading vessels which entered into the timber trade between Port Jackson and New Zealand, as she brought a shipment of spars into Sydney about the end of March, or beginning of April, 1810. It is worthy of remark that on the same voyage she carried the Boyd's long-boat to Port Jackson, which had escaped the destruction by fire which accidentally happened the ship through the

imprudence of the head of the tribe—the father of George, or Tara. Another of the boats belonging to the Boyd Berry presented to Tara of Kororareka.

The Boyd's long-boat became a small colonial vessel at Sydney, and was employed in the coasting trade, but was lost with a full cargo of wheat on board on a beach between Hunter's River and Port Stephens, commonly called in those days the Sand Hills. The mischance befel her in July, 1812.

On 26th June, 1813, a proclamation was issued in Sydney fixing the duties to be levied on certain articles landed in the colony on and after first July ensuing, whether destined for colonial consumption or for reshipment. Some of the articles included in the proclamation are as follows:—Pearl shells, £2 10s. per ton; beche le mer, £5; sperm oil per tun of 252 gallons, £2 10s.; black whale oil or other oil, £2; on each fur seal skin, one half-penny; on each hair seal skin, one penny; on spars from New Zealand or elsewhere for every twenty, £1; on timber in log or plank from New Zealand or elsewhere for each solid foot, one shilling and sixpence.

In 1814 there returned from her trip to the Derwent the colonial ship Governor Macquarie, Captain Buncker, she having been from Tasmania to New Zealand, where she had obtained a cargo of spars.

The *Active*, when she returned on her second trip to New Zealand, carried to



Ornamental Carvings in wood.*

Sydney 4,848 feet of timber, which was valued without duty at 2s. 6d. per foot. The "New Zealand pine" imported by the *Active* was advertised for sale as somewhat of a novelty in Port Jackson by Mr. B. Smith, and Mr. Marsden took care that its merits were made known both in Sydney and at the Antipodes. It is probable that the large sum paid for import duty by the *Active* may have caused or helped to produce the following proclamation:—

GOVERNMENT PUBLIC NOTICE.

Secretary's Office, Sydney,

Saturday, 10th August, 1816.

It being represented that the pine and other timber occasionally imported from New Zealand do not sell here at the high prices they were supposed to bring when certain duties were laid upon them, His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to order and direct that instead of one shilling and sixpence per solid foot being demanded for duty, as fixed by the Government order of 26th June, 1813, on timber and log in plank from New Zealand, that from and after the present date the sum of sixpence only per solid foot shall be charged as duty on all timber, whether log or plank, that may be imported from New Zealand. The duty on spars to continue as established by the said order 26th June, 1813.

J. T. CAMPBELL.

On the 10th September, 1817, there arrived at Port Jackson from the Bay of Islands the ship *Harriet*, Captain Jones, with a cargo of spars for England, whence she proceeded about the end of the year—on 22nd December—after filling up with seal skins and wool. Captain Jones reported that he remained in the Bay of Islands, from whence he obtained his timber, some eight weeks in what he called the south-east river (probably the Kawakawa, and while there received information at various times of plots being formed among the natives for the capture of the vessel, but being constantly on the alert, the attempt was never made. Nine of the crew of the *Harriet* had refused duty, and as there were few other whites except the officers on board—the ship being partly manned with Lascars—the design of the seizure of the

* No. 1. Raised stand for supporting *tapu*d articles consecrated to the dead. Found amongst the ruins of Waitahanui pa at Lake Taupo.

No. 2. The celebrated image of Rangihatea, carved by himself. This forms the lower portion of the central pillar supporting the roof of Rangihatea's house on the island of Mana, called *Kai Tangata*, or "Eat-man." This image is about four feet high, and occupies the centre of the inner compartment of the building. It is carved out of very hard wood of a dark colour. The eyes are inlaid with pawa, or pearl shell (*haliotis*).

No. 3. Papa, a carved box for the reception of the tail feathers of the huia (*Neomorpha Gouldii*), which are worn in the hair of chiefs on all occasions of ceremony.

Augas.

vessel only waited opportunity up to the date of her departure from the bay, where she had arrived on 23rd June. About the middle of August the captain stated the purpose of assault continued, when the conspirators finding that they could not succeed in getting the captain and officers to visit their villages, became bolder, and on daylight 22nd July visited the ship with a fleet of war canoes, eleven in number, and stood directly towards the vessel, around which a number of other canoes and armed chiefs and natives were already collected. The chief Pomare at this time drew alongside, intending to go on board as had hitherto been his custom; but this privilege being refused him, and seeing the ship in a condition of defence, the natives obeyed the orders of the captain to keep a distance from the vessel under penalty of their canoes being fired into. The Maoris appeared unusually insolent to Captain Jones and his officers, constantly using menacing and provocative language and gestures, which the captain believed they did because they considered themselves protected by the consciousness that the missionaries on shore were always in their power. Messrs. Hall and King were frequently on board, and, the captain said, declared their situation to be far from enviable, as the natives robbed them of what they saw they possessed, and desired.

The plan laid to cut off the *Harriet*, he says, was by no means limited in extent, as chiefs from the river Thames were supposed to be ready to participate in the pillage. In connection with this statement, it may be known that Mr. Hovell, of the Brothers, was told by the natives that three ships had been cut off in New Zealand, of which no information had reached New South Wales; one at the Thames, and one at Mercury Bay.

Captain Thomson, of the brig *Active*, early in 1819 brought from New Zealand 6,000 feet of plank sawn by the natives themselves, and given to the mission in payment for stores received. On a second voyage, arriving in Port Jackson on 30th July, the *Active* brought a cargo of spars from the Bay of Islands.

It is doubtful whether any kauri was taken from the Thames at the beginning of the century for the Cape of Good Hope or the Indian markets, as the kind of timber Collins tells us, selected appears to have been the kahikatea of the Maori, or the *podocarpus dactyloides* of the botanist. Cook called the attention of the British Government to the value of the kauri tree, but no direct attempt to procure a cargo for naval purposes appears

to have been made until the year 1820, when the store ships *Dromedary* and *Coromandel* were utilised for that purpose. The *Dromedary* storeship, formerly the *Howe* frigate, was employed to carry convicts to New South Wales; and after she had landed the people, she was directed to proceed to New Zealand, there to endeavour to get "a cargo of very long spars known to grow in that country."

The immense spars requisite for making the topmasts of the larger classes of ships in the navy had become so extravagant in price, and so scarce in Europe, that it was necessary to look for them elsewhere. Captain Cook had mentioned in his voyages that he thought the timber he had seen in New Zealand, if light enough, would make the finest spars for ships in the world: persons who subsequently visited New Zealand had confirmed his opinion, and a small spar which was brought from thence by the *Catherine* whale ship, was much approved of, and purchased for a foretop-gallant mast for the *Dromedary*. It was well tried during its return to its native country, and proved itself to be, in seaman's phrase, "a stick of first-rate quality."

Two kinds of trees were known in England to grow in New Zealand that were thought to be fit spars for use in the navy, the *kaihikatea* and the *kauri*, which latter kind the *Dromedary* was directed, if possible, to obtain. It was requisite that spars for topmasts for the largest ships of the navy should be from seventy-four to eighty-four feet long, from twenty-one to twenty-three inches in diameter, and perfectly straight, and to ensure success for the experiment the trees were to be near the water's edge to obtain facility for loading.

The *Dromedary* sailed for New Zealand from Port Jackson the 15th February, 1820, attended by the colonial schooner *Prince Regent*, commanded by Mr. Kent, who was directed by the Governor of New South Wales to afford any assistance in his power to bestow. Mr. Cruise, who was the historian of the voyage, says: "To facilitate the object of the *Dromedary's* present service we were accompanied by the Rev. S. Marsden, principal chaplain to the colony of New South Wales, who had established some missionaries in New Zealand, and who, having frequently visited that island, was considered popular among its inhabitants."

On the 28th February the *Dromedary* was within the heads of the Bay of Islands. On the 1st of March the *Kawakawa* was examined for timber, and though plenty of *kahikatea*

was found growing close to the water's edge of the largest dimensions in use for naval purposes, no *kauri* was discovered. On the 5th of the month it was determined to explore the banks of the *Hokianga*, where *kauri* was reported to be found growing contiguous to the water's edge, and a party went overland by the way of *Kerikeri*, accompanied by Messrs. Marsden and Hall, for the purpose of learning the truth of the report. On Saturday, the 18th, the party returned, accompanied by some of the chiefs of the district. The river was found to be navigable for some miles, and its banks produced abundance of *kauri* of the largest description. The entrance, however, was narrow, and across it there was a bar which gave nineteen feet of water at the lowest tide. This was the earliest report on the river by naval authority, though the mission settlers had been down the stream on two or more previous occasions.

The colonial schooner, *Prince Regent*, had been sent along the coast to discover if any *kauri* was to be found between the Bay of Islands and Bream Head; but wherever she had met with much timber there was no safe anchorage, and where shelter for shipping had been found there was no *kauri*. On the receipt of this news preparation was made to visit *Hokianga*, and the chiefs of the west who had returned with the inquiry party and had been kept on board pending a decision of a visit, were called on deck to say upon what terms they would load the ship in the event of her going into their river. They said they could give *kauri* for axes—the only articles of trade the store ships possessed for barter, as muskets and gunpowder had been forbidden to be used as "trade" before the *Dromedary* left England. They also promised to prevent the ship's company from annoyance, and to point out when persons should be allowed to come on board.

Cruise writes: "The jealousy of the people of the Bay of Islands at the departure of the ship, was equal to the joy of those among whom it was intended she should go; and determined as the former were to force us into a traffic for muskets and powder, now that they saw things at a crisis, they would, if the timber had been within their reach, have given it to us for our axes sooner than let them go into the hands of strangers."

"On Lady-day the anchor at daylight was weighed, but the weather proving bad on the evening of the 28th the anchor was dropped off *Whangaroa Heads*. In the morning following *Te Peri*, the chief of the *Ngatipo*,

went on board and remained some time; and though solicited, offered the strangers neither a welcome nor articles of barter. His pa, to the eastward of the mouth of the river, was on an insulated rock three hundred feet in height, excessively steep, and in some places perpendicular.

"At this time the Ngatiuru, who lived some distance up the harbour on the banks of the Kaero, were not visited, but as soon as the weather proved fair the ship proceeded north, doubled Cape Maria Van Diemen on the Thursday, and on the evening of the same day made the Hokianga Heads. At daybreak boats were sent off to sound the bar and place buoys in the harbour, while the ship stood off and on at some distance; and during the morning news was brought on board that the Prince Regent schooner was safe at anchor in the river, having arrived there on the Wednesday previous, March 29."

The Prince Regent appears to have been the first European vessel in the Hokianga. Cook passed the mouth of the river without seeing it. While the question was being debated whether the bar was practicable for the Dromedary to cross, Cruise says: "Crowds of people flocked in from the adjacent country and took up their residence upon the beach in anxious expectation of our coming into the harbour."

On Saturday, April 1, the commander considering the bar too hazardous, the vessel stood seaward and remained under easy sail during the night; but on Wednesday following was back and safely anchored in the Bay of Islands.

Cruise spoke highly of the Hokianga people. He said: "The little intercourse which the natives had hitherto carried on with Europeans made their anxiety to trade with them so great that they had already collected their hogs and potatoes from a considerable distance, and only waited for us to come into smooth water, that they might bring them alongside and dispose of them."

"The people here (he continues) seemed to be of industrious habits, of milder manners, and far more under the control of their chiefs than those at the Bay of Islands. When the Prince Regent schooner, which arrived two days before the Dromedary, anchored in the river, so many war canoes filled with men surrounded her, that the commander, whose crew consisted of nine persons, was not a little alarmed at his unprotected situation; but his apprehensions were soon removed by a chief named Muriwai, who came on deck

and made the vessel *hupu*, while Moetara, the chief of the tribe in the immediate neighbourhood of the Heads, daily presented the people with several baskets of potatoes, and extended the same liberality to the boats of the Dromedary when they accidentally went on shore."

On the Saturday after arrival in the Bay of Islands, the carpenter and a party went up the Kawakawa to examine the kahikatea growing on its banks, and to ascertain whether a cargo could be obtained if kauri could not be got. On Sunday, the day following, Titore undertook to supply the ship with as many spars as she wanted at the rate of one spar for each axe, and to float them down the river.

On the 30th May the Coromandel, storeship, which was employed on the same service as the Dromedary, came inside the heads of the bay, and anchored in the evening in Paroa Bay. The success which had hitherto attended the Dromedary was not sufficient to induce the Coromandel to occupy the same ground, and on the 7th June she sailed for the Thames, having on board Mr. Marsden, a native of the Hauraki named Taureta, and Te Morenga and Tui of the Bay of Islands.

A party had been sent from the Dromedary to Whangaroa, and on Saturday, the 3rd June, returned, and reported that George, or Tara, had treated them with marked civility, and that the banks of the river on which he lived abounded with kauri. It was therefore determined to abandon all operations at the Kawakawa, and sail as soon as possible for Whangaroa. Eighteen spars were all the produce of the Kawakawa, and those were kahikatea instead of kauri.

The vessel entered the Whangaroa harbour on the 21st June, and remained there until the 29th November, when her cargo was completed. On the 5th December she left New Zealand, Sydney Cove on 21st of the same month, and reached England on the 3rd July, 1821.

This is hardly the place to detail the incidents of the stay of the Dromedary in the Bay of Islands and Whangaroa, but an extract showing the manner in which the kauri was obtained at Whangaroa is quite pertinent to our purpose. Cruise says: "A road was first made a mile and a quarter long over a clay surface, which could not be kept in repair in bad weather. The trees were felled in a deep ravine, and before any attempt to remove them from the spot where they had fallen it was necessary by trimming

them to reduce their weight and size as much as possible. This done, they were dragged to the top of the hill by means of a capstan, which was erected upon it; but the distance from the capstan to the tree was often so great and the obstructions of stumps and swampy ground so numerous, besides that the tackle often got foul or broke, that one spar was often the produce of two days' incessant labour. The men commenced their work before sunrise, nor did their toils cease till late in the evening. They lived in a hut frequently not proof against the inclemency of the weather, and in point of food they had to undergo the privations incident to a ship many months detained in a country where fresh provisions could not be procured."

The *Coromandel*, Captain Downie, arrived in Sydney with a cargo of spars from the river Thames on June 14, 1821, having been seventeen days on the passage. An account of her voyage, or rather of the journey made by Mr. Marsden, who was a passenger by her, will be given in the records of the progress of the mission.

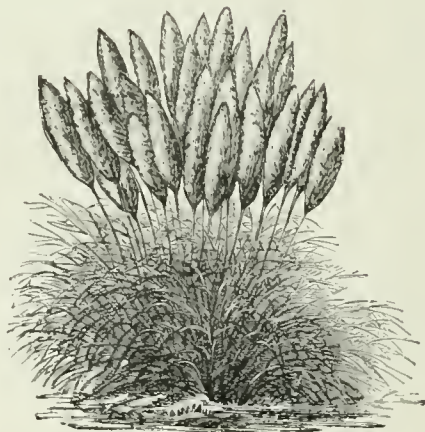
Except some scattered notices about the Hokianga and the foundation of the timber trade, for which the district was celebrated, we hear but little how it grew in importance until the latter end of the year 1827, when Mr. Earle landed there, accompanied by Mr. Shand, and went across the isthmus to the Bay of Islands. Herd, in the *Providence*, was there in 1822, and obtained loading, as will be more fully explained later on, and though the *Cossack* was wrecked there in

1823, no other mention is made of vessels calling beside these twain, until Captain Kent, of the brig Governor Macquarie, arrived there with Mr. and Mrs. Hobbs, and Messrs. Earle and Shand, at the end of October, 1827.

The natives behaved very well at the wreck of the *Cossack*, a far better fate befalling the shipwrecked men than would have happened them if cast away at that date on the Cornish coast. The master of the vessel, writing from Kororareka on July 5, 1823, says: "I give you this short account of the loss of my vessel at Hokianga at the entrance of the river, and the conduct of the natives towards me and my crew after the loss, which was kind beyond all my expectations. The wreck was a total loss; there was not anything saved by myself or crew except a few clothes, and it was with much difficulty that all the crew were saved. The natives gave us the best they had to eat, and the best houses were at our service whenever we came; and what is more, a chief of Wheedeea, who called himself Carlew Nasso,* supplied me and my people with provisions for our passage overland to the Bay of Islands, and accompanied us with a party of about twenty-five of his people for our protection. The loss of my vessel ought not to discourage any other person from going to that place."

The writer, Captain Dick, whose manner of spelling Maori names is somewhat unique, went to Europe, after the loss of his vessel, in the ship *Sarah*, Captain Munro. The *Cossack* was an American schooner.

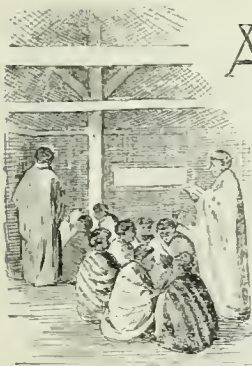
* Probably Karu Ngahau, or Karu Ngaio.





PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH MISSION.

The illness and death of Ruatara—Native ceremonies over his body—Hongi promises the missionaries his protection—Native disturbances—Purchase of land for the mission at Waitangi—Mr. Hall establishes himself there—Waitangi abandoned—Visit of a whaling captain who had attacked Te Pahi—Death of Hongi's brother and attempt of Hongi to hang himself—Maori ideas of worship—A school established in connection with the mission—Two Christian concerts in England—The mission strengthened—Extraordinary action of the natives to procure iron—A protest against outrages by traders—Progress of the mission schools—The visit of Mr. Leigh in the Active—Excursion of the missionaries to Hokianga—Visit of Mr. Marsden—Choice of a new mission site at Korikeri—The first boat built in north New Zealand—Mr. Marsden's visit to Hokianga—Purchase of 13,000 acres at Korikeri for forty-eight axes—Messrs. Butler and Kemp take charge of the Korikeri station—Mr. Marsden's visit in H.M.S. Dromedary—Hongi's departure for England—The cruise of H.M.S. Coromandel—Mr. Marsden's visits to the Thames, Kaipara, the River Wairoa, and the Waitemata—Journeys through the North Island—Mr. James Shepherd despatched to instruct the natives in gardening and agriculture—How Parcha imitated honesty—Success of peach culture—Hongi's return from England—He organises a war expedition against the Ngētīpou and slaughters a thousand of them—Death of Governor Macquarie—Efforts by the mission to utilize the flax—Progress at Korikeri—Translation of the gospel by Mr. Shepherd—Messrs. Kendall and Butler cease to be connected with the mission society—Orderly behaviour of the natives at Rangihoua—Arrival of the Rev. Henry and Mrs. Williams and Mr. Fairburn.



November, 1814, in which your Excellency instructed me to explore as much of the sea coast and the interior of New Zealand as my limited time would permit, and to report to you such observations as I might be able to make relative to that island, I

AFTER Mr. Marsden had interviewed the Governor on his return from New Zealand, we find the chaplain, on 30th May, 1815, writing as follows:—

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—In obedience to your Excellency's official communication directed to me on the 17th

have the honour to transmit the following statement for your Excellency's information.”

The contents of the letter simply consist of a digest of the chaplain's journal, the information in which has been placed before the reader in the form that was considered most convenient for his perusal and acquisition.

Though sent to New Zealand by the Church Mission Society, Messrs. Hall and King had established themselves in profitable occupations in New South Wales during the time of their enforced residence in the settlement. Mr. King, Nicholas states, was in the receipt of £400 a year, which his business produced him in the settlement, and Mr. Hall was probably equally profitably engaged. Men having handicrafts in new settlements could hardly fail in becoming rich, and going to New Zealand would, even in Port Jackson,



Monument of Te Wherowhero's daughter at Raroera Pa.*

be considered the high road to wealth. Those engaged under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society as settlers of the Society were regarded as exceptionally fortunate. The Maori trade was early recognised as offering a promising field of enterprise. Few other people would be willing to barter their articles of value for old iron.

Previous to quitting Port Jackson, Mr. Marsden says :—"I had left Messrs. Kendall, Hall, and King at liberty to lay in what articles of trade and other necessary comforts they might think proper, as I was ignorant at the time of the local situation and other circumstances connected with the intended settlement. After I had been at New Zealand some time I was convinced that it would be very unwise to allow any of the settlers to trade with the natives on their own account, and in order to guard against evils which might defeat the views of the Society, I spoke to the settlers upon the subject, and told them my opinion, and that I could not allow them to have any private trade whatever; and in order that they might have no just cause for complaint, that I would pay them for all the articles of trade which they had brought with them, as well as for all the tea, sugar, and necessaries which they had laid in for the use of their families, and that they should be allowed a given ration of what they wanted—clothes excepted—per week, till I had submitted the matter to the consideration of the Society and had received their instructions.

* Of the remarkable monument depicted on the preceding page, Angas writes: "It is customary in New Zealand, when any person of rank dies, to erect a mausoleum, or monument of carved and ornamental wood to the memory of the deceased, the dead body being placed in an upright position within the building until the ceremony of lifting or depositing the bones takes place. This monument is called *papatupapaku*, and is variously decorated according to the taste of the tohunga. The most elaborate of these structures still remaining is the one raised by Te Wherowhero, the head chief of the Waikato tribes, in memory of his favourite daughter at the now deserted pa of Raroera. The old pa was laid under a strict tapu by the chief Te Waro, and has not since been inhabited, the people leaving their arms and provisions exactly as they remained at the moment of the tapu being pronounced. At the period of my visit (1844) to the decaying ruins of this once magnificent pa I found the monument in a tolerable state of preservation. It is about fourteen feet high, and the carving, which displays exquisite skill, was entirely executed by one man, his only instrument being an old bayonet. It is reported of Te Wherowhero that on the occasion of his daughter's death he was so exasperated as to pronounce a curse on all the surrounding chiefs. Tariki, the principal chief of Mokau, resented the insult, and demanded payment in compromise. Te Wherowhero presented the latter chief with the original suit of armour given by George IV. to E. Hongi when he visited England."

The settlers for this indulgence were to purchase from the natives whatever articles of commerce they might bring for sale, on account of the general concern, the profits of which, when sold, would go towards defraying the expenses. This plan some were not prepared to sanction without a little hesitation, but I found it absolutely necessary in the infant state of the settlement, and it was at length finally adopted."

The settlers were to be all equal in authority. They had no head. They were to be allowed a profit of five per cent. upon the net proceeds of whatever cargo the Active brought to Port Jackson. Mr. Marsden had the satisfaction of leaving all the members of the mission contented.

The following persons were left at Rangihoua: Mr. and Mrs. Kendall, a servant and three boys; Mr. and Mrs. Hall and one boy; Mr. and Mrs. King and two boys [these were those belonging to the Society]; one pair of sawyers and a blacksmith "bound for a fine." Mrs. Hanson and her son remained on their own account. Mr. Hanson, sen., commanded the Active.

Mr. Marsden writes: "I have since sent over the wives of the smith and our sawyer—the other being a single man, and two children. I also left three runaway convicts with these settlers to assist them until the Active returned, and took away three with me, having found six at New Zealand, the total number of Europeans at Te Puna, including men, women and children, being twenty-five."

As before stated, Ruatara was ill before Mr. Marsden left the mission settlement. The chaplain's description of the circumstances attending his sickness is so graphic that no excuse is needed for its condensation. He writes:

"I found Ruatara dangerously ill. I called to see him, but the natives would not permit me. His people fixed a guard about him, and would suffer no one to approach. They expected him to die in a short time. I intreated them time after time for two or three days to see him, but they had made the enclosure in which he laid *tupu*. I was very much mortified, and understood that he was to have nothing to eat or drink for four or five days. I went again to the people who attended him, but they would only speak to me through the fence. I then told them that I would bring the Active near the town and blow it up. They said I might if I thought proper. I could neither persuade them by

intreaties nor intimidate them by threat. I went to the chief, a nephew of Te Pahi, who desired me to go with him, and he would see what could be done. When he approached near the enclosure he seemed much alarmed, walked by slowly, and whispered as if he expected some divine judgment to come upon him. He made signs to some of the attendants, and after several consultations permission was granted for my admission. I found Ruatara lying on his back facing the sun, which was very hot, in a high fever, his tongue very foul, violent pains in his bowels, and not likely to survive long. I found two of his wives with him, his father-in-law, the priest, and several attendants. He was very much pleased that I had come to see him. I asked him if he had anything to eat. He replied that he had but potatoes and water. I ordered him tea, sugar, rice, and wine. I ordered some wine and water to be got for him as soon as possible, part of which he took; he also ate some rice and took some tea. They now gave me permission to see him at all times. I called the following day, and found he spoke much better. The day after he appeared worse, but was supplied with all the necessities he could wish. Whatever vessels were taken for his use or refreshment we were obliged to leave, they having become sacred from their use by Ruatara.

"Ruatara got worse rapidly after the departure of the Active. On Thursday, March 2nd, he was conveyed from the town in a kind of bier to a hill at Te Puna, on which he had proposed that a town should be built. A shed had been prepared for his reception, and there he was to die. When Ruatara saw that his time was short he directed the distribution of his little property among his relatives. The cow given him by the Governor, with her calf, and his military raiment, were to be taken care of for his infant son, whom he requested to be sent to Mr. Marsden, when he was old enough to be brought up in the Orphan School at Sydney. He lay but one night in the place prepared for him, as he died early in the morning of Friday.

"On the day of his death, Hongi and Kaingaroa and his friends were sent for, and Hongi told Mr. Kendall, who was present at their arrival, not to be afraid, for though Ruatara was dead that they—Kaingaroa and himself—would be the friends of the settlers."

"We then [Mr. Kendall says] ascended the hill. The corpse which was wrapped up

neatly in the garments of their owner—the feet being gathered up—was placed in a sitting posture. The forehead was encircled with many feathers as to form a kind of 'glory.' The face might be uncovered by removing a small piece of English scarlet cloth, which had been cut for the purpose of covering it. The features were natural. When our friend Hongi had uncovered the face of his nephew he stood immediately in front of it. He appeared to be speaking to the corpse. In his left hand he held a blade of green moka which he had intentionally plucked, and waving the other hand occasionally, took hold of the hair of Ruatara.

"His wife Dahoo Rahu was the most inconsolable. On Saturday, March 4, while the people were still mourning and cutting themselves, she sought and found an opportunity to hang herself at a short distance from the body of her departed husband. Her mother wept while she was composing the limbs of her daughter, but while she was doing so applauded her daughter's resolution. The remains of Ruatara and his wife were laid on a stage erected at a little distance from the spot where he died. The apparel they wore at the time of their decease and the *tapu* articles were deposited with them. Hongi enclosed their remains with boards and railings." All who assisted in the ceremony became *tapu*. The two of his wives who lived were inducted in a house opposite Kendall's dwelling place.

One of the missionaries writes: "A few days after the illness of Ruatara had taken a serious turn a watch was set during the night to observe whether a meteor had fallen." On the day on which he was afflicted with delirium the priest who attended him considered that the meteor had fallen. Mr. Kendall thought that Ruatara had done his work. The remains of the dead man and his wife were carried from Te Puna to Mota Tera, a distance of some fifteen miles.

On the day of the death of Ruatara, or immediately after, two chiefs from Whangaroa, named Tamouna and Kurokuro, visited the mission station at Te Puna, and Mr. Kendall was desirous of proceeding with them to make observations on the place, and had equipped himself for that purpose when the natives at Te Puna earnestly requested him to remain at the Bay of Islands. They told him that when the Boyd was taken Te Pahi, their late head, was called by the Europeans a "ring-leader" in the outrage, and that the whalers combined and killed many of their people and

destroyed their plantations, and that if he were killed at Whangaroa they would again bear the blame, and again suffer as on the former occasion. Te Pahi called the men out of the rigging with an intent to save them, and would have succeeded in so doing had he not been prevented by Tara and Te Pahi.

A few weeks after the departure of Mr. Marsden a quarrel arose between Korokoro and Okira, a chief who lived at Whangaroa. The people of Korokoro had one day during an excursion taken some potatoes from a cultivation on the shore where they had camped, which the owners resenting, recourse was had to arms, and one of the men of Okira was killed. A short time afterwards Okira collected his people together, and coming to the Bay of Islands, made a descent on the kainga of Korokoro, when several hogs belonging to Pomare and a colt presented him by Mr. Marsden were killed.

At the end of March the settlers note how a canoe had returned from the Thames a general term for all the country southward of Whangarei at least, the people on board having killed and eaten three men and taken a woman and five girls prisoners for slaves.

On the 19th of April the mission was again visited by Tamouna, Kurokuro, and Taparu, from Whangaroa. The latter was the chief who saved Mrs. Morley and the two children from massacre. The party had fourteen war canoes with them, carrying between three and four hundred people. One of the canoes on being measured by the missionaries was found to be over eighty feet in length, and carried no less than sixty-seven people. The visitors appear to have avoided friction with the settlers, and were anxious apparently not further to increase their evil reputation, as Taparu, prior to the departure of the party, gave orders to return a saw that some of his people had taken away from the mission.

In the sixteenth report we are told that an official letter was addressed to the Rev. Mr. Marsden by the Secretary to the Government, desiring him to explore the state of New Zealand, and report to the Governor with a view to ascertaining the expediency of forming there a permanent establishment.

On the 27th April the *Active* sailed again for Te Puna, and arrived in the Bay of Islands on the 17th of May with the chiefs Tupi and Te Morenga, highly delighted with the voyage and the presents they had received. She had come for a cargo of spars.

Two days after the arrival of the *Active*,

Mr. Kendall and Mr. Hall went across the Bay to Waitangi and purchased from Wharerahi a block of land containing fifty acres for the mission. Mr. Kendall described the land as the most suitable in the Bay of Islands for a settlement.

The reasons for the purchase are set forth in the following manner in a letter from Mr. Kendall to Mr. Marsden, dated July 6, 1815: "When we perceived that we could not procure spars and timber at Te Puna, and that our two sawyers would be unemployed, Mr. Hall and myself thought it would be advisable to try what could be done on the other side of the Bay. In Mr. Hall's opinion Waitangi is preferable to any other place in the Bay of Islands for the rafting and securing of timber, as the land adjoining certainly is for rearing and keeping cattle. We thought, therefore, it would be desirable to purchase fifty acres of land there for the Society. Soon as the sawyers had finished their work here they went to live on the spot, and immediately commenced digging ground for a saw-pit. The chief who sold the land died a few days after their arrival."

The sawyers did not, however, long remain in undisturbed possession, as a party of strangers came on one of the sawyers and "stripped" him. "Stripping" means in practice what it implies. Hongi and others came on the scene and spoke of restitution, but the goods were not recovered.

Mr. Hall went on the new purchase in July, intending to settle there, taking some timber with him. He says: "We built a small wooden house, and I set the sawyers at work cutting timber. I employed the natives in clearing and levelling the ground, for which I gave them fishhooks and pieces of iron hoops in payment. We first formed a timber yard, and dug a foundation for a dwelling house. I lived there with the sawyers, and left my family at Te Puna until I had built a wooden house forty feet long by fifteen feet in a substantial manner. The first piece of work I did was to erect a tall flag-staff to mark the return of the Sabbath day. They can see our flag at Kororareka."

Later in the year, on October 25, he writes: "I have now removed my family to Waitangi; and Mr. Kendall proposes to have his house built at Te Puna and to remain there. I employ several natives constantly in clearing ground, making fences and improvements. I am also teaching some of them to saw timber. I have not been at much expense with them for clothing,

although some European clothing is necessary for cleanliness. I have a garden of nearly half an acre of ground fenced in and cultivated. Part of it is planted with pine trees, and the remainder with Indian corn, peas, beans, pumpkins, and other vegetables."

On the 12th January in the New Year Mr. Hall writes: "After I had removed my wife and family hither *i.e.*, Waitangi, a certain party of natives were very friendly with me, but there were others who threatened our lives. We have been here but four months, and have got two small patches of wheat, one of which we have reaped, and the other is nearly ready; also an excellent garden full of vegetables, and about two acres of ground cleared for wheat."

On the 16th of the month we are told: "Yesterday Captain Graham came over to our settlement, and left me a boat and several articles out of his stores. After his return a strange party came from the other side of the bay, and got on the top of the sawyer's house. I went to desire them to come down, when they laid hold of me, threw me down, and brandished their war instruments over me. When my wife saw me thus seized she came running towards me, when a native met her and struck her in the face with a weapon, knocking her down. When I got myself from under them I could not see a feature in her face for blood. Some friendly natives heard the alarm and came to our assistance. The spoilers took from us our bedding and pulled our clothing out of our boxes, but they had not time to take all away before assistance came. They took away my axe and some of my tools, cooking utensils and fireirons, and likewise my two guns; the double-barrelled one was especially very useful to me in procuring wild ducks, etc. . . . Waitangi is the garden of New Zealand. I have been here but four months and we have already almost every useful kitchen vegetable in the highest state of perfection. I have reaped both wheat and barley, and have more nearly ready for reaping."

Before January ended the Europeans had abandoned Waitangi, Captain Graham, of the Catherine, assisting the return of the settlers with boats and men. Mr. Marsden, with his accustomed sagacity, foresaw the insecurity that must attend such a situation as Waitangi uncontrolled by a powerful chief. Writing from Parramatta on the 10th of March, 1816, he says: "When I was at New Zealand, and had settled the missionaries

in a populous village where they would be safe among their friends, before I came away they wished to remove to the banks of the River Waitangi, because the situation is beautiful and the land rich. Here there was no town, only a few scattered huts. No person is safe, even among us in New South Wales, in retired situations, either from our own people or the natives, and it is not to be supposed that the New Zealander will not feel the same propensity to theft and other crimes as are common to men in civilized as well as in savage life."

To return, however, to other incidents which arrested the attention of settlers in 1815.

Early in May the mission was visited by Kaingaroa and Hongi, who brought the settlers a plentiful supply of potatoes. On the 10th of the month Te Pahi and Tara, of Whangaroa, came into the bay, having been five months absent in the south on a fighting expedition. They were supplied with food both by the settlers and their kindred—Hongi and Kaingaroa. They had killed, they said, many persons in their *tana*, but their only prisoner was a little boy about ten years of age.

On the 14th of May the brig Endeavour, Captain Powell, arrived in the bay from Port Jackson, and sailed again on the 18th, having obtained a supply of pork, fish, and potatoes.

At the end of May the mission was visited by a party of Ngatipaoa from the Thames, when it was noticed that iron was pilfered whenever possible. The party came in ten large canoes.

On June 1st, 1816, the Phoenix, whaler, Capt. Parker, arrived in the bay, and the arrival is noteworthy, as Captain Parker was one of the active agents in the attack on the Hikutu when the kainga and people of Te Pahi were destroyed. An extract from Mr. Kendall's journal is of historic value to clear the reputation of Te Pahi. He writes: "The natives requested me to ask Captain Parker to my house, which I did, and he came this morning [Sunday]. When he landed a considerable number of natives collected, and two or three of the principal persons pointed to the island where the town had previously stood, which he had aided in destroying, and accosted him in broken English to this effect: 'Captain Parker, see island,' 'Captain Parker, see island.' When prayers were over I informed the people that Captain Parker and the other captains of the whalers had been informed that Te Pahi was the ringleader at the Boyd massacre, but that they had been told untruths, for Te Pahi was a good man, and Captain

Parker, now that he knew the truth, wished to make peace with them and would not hurt them more. The natives told him, through one of their number who could speak English tolerably well, how many men, women and children had been killed; how many bullets had passed through the legs and arms of others, and that seven bullets had passed through the raiment of Te Pahi, one of which wounded him, and that all the people who were able to do so swam for their lives and made their escape, except nine women, who, being wounded, sat on the beach and were discovered at daylight, but not killed by the sailors. They were, however, now ready to make peace, upon which several of them rose up and shook hands with Captain Parker."

All these details and the innocence of Te Pahi were known to the natives of the Bay, and the device by which the whalers were led to attack Te Pahi's village affords an early illustration of the Maori capacity to use Europeans to effect their own political purposes. Tara and Tupe were jealous of the gifts and consideration given to Te Pahi and used the whalers to avenge them, in the same way that Teira, of Waitara, in later times, used the Colonial authorities, and through them the Imperial troops, to obtain satisfaction for a slight put upon him by William King in connection with a private quarrel.

About the end of June, 1816, the people came over from the western side of the island to trade with the settlers at the mission station. In July sailed the *Active* for Port Jackson, taking five male prisoners, who were delivered up to Mr. Kendall by the commanders of the several vessels they had escaped in from Port Jackson. She had a cargo of spars and timber, and several of the natives, who were chiefs of rank, desirous to see the settlement. One from the North Cape, and three from the Bay of Islands, making the number of New Zealanders, on their arrival, living with Mr. Marsden, twelve, to which could be added two Otahetians and a native of the Marquesas.

On the arrival of the *Active*, the *Sydney Gazette* of 19th August curiously informs us how "one of the chiefs brought up has taken the name of Pomare, on account or his having heard that chief described as a king at Otaheite. He seems to possess a strong genius, with a universal spirit of inquiry. Nine were at church last Sunday at Parramatta. Pomare particularly requested an explanation of the word prisoner, and when informed appeared

to embrace the many benefits accruing to society from a beneficial and humane Government."

A few days previous to the sailing of the *Active* died Kaingaroa, the brother of Hongi—the *ariki* of the hapu—at which on two occasions Hongi tried to hang himself, but was frustrated in carrying out his purpose.

The next entry by Mr. Kendall which is selected for quotation is remarkable for the sentence which we have underlined, showing how men may stumble on truth without knowing it. He says:—"I went to see the people mourning for Tawhimuri. The corpse was placed in an upright position. The face was oiled to make the tattooing clear. The hair, which had been cut, was neatly tied up, and ornamented with feathers. As the people came near to cry they kneeled down in a row in front of the dead body. They then commenced the usual bitter cry, cutting themselves, and addressing the deceased. *If the New Zealanders do not worship the dead they do not appear to have any worship at all.*"

It appears that the Maori had no idea of prayer in the form of supplication. It is a subject worthy of inquiry whether supplicatory prayer did not arise from a belief in a "personal God"; but the subject is only alluded to in illustration of a remark made by one of the early settlers. He says: "The natives in times of sickness will pray, and that sincerely; but in doing so will use words with the utmost fervour of soul of nearly the same import in the English tongue as the most hardened sinner in a Christian land would shudder at in the time of severe illness or at his dying hour. They do it to frighten away the atua."

The greater part of the month of August Mr. Kendall spent sowing wheat for the Maori chieftains—for Hongi, Tareha, Hauraki, Rewa, Tahoa, and others whose names are not familiar to the Europeans of the present day. At the end of the month came to the bay the brig *Trial*, Captain Hovell, and the schooner *Brothers*, Captain Burnett, of whom we hear further in another portion of our narrative.

On the *Active* leaving Sydney for New Zealand again, where she arrived on the 28th September, 1816, the following persons are advertised as proceeding with her for New Zealand:—Thos. Hansen, Thos. Lewis, John Hunter, Thos. Hamilton, Joshua King, William Thorne, Charles Dowdle, Thos. McLauchlin, some natives, and the following passengers: John Shergold, Sarah McKenzie, Thomas

Hansen, Joseph Rogers and wife. She sailed again, however, on her return to Sydney Cove, on the last day of October, having several chiefs on board, but was driven back early in November, leaving finally on the 11th of the month.

At the end of November an incident occurred which gives us a clear insight into the terms existing between the mission settlers and the natives, under the edge of whose tomahawk they were always living. It is given in Mr. Kendall's own words, a practice generally adopted when possible, as the utmost care cannot prevent misconception and misrepresentation in making a paraphrase. He writes: "Mr. Hunt, the chief mate of the *Phoenix*, whaler, and a boat's crew broke into my house because I refused as a magistrate to allow Captain Parker to land a man whom he had engaged to re-land at Sydney, whence he had brought him. As soon as the natives perceived what was going on, about one hundred of them, armed, came down from the village to our protection. The mate and the sailors were glad to retire."

Early in the year 1817 the settlement at Te Puna was crowded with visitors from the Thames, the North Cape, Whangaroa, and those from different places. The published records of the mission are few and uninteresting, save those which refer to the settlement at Waitangi.

The mission had been strengthened by one free settler, a Mr. Carlisle, who had gone from New South Wales, leaving his wife in the colony where he had been for some time a resident. He was well known to the Rev. R. Cartwright there, and was induced by him to offer his services as a schoolmaster for New Zealand. After living several months with Mr. Kendall he returned for his wife and child, much delighted, he stated, with the country. He got back to Sydney on the 2nd of December in the *King George*, which had called at New Zealand on her way from Marquesas and Otaheite, and carried with him a drawing of the settlement at the Bay of Islands, which the *Gazette* of December 7th stated contained several houses erected for the missionaries and the mechanics who accompanied them.

Very shortly after his arrival Mr. Kendall found he could have plenty of scholars as soon as he could get accommodation for teaching. He intended taking forty children under his care, clothing and feeding them. He had prepared a first book for the children, which Mr. Marsden had printed and bound. He

concluded that he would live at Te Puna, though the site was unfit for agriculture, because there were a great many children there. In the school which had been established, and which Mr. Carlisle helped to teach, he reported to the *Gazette* that there was an attendance of sixty persons, many of whom were learning to read and spell.

In 1817, two New Zealanders, called Tui and Titiri, attracted some attention in England from their public profession of being Christian converts. They went to England in H.M.S. *Kangaroo*, which was ten months on the passage, having been obliged to make for Batavia for repairs, through having sprung a leak. They both had been in the Maori seminary at Parramatta—Tui for three years, and Titiri for eighteen months. They had passages given them by Lieutenant Jeffries through the influence of the Rev. S. Marsden, who wished them to aid in the formation of a New Zealand vocabulary; failing which he directed that they should be kept in constant manual employment. They, however, got sick in England, and Mr. Marsden's directions could not be carried out, and the young men went about visiting, and made a great profession of piety. Tui did something in the way desired by Mr. Marsden, as we are told that Professor Lee, of Cambridge, availed himself of the services of Tui to fix the spelling, pronunciation, and construction of the New Zealand language on just principles.

Mr. King about this time reported that he had made a rope-walk, and was teaching some of the natives to spin twine and lay up cords; that he had cultivated land for wheat, having for six months kept five or six men employed, whom he victualled in his house and paid for their labour.

A Mr. Charles Gordon, a brother-in-law of Mr. Carlisle, had joined the mission as a superintendent of agriculture. He entered into a three years' engagement. Notice is taken of the desire of the natives for the possession of iron, which had led them to cut a wheelbarrow to pieces, to pull a house down, and to break up a boat, for the sake of getting the nails.

Kendall considered the behaviour of the natives to the settlers, considering their condition, to have been much better than could reasonably have been expected. The climate was simply perfection, as they suffered neither from excessive heat nor cold.

In this year we find the earliest record of misconduct in the mission staff, as referring to the Active, Mr. Marsden says:—"Very heavy

expenses have been incurred by the misconduct of some persons connected with the brig and the mission."

In 1817 a memorial was presented to the Right Honourable Earl Bathurst, His Majesty's principal Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, by the Church Missionary Society, which ran as follows :—

The memorial of the Church of England Missionary Society for Africa and the East humbly sheweth that the Church Missionary Society has been engaged for some years in endeavouring to promote the knowledge of the Christian religion among the idolatrous nations of Africa and the East, and thereby to promote their spiritual and eternal welfare. That in the prosecution of these designs the Society has directed its attention to the inhabitants of the islands of the South Seas, and especially to those of New Zealand, whose active and intelligent character appeared to offer a favourable field for their exertions. In the course of the year 1814, having obtained a grant of land from one of the chiefs of the country, the Society established a settlement in the Bay of Islands, in New Zealand, at which three missionary settlers with their families have since been resident. That the efforts of these settlers, so far as it has been possible hitherto to extend them, have been attended with the most encouraging success. They have found the natives in the vicinity of a frank and affectionate character, desirous to cultivate their friendship and to receive instruction, and the Society entertains a confident hope that by the establishment of schools and other means of instruction they shall in due time be enabled under the Divine blessing to diffuse the knowledge of Christianity throughout this populous and benighted land, and to rescue a noble race of men from the horrible superstitions and savage customs by which they are now degraded. The Society feels also warranted to hope that its exertions will tend in other ways to meliorate the conditions of these islands. Their settlers have already introduced among them the cultivation of wheat and other grain, and a foundation may thus perhaps be laid for the agricultural improvement of this fertile and productive country, which may hereafter render it not an unimportant object of commercial attention. That the hopes which your memorialists thus entertain have been greatly checked by the intelligence continually received by them of the atrocities committed by European traders in the South Seas, by which not only the most grievous injuries are inflicted on the natives, but their minds are exasperated to acts of barbarous revenge. All tendency to a milder and more civilised character is repressed, confidence in the character and designs of the European settlers is weakened, and the lives of themselves and their families are seriously endangered. Your memorialists have received various documents from New South Wales, copies of some of which they hereunto annex, and to which they beg permission to refer your Lordship for proof of the numerous crimes which are and have been for several years frequently perpetrated by Europeans in those seas; and which proof is established not only by private communications, but by judicial depositions, and by general orders issued by the Colonial Government. To a few of the more flagrant of these transactions your memorialists will beg leave shortly to advert.

To the memorial are appended several specific illustrations of outrages inflicted on the natives of New Zealand, which need not

here be recapitulated, as they are found in the body of this publication.

The memorial, after reciting in narrative form the substance of the depositions, continues at some length to deal with the matter discussed in several paragraphs, of which the most important is the third, which says :—

That our memorialists are informed that there is no competent jurisdiction in New South Wales for the cognizance and punishment of such offences as have been enumerated, nor any adequate means for their prevention; and that no remedy at present exists but sending the persons charged with the perpetration of such enormities to be tried at the Admiralty sessions in England.

Signed)

JOS. PRATT.

Dated from the Church Missionary House, Salisbury Square, July 14, 1817.

The eighteenth report of the Society has the following :— "The memorial on the atrocities committed by British seamen on the inhabitants of the South Seas was presented and read by a deputation to Earl Bathurst. His Lordship stated that an Act had been recently passed making the crimes of murder and manslaughter, with particular reference to the South Seas, amenable to the colonial courts, and that His Lordship would consult the law officers of the Crown whether the provisions of Lord Ellenborough's Act could not be extended to the same quarters."

In 1818 we get news of the progress of the school of a cheering character. There were seventy children at Rangihoua, and Mr. Kendall had acquired sufficient knowledge of the language to enlarge the "First Book" that had been compiled for school instruction. The school was opened in August, 1816, with thirty-three children; the month following there were forty-seven; in October, fifty-one; but in November and December, as there were no provisions, the scholars were scattered; but in January, 1817, there were sixty in attendance, which mainly depended on the food supply. At first, the attendance of the girls was nearly double that of the boys, but after the novelty had worn away the numbers became about equal. The age of the attendants varied from seven to seventeen. It was noticed, as showing the condition of Maori life, that among the scholars were seventeen orphans, and six slaves taken in war. Among the scholars was a son of Te Pahi, whose name is written Atowha.

The children rose at daylight and finished their morning lessons early. The children of the settlers got their lessons midday, as the teaching of course would have to be distinct in character. After midday teaching was

over the children of the natives were again assembled, and further taught. The girls were occupied in making clothing, and the boys were set to make fences and other useful work.

In the nineteenth report we read that the Rev. Mr. Butler, with Mrs. Butler, their son, and infant child, together with Mr. Francis Hall going out as a schoolmaster, the young chiefs Tui and Titiri returning to their country, and James Kemp a smith and his wife, all embarked on board the Baring, convict ship, Captain Lamb, on the 15th December, 1818, a passage to Port Jackson having been granted them by Government on board that vessel. After considerable delay, in consequence of damage by getting aground on the Brake Sand, the Baring left the Downs with a fair wind on the 27th January, 1819. Kemp, from Wymondham, was strongly recommended by the clergymen of that parish, and was furnished with many practical instructions in agriculture. Butler, it appears, was a member of the same congregation as Kendall, and his son purposed obtaining a school in connection with the settlement. The committee told Mr. Butler that they had long wished to send a clergyman to New Zealand.

Early in February, 1819, Mr. Hall set native sawyers at work to saw planks, to be taken to Port Jackson and sold, in order to defray the expenses of the mission schooner.

On the 18th of February the Foxhound Captain Watson, the Ann (Captain Wilkinson), and the New Zealander were in the bay for refreshment, and on the 1st of March arrived the Rambler Captain Smith, from the sperm whale fishing ground, nearly full of oil. Two of his hands being sick, they came on shore to Mr. Hall's house, where they remained a fortnight, until they had recovered their health.

On the 19th of April, Hall's barn, smith's shop, joiner's shop, fowl-house, pig-stye, and outhouses were burned to the ground.

On the 5th of May, 1819, the Active came into the Bay of Islands, after a passage of six weeks and two days, with Mr. Leigh, a Methodist preacher, on board. The Rev. Mr. Marsden requested Mr. Leigh, who was in ill-health and who had been proffered a passage in the mission vessel to New Zealand, to inquire into the proceedings of his lay settlers, and if possible to extend their usefulness. He remained there until the 17th of June following, when he returned in the Active to Sydney. It appears that some misunderstanding having arisen between the families of the settlers had led to a suspension

of their religious meetings, while a village only a few miles distant had not been visited for three years. The visit was opportune, as Mr. Leigh appeared as a mediator.

On the 29th of June Messrs. Kendall and King, with sixteen natives, left the Bay of Islands for Hokianga, and on Sunday, the 4th of July, held divine service there, and hoisted the British flag. On the 14th the party returned, pleased with their trip and highly impressed with the suitable characteristics of the place for an extension of the mission. On the 19th the party sounded the mouth of the river and returned. In this journey we first hear of Patuone, who gave the mission party three pigs and a mess of sweet potatoes. They offered him



Mr. James Kemp.

seed wheat as a return gift. He followed them to Te Puna, where he received an axe for his fat pig. We are informed that he was well pleased with his share of the bargain. King and Kendall appear to have been the first Europeans visiting the Hokianga.

On the 29th of July, Mr. Hall says: "Mr. Marsden having sent James Boyle from Port Jackson and placed him at an island on the south side of the bay, for the purpose of making salt and curing fish, in order to assist in defraying the Active's expenses and to teach the natives, he and John Olivarz came this morning in the boat for me, and I went with them to the island to put up the frame of

a wooden storehouse, according to Mr. Marsden's instructions, for the purpose of depositing the Active's cargo."

On the 1st of August Mr. Hall appears to have gone on a mission tour, as on that date he managed to reach Whangaruru, where he remained some days, until there was a fair wind back to Te Puna.

On 2nd of August the ship *General Gates*, Captain Abimelech Riggs, arrived in the Bay of Islands, having left Port Jackson on the 29th July, with the Rev. Mr. Marsden on board. He was accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Butler and family, Mr. F. Hall, Mr. and Mrs. Kemp, Tui, Titiri, one Maori woman, and three mechanics and their families. The whole number on board belonging to the settlement, Mr. Marsden said, amounted to twenty-two persons, men, women and children. On the morning of 13th August, Mr. Marsden makes the following entry in his journal:—"At daybreak the vessel was surrounded with natives. Some of the settlers came on board, and informed us that all was well. Our meeting afforded mutual satisfaction to all interested in the mission. When we viewed the shores of New Zealand and the natives flocking around us, our hearts were warmed within us, and we considered that we had now arrived at the land of promise."

It was the intention of Mr. Marsden to form a new settlement at the Bay, and when his purpose became known the two chiefs, Hongi and Korokoro, as it were, competed for its location. Hongi offered a choice of all his lands for that purpose, and any quantity that might be requested, and Korokoro was ready to do the same thing. Kerikeri was visited in a large war canoe, and chosen for the settlement, much to the chagrin of Korokoro. There was a hill close to the site selected, where the Ngaitewake had a *kaiunga*, of which Hongi was the chief. Yates calls it "a beautiful and picturesque spot, situated at the confluence of the tide and of the fresh-water stream, from which it takes its name. The vale is an amphitheatre of small extent, but well situated, sheltered from the prevailing westerly winds by the hills at the back, and from the east and north-east gales by those in front. The waters of the Kerikeri fall over a rock, about nine feet high at ebb tide, into a beautiful and extensive basin, and then pass on with the tide to the Bay of Islands. The river was navigable to within four miles of the settlement for vessels of a hundred and fifty tons, and for small craft, up to the station."

On the 13th September Mr. Marsden writes: "We had the pleasure of launching our flat-bottomed boat. It is estimated to carry over twenty tons, and is the first vessel ever built on the northern island of New Zealand. We may view it like a grain of mustard seed if we anticipate the naval power and strength which this country is capable of attaining."

On the 28th of September Mr. Marsden and a party proceeded overland to the Hokianga River, to examine the mouth of the river to see if any vessel could cross the bar. On Monday, the 4th of October, the entrance of the river was reached, when Mr. William Puckey and a native crew in a canoe set off for the heads, which were about four miles distant. After the necessary soundings and bearings had been taken, the party returned to the village of Pakanae, the chief of whom had welcomed the guests. The homeward journey had been as prosperous as the outward, and, accompanied by a small host, the party returned to Kerikeri, which they reached on the night of the 11th October. Mr. Marsden was much gratified with the progress of the settlement. He wrote: "During our absence a considerable quantity of ground had been broken up, and part of it planted with maize. A number of seeds had been sown in the garden, which had been brought to Port Jackson from England, and were up. The vines, of which he had planted about one hundred trees, were many of them in leaf. The fruit trees had also been planted, and the whole settlement began to put on the appearance of civilization, than which nothing can be more gratifying to the mind. A building had also been erected for the accommodation of the labouring natives."

The Kerikeri settlement consisted of 13,000 acres, and was bought from Hongi and his tribe for forty-eight axes. The settlement was proposed to be named the Gloucester, and Mr. Marsden, describing his purchase, thus wrote to the secretary: "I have purchased a large lot of land from Hongi, and have sent you the deed. It is in a fine situation, rich land and well watered, convenient for the harbour, as large ships can lie within five miles of settlement in safety, and small vessels can go up to it and land or receive any goods. I thought this land would answer well for any poor labouring families at any future period, should any come out under the patronage of the society or their friends. Mr. William Puckey came from Sydney to assist in putting up the buildings at the new station, and finally settled in the country."

The second settlement, it will be seen, was planted after it had been demonstrated by four years' experience that the lives of the settlers were safe in Maoriland. Wherever Mr. Marsden went on this his second visit missionaries and settlers were clamoured for—not from any spiritual want or desire, but from a keen appreciation of the material advantages that would accrue from European intercourse. And though New South Wales was founded without any idea of its religious importance as a settlement, we can only respect the sagacity of its chaplain, when he says:—"No permanent mission could have been established in New Zealand, or in any other island of the South Sea, had not the overruling Provi-

matta, and the other in order that he might be educated at some of the schools in the colony.

"We took leave of our friends with mutual affection and respect. When I arrived in the *Active*, which lay about seven miles off, I found her crowded with natives and surrounded with canoes. It was pleasing to see the rival chiefs from the North Cape to the river Thames meet on board the *Active* in the most friendly manner, as a common rendezvous—not armed as formerly, but as men constituting one civil body."

Mr. Marsden's visit had a salutary effect, as serious evils had grown out of the practice of carrying on private trade with the shipping which put into the Bay, although forbidden



Stage for native feast.

The Mission Station at Kerikeri.

Mr. Kemp's house.

dence of God led the British nation to establish a colony in New South Wales."

The *Active* was employed to carry the party to New South Wales, and on the 9th of November Mr. Marsden writes:—"This morning at an early hour I prepared to leave Rangihoua. The natives flocked together from various parts to take their leave or to accompany us on board; and some wept much and wished to go with us to Port Jackson; others fired their muskets as a mark of respect when the boat left the shore. It had been determined that Mr. Samuel Butler and Mr. W. Hall's son should proceed to New South Wales in the *Active*, the one to instruct some native youths, sons of chiefs, at Parra-

by the Society, and against the express instructions of Mr. Marsden. Two of the horses of the mission had been killed for feasting on *kumara*—a fate which would have befallen slaves more readily.

About the end of the year Messrs. Butler and Kemp came into occupation of the new station, as divine service was held at Kerikeri on Christmas Day.

Mr. John Cowell, with his wife and son, and the New Zealander Maui, of the Bay of Islands, sailed from Gravesend in the *Saracen* (Captain Kerr), on the 12th December, 1819, and after some detention in the Downs proceeded to Port Jackson, whither they arrived on the 19th of May following. Mr. Cowell, it

appears, was well acquainted with rope-making, and took with him appliances for flax manufacture on a large scale.

The Europeans, who had been left on an island in the bay—Manawaroroa—during the month of January, in the year 1820, had been stripped of all their goods, whether their own or the society's property, and the salt-pans were consequently removed. The natives showed their skill in commerce by saying, "If you take away the salt, you ought to pay us for the salt water." The Rev. Mr. Butler had, during the month, been busily employed in brick-making, and teaching the natives how to temper the clay. On the 17th of February we have the entry from Mr. Butler's journal: "Our carpenters have this day begun a regular dwelling-house for Mr. Francis Hall and Mr. Kemp, as they intend to live together."

At two p.m. on Sunday, the 27th of February, 1820, the Dromedary, store ship, Captain Skinner, came into the Bay, with Mr. Marsden on board, having stores and cattle for the settlement. The object was to procure spars for the British Navy, and to aid in the service the Governor desired Mr. Marsden to accompany the vessel. Cruise says of the chaplain:—"He brought on board nine New Zealanders, who were either all chiefs or the sons of people of that rank. They had been living with him at Parramatta, and some of them had been brought to New South Wales in charge of their relatives, it being the wish of their parents to have them educated at an establishment instituted for that purpose by Mr. Marsden, and others had come to obtain muskets and gunpowder, or merely to gratify their rambling dispositions."

"In point of hereditary dignity, the greatest among them was a boy about fifteen years old, named Repero, son of the chief Hongi; but the most striking in appearance was Tetoro (Titore), a man one would imagine in his forty-fifth year. He was six feet two inches high, and was perfectly handsome both as to features and figure. Though very much tattooed, the benignity and even beauty of his countenance were not destroyed by this frightful operation. The other seven were very young men, all more or less tattooed, according to their ages, and averaging in height from five feet eight to five feet ten inches. They were very dirty in their persons, and from the quantity of vermin they carried about them not very pleasant neighbours."

On Thursday, the 2nd of March, Hongi and

his companion, Waikato—also a Hikutu—accompanied by Mr. Kendall, went in the New Zealander, whaler, to England. The story of Hongi going to England, and the cause which impelled the journey, are told in another place, but its influence on the mission is what here concerns us. He was resolute in going. Every persuasion, Cruise says, was used to divert him from leaving the country without effect, his constant answer being that he should die if he did not go.

Mr. Butler says in his journal: "During the remainder of the week, after the departure of Hongi, we were very severely tried by the natives. They are fully aware of our being completely in their hands, and take the food out of the pot when on the fire and sit down and eat it; nor will they go out of the house till they please. They abuse us, and if any of the chiefs ask for an axe or a hoe, or anything else that we have, we are obliged to comply with their requests. A flat denial would be attended with bad consequences. The natives plainly tell us that if we will not issue powder and muskets we must go away, which appears the only alternative. Although it is most painful, yet I think it most advisable for the present to give up the mission altogether, unless some plan can be devised for the security of persons and property, and the work can be carried on according to the plans of the society."

Mr. Marsden spent some nine months in the country on this, his third visit, and though his travels are not strictly within the scope of this portion of our narrative, their insertion here will be more appropriate, perhaps, than in any other place. His long journeys by land being entirely on foot, Mr. Hall writes that not one in a thousand would have undertaken them. On the 4th of March he formed one of a party to go again to the Hokianga River, and on the report of his visit Captain Skinner determined to take the Dromedary round. Returning again to the Bay of Islands he determined to make a tour inland and left the ship on the 1st of May for that purpose accompanied by some of the officers. From Kerikeri they proceeded to Waimate and Tiamai, where a chief, having been to Port Jackson, was found improving his land.

The Coromandel, Captain Downie, having arrived in the bay, proceeded for her cargo of timber to the Thames, and Mr. Marsden embarked in her on the 7th of June accompanied by Te Morenga, who had lived with him at Parramatta. Tui, who had been in England, was also of the party, and on the evening

of the 12th they anchored at Cape Colville. "Having spent a week in forwarding the interests of the mission among the natives, Mr. Marsden passed three weeks, while the Coromandel was collecting spars, in visiting the bays and creeks on the eastern side of the river."

He met, he tells us, with a chief named Te Puihi whom he had formerly known in New South Wales and who gave him a cordial reception. Te Puihi and Taurata were two great chiefs in this quarter and were both tall, fine, handsome men. The head chief, or Ariki, had his pa on a high point of land at the junction of the two fresh water rivers whose united streams formed the Thames. On the 12th of July he left the Coromandel with the purpose of visiting the Waikato. Circumstances, however, prevented his doing so, and he visited Katikati. Having spent a week on the journey he returned to the Thames and crossed to the western side of the river in order to visit Kaipara. On the 25th of July he set forward on this expedition up the river Wairoa. On the 26th they were fifty miles from the ship and a considerable distance on the way to Kaipara. Falling in on the 27th with a canoe of natives in which was Kawai, a chief of Kaipara, they took Mr. Marsden and one of the officers of the Coromandel six or eight miles further up the Waitemata, when they landed at a place where they could see the high hills on the western coast, distant apparently eighteen or twenty miles. They reached Kaipara in the evening and returned the next day to the canoe. The water was now rough and the wind contrary, but after hard pulling for several hours down the river on the 29th by a native crew they landed and reached a settlement called Mokoia belonging to the chief Hinaki, about thirty miles distant from the place of their embarkation. On the 1st of August they rejoined the Coromandel.

Mr. Marsden says, *inter alia*:—"In every place I endeavoured to explain to the natives that there is but one true and living God, who made all things, and that our God therefore is their God—that the tapping of their houses, themselves, their servants, their food, and their fires, and all other things, could neither heal their wounds, preserve them from danger, restore them to health, nor save them from death, but that our God, though they knew Him not, could do all these things for them."

On the 12th of August Mr. Marsden left the ship with a view of returning to the Bay of Islands and crossed the Thames—some fifteen miles wide—to the western side, reaching

Mokoia that evening, a distance from the Coromandel of some forty or fifty miles. The weather preventing his return to the Bay of Islands by water he determined to walk there, and as he could not go thither by the eastern side of the island, he set forward again to Kaipara with the intention of striking off from thence to the interior in order to head the main rivers and bays. Te Morenga still accompanied him, though now going among people with whom he had been at war. Mr. Marsden was again received with great cordiality, particularly by Muripanga, one of the greatest warriors in New Zealand, and an opponent of Hongi. Here he remained until the 21st, when he embarked on the Kaipara, and descended the harbour to its mouth.

Ascending the Western Wairoa, Mr. Marsden visited Tetoko and Taurau, both of whom were enemies of Hongi. Going up the Wairoa as far as the tide flowed, on the morning of the 26th they left the canoe and walked across the high land to Whangarei, which they reached the next day. Before getting among the people at Te Puna, seeing some whalers lying off the shore near Paroa, Mr. Marsden says: "I got into a canoe to go on board the Catherine, and fell in with Captain Graham in his whaleboat, and went on board with him, where I once more entered into civil life, and felt it much sweeter than at any former period. The food, the conversation, the rest, were all sweet. I put a much higher value on the blessings I had always enjoyed in civil and religious society than I had ever done before, for I was able now, from experience, to form a true judgment of savage life."

The Prince Regent arrived in the Bay of Islands on the 17th of September, on her way to Sydney, laden with spars. Mr. Marsden sought to return with her, but encountering bad weather off the North Cape she returned to the bay, when Mr. Marsden made up his mind to wait for the sailing of the Dromedary; but finding that she would not be ready for six weeks, he resolved to make further visits among the tribes. Being joined by Mr. Butler and some others, they proceeded south, apparently by the way Mr. Marsden had come north, and having touched at Whangarei, they reached Mokoia on the 3rd November. Leaving that place the next day to visit the Coromandel, about forty miles distant, in the Thames, they met much bad weather on the Wairoa.

Returning to Mokoia on the 9th, they spent several days in exploring the waterways

in that vicinity, and then proceeded to the western coast. On the 17th of November Mr. Butler set out up the Kaipara on his return to the Bay of Islands, while Mr. Marsden proceeded by way of the Wairoa, and reached Hokianga on the 22nd; and, having renewed his intercourse with his old friends, ascended the river, and went overland to Whangaroa, where he embarked on board the Dromedary on the 25th November, having everywhere been received with hospitable welcome, so potent was his character and the power of his good name among the native people.

On the 3rd of May the Rev. Mr. Butler put the first plough into the ground that had been used in the North Island, and felt much pleasure, he says, in holding it after the bullocks. "This day, I trust," he adds, "will be remembered, and the anniversary kept by ages yet unborn." On the 13th of May, he says: "This week we have been very busily employed in farming. We have now five acres of wheat in the ground. The plough will go remarkably well after the ground is once broken; but scarcely any strength is sufficient the first time on account of the fern root. The natives employed in farming work exceedingly well. The carpenters are going on with Messrs. Hall and Kemp's home. The timber is cut by native sawyers."

On the 12th July occurred the first death in the mission settlement. Mr. Butler writes: "One of my carpenters, named Bean, lost a child, a fine boy three years of age." On the 26th August he says: "Several slaves have lately died for want in this district, and were eaten by dogs before I knew of it. The chiefs," he adds, "think more of their dogs than their slaves." It may here be stated that in 1815 the settlers at Te Puna noticed a similar lack of food and starvation ensuing among the natives, which in some respects throws light on the subject whether the natives had a sufficient food supply. Mr. Butler was eminently an agriculturist, and incurred reproach among some of the "unco guid" of New South Wales for his bucolic tastes and habits.

Cruise says in one of his notes, under date 23rd June, 1820: "The excellent plants left by Captain Cook, viz., cabbages, turnips, parsnips, carrots, etc., etc., are still very numerous, but very much degenerated; and a great part of the country is overgrown with cowitch, which the natives give Marion the credit of having left among them. Water-melons and peas were raised while we were in the country with great success, and the people

promised to save the seeds and sow them again. The missionaries have got some peach trees that bear very well, and an acorn and a seed of the orange were sown by a gentleman of the ship near the village of Pomare, and the place made *tapu* by the inhabitants. The orange plant was over ground before the Dromedary left New Zealand."

At the end of the year Mr. Kendall and Hongi and Waikato embarked at Sheerness on the 15th December in the transport ship Speke, Captain Macpherson. Mr. Kendall was, during his stay in England, admitted at the request of the Church Missionary Committee, to holy orders, that he might be in a position to more effectually promote the objects of the society, and furnished materials to Professor Lee, of Cambridge, for the compilation of a grammar and vocabulary of the New Zealand language. Some materials had been collected in London in the year 1818 from Tui and Titiri, who were resident for some time at the Mission House; but their ill-health caused them to leave London, and shortly afterwards England, and the details of their work were sent to Mr. Kendall in New Zealand. The work, when printed, occupied some two hundred and thirty pages, of which one hundred and thirty were devoted to the grammar and the exercises, and the remaining one hundred to the vocabulary. Part of the impression was presented by the society to the Methodist Mission, which at that time contemplated founding a branch in New Zealand, in order to facilitate their design.

On the 6th of March, 1821, Mr. Butler found some escapees from New South Wales in the hands of some of the Kerikeri people, who were discussing the propriety of killing them as they were ragged and lacking food; but at the missionary's request refrained from doing so, contenting themselves with setting them to work and retaining them in slavery.

In the twenty-first report, p. 202, we are told that Mr. Marsden took with him in the Dromedary a young man named James Shephard, born in New South Wales, and well acquainted with gardening, who had previously visited New Zealand by Mr. Marsden's desire, and was anxious to devote himself to the work of the mission. His services were the more desirable as Mr. Carlisle and Mr. Jordan, who joined the mission in April, 1817, had left the society's service and returned to New South Wales. But in the report of the year following we are told that he did not proceed in the Dromedary, but with Mr. Samuel Butler, in the Hope, in March, 1821, who had been

employed in the seminary at Parramatta which had been for the present suspended.

In the instructions of the society to Mr. James Shepherd the following passages are worth reprinting :

"Your practical skill in gardening and agriculture will enable you to introduce into cultivation by the New Zealanders wheat, barley, maize, and other grains; vines, fruit trees, and useful vegetables. You will instruct them in the 'dibbling' of wheat *viz.* to plant with a dibble) by which two-fifths of the seed required in the broadcast way suffices. The society having it in view not merely to establish a rope-walk in New Zealand, but to promote the exportation of the material for the supply of rope and other works at home, you will direct a steady attention to the *Phormium tenax*. Mr. Marsden's late travels in New Zealand have brought to light the existence of seven varieties of that plant, and further research will no doubt add to their number. It is intended that Mr. John Cowell, who has been sent out by the society for the establishment of a rope-walk in New Zealand, shall shortly proceed thither in order to the discovery of a proper situation for his business."

To promote the supply of produce to the settlers, a farming man named John Lee was, with the permission of Governor Macquarie, taken into the employ of the society, in the beginning of March of this year. He had driven the team of bullocks by which the Dromedary had been laden with timber, and was sent to plough the land and push forward the concerns of agriculture.

In May, Tareha visited the Kerikeri station. "He dined and breakfasted with us," Mr. Butler says. "He was very importunate for an adze, some fish-hooks, a file, a knife, and a blanket. I gave him," the recorder says, "all that he requested, except a blanket, which I

informed him that I had not to spare at present. He was much pleased, and said he would never more steal from the missionaries or be angry with them. We have reason to believe that he killed three slaves at Waimate which were afterwards eaten by himself and his friends. Tareha caught them in the act of stealing kumara, and killed them on the spot."

On the 30th of June, Mr. Butler writes: "We have enjoyed peace and tranquillity for a long time, and we lay ourselves down at night to rest with as much composure as if we were in a civilised country and surrounded with guards."

About the same date Mr. Francis Hall writes: "We have distributed lately among the chiefs in the neighbourhood a number of peach and almond trees, vines, seeds, etc. The peach seems to thrive best here. I planted the stones little more than twelve months ago, and some of the trees are five feet high."

On the 11th of July, 1821, Hongi, Waikato, and the Rev. Mr. Kendall landed at the Bay of Islands on their return from England. They came in the ship Westmoreland, Captain Potton. Hongi appeared a different man to the settlers at the Bay of Islands after his return to what he seemed when he went away. He had learned what rank they held in

England, and estimated them accordingly. A great chief himself, he had learned to look down on the settlers as common men. Their safety had to be secured, though the respect paid to them depended on their commercial value.

On Aug. 1 Rev. S. Butler writes: "Dressing a bed of hops. I have fourteen hills of hops which look exceeding fine; the plants are very strong. I brought a single root from Port Jackson, and planted the whole from it last spring, and I gathered a small sprinkling of fine hops from them in the season."

On the 18th of August he says: "A native woman having taken offence, being fully bent



Governor Macquarie.

on mischief, went to Hongi, who is her relation, and to all her friends, and informed them that during the absence of Hongi in England, Mr. Puckey's daughter—not twelve years old—said to the daughter of Hongi that when he came back she would cut off his head and cook it in the iron pot. According to Maori custom this was cursing in the worst form, and the natives acted with singular moderation in resenting the malediction without any loss of human life, and in the remark of Hongi that his people had taken action without his knowledge. The law of the Maori was plain on the subject. It was wrong to speak evil of dignities, and to compare the sacred head of a chief to cooked food, even by implication, was not only an abomination, but sacrilege in the most aggravated form."

At the beginning of September Hongi proceeded on the first of his war excursions since his return from England, dressed, as Mr. Francis Hall writes, in his scarlet uniform, and thinking more of himself than ever did any admiral of the Red. The place of rendezvous was Whangarei. There were said to be at least fifty canoes in the *taua*. On the 21st of December they returned, after having killed, it was said, a thousand persons, and feasting on three hundred of the slain on the battle field. His arms were directed against the Ngatipaoa, the allies of Ngati-whatua, and Te Tihi on the Hokianga.

Mr. Francis Hall, in his journal, tells us how Hongi returned with the dead bodies of Titee and Apu in the canoes, stating that the former was most civilised, best behaved, and industrious man they had met with. He was the son-in-law of Hongi. Of the landing of the prisoners he says: "A small canoe with the dead bodies first approached the shore; the war canoes and those taken in fight, about forty in all, lay at a short distance from the shore. Shortly after a party of young men landed to perform the war dance, and when it was over an awful silence ensued. At length the canoes moved slowly towards the shore, when the widow of Titee and other women rushed down on the beach in a frenzy of rage, and beat in pieces the carved work at the head of the canoes with a pole. They then got into the canoes, and pulled out several prisoners of war into the water and beat them

to death, except one boy who swam away, and got into another canoe. The frantic widow then proceeded to another canoe and dragged out a woman prisoner into the water, and beat out her brains with a club which they used for pounding fern root. In the whole, nine persons were killed and subsequently eaten. On the day following, several of the contingents took their departure, first, however, making a large heap of their old mats and burning them." Mr. Hall adds: "It is customary for them, when they return home, to burn all the garments they have worn at the time of killing men. Among the prisoners who went away with the Hokianga contingent was a woman with a fine boy, her son, very fair, said to be the offspring of an officer on board the *Coromandel*. The chief threatening to put the child to death it was taken charge

of by Mrs. Butler. The bodies of Titee and Apu lie near the river, about half a mile from the pa at Kerikeri. In coming up the river the natives would not permit our boat to pass the place where the bodies laid, and we were obliged to get out and leave the boat, and have the things she carried brought overland."

In December, 1821, the long reign of Governor Macquarie came to an end. He arrived with the 73rd Regiment, in 1809, and held the government for eleven years. "He found a garrison and a gaol, and left the broad and deep foundations of

an empire." His main policy was to apply the convict labour of the colony to opening the country by making roads and bridges and constructing public works. Sydney by him was remodelled. "He gave grants of land to convicts on their becoming free, he built hospitals and erected churches and other public buildings. He considered the colony was selected as a depôt for convicts and that the land properly belonged to them when they became free. He was in good favour with the emancipists. Virtue and industry found less favour at his hands, it was said, than ability. He enriched others but his integrity was never questioned. He said himself, 'I found the colony barely emerging from infantile imbecility and suffering from various privations and disabilities; agriculture in a yet languishing state, commerce in its early dawn, revenue unknown, threatened with famine, distracted



Mr. W. G. Puckey.

by faction; the public buildings in a state of dilapidation and mouldering decay; the population in general depressed by poverty, no public credit nor private confidence, the morals of the great mass of the population in the lowest state of debasement, and religious worship almost neglected. I left it in February, 1822, enjoying a state of private comfort and public prosperity."

Mr. Cowell arrived in Port Jackson in May, 1820. Mr. Marsden was then in New Zealand, from whence he did not return until the December following. Cowell's wife dying, after a few days' illness on the 22nd November, Butler and Shepherd proceeded to New Zealand in the *Hope*, leaving Cowell in New South Wales, as did Kendall, Hongi, and other natives in the Westmoreland; but four days after Hongi left Cowell married again. He did not, however, appear to have been in any hurry, as he did not leave Port Jackson until the end of January, 1822, when he was accompanied by his wife. On the 21st March, 1821, he affords the following explanation of his delay in New South Wales: "My detention in New South Wales has been the means of my obtaining useful information respecting my business, and of having an opportunity of trying various methods to clean the New Zealand hemp, which I could not have tried in New Zealand, not being able to get the proper machines made there for that purpose, as it is very different from the European hemp, and requires a different process to clean it. I am happy to inform you that I have been successful in the greater number of my operations in cleaning it, and I hope in a short time to be able to give you a more satisfactory account of all my operations on that valuable article; and I have no doubt that in a little time the cleaning and manufacturing of that article will be the means of bringing civilization to the natives. Captain Irvine, the gentleman with whom I have lived in Sydney since the death of my wife, has taken an active part in all the operations."

Of the mission at Rangihoua Mr. W. Hall wrote in January: "I desire to be thankful that I have just finished reaping a fine crop of wheat. I have built a new barn and have got all the wheat in. It will serve my family all the year round and supply seed for the next sowing." Of the mission at Kerikeri, a month later, Mr. Butler says, "We have gathered in an excellent harvest. We have at this time twelve natives at work, and it gives us great pleasure in having a wheaten loaf, the produce

of their own country and labour, with which to feed them."

On the 28th of February Hongi and a party of warriors left the Bay of Islands on another expedition. On the 29th of July Mr. Hall wrote: "Rewa and several other chiefs have returned from the war. They have brought with them the bodies of nine chiefs who were drowned by the upsetting of a canoe in a heavy sea."

The twenty-third report says, *inter alia*: "It has been found requisite, in the faithful discharge of the duty which Christian communities owe to the honour of that name by which they are called, to separate from the society two members of the mission for conduct disgraceful to their profession. Visits are paid to the natives in their villages for the purpose of education and religious instruction. On these occasions the great truths of the Gospel are opened and enforced on them, and the attention is such as to encourage and stimulate the settlers to increase these exertions. With this view Mr. Shepherd is paying particular regard to the preparation in the New Zealand tongue of portions of Scripture for the use of the children and adults who only learn to read."

"Kerikeri," Mr. Leigh said, "resembles a neat little country village with a good school-house lately erected in the centre. When standing on an eminence near, we may see cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, and horses; houses, fields covered with wheat, oats, and barley, and gardens richly filled with all kinds of vegetables, fruit trees, and a variety of useful productions. In the yards may be seen geese, ducks and turkeys, and in the evening cows returning to the mission families, by which they are supplied with good milk and butter. The settlement forms a most pleasing object."

Mr. Marsden, it should be stated, with the view of giving the missionaries the means of becoming independent of the natives for a supply of food, sent to New Zealand some head of cattle. They had increased at this date (the end of 1823) to a considerable number, some 50 head, and Mr Marsden, with great liberality, presented them to the society. The care of these cattle Mr Davis was supposed to direct.

Mr Butler stated that at the time of his leaving Kerikeri there were about fifty natives, chiefly such as had been employed by the settlers, who could read a little, sing hymns, and repeat prayers in their own tongue.

Much attention had been paid to cultivation at this settlement, and a considerable quan-

tity of wheat was raised there; but the labour of the hand-mill was heavy, and disinclined the natives to the growth of corn. A water mill being a desideratum, Mr Marsden selected a site, and proposed to send a millwright, with materials for its erection, the society forwarding mill-stones from England.

Mr Shepherd, we learn, had begun a translation of the Gospel, was preparing a vocabulary, and had composed several hymns, with a tract on the creation, fall, and redemption of man. Mr Kendall and Mr Butler, in this year, ceased to have any connection with the society.

Of Rangihoua, Mr Leigh writes: "The natives about this settlement have made considerable advances in civilisation. It is four years since I first saw this place, in which period a change for the better is to me quite visible." Mr. Marsden, before his return to New South Wales in the *Dragon*, says: "A school is now begun here. The natives are all quiet and the settlers live in as much peace as they would in any civilised country. They assure me they have no trouble whatever with the natives. I preached

to-day there both morning and evening. It gives me much pleasure to see a school at length begun. The children are capable of learning anything we wish to teach them."

It will be remembered that Mr Kendall early established a school at Te Puna, but it appears to have been discontinued when he went with Hongi to England. Mr W. Hall, however, thus speaks of the new effort: "We have a school, to which we attend every day, consisting of from ten to fifteen native boys from six to nine years of age. They are all victualled and clothed by the society. Mr

King attends regularly to their instruction. They attend the church, all clean, every Sunday." The report, speaking of Mr Hall, says: "The writer is an industrious and skilful man; he understands the language well, and is very successful in his method of managing the natives. He has rendered great assistance to the shipping, which have stood in need of repairs, and his house has always been open to the officers of these vessels."

Mr. Francis Hall, who acted as secretary as well as storekeeper to the mission, left New Zealand and the mission service on the 5th of December, 1822, having determined to return to England. He was the only member of the mission staff unmarried. He sailed from Port Jackson on the 28th of February, 1823, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 12th of July. He bore an exemplary and unimpeached character. He paid much attention to the natives when they were sick, and urged the committee to provide medical advice for them. The native prejudice, he told the committee, against the use of medicine, was fast



Rev. Henry Williams (afterwards Archdeacon of Waimate).

declining, and they were daily coming to the station for relief.

Mr. and Mrs. H. Williams and their three children embarked at Woolwich on the 7th of September, 1822, in the *Lord Sidmouth*, female convict ship, Captain Ferrier. She left Deal on the 15th of the same month, and arrived at Rio Janeiro on the 17th November, Van Diemen's Land on the 10th February, 1823, and Port Jackson on the 27th of the same month. After a stay in New South Wales of some six months, Mr. Williams and family arrived in New Zealand on the 2nd

of August. With Mr. Williams went Mr. Fairburn, a carpenter, who had been before at New Zealand in the service of the society, but who returned thither to settle with his family. The Bampton, Captain Moore, left Port Jackson on the 23rd July, having on board the Rev. S. Marsden, Rev. Henry Williams and family, Mr. and Mrs. Fairburn, Mr. and Mrs. Turner, and Mr. Hobbs, the latter being members of the Methodist mission.

It had been intended that Mr. Williams should settle at Whangaroa, but, as the Wesleyan missionaries had fixed themselves there, Mr. Marsden chose a spot for a new settlement at Paihia, on the south side of the Bay of Islands, about sixteen miles to the south-eastward of Kerikeri, and about ten miles across the bay southward from Te Puna. The situation was beautiful and the land good, some fifteen acres being level and fit for cultivation.

Mr. Williams gives us a glimpse into his experience after landing. "The question of a site being settled," he says, "we proceeded to land the stores. The weather was much against us—raining and blowing nearly the whole time, and no place to put the stores. However, by the assistance of Mr. Hall, Mr. Butler and Mr. King, we had a store walled round in one day in which we collected all the property. Here Mr. Fairburn and myself took up our station at night under a tarpaulin, and were not disturbed. The natives always retired at sunset and returned at daylight, and manifested every disposition to help us, but always looked for *utu*. We took our repast and held our devotions in the centre of the village, and it was very pleasing to see with what attention the people observed all our proceedings. We sat in a semicircle on one side of a fire and they in a semicircle on the other, and did not express any desire to possess anything they saw with us. A chief made one of their huts tapu for the use of the whites in which we deposited all our articles for present use. No one was observed so much as to look into it. While we were engaged in arranging our things the natives were busy building a rush house for me, forty feet long and eighteen feet wide, having four apartments. We were in all eleven persons at this station—Mr. Fairburn and his wife, Mrs. Williams, myself, and our three children, and a man sent by Mr. Marsden to assist us."

Mrs. Williams thus tells the story of the occupation of the whare: "September 15. I accompanied my husband down in his boat to our new home. The day was beautiful—the

only fine day in the midst of a fortnight's storm and rain. After rowing down the Kerikeri River and calling at the island of Moturoa, we sailed to our new settlement. The beach was crowded with natives who drew me up while sitting in the boat with great apparent glee, exclaiming, *Te wahine* (the wife), and holding out their hands saying, *Tina ra ko koe* and *Homai te ringa ringa* (How do you do, give me your hand). I cannot describe my feelings; I trembled and cried, but joy was the predominant feeling. The cultivated land on which was springing up our crops of oats and barley extended close down to the fine flat beach, bounded on either side by a projecting point of rock, overhung by clumps of the noble pohutakawa tree. Within an enclosure of palings stood our raupo hut, which had, except in shape, the appearance of a bee hive. By the side stood the store, and scattered about were the cart, timber carriage, goats, fowls, and horse, and near the beach were the sawpits. Behind was a large garden already partially green with numerous rows of peas and beans. The entrance to the house was dark, and within were two rooms with no floors, and boards nailed up where sash lights are to be placed. Mr. Fairburn and my husband laid me a boarded floor in the bedroom before night, and I never slept more comfortably. On Sunday this was Monday, Mr. Williams opened another raupo hut for a chapel. The day was fine. The bell was rung for a quarter of an hour and sounded sweetly as the congregation walked along the beach. The natives carried the chairs and planks for benches. The Union Jack was hoisted in front of the settlement as a signal that it was the sacred day."

A few words with reference to the Rev. Henry Williams, who fills so large a place in the annals of the New Zealand mission, appear necessary. He came, as his name implies, of a Welsh family, and was born in 1792. He entered the navy in 1806, at the age of fourteen, and served with some distinction until the "conclusion of peace," when he retired as a lieutenant on half pay. In 1818 he became a married man. Thinking of joining the ministry of the Church of England, he was ordained deacon on 2nd June, 1822, and priest on the 16th of June following.

But it is necessary now to go back a little in the order of time, and review certain important results which had grown out of the visit of the Rev. Samuel Leigh in the Active, on the invitation of Mr. Marsden, in 1819.



THE METHODIST MISSION AT WHANGAROA.

The Rev. Samuel Leigh's Visit to New Zealand in 1819—His horror at the prevailing cruelty and cannibalism—His vigorous action in England to promote a mission—He obtains the sanction of the Conference—His success in procuring articles of barter—His return to New Zealand—Instructions issued for the government of the mission—Circumstances that influenced the choice of site—Visits to Karakara, Whangaroa, and Whangarei—Arrival of the Rev. Walter Lavery—Paucity of the Northern population—Mr Leigh's visit to the authors of the Boyd massacre—A mission established at Kato—Experiences with the natives—Measures to check infanticide—Mr Leigh prostrated by a severe illness—Arrival of Mr Marsden, Mr Hobbs, and the Rev. Henry Williams—Purchase of land for the Whangaroa mission—Mr Leigh visits Sydney—Wreck of the Brampton—Experiences of the Wesleyan mission at Whangaroa, and its final abandonment—Scene between Mr Turner and Tara—The law of tapu—A disturbance on the mission vessel Endeavour—A conflict between the missionaries and natives—Attack on the whaling brig Mercury—Narrow escape of Mr White—The reasons advanced for abandoning the mission—Hongi's descent on Whangaroa—The mission pillaged by a vagrant war party—A story of muru told by Tapsell.



THE Rev. Saml. Leigh was the founder of the Wesleyan Mission in New Zealand. He was born near Hanley, in Staffordshire, on the 1st of

September, 1785, and arrived in New South Wales on the 10th of August, 1815, being then nearly thirty years of age. While in New South Wales he stood in high favour with the Governor, and appears to have become specially noted for disinterestedness and piety. Early in 1819 Mr Leigh's health became precarious, and Mr Marsden had the opinion that a short residence in New Zealand would not only improve it, but would also serve the interests of the mission he had founded there in 1814. As the Active was plying between Sydney and New Zealand, Mr

Leigh was accommodated with a passage in her, and arrived at Te Puna, in the Bay of Islands, on the 5th of May, 1819, after having bad weather and a voyage of six weeks and two days. He was warmly welcomed by the lay teachers on his arrival, and remained with them until the 17th of June, when the Active being ready to return to Sydney he sailed in her.

On the second Sunday after his arrival at Te Puna, we are told he went out in the afternoon to a village not far from the settlement, and saw twelve men's heads displayed for sale, in the expectation that he would buy them. This was a stimulus to a zeal that wanted a curb rather than a spur, but during the latter portion of his visit it became known in the settlement that a young man had killed a little slave boy he had brought captive from the south, for stealing kumaras from a chief's garden. The little fellow was hungry, it may be presumed, but being caught in the theft, the natives at

Rangihoua cut off his head, cleaned and cut him up as Europeans would a pig, and laid him on a fire to roast. Mr Leigh being told of the tragedy went and saw the body on the fire, and giving an axe for the poor little fellow's remains, brought them to the mission station and buried them in the sight of many wondering native spectators. This was Mr. Leigh's introduction to the people he resolved, if possible, to evangelise.

The visit to New Zealand was not productive of much good to the health of the missionary, and we are told that the physicians of Sydney were of opinion that nothing but a long voyage could justify the slightest hope of his ultimate recovery. It being determined that Mr. Leigh should proceed to England, we find that he arrived there some time about the middle of the year 1820, but his chronicler, who must have had all the details of Mr Leigh's life at his command, has neither given the date of his departure from Sydney, his arrival in England, nor the name of the ship that carried him.

After a short stay at Portsmouth, Mr. Leigh travelled by coach to London, and proceeded to the Mission House, Hatton Gardens, where he was kindly welcomed and looked after by the unwearied attention of Mr. and Mrs. Taylor, while the superior medical treatment under which he was placed produced a sudden and remarkable change for the better in his health.

As soon as he felt himself able to do so, he met the mission secretaries and urged the establishment of new missions in New Zealand and Tonga. His proposal was met with the statement that the mission fund was £10,000 in debt, and that the Mission Society was not in a condition either to enlarge the old or to undertake the establishment of new missions.

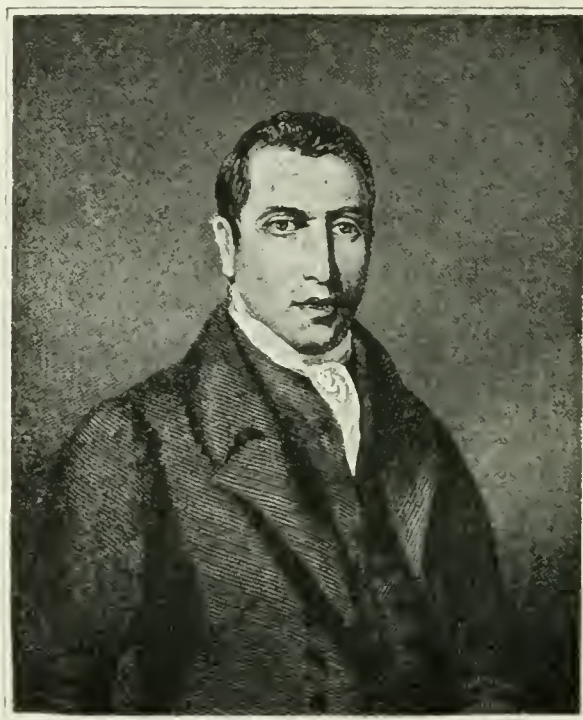
While musing over the rebuff his hopes had received, all at once it came to his remembrance that money was not the thing he wanted so much as its equivalent, as coin was comparatively useless in New Zealand save to be worn as ornaments by the women. Barter was the system in vogue there, and if he could obtain articles of trade, as they were called, all his needs would be supplied. Placing his plan with some elation before his superiors, and requesting permission to proceed to the manufacturing districts to collect articles of trade, he was informed that only the Conference, a meeting of the ordained

preachers of the body, could give authority for such a departure from conventionality; and though the scheme was regarded with favour, Mr. Leigh was told to wait and see what the Conference, the meeting of which was at hand, would say to the innovator's suggestion.

Mr. Leigh, however, was politic as well as zealous. When his health enabled him to stand the effort, he went north and delivered addresses on the New Zealanders, and aroused sufficient attention to make the New Zealand proposed mission popular before the meeting of the Conference, which

was either to sanction his proposals or to place an interdict on them. After much discussion, we are told, the Conference sanctioned the establishment of the mission, and authorised him to visit such provincial towns as might invite him, for the purpose of realising the means of accomplishing his object.

On the 10th of September, 1820, he received the following letter addressed to the preachers in the circuits which Mr. Leigh might visit, and signed, "Jabez Bunting:"—"The Conference in Liverpool having heard Mr. Samuel Leigh's statements respecting the favourable openings



Rev. Samuel Leigh.

for the establishment of missions among the black natives of New South Wales, in Tongataboo and the Friendly Islands, and in the populous and extensive lands of New Zealand, agreed to appoint several missionaries, including himself, to those countries; and, as many of the preachers and respectable friends who attended Conference were desirous that he should visit some of the principal places in England to receive such articles of manufacture as would be more valuable than money in the support of those missions, the Conference resolved as follows: 'That Mr. Samuel Leigh, having been appointed as a missionary to New Zealand, the Conference authorises the missionary committee to direct him to visit, before his departure, any places in this kingdom where it is probable that he may obtain the present of various articles of manufacture in aid of the South Sea Missions; and the preachers cheerfully engage to render him all the assistance in their power.' Feeling very desirous that his health may not suffer, I would suggest the propriety and necessity of his not being called upon to preach or do any public work but what may be absolutely necessary for the purpose of furthering his object. Under God, the establishment of these important missions depends materially upon the continuance of his life and strength, and I do sincerely hope that he may be spared to accomplish so great a work. A king and chief from New Zealand, under whom our mission is to be established there, have lately been, for a few days, at the Mission-house, and are much pleased that Mr. Leigh is going to reside in their country and to preach to themselves, their children and countrymen in their native language. Mr. Leigh will communicate more fully in person the wishes of himself and the missionary committee on the subject of his visits."

It is recorded in Leigh's Life that, "Mr. Leigh made a tour of the provinces, travelling by day and speaking to generally crowded audiences almost every night. After delivering a public address in Sheffield he received several tons of goods, including almost every article of local manufacture, such a ploughs, spinning wheels, spades, saws, axes, fish-hooks, together with all descriptions of ironmongery. Several of these donations were large. Mr. Holy presented one hundred dozen of forks and knives; the firm of Newton and Chambers, of Thorncliff, contributed goods valued at £100, consisting of grates, pots, kettles, and sundries. In presenting the list of articles to Mr. Leigh,

the head of that firm enclosed a £5 note for his own use. He immediately returned it, observing, 'I never received donations for myself; send it to the secretaries!' One lady sent him one hundred wedding-rings. He held an aggregate meeting in Oldham-street Chapel, Manchester, after which he received prints, calicoes, wearing apparel, and curiosities, some of which were above one hundred years old, valued altogether at £500. Having stated his case to the people of Birmingham, he was soon surrounded with innumerable articles in copper, iron and brass, saws of all kinds, axes, pins, buttons, and fish-hooks. Liverpool furnished a large assortment of wearing apparel for men, women and children. Captain Irving, of Bristol, provided a large tent, which was found very serviceable in New Zealand; while other friends there contributed in various ways in furtherance of an object that excited an interest as deep as it was general."

The miscellaneous collection of "trade" was packed in casks and sent to the Mission House, Hatton Garden, in such quantities that room was difficult to obtain for their storage, whence they were shipped to New South Wales, and re-shipped to New Zealand as they were required. They furnished, it is stated, the means for purchasing the mission estate at Whangaroa, for erecting appropriate premises for the mission station, and almost entirely supported the mission for five years.

Hongi Ika and Waikato were in London when Mr. Leigh had completed his provincial tour, and as Hongi Ika had seen Mr. Leigh at Te Puna, he speedily claimed his companionship, and we are told made up his mind to stay with the missionary while they both remained in England. As the chief, Mr. Strachan says, would not lie on a bed, Mr. Leigh was obliged to lay his mattress on the floor and sleep beside him.

The officials of the Church Missionary Society had several interviews with Mr. Leigh, and to mark their sense of the good fellowship of the man, presented him with twenty-five volumes of books, with their thanks for his kind counsels and attention to their settlers at the Bay of Islands, and with a copy of the society's Proceedings. They were inclined to disbelieve the fact that the Maoris were cannibals, but on this head Mr. Leigh had sufficient experience to convince the incredulous. As he naively put the matter, "There could be no mistake in describing the character of a man who roasts and eats his fellow."

Before his departure from England, however, he married, as experience and observation had convinced him, it is said, that no single man should be appointed to labour among a barbarous people. The selection seems to have been a good one—her unmarried name was Clewes—and her desire for the benefit of the Maori people seems to have been second only to her care for her husband's health.

His stay in England came to a close on April 28th, 1821, and he departed to resume his duties in the South Seas, in the ship *Brixton*. On the 8th of August Tasmania was reached, and Port Jackson on September the 16th. Hongi Ika and Mr. Kendall had, it will be seen, reached the Bay of Islands almost two months before the *Brixton* was anchored in Sydney Cove. On the morning of the last day of the year 1821 Mr. and Mrs. Leigh left Port Jackson in the *Active* for New Zealand, where they arrived on the 22nd of February following, after what his not very wise or accurate biographer calls an agreeable run. The natives, we are told, welcomed him gladly, and saluted him one after another until the skin was entirely rubbed from the point of his nose. They were hospitably entertained at Mr. William Hall's, where they remained about sixteen months, waiting for some co-operation from New South Wales.

The following is a copy of instructions delivered to Mr Samuel Leigh, superintendent of the Wesleyan Mission, New Zealand, dated January 17, 1821:—

"As you are appointed to superintend the mission to New Zealand and Tongataboo, we recommend to you great kindness and mildness of manner to your brethren, as well as great prudence and economy in the management of the whole of our affairs. There must be no inequality among you; you must submit to privations in common, and all your comforts must be equally shared.

"It is recommended that you purchase by barter not more than 500 acres of land, at a fair remuneration to the natives, for the use of the mission at New Zealand, and if it be thought expedient, not more than the same quantity at Tongataboo.

"That you, as soon as possible, and in the most economical manner, erect at the place of your location in New Zealand suitable premises for a school, a room for public worship, and three suites of apartments, one for the residence of each family, all under the same roof; that there be a common room in which the meals of the whole mission family may be taken together, and family worship regularly per-

formed. The same is to be done at Tongataboo, each family to have for its separate use one sitting-room and one sleeping-room for the present.

"That all articles furnished from time to time for barter, for the use of the mission, shall, both at New Zealand and Tongataboo, be considered as common stock, in no case to be appropriated to his convenience and use by any individual missionary, either for building, purchase of land, provisions or expenditure.

"That one of the brethren shall be appointed secretary to each mission, whose business it shall be to enter into a book, to be provided for that purpose, all the articles sent out for barter, from time to time, by the committee, and those first taken by the brethren, and that no article shall be taken out of the common stock, to be bartered or otherwise made use of, but by the consent of at least two of the brethren whilst the number shall be three in each station, or when the number shall be increased, of two-thirds of the whole, and not without an entry being made at the time of the number and kind of articles so taken out of the stock, and the purposes for which they are to be bartered, which entry is to be signed in the handwriting of the missionaries, as in the first instance, and two-thirds, when the number shall be increased. The secretary shall be required to make copies half-yearly of the book account of all stores received, expended, and on hand, with the various purposes to which the expenditures have been applied, and to transmit them to the committee, made up half-yearly, to June 30 and December 31 of each year, in duplicates by the first vessel. The duplicates, as well as the originals, are to be signed by all the brethren on each station. At Tongataboo, as long as there shall be but two brethren employed on the mission, the stores to be applied only by the joint consent of both.

"The secretary to each mission shall, with his half-yearly account, also inform the committee what articles are most in request among the natives for barter, and also state the rise and fall in the value of the various articles as the case may be.

"That for the purchase of articles of food for the mission families, each of the brethren shall, in rotation, week by week, be appointed to barter with the natives, one only at the same time being empowered to transact that business, and that each of the wives also, in weekly rotation, take the charge of cooking the provisions and preparing the meals for the common table, the rotation to be so regulated

that the wife of the brother who purchases the articles of food shall superintend its preparation for the same week. That a fowling-piece be furnished to each missionary, but that no barter shall be allowed in muskets or warlike weapons of any kind.

"The missionaries at New Zealand and Tongataboo will be expected to establish schools for the children of the natives, and, as soon as practicable, bring the natives to contribute to the support of the children of these schools. At each of those stations the committee will allow for the support of schools to the value in goods of £50 per annum, and the brethren and their wives are directed to adopt such methods of instruction as they may, on mutual consultation, judge most suitable, and that they themselves act as teachers.

"That on each of these missions £50 per annum shall be allowed to each married missionary, and £12 per annum for each child as quarterage, and that the society send out from time to time as many suits of clothes as each missionary may order, to be charged to his account, and any surplus of cash due to him, as the balance of the above-named allowance, be paid to him either in goods or cash, as he may direct.

"That, as the mission family will need from year to year a supply of salt, butter, tea, coffee, sugar, soap, and a few similar articles from New South Wales, a sum not exceeding £40 shall be allowed for this purpose, to be drawn for by the superintendent of the New South Wales Mission.

"That the settlement at New Zealand shall be named after Mr. Wesley, and that at Tongataboo after Dr. Coke, the compound name to be determined by the site of the location.

"That the brethren shall endeavour to introduce the knowledge of agriculture and such useful arts as they know among the natives, and that they shall bring as much of the land, which they may purchase for the use of the mission, gradually into cultivation as may ultimately supply them with the necessaries of life.

"That £100 shall be allowed for the purchase of cattle and other articles of immediate subsistence to be taken from Botany Bay, if that sum be necessary; but it is hoped that the cattle and other articles may be obtained by the favour of friends in New South Wales, at least in part.

"That £80 be allowed for furniture, as per list, for the mission house in New Zealand.

Sd. "JOHN BURDSALL, }
"JOS. TAYLOR, } Secretaries."
"RICH. WATSON, }

It appears to have been the intention of Mr. Leigh to have founded his mission at Mercury Bay, but as Hongi declared that he intended to kill all the people resident in the district, he was thrown, as it were, to look whether some other field could be found which would not interfere with the missions already established. Hohoura, to the north, was spoken of by Hongi, but it was considered too distant and perilous a voyage for Mr. Leigh to undertake, who was compelled to look nearer to the Bay of Islands. While staying with Mr. Hall, Mr. Leigh and his wife sought instruction in the Maori tongue, and that he made some progress is clear from his attempting to preach in the August after their landing at the bay. An attempt was made with native aid to explore Whangarei, but a gale coming on while the boat or canoe was at sea, the party was driven to Whangaroa, and landing there in the night a hut was given them to sleep in, though the natives of the bay were by no means assured of their safety. Mr. Leigh himself was in fear, and the people seemed ready to resist his departure, but he threw a handful of fish-hooks over their heads, and while they were scrambling for them he got into the boat.

In April the Church Mission boat was placed at Mr. Leigh's service, and accompanied by the Rev. J. Butler, two Europeans and five natives, he proceeded to Hohoura, and was warmly welcomed by the people of the district he came in contact with, but after the visit, we are told, in Leigh's life, the following conclusions were arrived at:—"1. There is no convenient harbour for shipping. 2. There is not a river of sufficient depth of water for the purposes of trade. 3. The whole district seems to be thinly populated. 4. On these and other grounds it is our deliberate judgment that Hohoura is not at present eligible as a mission settlement."

After their return from Hohoura, an attempt was made to explore the timber country, most probably Kawakawa, but as the people were wild and clamorous for muskets and powder, and the service which Mr. Hall conducted in Maori was not a success—a man having a gun among the congregation attracting by his gestures more attention than the preacher—after giving away a few fish-hooks, Messrs. Hall and Leigh got into the canoe they had hired, glided down the river, and from its mouth to their settlement, and abandoned the idea of a mission station in that locality.

This visit took place in August, 1822, and from this period until May in the following

year there is a gap in the record. In July, 1822, on the 13th of the month, the *St. Michael*, Captain Beveridge, came into the Bay of Islands, having on Board the Rev. Walter Lawry, Mrs. Lawry, and several mechanics, on their way to establish a mission at Tongataboo. On the 26th of May the *St. Michael* returned from Tonga, calling at the Bay of Islands, and the period of her charter not having expired, "Mr. Leigh resolved to detain her for the purpose of assisting him to examine certain parts of the coast he had not been able to visit." Accompanied by several members of the Church Mission, Mr. Leigh proceeded to Whangarei, where he had been unable to reach when blown to Whangaroa.

The experience of the explorers is interesting and important, as tending to show how largely excessive were the ideas promulgated of the populousness of the northern districts in the early part of the century. The memoir says: "On landing they were informed that within a circumference of twenty miles there were but few villages and few families. Next day they visited several creeks and bays, and penetrated as far into the interior as was judged prudent or safe without having seen more than a few scattered inhabitants. After dark they arrived at a small village, where they agreed to remain all night. After breakfast and prayer they resumed their journey, and about mid-day came to a village in ruins. The few natives who lingered about the desolate ruins of their fathers complained bitterly of the tribes who had invaded them. They had burned the village, killed the people, and carried off the little property they possessed. After mutual consultation the brethren were of opinion that Whangarei did not afford facilities for the establishment of a permanent mission. The natives said they were a 'broken people.' They were shy, dejected, and apparently destitute. When they saw Mr. Leigh and his friends preparing to leave, they evinced no hostile demonstration, but sat down and wept."

After consulting with the Rev. Mr. Butler, and Messrs. Shepherd and Hall, Mr. Leigh determined to see what the chances were in

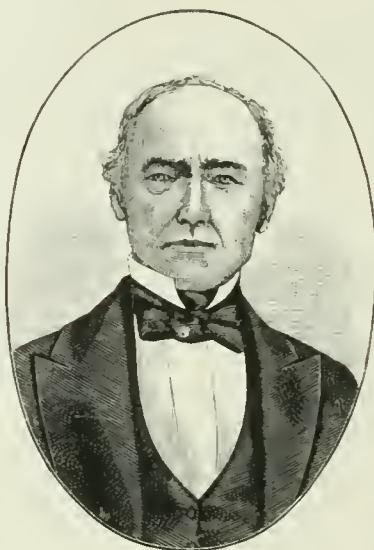
establishing a mission at Whangaroa, and, having the vessel at their command, they arrived off the heads in the afternoon of the 5th of June, and at an early hour in the morning the *St. Michael* was surrounded by canoes filled with men, women and children. Mr. Leigh went up the harbour, past the wreck of the *Boyd*, and visited the kainga of the people who lured its passengers and crew to destruction, George returning with him to the ship. On the day following, we are told, the natives became very troublesome, demanding muskets and gunpowder, offering as much as one hundred baskets of kumaras for one musket. On Sunday a religious service was held, which the natives attended, while a heavy thunderstorm lent emphasis to

the occasion. Early on Monday a boat was manned, and, after taking on board Mr. Leigh and the friends accompanying him, it proceeded up the river Kaeo to the Maori kainga, in a fertile and beautiful valley, which was named Wesley Dale. The natives were Ngatiuru, and occupied four villages within sight of each other. They numbered about two hundred. At the mouth of the harbour and in other places adjacent were Ngatipo, said to have been more numerous than the Ngatiuru, with whom, however, we are chiefly concerned.

Ngatiuru were the people who cut off the *Boyd*, and the chief Pepi having been blown up with the powder explosion, of which mention has already

been made, his three sons, Te Puni, Tara, and Uru, were the chief men of the *hapu*. Mr. Leigh placed himself under the protection of Te Puni, who was the elder of the brothers, and the most reliable of perhaps an indifferent lot.

On the 10th of June an eligible site was chosen for the mission station, and on the day following the foundation of a building was laid, of sufficient dimensions to serve the purposes of a dwelling-house and store-room. From Mr. Turner's life we learn that the station was about twelve miles inland from the heads of the Whangaroa harbour. The mission dwelling stood on a jutting point of land on the south-east side of a beautiful vale, through which ran the Kaeo, a fine serpentine



Mr. James Shepherd.

river which emptied itself into the harbour six miles below. The valley was sequestered among hills and mountains of almost every size and shape, most of them covered with pines, many of them from sixty to one hundred feet without a branch, and their trunks three feet to six feet in diameter. While Messrs. Butler and Leigh superintended the work, the ship's carpenter, the other Europeans, and the natives erected the structure. Calico was substituted for glass in the windows, and the building was without the protection of a door for several months. Before the end of the month the St. Michael and the visitors, with the exception of Mr. and Mrs. Shepherd, returned to the Bay of Islands, and the work of the Leighs may be said to have commenced.

From the commencement of the century the people at the Bay of Islands had been accustomed to European intercourse, but the visits of Europeans to Whangaroa had not been many. Indeed, all the ships that had called there before the St. Michael could be counted on the fingers of the one hand. They were not familiar with the habits or customs of the pakeha. These considerations will render needless any apology for some details of the experience of the Leighs among an almost primitive people. Thus we are told: "As every article of food had to be cooked in the open air, Mrs. Leigh was under the necessity of protecting herself from the effects of almost incessant rain by putting on her husband's great coat and boots. During the process of cooking the natives generally assembled, and carried off everything within their reach. Never having seen boiling water before, many of them plunged their hands into the pot to steal the contents, and on being scalded hastily withdrew them, exclaiming, 'The water has bitten our hands.' After this they used sharp pointed sticks, which they thrust into the pot, and frequently succeeded in emptying it of the kumaras, pork, or fish that might be in preparation for dinner, thus leaving the mission family without a morsel.

"Mrs. Leigh commenced an institution for training native women, and formed a small class of the daughters of several chiefs. One condition of admission into the class was that they should submit to be washed with soap and water. As none of them had ever been washed before, they submitted to the process with great reluctance. Being told that the washing made their complexion more like that of Europeans, they became more reconciled to it.

"These interesting young persons being

seated, Mrs. Leigh exhibited a small needle, and handed it round that they might see and examine it. They expressed their surprise at the beauty of its polish and the sharpness of one end, which 'bit them' as often as they touched it. Their astonishment was increased when they saw a thread put through the eye of the needle. They were told that the artisan who made the needle had struck a hole in the end of it for the very purpose of receiving the thread. That so small a hole could be made in it exceeded their belief, until, by taking hold of the thread at both ends and moving the needle backwards and forwards, they had ocular demonstration of the fact. The needle being returned to Mrs. Leigh, she put a knot on the end of the thread and began to sew a piece of calico. A needle was then threaded and given to each, with a request that she would imitate Mrs. Leigh. After a few abortive efforts they were all in confusion. One complained that the thread would not stay in the cloth, another said that she could not pull her needle through. The cause was soon ascertained: the one had knotted the end of her thread, while the other had tied her thread to the eye of the needle. It was necessary to show them where the knot was to be placed, and how to make it."

Being assured that infanticide prevailed among the tribes, Mrs. Leigh felt anxious to discover some expedient by which to check a practice which was gradually diminishing the population. Observing that the native mothers were proud of seeing their children with any article of dress peculiar to the pakeha, she employed her scholars to make several sets of baby clothing. With these she clothed the infants in the families to which her young people respectively belonged. The little ones were carried from whare to whare, and excited much attention. She then desired that it might be generally known that any mother bringing her infant to the mission house not earlier than a fortnight after its birth would be presented with a similar dress. The plan worked well while Mrs. Leigh remained there, and in this way, said Mr. Leigh, "at a small expense and in a short time, we saved scores of lives."

Mr. Leigh's health, however, was unable to stand the exposure to which he was subjected, and the strain that was inevitable from his circumstances induced a severe illness, which at one time occasioned grave alarm. The mission dwelling was not weather proof, and Mr. Leigh said that if he could not be protected from the rain he should certainly die. Some

of their goods having been packed in an empty wine pipe, they were taken out, and one end being removed, the sick man made this his hospital. There was no doctor to aid him or his wife in overcoming the disease, and the battle between life and death was alone waged between the fever with which he was prostrated and the vigour of his constitution. "The fever," we are told, "ran its course, and gradually subsided; but it left a chronic ailment that subjected the missionary to frequent and acute suffering for twenty years afterwards."

On the 6th of August, while all the people about the mission were busily employed making some alterations in the premises, the natives shouted out that Europeans were coming, and "looking down the valley two persons were seen approaching the station, who, on arrival, proved to be the Rev. Mr. Turner and Mr. Hobbs, a mechanic, who subsequently became a Methodist minister. They had arrived in the Bay of Islands three days previously with the Rev. Mr. Marsden, by the ship *Brampton*, that also brought

the Rev. Henry Williams, who had intended forming a mission at Whangaroa had it not been occupied. Messrs. Turner and Hobbs had walked overland from the Bay of Islands. The new arrivals having returned to the Bay the schooner *Snapper* was chartered to convey Mrs. Turner and her child and their stores and belongings to the scene of their new labours. On the 15th of August she sailed into Whangaroa harbour, having Mr. Marsden on board "who went to see his friend Mr. Leigh."

The entry in the life of Rev. N. Turner is

worthy of notice from the significance of its tone. "The weather had been unusually wet, and when they clambered up the clay bank to their first home in the Southern world they found it cheerless in the extreme. It was wintry August, and the site chosen for the log and raupo tenement proved very unsuitable. Mrs. Leigh's welcome to her European sister was very hearty, and the gratitude of all was great. It was well that it was so; for the aspect of things would have chilled a colder love and quenched a weaker faith." Mr. Leigh, however, had got over his fever, dis-

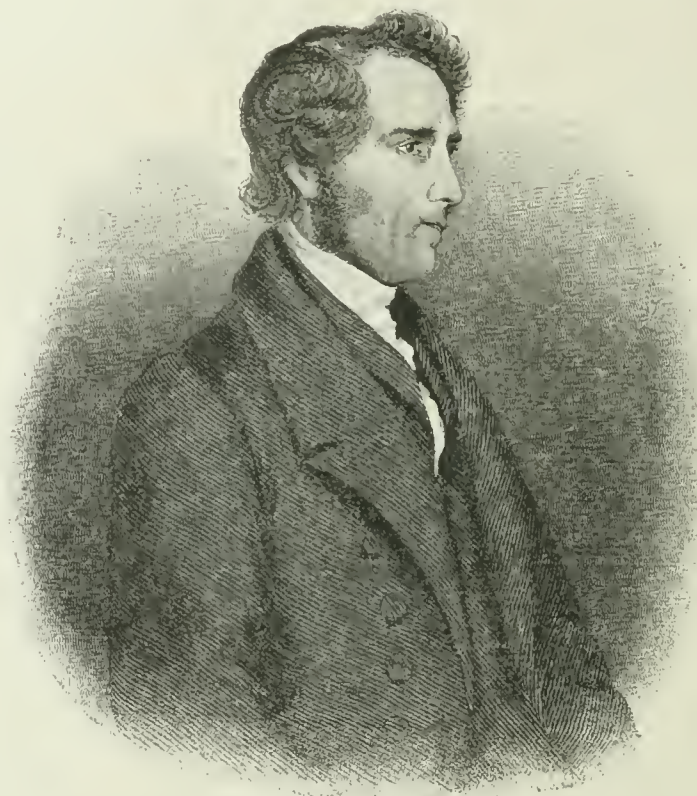
carded his tub, and was elate with the new arrivals, and the companionship of Mr. Marsden.

The Churchman's practical common sense was at once manifested by his insisting on Mr. Leigh leaving the mission for a season to recruit his health; and it is characteristic of the man, though there is no evidence of his interference, that the day after his arrival Mr. Leigh should have purchased the site of the Whangaroa mission station.

A transcript of the deed may be given as a curiosity, it being

most probably the second commercial transaction in New Zealand land. The following is an extract copy of the articles of agreement between Mr. Samuel Leigh and George, the principal chief of Whangaroa:—

A Memorandum of an Agreement between the Rev. S. Leigh on one part, and George, the chief at Whangaroa, on the other part, witnesseth that the aforesaid chief agrees to sell a piece or parcel of land containing fifty acres more or less, bounded on the east side by a small wood and a gully, on the west by the road made by the crew of the *Dromedary* to bring the timber to the river, and on the



Rev. Nathaniel Turner.

north by the river, and on the south by the rising ground above the present missionary house, for which land the aforesaid Rev. Samuel Leigh agrees to pay the said George two blankets, three red cloaks, and fifteen axes.

In witness whereof the said contracting parties have hereunto set their hands this sixteenth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three.

In the presence of	(Signed)	SAMUEL LEIGH.
SAMUEL MARSDEN.	The mark of	X GEORGE.
JAMES SHEPHERD.	Do.	X TEPAI.
	Do.	X E. UDU.

Concerning the foregoing document, we are told the chiefs ratified the bargain by transferring the distinctive mark of their respective tribes from their tattooed faces to a document which had been previously prepared.

On Tuesday, the 10th August, Mr. and Mrs. Leigh, accompanied by the Rev. Samuel Marsden, left Whangaroa to join the ship *Brampton*, expecting to sail forthwith from the Bay of Islands to Port Jackson; but, in consequence of the wreck of that vessel on leaving the bay, they were detained till the arrival of the *Dragon*, on her way from Tahiti to New South Wales, in which vessel, accompanied by Mr. White, they sailed for Port Jackson in the early part of November. On Sunday, the 22nd of the February following, Mr. White returned to New Zealand in the schooner *Endeavour*, and rejoined the mission at Whangaroa, having left Mr. Leigh ill in New South Wales.

It has been already stated that Messrs. Marsden and Leigh, with several others, intended to proceed to Sydney in the *Brampton*—the vessel that had brought Messrs. Marsden and Turner from thence. The *Brampton* got wrecked on leaving the bay, and as Strachan gives such an utterly mistaken account of the disaster, Mr. Marsden's chronicle is quoted to put the events connected with the loss of the vessel in their true light. The *Brampton* left Kororareka on Sunday, September 7th, 1823. Mr. Marsden writes as follows:—"The weather was very threatening and stormy; the wind from the eastward and strong, blowing directly into the mouth of the harbour. We lay in Kororareka Bay, on the south side of the harbour, and had to sail along a lee rocky shore. In working out with the wind dead on the land, the ship being light and high out of the water, she would not answer her helm, and missed stays twice. The lead was kept continually sounding, and we soon found ourselves in little more than three fathoms of water, with a rocky bottom, and a shoal of rocks on our lee, and it was then high water. When the captain found the situation we were in he immediately ordered to let go the anchor,

which was done. When the tide turned the ship struck, the gale increased, and the sea with it. A shipwreck now seemed probable. The Rev. Mr. Leigh was very ill and felt the disturbance very much; Mrs. Leigh also being very ill. I requested the captain to lend me the boat to take Mr. and Mrs. Leigh to the nearest island, being but two miles distant. The natives expressed much concern for us, made a fire, prepared the best hut they could, which was made of rushes, for our reception. I requested them to send a canoe to Rangihoua to inform Mr. and Mrs. Hall of the loss of the ship, and to bring their boat to assist in bringing the people to land. At the same time I desired they would tell the natives to bring a large war canoe. The natives for some time alleged that their canoe would be dashed to pieces by the waves, but at length I prevailed upon them. They had between five and six miles to go through a very rough sea. About three o'clock Messrs. Hall, King and Hanson arrived in Mr. Hall's boat, and a large war canoe with natives. They immediately proceeded to the ship, and we had the satisfaction to see them arrive safe, and waited until dark with the greatest anxiety for their return. The rain fell in torrents, the gale increased, and they had not returned. We lay down in our little hut full of fear for the safety of all on board. The night appeared very long, dark, and dreary.

"When the next day arrived we had the happiness to see the vessel still upright, but driven near the shore. No boat or canoe came from her. The gale still increased. About mid-day we saw the mainmast go overboard. The natives on board screamed aloud when the mast fell. I concluded they had cut away the mast to relieve the vessel. We spent the rest of this day in great suspense, as we could not conjecture why all the passengers should remain on board in the state the ship was in. At dark in the evening Mr. Hall returned, and informed us that the bottom of the vessel was beaten out, and that both her chain and best bower cable were parted; and that she beat with such violence upon the rocks when the tide was in that it was impossible to stand upon the deck. At the same time he said that there was no danger of any lives being lost, as he did not think the vessel would go to pieces as she stood firm upon the rock when the tide was out. He said the passengers on board had not determined what they would do or where they would land; they wished to wait till the gale was abated. Mr. Hall's information relieved us much. As

it was now dark, the wind high, and the sea rough, we could not leave the island, and therefore took lodgings in our little hut.

"The natives supplied us with a few potatoes and some fish. At the return of day—Tuesday, 9th—we discovered the ship still upright, but she appeared higher on the reef. I now determined to return to Kerikeri in Mr. Hall's boat with Mr. and Mrs. Leigh. We left the island for the mission settlement, where we arrived about nine o'clock. Our friends had not heard of the loss of the ship until our arrival, as there had not been any communication between the different settlements in consequence of the severe weather. The wreck was about twelve or fourteen miles from the settlement. Four boats were immediately sent off. Mr. Hall's boat took the women and children to Rangihoua, and two of the boats returned with part of our luggage, and we went to the station of the Rev. Henry Williams."

The shipwreck of the *Brampton* was significant of the influence the missionaries and traders had exercised over the Maoris resident in the Bay of Islands. "We were all," says Mr. Marsden, "both on shore and in the vessel, as well as our property, completely in their power. They could have taken our lives at any moment, and it cannot be doubted they would have done so if the missionaries had not gained their confidence and goodwill." The captain subsequently stated that he had got all his stores landed on the island of Moturoa, and that the chiefs behaved well; that on one occasion between five and six hundred men came around the ship, and appeared as if they intended to be troublesome, but a leading chief desired the captain to be still and not interfere, and in a speech of more than an hour long, he pointed out the fatal consequences of committing any act of plunder or violence, and then taking the captain's sword he told them he would cut down the first man who should attempt to come on board. By his firmness order and quiet were restored, and the captain removed from the wreck everything of importance.

About the middle of November Mr. Marsden and party managed to leave for New South Wales by the ship *Dragon* that had called at the Bay on her way from Tahiti to Sydney, and with them returned also the Rev. John Butler and his family with Mr. and Mrs. Cowell and some six Maori lads, who, sooner than be left behind, slept on deck. In reference to changes made in the Church Mission staff, the report says: "It has been found requisite to

separate from the society two members for conduct disgraceful to their profession." Mr. Marsden is still more frank, as he writes: "I had many a battle to fight for years with some of the early settlers, who turned out to be unprincipled men." There were, it will be seen, at this period, two mission societies at work close together—the Church Mission at the Bay of Islands, and the Methodist Mission at Whangaroa; at Rangihoua, Messrs. Hall and King and their families; at Kerikeri, Messrs. Kemp and Shepherd; and Pahia, Mr. Henry Williams and Mr. Fairburn. The cattle had increased to some fifty head, and were unmolested by the natives.

After Mr. Leigh's departure the mission party was composed of the following persons: The Rev. Mr. Turner, and Messrs. White, Hobbs, Stack, and Wade, together with Mrs. Turner and a young nurse whom Mrs. Turner had taken with her from Sydney. Mr. Stack had joined Mr. Leigh as a volunteer from New South Wales in February, 1823; in May, Mr. William White arrived in the *St. Michael*; and Luke Wade, who was engaged as a general servant on the station, and had formerly been a sailor, could afford Mr. Hobbs at least valuable aid in constructing the new premises that were now undertaken, and in erecting the wooden frame of a cottage Mr. Leigh had taken with him from Sydney. The party, it will be seen, was composed of seven adults, and it was resolved that they should, for the present, "live together as one family."

It is necessary at this period in the history of the Whangaroa mission to consider its position and surroundings. None of the members of which it was composed had been in the colony more than a few months. They were all ignorant of the Maori language, and ignorant of Maori customs. They had no previous experience of intercourse with a barbarous people. They were not tolerant of contradiction on religious questions, and held, as minorities generally hold, that they were right and the rest of the world wrong. The habits of the Maoris were ignored, and their most sacred instincts and feelings outraged unconsciously by the people who came to teach them. Neither understood the other. All that the missionaries saw in Maori habit and custom they condemned. An illustration may make our meaning clear. In Mr. Leigh's *Life*, we are told that on passing a woman that was sacred, who was lying down and eating in conformity with their national custom (it was not lawful, it must be remembered, for any one *tapu* to handle food),

one of the brethren said to her, "You ought not to do so; your custom is of the devil." She said nothing, but a sick man who was lying near her replied, "You say this is of the devil and that is of the devil, but do tell us if there be anything of Jehovah about us."

It is manifest that the Maori had the best of the argument. It was a difficult position, however, in which to place men who aspired to be teachers. They found it easier to condemn than to instruct. They in a great measure misunderstood their duty and their functions. The Maori cult was a very ancient one, and was certainly not to be superseded in the minds of its professors, as Tara told one of the mission staff, by the cackle or condemnation of boys. Most of the mission troubles arose from the violation of the law of tapu, which the missionaries could not be expected to understand in its many ramifications. But they were not slow in discovering its value, as Mrs. Leigh, soon after their settling at Whangaroa, got a chief to tapu a cask of pork.

Mr. Carlton on this matter wisely writes that the missionaries committed offences which they did not at first even know to be an offence—for ignorance is no excuse in Maoridom any more than in England, where every man is presumed to be acquainted with the law. Possibly such offence might have been committed by a retainer over whom control was only nominal. Yet this also is not strange to England, where the master is answerable for the act of his servant.

In 1826 the Rev. H. Williams writes: "The natives appear in a degree to be disciplined to our mode of proceeding, and submit to our restrictions and regulations. On our first landing they would climb our fences, pry into every corner, and enter our houses at will; but now they wait to be asked in, and if any one should stray where he should not, a single word will generally set all right. When strangers come near, as they do at times in large parties, and are disposed to be troublesome, our own natives will explain our customs. They will, however, thieve on all occasions, and frequently put us to considerable loss without benefiting themselves; but it is encouraging to see they improve in any respect."

This, it will be remembered, was after twelve years of mission tuition, and the result of the two races living side by side. At Whangaroa no such intercourse had taken place, as the only familiarity the people of Whangaroa had acquired with the European

race was when the store-ship *Dromedary* was anchored in the bay seeking kauri. Many years had to elapse before the Maori of Whangaroa would be assimilated in habit and manner to the Maori resident of Kororareka.

From the two volumes the life of the Rev. Mr. Leigh and of the Rev. Nathaniel Turner, almost all the facts concerning the mission at Whangaroa have to be gleaned. Mr. Strachan's "Life of Leigh" is a better book than Mr. Turner's, though perhaps fuller of inaccuracies. The missionaries tell their own story, and no man has yet arisen to give the Maori version of what has been considered a very unfortunate episode. Briefly put, the episode may be thus stated: The Methodists founded a mission at Whangaroa, but the Maoris by their conduct drove the missionaries away.

After the mission party had fled from Whangaroa to the Bay of Islands, and from thence to Sydney, a narrative was written "explaining the circumstances of the breaking up of the mission at Whangaroa, as well as the progress which had been made at the period of its abandonment." This narrative is drawn from the supplement to the Turner and Leigh memorials. The evidence also given by the Rev. J. Beecham before the House of Lords in 1838 on the state of the Islands of New Zealand is also laid under contribution.

Mr. Turner, it appears, came into collision with the Maoris in less than three months after his arrival. On Wednesday, November 26th, 1823, he thus writes in his journal: "This has been a day of the greatest trial I was ever called on to endure. One of the principal chiefs brought us a pig, for which I had paid him beforehand [Strachan says Mr. Turner laid down its full value on delivery without observation], but he wanted a second payment for it. It was some time before I would give him anything. At length I gave him an iron pot, which was what he wished; but when he got that he claimed a frying-pan also. This I refused to give him, and he then took the iron pot and dashed it to pieces. I went and left him, but he very soon followed me with all the rage of a fiend, and pointed his musket twice to shoot me, but the Lord withheld him. He, however, pushed me about the bank, and stormed and threatened much for a length of time. Mr. Hobbs and James Stack then came up. He said we wanted to make the New Zealanders slaves, and that all we gave them was *karakia* prayers, etc., on all which he poured the greatest contempt, and

said he did not want to hear about Jesus Christ. He wanted muskets, and powder, and tomahawks, etc., and if we loved him we should give him more of these things. After some time he left us, and went back to the house and threatened to kill Mrs. Turner and Betsy, the servant girl, and said he would soon serve us all as he did the crew of the Boyd. His threatening in this way, and his entering the stores, so alarmed the servant girl that she came running and screaming for me. I certainly thought he had taken advantage of my absence, and had killed my wife and child, but when I got to the house I found all well and my wife quite courageous. He had entered the stores and taken out several articles, but Mrs. Turner got them from him and put them back, appearing quite unmoved amidst the greatest storm we have been called upon to witness and endure from the rage of the heathen. His fury in a while abated, and he left the house."

Misconceptions and misunderstandings are frequent among mixed races from the ignorance of language. "Nothing," Yates says, "can be more truly ridiculous than the errors Europeans make when first attempting to speak the Maori tongue. It is very easy to make such mistakes as these: 'The food has swallowed the man,' instead of 'The man has swallowed the food'; or 'Put the horse on the saddle,' instead of 'Put the saddle on the horse'; or 'Yesterday I shall go a journey,' or 'To-morrow I went to see the houses,' or 'Will you eat me?' instead of 'Will you eat with me?' The last of these errors is one that has often made the natives angry, as it refers to one of the greatest curses you can express, and if one native were to make use of it to another, a satisfaction would be sought, and the individual who spoke the sentence would be severely punished. They know, however, that Europeans make use of it in ignorance; but if a troublesome man wanted an excuse for plundering, this would be abundantly sufficient, according to the laws of the country, to justify him in taking away all that the innocently offending person possessed. Offences of this kind, we may be certain, the Wesleyan

missionaries were prone to commit, and afford a pretty frequent test of Maori long-suffering and patience."

The next day Mr. Turner writes that he was so unwell, he was not able to get up early, and the shock he had received the day before, together with the constant noise of the natives, had affected his head very much. Tara, who was the offender, told Mrs. Turner what he had in substance told the people on board the *Dromedary* three years previously. In excusing himself he said, putting his hand to his heart, "When my heart rests here, then I love Mr. Turner very much; but when my heart rises to my throat, then I could kill him in a minute." He was notorious for his hasty temper and constant fear of punishment from the British authorities for his share in the Boyd massacre.



Rev. J. Hobbs.

In Mr. Turner's biography such incidents in the missionary experience as the following, we are told, were frequent. During the English service, in the outer room one evening, the chief managed, unperceived, to secrete the tea-pot within his mat and carry it away. At Hokianga, on another occasion, we are told by another authority, that a Maori stole a kettle of boiling water, but soon became dissatisfied with his prize. To return, however, to the trials of the Turners. One day the dinner was cooked in the yard, and while the cloth was being laid a hawk-eyed and quick-footed fellow got over the

fence, and carried off oven, dinner, and all. Washing days were watchful days, and the clothes basket and the clothes line were weekly temptations. The missionaries were, however, treated far better than the traders. A Sydney captain purchased some pigs, and got the sellers to help the crew in salting and packing them. But the captain soon found that the Maoris were as good judges of pork as himself, as they handed over, whenever they could, the prime joints to their friends in the canoes who were at the side of the ship. When the captain got angry they cut away the ship's boat to increase the confusion, and having recovered it when drifting away, demanded from the exasperated captain salvage, as they had found the boat adrift. The

captain of the ship *St. Michael* asked Mr. Turner to conduct divine service on board, and all the ship's crew attended in the cabin. Mr. Turner, when the service was over, was asked to stay to dinner, but when the cook went to look at his galley the natives were enjoying the meal some miles away. "Preferring it hot," we are told, "they had taken the cooking apparatus too."

On December the 19th, Strachan writes: "The first *takahi*, or fair, ever held in the country was opened in Wesley Dale. Numerous natives arrived from the mouth of the harbour and adjacent villages. Various articles of foreign and domestic manufacture were exhibited, and changed hands. During the first day of the fair the wife of Te Puihi was confined. The mission family went in the evening to pay their respects. They found the lady in the bush cheerful, and apparently quite well. The infant lay beside her, with its legs tied together to make them grow straight. The mother intimated that a European garment would much improve the appearance and comfort of her child. Her request was so moderate on such an occasion that it was readily complied with." It should have been stated that on the 2nd of December a formal reconciliation took place between Tara and the missionaries.

Early in 1824 a serious disagreement took place from a violation of the law of tapu. The custom of tapu underlaid the whole Maori economy. Dr. Shortland in a few lines describes its general operation, and from the conciseness of the statement it may be quoted as being specially appropriate to the difficulty the missionaries fell into. He says:

"Anything tapu must not be allowed to come in contact with any vessel or place where food is kept. This law is absolute. Should such contact take place, the food, the vessel, or place become tapu, and only a few very sacred persons, themselves tapu, dare to touch these things."

Mr. Turner's biography gives the story in the following words: "Among some youths received into the mission premises to be fed, clothed and instructed, was Hongi, the son of the chief Te Puihi. The boy was scrofulous. His unbearably filthy garments called into use the only large iron boiler, and on that account valued. Attended by two or three of his men Te Puihi went to the home in great excitement and demanded the boiler, declaring that it had been made tapu inasmuch as he, being a chief and a priest, his son and all belonging to him were sacred. 'The thing in which Hongi's

clothing has been boiled is sacred.' Saying this, he seized the pot, and was in the act of lifting it over a high fence to his men, when he found his ownership more than disputed. By great effort Mrs. Turner, who had followed him, managed to ungrasp his hold, and defeat the chief. He tried all means short of violence, but in vain, and then retired vowing that he would yet have the pot. To terminate this annoyance the missionaries resolved to make the pot common (*hoo*) again. So they boiled some rice in it for the native youths under their care. The lads, however, refused to eat. 'That or nothing,' said the missionaries. The old chief softened; he took a biscuit to the pot of rice and after mumbling over it said, 'The tapu is taken away, and the lads may eat.'"

It must be remembered that we have only the mission side of the native conduct, and on this incident at least we can only wonder at the Maori complaisance and abandonment of custom. This incident, that is stated as a grievance, cannot be regarded as other than a notable desire to conciliate the prejudices, and to condone, from the Maori standpoint, the ignorance of the pakeha.

Early in May, Hongi and Tareha, with a flotilla of canoes, visited Whangaroa. They were invited to the mission house to dinner. After dinner each of the chiefs was presented with a small hatchet, which they handed to some of their attendants, and desired that billhooks should be given to them. "Hongi seemed friendly, but reserved." "On the following evening," we are told, "he and his people quarrelled with the mission natives, and during the scuffle that ensued they loaded their canoes with potatoes, and then sailed for the Bay of Islands." The visit certainly strengthened the status of the mission party.

On July 15th, 1824, the London Society's Mission vessel, the *Endeavour*, in which Messrs Tyerman and Bennett had just completed a visiting tour of the London Society's missions in the South Seas, when bound for the Bay of Islands, had to take refuge from bad weather in Whangaroa. They reported favourably of the mission there, and thought there was a promise of success. It has been already stated that there were two hapus resident at Whangaroa—the Ngatipo at the heads and the Ngatiuru in the Kaeo valley. The latter was the hapu with which the mission was connected, and under the protection of its chief, Te Puihi, the missionaries resided. When the *Endeavour* ran into the Bay in distress, "she was soon surrounded by

canoes filled with men, women, and children." The mission record claims priority to make the narrative coherent. It is as follows:—"Just as we were retiring from family prayer our domestic shouted, 'Mr. Leigh and a ship have arrived in the harbour.' In an hour afterwards Captain Dacre landed. His interesting conversation kept us till a late hour. About half-past seven o'clock on Friday morning one of us (the Rev. Mr. White) went down in our boat to bring the gentlemen of the deputation to our settlement." It took them three hours, the deputation said, after leaving the ship to reach the settlement.

"On the following morning so many natives crowded on board," we are told in Tyerman and Bennett's Voyages, "that to prevent confusion the captain ordered a bar to be placed across the quarter-deck. The natives beginning to practice their pilfering habits, the captain became angry, and while he was endeavouring to clear the deck of the intruders, one of them, a chief, on being jostled by him, fell into the sea. This was seized as a pretext for hostilities. The natives took possession of the ship, and made the officers and crew prisoners. Tremendous were the howlings and screechings of the barbarians while they stamped and brandished their clubs and spears. The captain was surrounded with spears. Mr. Bennett's arms were pinioned to his sides, while Messrs. Tyerman and Threlkeld were in custody in another part of the ship. One of the cookies pushed off Mr. Bennett's cap, and stood with his axe, which he had sharpened on board, gleaming over him. They had handled the arms, sides, and thighs of Mr. Tyerman, who understood the meaning of those familiarities. In this condition they had remained nearly two hours, when they heard the cry, 'A boat! A boat!' The boat contained one of the Wesleyan missionaries and the chief George, who had come to invite the gentlemen of the deputation to visit Wesley Dale. When the natives saw who were in the boat, they liberated the prisoners and quitted the ship."

Such is the narrative given by the frightened people. The mission record, however, states in an italicised sentence, "*The petulance of the captain occasioned this rupture.*" The missionaries add: "It is our opinion that the gentlemen were not in such imminent danger as they apprehended, but that the whole scene was a stratagem intended to intimidate the strangers by horrid grimaces and frantic yellings, in which they excel all

other people in the world. We did not, however, succeed in our efforts to persuade our brethren that all that they had witnessed might have occurred in consequence of the violence of the captain without any real intention on the part of the natives to do them any serious injury. After breakfast on the morning of the 18th the deputation left Wesley Dale, accompanied by two of the resident missionaries, who went on board, and remained with them until the Endeavour had cleared the heads of the harbour."

Chiefs had frequently before this date been thrown overboard from whalers at the Bay of Islands; but the people of Whangaroa had not yet become accustomed to the eccentricities of short-tempered sea captains. There seems, however, to have been some danger, as all the women and children left the vessel as soon as the hubbub began.

On the 15th of October the Endeavour returned to Whangaroa, and remained there until the Monday following, the 18th, when the people on board got into another difficulty with the natives. "On Friday," said the captain, "Te Puhi and his people came on board and stole one of our boats. Saturday morning they had the audacity to bring it back, and after rowing round the ship a few times to show off its sailing qualities, offered to sell it me for a musket. The chief himself set the example of stealing by seizing everything he could lay his hands on in the cabin. But for you missionaries I would get my ship under weigh, shoot these savages, and clear their harbour." The natives voluntarily gave up the boat, we are told, and the captain and the Maoris doubtless parted with mutual satisfaction.

Towards the end of the year, on the evening of December 20th, the ship St. Michael, Captain Beveridge, entered the harbour. She brought stores, foreign letters, and several friends from the Bay of Islands. Captain Beveridge and four Europeans arrived at the settlement, Wesley Dale, on the forenoon of Wednesday, while on the 25th, Christmas Day, divine service was held on board the vessel in the bay. On Tuesday, the 28th, another row seemed imminent between the captain and Tara, the captain having sold the chief a quantity of gunpowder, which on examination he considered a fraudulent transaction, and satisfaction was demanded. It ended, however, in bluster, but whether the chief got his *utu* does not appear.

In a review of their work and position, the missionaries say, at the end of 1824: "More

respect is shown to us now both by chiefs and people, old and young, than at any former period. We now live in comparative tranquillity and the natives at peace among themselves. Who could have supposed that since the first landing of Mr. Leigh so much could have been effected?"

Early in March, 1825, the missionaries got into the most serious scrape they had as yet fallen into. A careful reading of Mr. Turner's narrative, with the knowledge that Mr. White was a man of hasty temper, is all that is necessary to remember when deciding on who were the most to blame in a quarrel that arose about a dog. Mr. Turner says:—

"On the 5th of March the natives gave us a proof that our lives are in some danger. Many of them gathered around our settlement, and became troublesome. Several got into the yard. Ahururu, a principal chief, in a menacing mood, came direct to the house. On my remonstrating he became enraged, and stormed at me, shaking his weapon over my head as though he would have instantly cut it off. On Brother White coming up he reproved the chief, and as this had not been the first insult of the kind, ordered him out of the yard. He refused to go, and began storming and threatening in an alarming manner. Presently he left, followed by his party. We soon missed a favourite young dog, which, during the affray, one of them had taken away under his mat. Learning the whereabouts of the dog, Mr. White went and recovered it. Young Te Puhī, for whom it had been stolen, attempted a rescue, and in doing so broke its leg. He then set upon Mr. White with his spear, but was prevented from injuring him much. Seeing the occurrence from my room window, Mr. Hobbs and I ran to render assistance. Before I had half crossed the field Te Puhī left Mr. White and ran towards me, with vengeance in his looks, and, I believe, with destruction in his design. Without saying a word he aimed a blow at my head with his spear. I received the blow on my left arm. The spear broke in two, and with the longest part he attempted to spear me, and gave me a severe thrust, or blow, in my left side. Fortunately for me, it happened to be the blunt end of the spear. On receiving this blow I believe I fell senseless, not knowing the injury I had received. On seeing him upon me, another chief, who is very friendly to us, ran and prevented him from doing me further injury. At this time Ahururu, the father of my assailant, had got Mr. White down by the side of the fence, and it is likely would

have injured him seriously, if not murdered him, had he not been rescued by other natives. He escaped with a few cuts and bruises." It is difficult to say whether the natives in this instance were largely to blame or not.

That Mr. White was not much hurt appears from Mr. Turner's report of an almost simultaneous occurrence. He writes: "On the 5th of March the whaling brig *Mercury*, of London, Edwards master, entered our harbour for supplies. Early next morning we heard of her arrival, and simultaneously of an intended attack upon her by the Ngatipo tribe at the Heads. From the injuries received the previous day I was unable to leave my bed, but advised my brethren, White and Stack, to go down in the boat at once, that they might, if possible, prevent the plunder of the ship and loss of life. Taking with them our principal chief, Te Puhī, they pulled down immediately, and found the vessel surrounded by canoes and crowded with natives. Although it was the Sabbath day, the captain and officers were busy bartering. After surveying the ship, Te Puhī accosted the brethren thus: 'Know you this tribe?' pointing to the ship's company. They answered 'No.' He asked further, 'Is this their sacred day? I know it is yours.' 'They acknowledge this to be their Sabbath,' was the reply. He then exclaimed, 'See how they trade; an evil people is this tribe.' Perceiving that the Maoris contemplated a disturbance, the missionaries advised the captain to go out at night with the ebb tide, when the people would 'have gone on shore.' Messrs. White and Stack then got into their boat to return home. They had, however, not long left the ship when the anchors were uplifted, the sails unfurled, and orders given to clear the decks. In the execution of these commands, several natives were thrown overboard, and among them young Te Puhī, who had wounded me with his spear the day before. Upon this there was a general rising. During the confusion the wind veered round, and the vessel went on shore. According to New Zealand custom she was now the lawful prize of the chief on whose coast she had grounded. A general plunder was ordered. With astonishing alacrity the dead lights were torn out, and the sails cut down, while chests, boxes, and other moveable articles were passed over the ship in every direction. The captain and crew, being driven from the decks, took to their boats, and fled for their lives. My brethren, observing from a distance what had transpired, turned the



Mangonui: Receiving-house for the dead.

boat's head and made for the ship. Te Pahi, armed with a musket, beckoned them on board. The scene was both ludicrous and distressing. The rigging cut away, the hatches off, and the decks swimming with oil, and manned by naked natives. They had washed, or rather bathed themselves with oil so copiously that they were nearly blinded. The chiefs listened to the earnest entreaties of my brethren, and delivered the vessel up to them. Leaving the brig in the hands of some friendly chiefs in whom they had a degree of confidence, Messrs. White and Stack first went after the fugitive captain and crew, but to no purpose. In great terror they pulled right off for the Bay of Islands. My poor brethren brought their unusual Sabbath exertions to a close by pulling to our station. Here they rested for the night, resolving to attempt next morning, with such assistance as they might get, to take the brig out themselves and sail her to the Bay. On reaching the ship next morning they found that she had been stripped of nearly everything moveable. By the assistance of three seamen whom, from the captain's directions the previous day, they had found on shore, they succeeded, though with much hazard from native resistance, in getting her well to sea. Their hope of making the head of the bay by evening was disappointed by a perverse change of wind. In this critical state, short handed and crippled, many sails gone, most of their rigging cut away, and without sextant or compass, they were obliged, for personal safety, to abandon her altogether, and pull to shore, full twenty miles. Here further troubles met them. They landed in the neighbourhood of a villainous set of natives, who plundered them of all they had in the boat. The brethren and their sailor companions arrived in safety at the mission station late the same evening. The sailors, who had literally lost their all, were thankful enough that their lives had been spared."

Earle, who was at the Bay of Islands in 1827, says the Mercury was taken possession of by a crowd of natives after they had endured a series of offences and every kind of ill-treatment.

Those last two events caused the mission party to think of abandoning their charge, and the opinion was expressed that they ought not to stay at Whangaroa, but leave it as speedily as they could, and in the best way possible. The following considerations induced them to come to this conclusion on the 18th of March, 1825:—

"*First.* The conduct of the natives toward

ourselves in the affair about the dog, above mentioned, and others which are gone by, but which serve to show their general spirit. *Second.* The taking of the brig Mercury. *Third.* An expectation that the different tribes round about the Bay of Islands will come against our people and punish them for their misconduct. *Fourth.* The probability that Europeans may call them to account, and if so, it is very likely that we should fall victims to their rage and malice. *Fifth.* That after such base conduct, should we continue among them it may be injurious to our brethren at the Bay of Islands, as their natives may take occasion, from the conduct of ours, to behave ill to them. *Sixth.* That George, one of our principal chiefs, is dangerously ill, and has requested, in case of his death, that the natives of Hokianga should come and strip us of all we possess, if not kill us, as *utu* or payment for the death of his father, who was killed through the taking of the Boyd, and for whom he says he has never yet had satisfaction."

It is very difficult to know how to characterise such flimsy reasons for a contemplated abandonment of alleged duty. But it is, of course, difficult at this distance to judge of the whole of the circumstances. These resolutions were framed at Kerikeri, in conjunction with some of the members of the Church Mission and forwarded to the authorities of the Methodist Mission in England.

Mrs. Turner and the children had been taken overland to the Kerikeri station on the 18th of March, where they remained until the 27th of June. It may be here stated that the intercourse between the mission at the Bay of Islands and that at Whangaroa was frequent, reliant, and apparently unrestrained. Mrs. Turner and the other females left Wesley Dale "quietly," giving the natives a sure indication of their desire. The intention of the mission to depart, or to desire to do so, would have been a sufficient reason in Maori law to justify their being stripped, but this Hongi had forbidden to be done. A chief told the missionaries that his heart was sick because he feared that they would "all leave" and *take their property with them*. Reading between the lines it seems probable that no sufficient pretext had arisen to justify an abandonment of a mission where its members had only difficulties to cope with less than those that had been overcome by the Church Mission at Te Puna, and inevitable in dealing with such a race as the Maori. We are told in Turner's life that when Hongi

knew that the mission party contemplated removing he "caused a canoe seventy feet long and seven feet wide to be prepared for their special accommodation;" while Te Puhi, under whose protection the mission was placed, when he heard on Sunday, the 27th, the news, "wept tears of real friendship."

During the last few days in March, from Sunday, the 27th, we are told there was "a public heathen ceremony. A large number of the bodies of the natives were taken from their sepulchre, and the skulls arranged in line anointed with oil and decked out with turkeys' feathers." "The Bay of Islands natives, it will be remembered by those who are conversant with mission records, wanted to strip Mr. Butler because he had given turkeys to the Whangaroa mission. "At this morgue there was a monster meeting of natives. Mr. Hobbs preached to them on the resurrection, but they listened as to a dream." (Mr. Hobbs had been in New Zealand at this date about eighteen months. "The same evening (Wednesday) they learned that Hongi's expedition had been recalled."

In the early part of April the missionaries were not decided what to do. Mr. White left Whangaroa on Tuesday, the 4th, for Kerikeri with a second boat-load of moveables, in anticipation of the worst. Mr. Turner returned from visiting Mrs. Turner on the Wednesday, while it was resolved on the Friday following, "that Messrs. White and Hobbs should take the boat with as many things as they could carry to the Kerikeri, and Mr. Turner and Mr. Stack should remain at the station until Monday, April the 11th, when, if all remained quiet, the brethren could be recalled by letter."

Strachan tells us that during the first week in April it "was resolved to abandon the mission. But as the ship *Indeavour*, from Sydney, was expected daily, they resolved to await her arrival. In the evening," he adds, "they succeeded in getting on their boat a cask of flour and another of pork and in removing them during the night to Kerikeri."

On Thursday, April 14th, Messrs. Hobbs and White returned from the Bay of Islands and Mr. Turner went to Kerikeri again to visit his family. On the 17th, Sunday evening, at seven o'clock, a great cry was heard in the settlement. George, or Tara, was dead. The evil the missionaries had dreaded had overtaken them. They "locked the yard gate" of the mission premises, "and ascended the hill to listen whether the tribes were assembling to attack the settlement. After waiting some

time they returned home and prepared for flight. At midnight two natives passed the gate and informed them that the body of the chief was removed to the *whahi tapu*, and that Te Puhi desired to see them there immediately." It transpired afterwards that an attack had been designed and debated by some of the tribe, but that Te Puhi had prevented it. By daylight it was known that George had expressed his will that his people should be kind to the missionaries." "In compliance with the dying request of their chief, the people (the next day) assembled around the mission premises, and while the brethren were uncertain as to whether they had come to claim life or property, they jumped over the fence and bore off a fine duck, with the blood of which they were content."

Mrs. Turner and family returned to Whangaroa from Kerikeri on June 27th, after having extended her visit to over three months. The ship *Prince of Denmark* arrived about the same time from New South Wales with mission stores. On the 23rd July Hongi again visited the district, and, with Tareha, again dined at the mission-house with the mission family. On Monday morning, two days after Hongi's arrival, Te Puhi met him "and had a friendly interview," when their differences being amicably settled, "Hongi assembled his fighting men and ordered them to march overland to the Bay of Islands." About this time Mr. White left for England, we are told, and the only other item of interest in the chronicles of Whangaroa up to the end of the year is that Mrs. Turner had been unwell, and that a doctor from a whaler in the Bay of Islands came overland in the convoy of the Church missionaries to see and prescribe for her. The year 1826 passed away with only two incidents specially worthy of notice. The first was the visit of a *taua*, either from the west or north—it seems uncertain which—about the middle of October. The *taua* was about three hundred strong, and the resident Ngatiuru were too weak to resist their *muru* if they were disposed to do so. In the morning the *taua* left, having performed their mission. The other event took place on the 30th December, when the mission opened a school upon a new principle. The children were to attend two hours in the morning, receive a little rice or some other refreshment, and then return to their homes. Eighteen children attended on the first morning, and hopes were entertained of its success. Within ten days from the opening of the school the mission was abandoned. A little patient

inquiry is necessary to understand how the mischance came about.

Strachan, in his "Life of Leigh," devotes two pages and a half to the matter of the mission dispersion, not fully understanding how it came about. Turner gives a lot of detail as to the manner of its accomplishment, but the whole description is unsatisfactory. The only way is to put down one foot at a time in the investigation, like the singers of a Greek hymn, and not in any wise to hurry the chorus or the inquiry.

On Thursday evening, January 4th, 1827, Hongi arrived in the Whangaroa with a fleet of canoes. His domestic concerns had been in an unsatisfactory state for some time. His son-in-law, who had been detected carrying on an improper connection with one of his wives, shot himself, and soon after died of his wounds, while the woman strangled herself. Another of his wives was killed as a satisfaction for the other. In consequence of these occurrences Hongi, it was said, was determined to leave Waimate and reside henceforth at Whangaroa. He was not well pleased with the Ngatipo, at the mouth of the harbour, for their raid on the Endeavour and several other of their transactions, and intended, it was said, to punish them for their offences.

When Hongi came to Whangaroa on the Thursday his intentions were not generally known, and on Friday some of the principal men and their slaves fled to Hokianga. Te Puhi and his brother Ahururu were among the fugitives. On Sunday, the daughter of Hongi and the wife of Tareha, with several others, visited the mission station to inform the missionaries that he did not intend visiting the settlement, though he was angry for Te Puhi running away and requested that some of the fighting men would go and assist him in an attack on the Ngatipo, "which he intended making the same day, urging them as an inducement the duty of taking revenge on that tribe" in consequence of a feud of ancestral standing. "The men readily complied with this request," rejoicing that the storm was bursting over others rather than themselves. On Monday the mission was informed that a skirmish had taken place between the party led by Hongi and Ngatipo, in which two or three were killed, and that Hongi had been repulsed in the attack on the pa which stood on the summit of a high and almost inaccessible hill, and that a more serious attack would be made the day following. The

mission record proceeds thus:—"Our fighting men returned this day from the scene of war to fetch their wives and children, stating as the reason of their removal that if any of their enemies should hear of their being left in a defenceless condition they would come and destroy them, and that they had particular reason to entertain such apprehensions as to the Karawa tribe who would seek utu, or satisfaction, for their hostility towards the Ngatipo (who are their allies). Accordingly in the evening all the natives embarked in their canoes, taking with them their property, and dropped down the river to join the fighting party in the harbour. *They left us with much apparent kindness, and with seeming concern for our safety, apprising us that we might expect to be robbed, though they hoped we should not lose our lives.*"

Here, it will be noticed, ended the trust the natives accepted to preserve the mission, life, and property. Tara was dead; Te Puhi and his brother Ahururu had fled to Hokianga; considering their lives to be in danger, all the able bodied men had been pressed into warfare against the Ngatipo by Hongi, and the missionaries were left unguarded, save by their position as teachers, and at once became the subject of fearful anticipation.

They therefore write: "Being now left alone, and entirely at the mercy of any marauding party that might be disposed to take any advantage of our defenceless situation, we determined on Tuesday morning to acquaint our friends at the Bay of Islands with our affairs, and to solicit their help. But about noon, while employed in writing a letter to them, ten or twelve armed men of the Ngapuhi—that is, Hongi's tribe—landed from a canoe in which they had come up from the harbour, and having got over our fence, proceeded towards the house. We went out to meet them, and inquired what they wanted. They replied, 'We are come to take away your things and burn down your premises, for your place is deserted, and you are a broken people.' Happily for us, several of the party were known to Miss Davis,* a young lady of the Church Mission, who was then on a visit to us. When they saw her they were intimidated, fearing that if they were to commit any violence some of the chiefs would take up our cause, and punish them for it, especially as their leader Ruhi was but a captive, and had no right to engage

* Mary Ann Davis, eldest daughter of the Rev. Richard Davis, and who afterwards became the wife of the Rev. Joseph Matthews, missionary at Kaitia.

in an enterprise of this kind. They were, however, very troublesome, and robbed us of several pigs. Finding they could not elude our vigilance, they went to the native plantations, where they found a quantity of kumaras, which they took away. On their return they again visited us, and were more annoying than before. They broke into one of the outhouses, and attempted to pilfer everything that lay in their way. Before they departed they to us intimated that we might expect a general plunder on the morrow, and a native lad overheard them saying that the party was too small to rob us, for if they were to do so they should become conspicuous, and run the risk of being killed; but that if they were more numerous, so that many might share in the blame as well as in the spoil, they would strip us of everything without delay.

"At ten o'clock p.m. Mr. Stack started from Kerikeri bearing a letter to the members of the Church establishment there in which we informed them of what had transpired and requested their assistance. About eleven o'clock, as we were retiring to rest, two of our female domestics, who had been taken away by their parents on the preceding day, came to the door. They had just arrived from the harbour and informed us that Ngatipo had abandoned the pa, and that a division of Hongi's party had gone in the pursuit of the fugitives. That in the pa two old women were found who were instantly dispatched, and that the body of a young female slave, who was killed at the same time, was roasted and eaten. At daybreak on Wednesday morning, the 10th January, Luke Wade, our European servant, descried a few natives coming in a direction towards us. He immediately apprised us of it, and by the time that we had put on our clothes and come out, about twenty savages armed with muskets, spears, hatchets, etc., had entered the mission ground and were hastening towards the house. We demanded their business; they said: 'We are come to make a fight.' 'But why do you wish to do this?' we asked. They replied, 'Your chief [Te Pahi] has fled, and all your people have left the place, and you will be stripped of all your property before noon; therefore instantly be gone.' Oro, the chief who made this declaration, and whose residence is at Te Waimate, gave orders in the same moment to the rest to break open a small house that was occupied by Luke Wade. This mandate was promptly obeyed, and in a quarter of an hour they had broken, not only

into that building, but also into the potato and tool house, into the outer kitchen, the outer store, and the carpenter's shop, carrying away everything they found. As soon as this work of spoliation was commenced several guns were fired, which appeared to be a signal to others at a distance, for in a few minutes a considerable number joined this lawless band. Convinced of the impossibility of arresting their lawless proceedings, we locked ourselves up in the dwelling-house, and determined to prepare for quitting the place, expecting that this step would become necessary. At this juncture several boys who had been under our care offered to go with us. We very gladly accepted their proposal, hastily partook of a little refreshment and got a few things ready for our journey, determined, however, not to leave until driven to the last extremity. While in this very distressing state of suspense the robbers, having emptied all the outbuildings, began to break through the windows and doors of the dwelling-house, flocking in every room and carrying off everything we possessed. . . . About six o'clock (in the morning), when the work of pillage and devastation had been proceeding with uninterrupted and resistless fury for upwards of an hour, we took our departure, and with heavy hearts directed our course towards Kerikeri, the nearest station belonging to the Church mission." Evidence of Rev. J. Beecham, from narrative of missionaries, before House of Lords, 1838.]

Writing to the Rev. Henry Williams on the Tuesday evening previous to the departure from the mission station, Mr. Turner says: "Our females begin to wish themselves under your protection; but we have no power to move them, for we have no natives to assist, and we cannot leave the station ourselves. Miss Turner and Miss Davis bear up well; but poor Miss Wade is very low."

Tapsell tells a remarkably good story of a Maori muru at Te Puna some years before the present. Mr. Kendall, on nearing his dwelling on one occasion found a large number of natives busily engaged in pulling down his fence preparatory to removing his property, on which he threw off his coat and set to work to help them. They looked on with astonishment, ceasing their own exertions, and asked Mr. Kendall what he was doing. Mr. Kendall replied, "Why, you began, so let us all finish it as soon as possible." The situation was so novel, and their action had been placed before them in such an unexpected point of view, and one for which

they were so totally unprepared, that they set to work and re-erected the fence.

When the missionaries left the mission station at Whangaroa after their premises had been stripped, the Rev. Mr. Williams had been at the Bay of Islands some sixteen months, and from his book called "Christianity among the New Zealanders," we get the following information about the stripping. He says: "Although Hongi had strictly charged his followers not to molest the missionaries, a straggling party went off without his knowledge, attracted by the prospect of plunder, and pillaged the mission premises, and then burnt them to the ground, obliging the occupants to fly for refuge to the Bay of Islands."

Earle, who was at the Bay of Islands in 1827, looks on the muru as a civilian would when he writes: "The plundering at Whangaroa was a peculiar circumstance which might have happened even in civilised Europe had the seat of war approached so near their residence. If their homes and chapel had been on the plains of Waterloo during the June of 1815 they would not have experienced a better fate."

Mr. Turner describes his journey with that of the party from the mission station in the following manner: "Hastening down the garden we made our way through the fences and across the wheat field. On passing out of the house, Tungahei, one of my boys, remembered that my fowling-piece with which the committee had supplied me was hanging up in my bedroom. He asked and obtained permission to bring it.

"Our company comprised Mrs. Turner, myself, and three children; Luke Wade and his wife who had not long arrived from England; Mr. Hobbs, and Miss Davis from Paihia. The property we secured consisted of the clothes we had on, and a few bundles we carried in our hands. We made the best of our way over the kumara grounds now no longer sacred. The morning was foggy, and a heavy dew lay on the ground, and Mrs. Turner and her fugitive sisters got very wet in passing through the growing corn. Just as we had waded through the river the second time we met three of our natives who had fled to Hokianga on the evening of Friday last. One of these was Te Puhi Nehi, the young chief with whom there was, the reader will remember, a misunderstanding about a dog some time previously. They informed us that a powerful party from Hokianga were near at hand, going to defend the place [*sic*,

probably the settlement] against the Ngapuhi. They strongly advised us to turn out of the way, and hide in the bush until the taua, or war party, passed."

The narrative of Mr. Turner thus continues: "Through the urgent entreaties of our natives we turned out of the way, ascended a hill, and hid among the bushes. Such, however, were my feelings that I could not sit for two minutes. Others shared my fears; and the native boys objected to go forward, saying they dared not. We resolved, however, to proceed without them. Seeing us move, they moved too. Having descended the hill and regained the road we met our chief Ngahuru-huru, and Wharenuui, a friendly chief of the Bay of Islands, of whom we had some knowledge. They also advised us to hide until the war party should have passed, but we pleaded hard to go forward, and asked Wharenuui to protect us.* He noticed the fowling-piece in the hands of my native lad, and I said to Tungahie, 'Give it to him.' The old chief shouldered the piece, and in the most friendly manner said, 'Come along.' Thus led and defended, we followed our guide.

"We crossed the Serpentine River twice more. Just as we were turning a sharp bend we suddenly met the war party. They were all armed, and presented the most formidable appearance as they marched in a compact body, ready for action. They were headed by several chiefs, the principal of whom was Patuone of Hokianga, a friend to Europeans. On seeing us at the bend of the river he instantly turned round upon his army and commanded them to halt. Never before had I seen in New Zealand such an exhibition of authority and obedience. Some few pushed forward a little, but he instantly pressed against them with his spear or whatever weapon he had in his hand; some others ran into the water to get past him, but he was in the water with them in a moment, and having stopped the people, he told us to come forward, which we did, and he then told us to sit down. Patuone and several other chiefs then came and rubbed noses with us, as tokens of their respect, friendship, or goodwill. Our poor old chief Te Puhi who had assumed the protection of the mission from its commencement, and whose fear of Hongi caused him to fly to Hokianga, came up to us with his

* In the narration put before the Committee of the House of Lords we learn that the mission party "told them that they durst not stay; that they had a long way to go, that the day would soon be closing, and that they would have no food for the children. Ngahuruhuru told them they would give them some potatoes for the children."

heart apparently full to see us quitting his abode, and by way of consoling our minds or hushing our fears, said in broken English, 'No more patupatu white man,' *i.e.*, 'We kill no more white people;' by which he intended to alleviate our fears. Our situation was told them by the chiefs we had met. Having deliberated for a few minutes, they asked me to go back with them and remain; but we declined as all we had was gone. After we had conversed a little they told us to stand nearer the water. The chiefs now placed themselves in front of us and ordered the taua to march on the other side, and when they were gone by we proceeded, the old chief Wharenui continuing with us as our guard. Ngahuruhuru also went with us until we had passed all the stragglers.

"We passed through the woods, about six miles, better than I had expected. A little further we met Brother Stack and Mr. Clarke, accompanied by eight or ten of Mr. Clarke's school boys. It was a gladdening sight. One of the lads was despatched to Kerikeri to procure the means of carrying Mrs. Turner and Miss Davis the latter part of the journey. At the waterfalls, six miles from Kerikeri, we were met by the Rev. H. Williams, Mr. R. Davis, Mr. Puckey, and about a dozen natives. Mr. Hamlin also met us with refreshments and chairs to form palanquins. We reached the Kerikeri by sundown, weary enough, and were received with every possible mark of Christian sympathy and kindness.

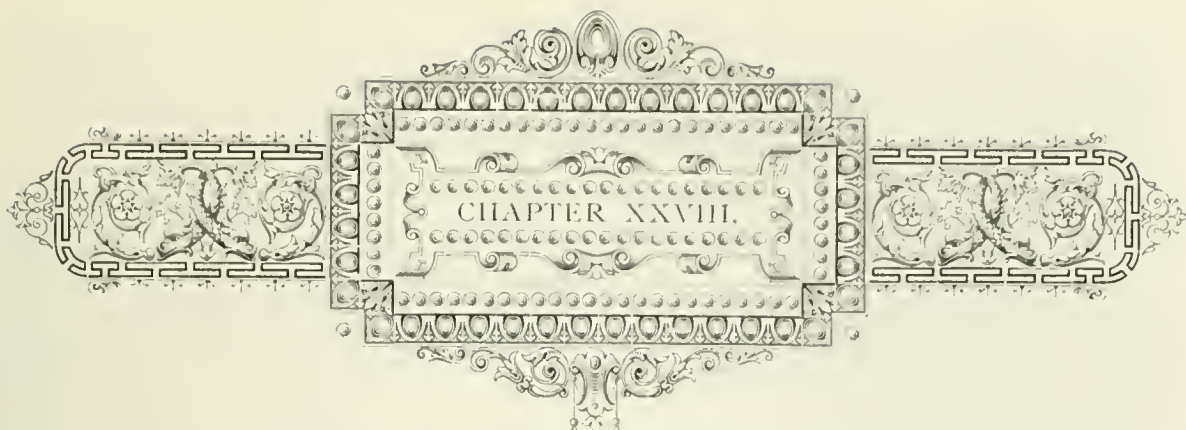
"While we were at tea, the old chief, Wharenui, who had accompanied us, and another chief of this place, Titore, conversed together about our situation, and wished to know where we were going, saying we must not remain here at this settlement, for if we did different parties would come and strip our friends residing here, and kill us. Having refreshed ourselves, we conversed freely together on our present situation and inquired what was best to be done, and it was the decided opinion that we should go to the Paihia settlement, there to remain until we saw our way clear to go elsewhere. It was further given, as the opinion of all the friends present, that I and my family should proceed to the colony of New South Wales by the first conveyance."

The narrative proceeds as follows:—"On Thursday, the 11th January, we removed to Paihia. On Wednesday, the 17th, we went to Rangihoua, where we met with some men who had just returned from Whangaroa, where

they had been on an expedition commanded by the chiefs Waikato and Wharepoaka, the object of which was to obtain potatoes as a satisfaction for what they had lost by Hongi's party while it was encamped in their neighbourhood. From these men we learned that on the arrival at our mission station of the Hokianga party, whom we had met on the 10th, they had driven away the first plunderers, who belonged to Hongi's party, and who were able to carry off only the more portable portion of the booty, and that they had seized the remainder themselves; that they had returned to Hokianga the following morning loaded with the spoils; that the mission premises, together with about one hundred bushels of wheat in the straw, which we had just before deposited in the barn, were completely burned to ashes; that the cattle, of which there were eight head, goats, poultry, etc., were all killed; that the heads and feet, and other parts of the stock were lying strewn about upon the ground, mixed with other articles which the robbers did not think it worth their while to carry away; and that, not content with what they found above ground, they dug up the body of Mr. Turner's child, which had been interred a few months, for the sake of the blanket in which they supposed it was enveloped, leaving the remains of the child to moulder away on the surface."

In connection with the matter, Mr. G. Clarke wrote: "Hongi disavows any intention of disturbing the Wesleyans. While he was lying in Whangaroa Harbour they were in peace, and it was not until he had left in pursuit of the enemy that any depredation was committed. He declares that he was altogether ignorant of the transaction till he was brought back to the harbour wounded, and saw the canoes loaded with the property from the settlement, which he no sooner observed than he ordered the parties to be plundered, and the greater part fled for their lives. Those who had the principal part in the matter, he said, were stragglers who followed him uninvited to Whangaroa, which he claims as his own, and that the ringleader of the plundering party was the head wife of Te Puhi, and that she acted under the orders of Te Puhi, who left the settlement a few days before the raid took place. From various natives we have heard the same report, which inclines us to believe that the report of Hongi is true."

The Methodist mission party, Strachan tells us, left New Zealand for New South Wales on the 31st day of January, 1827.



THE NEW ZEALAND COMPANY OF 1825.

Captain Herd's visit to Hokianga in for 1822 spars—Formation of the New Zealand Company and despatch of the Rosanna under Herd's command—Arrival at Hauraki Gulf and construction of a fort—Curious statements about the company's charter—Relation of this company to the New Zealand company of 1839—Purchase of the land since known as Herd's Point—Non-success of the company—Meditated attack by natives—Return of the Rosanna to Sydney—Causes which led to the abandonment of the project.



procuring spars. The Providence came to anchor in the river on Sunday, the 19th of May, where she remained four months and procured a cargo of excellent spars, some of which were sixty to eighty feet in length, and of proportionate thickness. On the 28th of June Captain Herd wrote: "We have taken on board a quantity of fine spars, but the natives cut the large ones too short, for instance, spars of thirty and twenty inches are not longer than sixty-four or sixty-eight feet, while they should have been eighty feet, and this renders them not of half the value they would have been in England; so that I am thinking could we sell these in Port Jackson at such a price as would save the ship's expenses, I would return here and

It was on the 8th of May, 1822, that the ship Providence, commanded by a Captain James Herd, arrived at the Bay of Islands. Having remained in the Bay for two days the captain proceeded to the river Hokianga with the view of

procure a cargo of select spars that would pay the ship well to carry home. We have obtained five to six hundred loads of timber, the greater part excellent spars for general purposes, and a great many masts for vessels of 400 tons burthen."

The captain, officers, and ship's company treated the natives with the greatest kindness and attention, and the latter in return behaved themselves so remarkably well that nothing of an unpleasant nature occurred to either party. The New Zealanders cut down and brought to the side of the vessel all the spars. There were no thefts committed, nor did the ship sustain any accident or get aground either in sailing in or out of the river. Mr. John Cowell and Mr. Thomas Kendall took an active part in preserving amicable relations with the natives during the stay of the ship. Mr. Kendall was generally on board assisting Captain Herd as an interpreter. The captain made an accurate survey of the river and of the bar at the Heads, and left a chart of the same with Mr. Cowell and Mr. Kendall. The Providence when leaving New Zealand sailed for South America.

In the *New Zealand Journal* of 1841 are found remarks on the geographical positions of several places visited on voyages to the islands of New Zealand made in the years 1822, 1825, 1826, and 1827, with explanatory notes by James Herd, commander of the

barque *Rosanna*. Captain Herd, from his remarks, appears to have been from the southern part of Stewart Island to the North Cape, but intersperses little narrative in the information he affords, which mainly consists in fixing the positions of headlands. He does not appear to have been in New Zealand from the time of leaving it in the *Providence* till his return in the *Rosanna*, but this is not specifically stated.

During the year 1825, a company was formed in Great Britain to colonise New Zealand. The names of the members were:—Messrs. George Lyall, Stewart Majoribanks,

flax-dressers, and had on board with them machines for sawing timber and dressing flax. Thompson says sixty settlers embarked, but the number is probably excessive. A cutter, the *Lambton*, Captain Barnett, accompanied the *Rosanna*.

What may be called the official account of the company was thus related in the *New Zealand Handbook*:—"Its views were submitted to Mr. Huskisson, then President of the Board of Trade, who highly approved of the undertaking, and promised them the grant of a Royal Charter in case their preliminary expedition should accomplish its



From a picture by Poiach.

The Cemetery, or Wai Tapu, on the River Hokianga

George Palmer, Colonel Torrens, the Earl of Durlham, Edward Ellice, J. W. Buckle, the Hon. Courtenay Boyle, Ralph Fenwick, Jas. Pattison, Lord Hatherton, A. W. Roberts, John Dixon, George Varlo, and Anthony Gordon. It was proposed to establish a factory to procure spars and to manufacture flax. For this purpose a barque called the *Rosanna*, commanded by Captain Herd, had been provided, which carried mechanics of the various kinds most suitable for the development of the undertaking. They consisted of ship-carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, and

object, but the expedition was confided to incompetent management; its leader was alarmed by a war dance of the natives, performed, there is every reason to believe, as a mark of welcome, and he abandoned his task after purchasing some land at Hokianga and in the Frith of the Thames."

Captain Farley, of the *Alligator*, reported in Sydney that the expedition had arrived in the Hauraki in the early part of the year 1826, and that a fort was being constructed there with all possible despatch, and that those who were in charge of the expedition had instruc-

tions to send to New South Wales for whatever supplies they needed, while in case of military assistance being required, that a sufficient number of troops for the defence of the new colony would be provided by the Colonial Government.

Some curious statements were made about the "incorporation" of the company, which appears to have had the promise of a charter from the Crown. Mr. E. G. Wakefield, who may be supposed to have been well-informed on the subject, says: "The company of 1825 had expended a considerable sum in sending an expedition to New Zealand—about £20,000—all of which was lost. They had obtained from the Crown the promise of a charter of incorporation, and when the New Zealand Company of 1839 was in the course of being formed, the company of 1825 stood in the way with its prior claim for a charter." It would thus appear that the charter for the company of 1825 was never granted.

The story in Sydney was thus told. The fact that New Zealand was not under the dominion of the British Crown, gave rise to some obstacles to the carrying out of the object contemplated. The company applied in the first place to the English Government to form the settlement, but the Government considering that the Dutch had claims upon the North Island, felt reluctant to move. Learning this the company sent over to Holland, and the Dutch Government were so pleased with the proposal that they strenuously urged the company to proceed, and promised to afford them, not only ample protection, so soon as they had procured a proper footing, and to confirm them in the enjoyment of the territory, but such was their anxiety on the subject that they engaged to allow a trade to Holland to be carried on from the settlement without the least restriction. This altered the lukewarmness of the British ministers, and Mr. Huskisson undertook that a man-of-war and a force of armed men should be stationed off the island, to afford security to the settlement; and that, as the idea of a settlement was so pleasing to the Dutch Government, Mr. Huskisson, it was stated, felt that he could not do better than to participate in the commercial advantages offered.

The company of 1825 may be said to have been the parent of the New Zealand Company of 1839. Eight of the directors of the first company are found among those of the company of 1839. The following names appear in both directories:—The Earl of Durham, Colonel Torrens, Messrs. George

Lyall, J. W. Buckle, Ralph Fenwick, Stewart Majoribanks, and George Palmer. Mr. Wakefield, in his evidence in 1854 before the Committee of the House of Representatives, was very explicit on this head. He said: "Negotiations took place between the two bodies, and in the end the company of 1825 merged into that of 1839, bringing with it all its assets, rights, and claims, as a consideration for which it received a certain amount of the joint stock of the company of 1839. In this way the rights or claims of the company of 1825 became the property of the company of 1839, without any specific payment for them or estimate of their value as distinct from the value of the company of 1839, or the retirement of the company of 1825 as a rival before the public and before the Government with regard to a charter."

It was a knowledge of this and similar facts that doubtless caused the remarkable passage in the report of the Committee of the New Zealand House of Representatives on the New Zealand Company's debt, in the year 1854, which says that the alleged capital of the company was not a *bona fide* paid up capital, but that of the first sum of £100,000, the large sum of £60,000, or more than one half, represented the land claims and interests of former New Zealand companies, which, with the exception of a ship and outfit estimated at £15,000, may be said to have been of no value whatever.

Wilson, in his story of Te Waharoa, says, though he is evidently wrong in dating the time of the visit as November: "In November, 1826, an English ship full of immigrants sailed up the Hauraki Gulf. Their mineralogist having reported Pakihi, the Sandspit Island, to be extremely rich in iron ore, the leaders of the enterprise purchased the island, intending immediately to open an iron mine, but the increasing number of the natives, who probably came over from the River Thames, and their ferocious appearance and conduct, so alarmed the immigrants that they refused to land, and their leaders being similarly dismayed, they gave up the scheme, pocketed their loss, and having called at the Bay of Islands and Hokianga, sailed to Australia, and ultimately engaged in a pearl fishery."

Captain Herd remained at the Hauraki several months, as he called at the Bay of Islands on the 26th of October, 1826, on his way to Hokianga. Carleton says that in the face of a hostile demonstration the settlers did not venture to land at the Thames. Many of the natives thought the company would have

settled at the Bay had the missionaries not been there; and the settlers were not chary in expressing their chagrin in being unable to do so. The missionaries saw them depart with pleasure, remarking that if they succeeded in forming a settlement at Hokianga they might perhaps draw away the shipping from the Bay and would thus be of advantage to the mission.

On arriving at Hokianga, the commander, who was also the agent for the company, succeeded in purchasing a piece of land at Te Rawene, known later as Herd's Point, the native name of which, Polack says, was Okara. The purchase was made from Te Tai Papahia, called by the late Mr. C. O. Davis the Northern poet, and Te Ngawe. The agreement was respected by the people generally, and Polack says that a short time before he left New Zealand a number of natives waited on him and requested him to find out if possible what the company proposed doing with the land, whether they intended occupying it, or would receive the money back they had paid for it, and thus annul the purchase.

Land at Hokianga in 1827 appears to have been obtained on easy terms, as a barrel of gunpowder and a couple of muskets would purchase some five hundred acres of good land. Hokianga early came to be considered as eligible a site for settlement as the Bay of Islands.

The clearest thing about the company is its lack of success. In the first report of the New Zealand Company the public are told that the earliest of the three associations which comprised the New Zealand Company acquired land not only at Herd's Point, but at the Manukau, on the island of Waiheke, and on the banks of the Thames, at an expenditure of £20,000; but beyond this wide statement, few other facts are narrated. There are, however, some details connected with Captain Herd's stay at Hokianga that are worth narrating. They are found in the February numbers of the *Sydney Australian*. Thus we are told that the barque *Rosanna* brought to Sydney twenty-five persons, not fifty or sixty as generally stated, who were in the employment of the New Zealand Company.

The stay of the party in New Zealand is stated to have been ten months, which would have thrown the arrival of the *Rosanna* in the colony on to somewhere in April, 1826, as the *Rosanna* arrived in Sydney, after having abandoned the enterprise for which she had been engaged, on the 11th of February, 1827. There had been apparently continued hostility on the part of the natives

to the purposes of the invaders. A design had been formed to seize the ship, and the intent of the natives caused a constant watch to be maintained at night such as would have been kept on board the ship at sea. The chiefs were only occasionally allowed to be on board. There were ten tons of powder on board the *Rosanna*, and it was this object of desire which provoked the natives' cupidity. It had been brought as an article for payment for land. The missionaries obtaining information of the intention of the natives to seize the ship to secure the powder frustrated their plan by cautioning the commander.

The emigrants who came out in the *Rosanna* were offered a passage back to England, should the settlement scheme fail, in the first ship proceeding thither. This was a stipulation between the parties prior to the emigrants leaving their homes. The cargo of the ship, consisting of agricultural and other implements intended for the use of the mechanics in the service of the company, was disposed off by auction in Sydney for the benefit of the owners, and the barque having sprung a leak, was hove down for repairs. When her repairs were completed she was chartered to return to England. Two other vessels were expected to follow the *Rosanna*, but the directors of the company appear to have waited to learn the result of their first venture before giving the others despatch.

It appeared from Captain Herd's statement that discovery, as well as settlement, was included in the company's project. The captain fell out with the *Sydney Gazette*, which called him "a choleric old Scotchman." This only increased his anger, whereupon he was termed the "old commodore" and the "old Scotch tar," and the agent of the company which had gulled the British public, whereat the dignified old fellow became very wroth, and the *Gazette* of February 16th, 1827, rejoined by declaring how whole volumes could be filled to show how successfully this patriotic company had been taken in.

Herd spoke distinctly as to the comparatively large population at Hokianga, as he witnessed on one occasion two thousand men armed with muskets and cartouche boxes, and wondered how so many arms could have been obtained from the common traffic of ships.

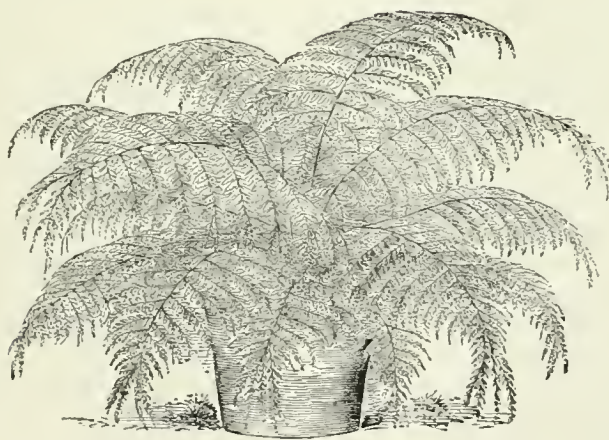
Three men left the employ of the company and elected to return from Sydney to New Zealand, settling at Hokianga. They purposed joining another of the servants of

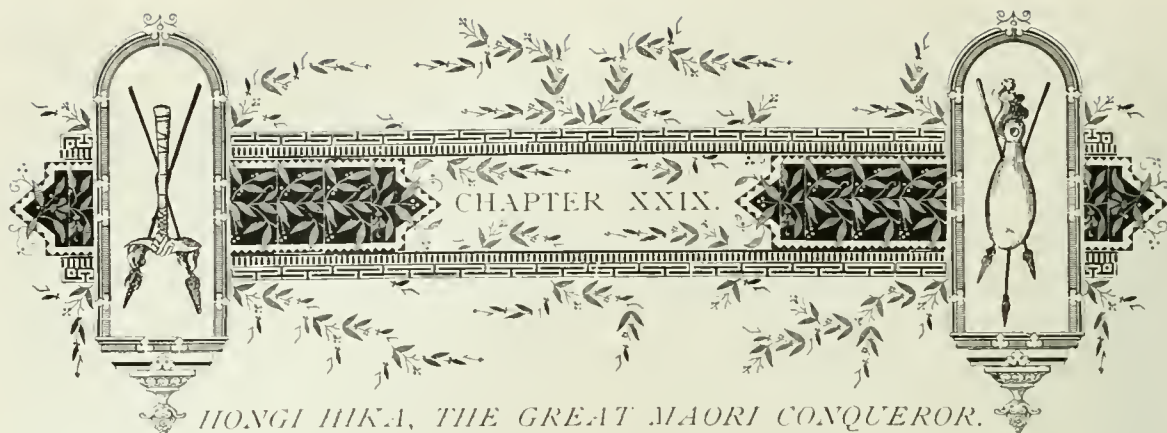
the company, who had quitted its service before their purposes had been abandoned.

Captain Herd, after he had determined to abandon the purpose of his voyage, received advices from the company, when the *Australian* remarks, "He has happened to act in perfect accord with the views and intentions of the promoters. They had, without knowing the obstacle which had impeded and ultimately broken up their settlement at Hokianga, resolved to abandon their schemes and give up all idea of either claiming a portion of the island, or of attempting to derive benefit from the trade or traffic, or the cultivation which they had originally proposed. The scheme was abandoned from motives distinct from the hostility of the natives." And then comes the following curious comment:—"The undertaking was stupendous, setting aside the hostilities of the natives, and only a rich company or a Government resource could have hoped to have carried it forward. In a commercial, but more particularly a political view, it would have been of use to New South Wales, for the activity of the Dutch displayed so near at hand, and in our imme-

diatc neighbourhood, would have taught the British Government to treat us as British subjects."

One other incident deserves narration. Colonel Wakefield, in 1839, went north to see the land purchased at Hokianga. On the 11th of December, he writes: "Having assembled the chiefs, I went to-day with the principal ones to take possession of Herd's Point and the Motukaraka property. Not being provided with the deeds of the former purchase, I was obliged to rely on the chiefs for a description of the boundaries, which I went over with them. It has always been supposed that this purchase extended over a large district up to the range of the hills, but of late the chiefs have sold all but the point, which is about a mile square, to Mr. White and others. Their right to do so must be decided by the wording of the deed. The point they gave me possession of contains good land, and is a good situation; but its size, of course, offers no inducement to form a township on it. Neither does the opposite land, when examined, present a much more flattering prospect."





HONGI HIKA, THE GREAT MAORI CONQUEROR.

First introduction to Europeans—His visit to Sydney in 1814—A description of his appearance—His visit to England to procure arms to avenge an insult—The origin of his war expeditions—A Maori council of war and sham-fight—Hongi's proceedings in England—His interview with King George—Return to Sydney—Robbed of his watch in the streets—Extensive purchase of fire-arms—An account of his wars upon returning to New Zealand—Expeditions against the East Coast and Waikato—Severe fighting at Kaipara and pursuit of the tribe to Rotorua and Waikato—Assault on a pa at Whangaroa and massacre of all the inmates—Fatally wounded while pursuing a flying enemy—Hongi's quarrel with the Ngatipo—A striking illustration of the Maori law of utu—Description of Hongi during his last illness—His dying exhortations to protect Europeans.



FEW Maori chiefs have obtained such celebrity as Hongi Hika, the son of Te Hotete, chief of Te Tuhuna, near Kaikohe. His descent has thus been traced:—Kupe-Pekenoa, Rahiri, Te Rapoutu, Kaharau, Kaharau-pukupuku, Kaharau-kotiti, Puhitaniwha-rau, Taura-poho, Mahia, Poro, Ngahue, Wairua, Auha, Te Hotete, Hongi-hika. His mother's name was Tuhikura, one of the five wives of Te Hotete, his father. Hongi lived chiefly at

Te Tuhuna until he was grown up. He lived also at Okuratope, a pa near Waimate, and at the fishing place of the hapu at Kerikeri.

The first European mention we have of Hongi is by Marmon, who met him in the Bay of Islands when he was driven there by stress of weather in January, 1812. He is spoken of as anxious to learn all about European manners, as being a skilful carver, and a clever designer of tattoo marks. He was given two muskets and some powder and shot when he left the vessel. He narrated to the captain and crew of the Harwich, through an

interpreter, the details of the massacre of the Boyd with such an air of satisfaction and approval that the captain, notwithstanding the mildness of the manners and civility of Hongi, considered it expedient to depart as soon as possible.

Dillon brought Hongi to New South Wales in the Active in 1814, when he came over with Messrs. Hall and Kendall to report on the state of New Zealand. He was the guest of Mr. Marsden while he remained in the colony, and came back with that gentleman in the Active later in the same year. Nicholas, who was his companion on the voyage from Sydney to New Zealand, says: "He had not the same robust figure as Ruatara, but his countenance was much more placid, and seemed handsomer, allowing for the operation of the tattoo, while it wanted that marked and animated severity which gave so decided a character to the face of his companion. This man had the reputation of being one of the greatest warriors in his country, yet his natural disposition was mild and inoffensive, and he would appear to the attentive observer much more inclined to peaceful habits than to strife or enterprise."

Cruise was equally impressed with him. He says: "There was something particularly

respectable in the appearance of Hongi. In person he was a fine-looking man, and was dressed in the uniform coat of a British officer. Though one of the most powerful chiefs in the Bay of Islands, and its bravest and most enterprising warrior, he was by far the least assuming of those who had been permitted to come on board; and, while many of the others tried to force their way into the cabin, he remained with his son on deck. Nor did he attempt to go anywhere without invitation."

When Ruatara died, Hongi promised to look after the mission interests, and he faithfully kept his word. He had the power to secure the safety of the settlers, and having assured their safety, was careful to see that his obligation was fulfilled. When he had arranged to go to England with Mr. Kendall in the *New Zealander*, his purpose was much discussed and disliked by Mr. Kendall's colleagues, as they feared what might happen to themselves and the station when his protecting influence was withdrawn. Every persuasion, Cruise says, was used to divert him from leaving the country, without effect.

The purpose of Hongi in going to England was to obtain firearms to avenge an insult for which he and his people had as yet been unable to obtain *utu* or compensation. To make the matter plain reference must be made to the genealogical record given above. The thirteenth name from Kupe is Auha, a younger brother of whom was Whakaaria. Whakaaria begat Waiohua, who begat POKAIA, who begat Hone Heke, of flagstaff fame in 1845. With Pokaia, however, we are concerned, who was the cause of his kinsman's visit to England.

Carleton, who collected the details, may as well tell the story, as there appears no cause for exception to his version. He says: "The *take*, or original cause of so much bloodshed, which made Hongi so great a warrior, originated, as was generally the case in all Maori wars, in a love story. Pokaia, ancestor of the famous Hone Heke, was deeply in love with Kararu, sister to Hongi Iika, and persecuted her so to become his wife that she, to be rid of him, became the wife of Tahere, a much older chief. Pokaia, in order to vent his rage and vexation, made a wanton attack upon Taoho, chief of Kaihu, a brave of the Ngatiwhatua tribe. Taoho escaped, but Pokaia killed about twenty of his people. Ngatiwhatua, in return, made a *taua* on Nataraua, near Kaikohe, and killed the same number as *utu*. The friends of those who were slain had now to seek for *utu*, and they

joined Pokaia in a descent upon Ngatiwhatua, whom they encountered at Naimganui on the West Coast. An engagement took place on the beach by moonlight, in which Ngapuhi killed about fifteen of Ngatiwhatua.

"The success gave Pokaia a great name, and on his return home he induced Ngapuhi to go again in force against Ngatiwhatua under his leadership. They mustered on this occasion about five hundred fighting men, thinking to make an easy conquest, but Ngatiwhatua were now better prepared for them, as well as exceedingly exasperated, and defeated Ngapuhi, killing about two hundred of them, one hundred and seventy of whose heads they cut off and stuck upon poles, feasting upon their bodies. Among the Ngapuhi chiefs who were slain were Pokaia, their leader, Ti Tukarawa, Tohi, Houawa, and Te Waikeri. This was a grievous blow and sad disgrace to Ngapuhi, and must be avenged at any cost, and it was for the purpose of avenging this disaster that Hongi determined to go to England."

The affair, however, was a tribal one, and Mr. Marsden preserves for us not only the fact, but the manner in which he became acquainted with it. Quite by accident he met with a rununga of the northern tribes discussing the important matter of their united action in war. They were presided over by Tareha. He says: "Tareha received us very cordially. Here were some of the heads of the tribes with their fighting men, from Hokianga to Bream Head. We walked round the various groups as they were assembled in different bodies. We found a number of chiefs in deep consultation. We understood they had met to settle some war expedition, and that each tribe had to furnish a certain number of men. The concourse resembled a country fair more than anything else I can conceive. I inquired what had occasioned so large a meeting, and was informed that previous to the destruction of the Boyd Hongi and his tribe made war against Kaipara, when he was defeated and lost many, among whom were two of his brothers, and that the heads of the Ngapuhi had called to arrange an expedition against Kaipara to obtain *utu* for those who fell in that war. Hongi had been collecting ammunition ever since his defeat for that purpose, and that he had left instructions to do so in a few months after his departure to England. When we returned at a late hour, we left the assembly of the chiefs sitting in a circle where we had found them carrying on their deliberations. There was

great feasting, and the bustle continued more or less during the night. We arose at the dawn of day, and walked through the camp again. We found the chiefs sitting still in a circle. They appeared never to have moved from the time of our arrival on the preceding day till now.

"After walking round and taking leave of the chiefs, we left this extraordinary assembly, intending to breakfast with the son of Hongi, who had lived with me at Parramatta. When we arrived we found him at home with his mother and sisters in the midst of their people. While we were sitting talking to them a number of armed men appeared on the edge of the wood, close to a field of potatoes which lay between them and us. The armed men were naked, and put themselves in a posture of defence. Soon as Hongi's son and daughters observed them they instantly flew to arms.

"At first I was not certain whether we were going to have a real or a sham fight, but when I observed that Hongi's daughters only charged their muskets with powder, I was convinced it was the latter. When both parties were ready and drawn up in military order, they began the fight. The women loaded and fired their muskets with much military spirit, and seemed very fond of the sport. The men fought with spears and patus. In their contest they threw one another down, took what prisoners of war they could, and carried them off the field of battle. After they had amused themselves this way for some time, they danced the war dance, and we then took our breakfast. The party

belonged to Hokianga, and had come to the congress."

Hongi sailed for England, accompanied by his kinsman, Waikato, and Mr. Kendall, on the 2nd of March, 1820, and arrived in England on the 8th of August of the same year. They were introduced, after their arrival in England, to the Committee of the Church Missionary Society. A few days after they were accompanied by Mr. Kendall to Cambridge, where they were entertained by Professor Lee and introduced by him to the Vice-

Chancellor, the Rev. Dr. Clark, Rev. Mr. Gee, Professor Farish, Mr. Farish, surgeon, Rev. Mr. Simeon, Baron de Thierry, and many other distinguished officers and members of that University. They were entertained at the houses of the Rev. Mr. Flockton at Meldred, William Mortlock, Esq., at Meldred, Lady Jane Pym, and also at the houses of clergymen and gentlemen at Ipswich, Bury, and Saffron-Walden, and other places. After their return to London from Cambridge they were introduced to the



From a picture by Polack.

Tāngierī, Chief of Maungakāhia.

Lord Bishop of St. David's, John Mortlock, Esq., and taken to the House of Lords. They had private interviews with the Dukes of York and Clarence, the Earls of Yarmouth, Winchelsea, and Harcourt, Lord Dudley and Ward, Lord Gambier, the Bishops of Norwich, Ely, Durham, St. Asaph, and Gloucester, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and were finally introduced by Mr. Mortlock to His Majesty, who treated them with great affability, conducted them to his armoury, gave them many presents and his hand to kiss. They visited

the Tower, the Museum, and Menagerie, staying generally at the house of Mr. Mortlock.

Hongi and Waikato appeared before His Majesty with European clothing over their native raiment. Bowing gracefully they said, "How do you do, Mr. King George?" "How do you, Mr. King Hongi?" "How do you, Mr. King Waikato?" replied the King. After laying aside their native costume the King led them through the principal apartments of his palace, conversed with them in the most friendly manner, and did all that he could to amuse and to gratify them. He inquired after their country, and the general behaviour of his subjects in their intercourse with them, and their countrymen. He also entertained himself, as he did his foreign guests, by entering minutely into their domestic concerns, asked them how many wives and children each of them had, how did they rule them, etc., etc.

When Hongi attended divine service at the cathedral at Norwich, he sat during the time the liturgy and sermon were read in the pew with the bishop, lady, and two daughters. A seat was ordered for him near the altar during the time of administering the communion. He wanted to know if the bishop's wig was not emblematic of wisdom. While in England Hongi renewed his acquaintance with the Rev. Mr. Leigh, whom he had met in New Zealand, and while in that gentleman's company on one occasion, Hongi said of a very fat man among the Wesleyans, who made mention of the names of Hongi and Waikato while he was praying, that he appeared to be as earnest as were the New Zealand priests in the performance of their ritual.

The climate, however, played serious havoc with the health of the chiefs, and for some time there were serious doubts whether Hongi would survive or succumb; but the application of a blister was so efficacious that the chief vowed he would not leave the country unless he had a pot of the preparation. Sick of the climate, and laden with gifts and memories, a comfortable passage was provided for their return to Port Jackson in the convict ship *Speke*, in which they embarked on 20th December, 1820, and arrived in Port Jackson in the May following. Their fellow passengers spoke highly of their conduct and urbanity while on board the *Speke*.

At Parramatta, Hongi and Waikato met Hinaki and another chief who had taken their passages to England; but hearing that the climate had proved nearly fatal to the visitors,

they, for the present, gave up the intention, and arranged to go back to New Zealand. Hongi had some varied experience in Sydney. While proceeding one evening to his lodgings a man attempted to rob him of his watch and chain, but Hongi overtook him, when the watch was thrown away, and the thief secured. He was ordered one hundred lashes, on conviction, and to be kept at hard labour for twelve months at Port Macquarie. Hongi purchased large quantities of muskets, pistols, swords and gunpowder in Sydney, giving in exchange many of the valuable presents he had received from the king, from the missionary committee, and private gentlemen while in England. A rumour that he had heard of the Ngatipao having killed some of his people made him more anxious to obtain warlike *material* than he otherwise would have been.

On the return of Hongi from England, he proceeded first to attack Tuohu, of Ngatipou, an ally of Ngatiwhatua, who had eaten some of the slain of Ngapuhi, who fell under Pokaia, and taken his pa Mairerangi. He next attacked Te Tihi on the Hokianga River, who was also an ally of Ngatiwhatua, and had shared in the feast on Ngapuhi, and took his pa. Hongi had five muskets, which he always used himself, and four men to load and to carry them for him. His practice on attacking a pa was to send one of his fighting men up to the pa to chop away the flax, which was invariably tied up against the fence, and clear away a space for Hongi to fire at; if any one from the pa showed out, he was immediately killed, after which the pa would be attacked.

About this time two chiefs from the Thames, Te Kaihui and Te Whata, of Ngatitamatera, arrived in the Bay of Islands to unite with Ngapuhi in avenging their Tupanas slain by Ngatiporou. Hongi, flushed with victory, was too glad to avail himself of this opportunity of distinguishing himself, and offered his services. He was two years away on this expedition, being joined by Ngatuwaru and Ngatiawa. Among the pas he took were Maraenui, beyond Opotiki; Awatere, at Wharekahika, East Cape; and Waiapu; in all he took eight pas, and many hundred slaves.

Hongi next led his people to avenge the death of Te Raharaha, slain by Ngatiwhatua at Patua, on the coast near Whangarei. He landed at Tamaki, and took with great slaughter Mauninaina, and also the Totara on the Thames. After this Hongi led Ngapuhi in force against Waikato and Taurahokia, their great and famous pa on the Waipa.

Peace was made with Waikato through the intervention of Wharerahi, a Ngapuhi chief, and Te Wherowhero of Waikato, Kati, the relative of Te Wherowhero, taking to wife Toa, the daughter of Rewa, of Ngapuhi.

Hongi had now time to turn his attention to Ngatiwhatua at Kaipara to avenge the slaughter of Ngapuhi when led by Pokaia before the destruction of the Boyd. He went overland with five hundred fighting men, but such was the dread of his name that Ngatiwhatua were glad to make peace. This was brought about by the intervention of Hihī Otote, a chief from the Ngapuhi side, elder brother to Parore of Ngatiwhatua. On Hihī Otote going over to Ngatiwhatua, Matohi, their leader, presented him with his greenstone mere, and Hongi returned.

On the return of Hongi from Kaipara without fighting Whareumu was very wroth, and undertook an expedition against Ngatiwhatua on his own account. His plan was to go by water to Mangawhai, hauling his canoes across to Kaipara. His army mustered two hundred fighting men. Hongi, as leader of Ngapuhi, felt himself bound to follow, and fitted out another fleet of canoes with about three hundred fighting men. He overtook Whareumu at Mangawhai engaged in hauling his canoes across. A bloody engagement with Ngatiwhatua took place at Te Ikaranganui, on the Kaipara. At first Ngapuhi under Whareumu were defeated; but Hongi, who had kept aloof during the engagement, came to the rescue, and turned the battle in favour of Ngapuhi and gained a decisive victory. The Ngapuhi chiefs who were killed on this occasion were Te Ahu, Te Puhī, and Hare Hongi, son of Hongi. Moka, *alias* Te Kainga Moka, was severely wounded, hence his second name. His life was saved by Kariri Taiwhanga. Taiwhanga seeing Moka fall, carried him off the field of battle, and threw him into a creek until the battle was over. Ngatiwhatua fled to Waikato. Hongi returned overland, leaving his canoes at Mangakahia, on the Wairoa river.

After this Hongi fitted out an expedition to Waikato to follow up Ngatiwhatua who had fled to Waikato, and to avenge the death of his son Hare who fell at Te Ikaranganui. This was somewhat of a private affair, and not taken up by the Ngapuhi generally; he only mustered one hundred and seventy men. On arriving at Waikato he learned that Ngatiwhatua had passed on to Rotorua. He followed them there, but on arriving at Rotorua he was told they had returned to

Waikato; thither he followed them, and overtook them fortified in a pa, which he attacked and took with great slaughter, first giving notice to the Waikato to clear out of the way as his quarrel was with Ngatiwhatua alone. Hongi narrowly escaped being cut off by Te Waharoa on this occasion, who, seeing him at the head of so small a force, and in the heart of the country, proposed to Waikato to arise and avenge their former defeat and slaughter by Ngapuhi, but Te Wherowhero would not allow it, as it would only lead to fresh complications.

Hongi had two wives, Tangiwhare, the mother of Puru, who died; and Turikatuku, the mother of Hare Hongi, who was killed at Te Ikaranganui, of Hariata Rongo, widow of Hone Heke, and also of Arama Karaka Pi, and Hare Hongi of Whangaroa.

On the 4th of January, 1827, Hongi with a taua arrived at Whangaroa with the intention of making war on the Ngatipo. The pa was taken. A great number of people were found there. Men, women, and children were all massacred, without regard to age or sex. Several of the chiefs were desirous of sparing some, but Hongi gave orders that not one should be allowed to live. Several were dragged from their hiding-places and killed. They were destroyed for the death of the wife of Hongi.

A very respectable authority, that of Mr. G. Clarke, says that Hongi destroyed two of the Whangaroa tribes. He further says that those whom he cut off were the most active in the destruction of the Boyd and in the stripping of the Mercury.

Some of the beaten party escaped, and Hongi pursued them as far as Hanu Hanu, a village on the Mangamuka, a branch of the Hokianga river. At this place, which is a bush, the flying people made a stand. Hongi, who fought after the native fashion by lurking behind the trunks of trees, stepped on one side to discharge his musket, when a ball struck him, discharged, it was supposed, by the brother of Ruenga, a member of the Waiupo hapu of Whangaroa. Polack says: "It broke his collar-bone, passed in an oblique direction through his right breast, and came out a little below the shoulder-blade, close to the spine. This wound stopped his career. Most of the surgeons in the different whale ships in the Bay of Islands examined it, but found his case past all remedy. The wound never closed, and the whistling noise caused by the air in entering afforded amusement to the chief. When Hongi was wounded Mr. Clarke says he

sent word to the mission at Kerikeri that nothing should happen them while he lived, but after his death his *mana* would not protect them.

To understand the cause why Hongi went to war with the Ngatipo, an acquaintance with Maori custom or laws is necessary. He had been wronged and wanted redress. His wife Fangiwhare had committed adultery with Matuku his nephew. The man shot himself and the woman hanged herself on the discovery of the crime. There, it may be said, the matter ended, as the two chief culprits were dead. No so, however, with the Maori. He had been wronged and he required payment for his wrong. No matter whether the party on whom his vengeance fell were guilty or not, or even a kinsman or kinsfolk of the malefactors, their lives might suffice for payment. The question was an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; it did not matter whose eye or tooth as long as he got them. Hongi wanted satisfaction, and he got it in a public manner. He, moreover, caused his anger to fall on those who had long merited it in his opinion for molesting and spoiling the white traders. His wife's infidelity was not the sole cause of his avenging himself on the Ngatipo—more perhaps by way of pretext.

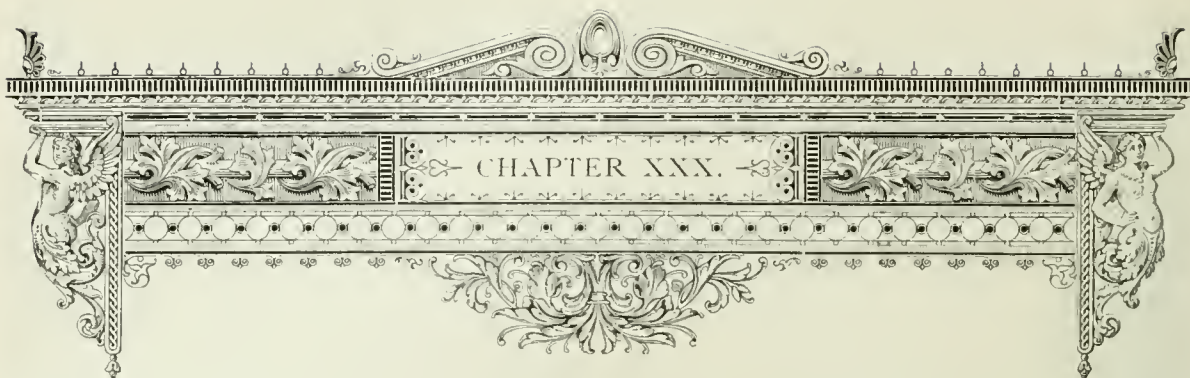
Hongi was wounded about the 10th of January, 1827, and died on 7th March, 1828. Earle saw him at the latter end or 1827, at the Bay of Islands, when on a visit. He says: "We landed about a mile from the village and went to pay our respects to him. We found him and his party—his slaves preparing their morning repast. The scene altogether was highly interesting. In a beautiful bay surrounded by high rocks and overhanging trees, the chiefs sat in mute contemplation, their arms piled up in regular order on the beach. Hongi sat apart. Their richly ornamented war canoes were drawn up on the strand; some of the slaves were unlading stores, others were kindling fires. To me it almost seemed to realise some of the passages of Homer, where he describes the wanderer Ulysses and his gallant band of warriors. We approached the chief and paid our respects to him. He received us kindly and with a dignified composure, as one accustomed to receive homage. His look was emaciated; but so mild was the expression of his features that he would have been the last man I should have imagined accustomed to scenes of bloodshed and cruelty. But I soon remarked that when he became animated in conversation, his eyes sparkled with fire, and their

expression changed, demonstrating that it only required his passions to be roused to exhibit him under a very different aspect. His wife and daughter were permitted to sit close to him to administer to his wants; no others being allowed to do so.

"He was arrayed in a new blanket, which completely enveloped his figure, leaving exposed his highly tattooed face, and head profusely covered with long black curling hair, adorned with a quantity of white feathers. He was altogether a very fine study, and with his permission I made a sketch of him, and also one including the whole group. Finding we were new comers, he asked us a variety of questions, and among others our opinion of his country. His remarks were judicious and sensible, and he seemed much pleased with our admiration of his territory. I produced a bottle of wine that I had brought with me, and his wife supplied him with a few glasses, which seemed to animate and revive him.

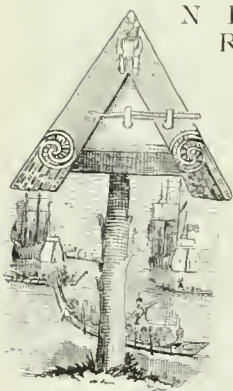
"We were then invited to join him in a trip in one of his canoes, in which was placed a bed for him to recline upon. His wife seated herself close to him, while his daughter, a very pretty, interesting girl, about fifteen years of age, took a paddle in her hand, which she used with the greatest dexterity. I took the liberty of presenting her with a bracelet, with which she seemed highly delighted, when Hongi, perceiving that I was in a giving mood, pointed to his beard, and asked me for a razor. Fortunately I had put one in my pocket on setting out, and I presented it to him. After a pleasant cruise we returned about the close of the day, and landed at the bay."

His character is thus drawn by Mr. George Clarke, who may be supposed to have known him well: "His fame as a warrior is celebrated. His constant attention to Europeans made him generally respected among them; nothing could ever provoke him to take the life of an European, although the treatment which he sometimes received on board the ships would have roused an Englishman possessing his influence to take signal vengeance. His general conduct towards us was kind, and his last moments were employed in requesting his survivors to treat us well, and on no account to cause us to leave the island. His family, which consisted of five children, two sons and three daughters, are bereaved of one of the most affectionate parents that could possibly exist. He seems not to have attained the age of sixty, and before he received his fatal wound was very active and bade fair to live to be an old man."



THE STRANGE STORY OF JOHN RUTHERFORD—TEN YEARS A CAPTIVE AMONG THE MAORIS.

His early voyages—Trading in the South Seas—Visit to New Zealand in the American trader Agnes—The vessel short of water visits Tokomaru Bay—The brig attacked and captured by natives—The captain and mate murdered, and twelve seamen taken captive—Six of the captives killed in cold blood and eaten—A horrible cannibal feast—The survivors taken into the interior and tattooed—The process of tattooing described—Rutherford and his companions distributed among various chiefs—Their life in a native village—Death of a chief's mother and attendant ceremonies—Rutherford's companion breaks the tapu in ignorance and is killed—Rutherford is made a chief and marries two of his protector's daughters—The marriage ceremony described—Visit to Taranaki—Expedition to Kaipara—Description by Rutherford of his visit to Hongi's camp and his interview with Marmon—Graphic account of a battle—Visit of the war party to Hauraki—Horrible instance of cannibalism—A woman eating her own child—Rutherford's escape after ten years' residence among the natives—His life in Tahiti and final return to England.



N Englishman named John Rutherford, according to his own account, spent ten years of his life among the natives of New Zealand as a captive on parole, having been married into and adopted by a tribe on the East Coast. He returned to England in 1828, and was exhibited there for gain. During his voyage to his native land he dictated to a friend an account of his

varied adventures, which was published in part in the year 1830. From this narrative the following particulars are taken.

Rutherford, according to his own account, was born at Manchester about the year 1796. He went to sea, he states, when he was hardly more than ten years of age, having up to that time been employed as a piecer in a cotton factory in his native town; and after this he

appears to have been but little in England, or even on shore, for many years. He served for a considerable time on board a man-of-war off the coast of Brazil, and afterwards at the storming of San Sebastian, in August, 1813. On coming home from Spain he entered himself on board another King's ship, bound for Madras, in which he afterwards proceeded to China by the East passage, and lay for about a year at Macao. In the course of this voyage his ship touched at several islands in the great Indian Archipelago, among others, at the Bashee Islands, which had been but rarely visited.

On his return from the East he embarked on board a convict vessel, bound for New South Wales, and afterwards made two trading voyages among the islands of the South Sea. It was in the course of the former of these that he first saw New Zealand, the vessel having touched at the Bay of Islands on her way home to Port Jackson. His second trading voyage in those seas was made in the Magnet, a three-masted schooner commanded by

Captain Vine, but this vessel having put in at Owwhyhee, Rutherford fell sick and was left on that island. Having recovered, however, in about a fortnight, he was taken on board the *Agnes*, an American brig of six guns and fourteen men, commanded by a Captain Coffin, which was then engaged in trading for pearl and tortoise-shell among the islands of the Pacific. This vessel, after having touched at various other places, on her return from Owwhyhee, approached the east coast of New Zealand, intending to put in for refreshments at the Bay of Islands. This was on the 6th of March, 1816.

They first came in sight of the Barrier Islands, which lie opposite to the entrance of the river Thames, and consequently some distance to the south of the port for which they were making. They accordingly directed their course to the north, but they had not got far on their way when it began to blow a gale from the north-east, which, being aided by a current, not only made it impossible for them to proceed to the Bay of Islands, but even carried them past the mouth of the Thames. It lasted for five days, and when it abated they found themselves some distance to the south of a high point of land, which, from Rutherford's description, there can be no doubt must have been that to which

Captain Cook gave the name of Cape East. Rutherford calls it sometimes the East, and sometimes the South-East Cape, and describes it as the highest part of the coast.

The land directly opposite to them was indented by a large bay. This the captain was very unwilling to enter, believing that no ship had ever anchored in it before. It is now known as Tokomaru Bay. Reluctant as the captain was to enter this bay from his ignorance of the coast and the doubts he

consequently felt as to the disposition of the inhabitants, they at last determined to stand in for it, as they had great need of water, and did not know when the wind might permit them to get to the Bay of Islands. They came to an anchor accordingly off the termination of a reef of rocks immediately under some elevated land which formed one of the sides of the bay. As soon as they had dropped anchor a great many canoes came off to the ship from every part of the bay, each canoe containing about thirty women, by whom it was paddled.

Very few men made their appearance that day; but many of the women remained on board all night, employing themselves chiefly in stealing whatever they could lay their hands on. Their conduct greatly alarmed the captain, and a strict watch was kept during the night.

The next morning one of the chiefs came on board, whose name they were told was Aimey, in a large war-canoe about sixty feet long, and carrying above a hundred of the natives, all provided with quantities of mats and fishing lines, made of the strong white flax of the country, with which they professed to be anxious to trade with the crew. After this chief had been some time on board it was agreed that he should return to the land with some others

of his tribe in the ship's boat to procure a supply of water. This arrangement the captain was very anxious to make, as he was averse to allow any of the crew to go on shore, wishing to keep them all on board for the protection of the ship. In due time the boat returned laden with water, which was immediately hoisted on board, and the chief and his men were despatched a second time on the same errand. Meanwhile the rest of the natives continued to bring pigs to the



John Rutherford. the white chief.

ship in considerable numbers, and by the close of the day about two hundred had been purchased, together with a quantity of fern-root to feed them on.

Up to this time, therefore, no hostile disposition had been manifested by the savages, and their intercourse with the ship had been carried on with every appearance of friendship and cordiality, if we except the propensity they had shown to pilfer a few of the tempting rarities exhibited them by their civilized visitors. Their conduct as to this ought perhaps to be taken rather as an evidence that they had not as yet formed any design of attacking the vessel, as they would in that case scarcely have taken the trouble of stealing a small part of what they meant immediately to seize upon altogether. On the other hand, such an infraction of the rules of hospitality would not have accorded with that system of insidious kindness by which, as we have already seen, it is their practice to lull the suspicions of those whom they are on the watch to destroy.

During the night, however, the thieving was renewed and carried to a more alarming extent, inasmuch as it was found in the morning that some of the natives had not only stolen the lead of the ship's stern, but had also cut away many of the ropes and carried them off in their canoes. It was not till daybreak, too, that the chief returned with his second cargo of water, and it was then observed that the ship's boat he had taken with him leaked a great deal, on which the carpenter examined her, and found that a great many of the nails had been drawn out of her planks.

About the same time Rutherford detected one of the natives in the act of stealing the dipson-lead, "which, when I took it from him," says he, "he grinded his teeth and shook his tomahawk at me." "The captain," he continues, "now paid the chief for fetching the water, giving him two muskets and a quantity of powder and shot—arms and ammunition being the only articles these people will trade for.

"There were at this time about three hundred of the natives on the deck, with Aima, the chief, in the midst of them; every man armed with a green stone, slung with a string around his waist. This weapon they call a 'mere,' the stone being about a foot long, flat, and of an oblong shape, having both edges sharp and a handle at the end. They use it for the purpose of killing their enemies, by striking them on the head.

"Smoke was now observed rising from several of the hills, and the natives appearing to be mustering on the beach from every part of the bay, the captain grew much afraid, and desired us to loosen the sails, and make haste down to get our dinners, as he intended to put to sea immediately. As soon as we had dined we went aloft, and I proceeded to loosen the jib. At this time none of the crew were on deck except the captain and the cook, the chief mate being employed in loading some pistols at the cabin table. The natives seized this opportunity of commencing an attack upon the ship. First, the chief threw off the mat which he wore as a cloak, and, brandishing a tomahawk in his hand, began a war song, when all the rest immediately threw off their mats likewise, and being entirely naked, began to dance with such violence that I thought they would have stove in the ship's deck.

"The captain, in the meantime, was leaning against the companion, when one of the natives went, unperceived, behind him, and struck him three or four blows on the head with a tomahawk, which instantly killed him. The cook, on seeing him attacked, ran to his assistance, but was immediately murdered in the same manner. I now sat down on the jib-boom with tears in my eyes, and trembling with terror. Here I next saw the chief mate come running up the companion-ladder, but before he reached the deck he was struck on the back of the neck in the same manner as the captain and cook had been. He fell with the blow, but did not die immediately. A number of the natives now rushed in at the cabin door, while others jumped down through the skylight, and others were employed in cutting the lanyards of the rigging of the stays. At the same time four of our crew jumped overboard off the foreyard, but were picked up by some canoes that were coming from the shore, and immediately bound hand and foot.

"The natives now mounted the rigging and drove the rest of the crew down, all of whom were made prisoners. One of the chiefs beckoned me to come to him, which I immediately did and surrendered myself. We were then put all together into a large canoe, our hands being tied; and the New Zealanders searching us, took from us our knives, pipes, tobacco boxes, and various other articles. The two dead bodies and the wounded mate were thrown into the canoe along with us. The mate groaned terribly, and seemed in great agony, the tomahawk having cut two

inches deep into the back of his neck, and all the while one of the natives who sat in the canoe with us kept licking the blood from the wound with his tongue. Meantime a number of women who had been left in the ship had jumped overboard, and were swimming to the shore, after having cut her cable, so that she drifted and ran aground on the bar near the mouth of the river. The natives had not the sense to shake the reefs out of the sails, but had chopped them off along the yards with their tomahawks, leaving the reefed part behind. The pigs, which we had bought from them, were many of them killed on board and carried ashore dead in the canoes, and others were thrown overboard alive and attempted to swim to the land, but many of them were killed in the water by the natives, who got astride on their backs and then struck them on the head with their meres. Many of the canoes came to the land loaded with plunder from the ship, and numbers of the natives quarrelled about the division of the spoil, and fought and slew each other. I observed, too, that they broke up our water-casks for the sake of the iron hoops.

"While all this was going on, we were detained in the canoe; but at last, when the sun was set, they conveyed us on shore to one of the villages, where they tied us by the hands to several small trees. The mate had expired before we got on shore, so that there now remained only twelve of us alive. The three dead bodies were then brought forward and hung up by the heels to the branch of a tree, in order that the dogs might not get at them. A number of large fires were also kindled on the beach for the purpose of giving light to the canoes which were employed all night in going backward and forward between the shore and the ship, although it rained the greater part of the time."

"Gentle reader," continues Rutherford, "we will now consider the sad situation we were in, our ship lost, three of our companions already killed, and the rest of us tied each to a tree, starving with hunger, wet, and cold, and knowing that we were in the hands of cannibals. The next morning I observed that the surf had driven the ship over the bar, and she was now in the mouth of the river and aground near the end of the village. Everything being now out of her, about ten o'clock in the morning they set fire to her, after which they all mustered together on an unoccupied piece of ground near the village, where they remained standing for some time; but at last they all sat down except five, who were chiefs,

for whom a large ring was left vacant in the middle.

"The five chiefs, of whom Aimy was one, then approached the place where we were, and after they had stood consulting together for some time Aimy released me and another, and taking us into the middle of the ring, made signs for us to sit down, which we did. In a few minutes the other four chiefs came also into the ring, bringing along with them four more of our men, who were made to sit down beside us. The chiefs now walked backward and forward in the ring with their meres in their hands, and continued talking together for some time, but we understood nothing of what they said. The rest of the natives were all the while very silent, and seemed to listen to them with great attention.

"At length one of the chiefs spoke to one of the natives who was seated on the ground, and the latter immediately arose, and taking his tomahawk in his hand, went and killed the other six men who were tied to the trees. They groaned several times as they were struggling in the agonies of death, and at every groan the natives burst out into great fits of laughter. We could not refrain from weeping for the sad fate of our comrades, not knowing at the same time whose turn it might be next. Many of the natives on seeing our tears laughed aloud, and brandished their meres at us.

"Some of them now proceeded to dig eight large round holes, each about a foot deep, into which they afterwards put a great quantity of dry wood, and covered it over with a number of stones. They then set fire to the wood, which continued burning till the stones became red hot. In the meantime some of them were employed in stripping the bodies of my deceased shipmates, which they afterwards cut up for the purpose of cooking them, having first washed them in the river, and then brought them and laid them down on several green boughs which had been broken off the trees and spread on the ground, near the fires, for that purpose.

"The stones being now red hot, the largest pieces of the burning wood were pulled from under them and thrown away, and some green bushes, having been first dipped in water, were laid round the edges, while they were at the same time covered over with a few green leaves. The mangled bodies were then laid upon the top of the leaves, with a quantity of leaves also strewed over them; and after this a straw mat was spread over the top of each hole. Lastly, about three pints of water were

poured upon each mat, which, running through the stones, caused a great steam, and then the whole was instantly covered over with earth.

"They afterwards gave us some roasted fish to eat, and three women were employed in roasting fern-root for us. When they had roasted it, they laid it on a stone and beat it with a piece of wood until it became soft like dough. When cold again, however, it becomes hard, and snaps like gingerbread. We ate but sparingly of what they gave us. After this they took us to a house, and gave each of us a mat and some dried grass to sleep upon. Here we spent the night, two of the chiefs sleeping along with us. We got up next morning as soon as it was daybreak, as did also the two chiefs, and went and sat down outside the house. Here we found a number of women busy in making baskets of green flax, into some of which, when they were finished, the bodies of our messmates that had been cooking all night, were put, while others were filled with potatoes that had been preparing by a similar process. I observed some of the children tearing the flesh from the bones of our comrades, before they were taken from the fires. A short time after this the chiefs assembled and, having seated themselves on the ground, the baskets were placed before them, and they proceeded to divide the flesh among the multitude at the rate of a basket among so many. They also sent us a basket of potatoes and some of the flesh, which resembled pork; but instead of partaking of it we shuddered at the very idea of such an unnatural and horrid custom, and made a present of it to one of the natives."

Rutherford and his comrades spent another night in the same manner in which they had done the last, and on the following morning set out, in company with the five chiefs, on a journey into the interior. When they left the coast, he remarks, the ship still continued burning. They were attended by about fifty of the natives, who were loaded with the plunder of the unfortunate vessel. That day he calculates that they travelled only about ten miles, the journey being very fatiguing from the want of any regular roads, and the necessity of making their way through a succession of woods and swamps. The village at which their walk terminated was the residence of one of the chiefs, whose name was Rangari, and who was received on his arrival by about two hundred of the inhabitants. They came in a crowd, and kneeling down around him, began to cry aloud and cut

their arms, faces, and other parts of their bodies with pieces of sharp flint, of which each of them carried a number tied with a string about his neck, till the blood flowed copiously from their wounds. Dinner being finished, Rutherford and his companions spent the evening seated around a large fire, while several of the women, whose countenances he describes as pleasing, amused themselves by playing with the fingers of the strangers, sometimes opening their shirts at the breasts, and at other times feeling the calves of their legs, "which made us think," says Rutherford, "that they were examining us to see if we were fat enough for eating." "The large fire," he continues, "that had been made to warm the house being now put out, we retired to rest in the usual manner; but although the fire had been extinguished, the house was still filled with smoke, the door being shut and there being neither chimney nor window to let it out.

"In the morning when we arose the chief gave us back our knives and tobacco boxes, which they had taken from us while in the canoe, on our first being made prisoners, and we then breakfasted on some potatoes and cockles, which had been cooked while we were at the sea-coast, and brought thence in baskets. Aimy's wife and two daughters now arrived, which occasioned another grand ceremony, and when it was over, the three ladies came to look at me and my companions. In a short time they took a fancy to some small gilt buttons which I had on my waistcoat; and Aimy making a sign for me to cut them off, I immediately did so, and presented them for their acceptance. They received them very gladly, and, shaking hands with me, exclaimed, 'The white man is very good.'

"The whole of the natives having then seated themselves on the ground in a ring, we were brought into the middle, and, being stripped of our clothes, and laid on our backs, we were each of us held down by five or six men, while two others commenced the operation of tattooing us. Having taken a piece of charcoal, and rubbed it upon a stone with a little water until they had produced a thickish liquid, they then dipped into it an instrument made of bone, having a sharp edge like a chisel and shaped in the fashion of a garden hoe, and immediately applied it to the skin, striking it twice or thrice with a small piece of wood. This made it cut into the flesh as a knife would have done, and caused a great deal of blood to flow, which they kept wiping off with the side of the hand

in order to see if the impression was sufficiently clear. When it was not they applied the bone a second time to the same place. They employed, however, various instruments in the course of the operation, one which they sometimes used being made of a shark's tooth, and another having teeth like a saw. They had them also of different sizes, to suit the different parts of the work. While I was undergoing this operation, although the pain was most acute, I never either moved or uttered a sound, but my comrades moaned dreadfully, although the operators were very quick and dexterous. I was four hours under their hands, and during the operation Aimy's eldest daughter several times wiped the blood from my face with some dressed flax. After it was over she led me to the river that I might wash myself (for it had made me completely blind), and then conducted me to a great fire.

"They now returned us all our clothes, with the exception of our shirts, which the women kept for themselves, wearing them, as we observed, with the fronts behind. We were now not only tattooed, but what they called tabooed, the meaning of which is, made sacred, or forbidden to touch any provisions of any kind with our hands. This state of things lasted for three days, during which time we were fed by the daughters of the chiefs, with the same victuals and out of the same basket as the chiefs themselves and the persons who had tattooed us. In three days the swelling which had been produced by the operation had greatly subsided, and I began to recover my sight, but it was six weeks before I was completely well. I had no medical assistance of any kind during my illness, but Aimy's two daughters were very attentive to me, and would frequently sit beside me and talk to me in their language, of which as yet, however, I did not understand much."

Rutherford remained at this village for about six months, together with the others who had been taken prisoners with him and not put to death, all except one, John Watson, who, soon after their arrival here, was carried away by a chief named Nainai. A house was assigned for them to live in, and the natives gave them also an iron pot they had taken from the ship, in which to cook the victuals. This they found a very useful article. It was tabooed, so that no slave was allowed to eat anything cooked in it, that, we suppose, being considered the surest way of preventing it from being stolen.

At last they set out, in company with Aimy and another chief, to pursue their journey

further into the interior; one of them, however, whose name is not given, remaining with Rangari. Having come to another village, the chief of which was called Parima, another of them, whose name was John Smith, was left with him.

The number of those preserved alive, it will be recollected, was six; so that three of them having been disposed of in the manner that has been stated, there were now, including Rutherford, as many more remaining together. When they had travelled about twelve miles further, they stopped at a third village, and here they remained two days.

"We were treated very kindly," says Rutherford, "at this village by the natives. The chief, whose name was Wanua, made us a present of a large pig, which we killed after our own country fashion, not a little to the surprise of the New Zealanders. I observed many of the children catch the flowing blood in their hands, and drink it with the greatest eagerness. Their own method of killing a pig is generally by drowning, in order that they may not lose the blood. The natives then singed off the hair for us, by holding the animal over a fire, and also gutted it, desiring nothing but the entrails for their trouble. We cooked it in our iron pot, which the slaves who followed us had brought along with the rest of the luggage belonging to our party. No person was allowed to take any part of the pig unless he received some from us, and not even then if he did not belong to a chief's family.

"On taking our departure from this village, we left with Wanua one of our comrades, named Jefferson, who, parting with us, pressed my hand in his, and, with tears in his eyes, exclaimed, 'God bless you both! We shall never see each other again.' We proceeded on our journey in company with Aimy and his family and another chief, and having walked about two miles without one word being spoken by any of the party, we arrived at the side of a river. Here we stopped and lighted a fire, and the natives who had charge of the luggage having come up in about an hour, bringing with them some potatoes and dried fish, we cooked a dinner for ourselves in the usual manner. We then crossed the river, which was only about knee deep, and immediately entered a wood, through which we continued to make our way till sunset. On getting out of it we found ourselves in the midst of some cultivated ground, on which we saw growing potatoes, turnips, cabbage, tara (which is a root

resembling a yam, water melons, and kumaras, or sweet potatoes. After a little while we arrived at another river, on the opposite side of which stood the village in which Aimy resided. Having got into a canoe, we crossed over to the village, in front of which many women were standing, who waving their mats, exclaimed, as they saw us approaching, '*Arami, Arami*' (*Hære mai*), which means, 'Welcome home.'

"We were then taken to Aimy's house, which was the largest in the village, and built in the usual manner, having the walls formed of large twigs covered with rushes, with which it was also thatched. A pig was now killed for us, and cooked with some kumaras, from which we supped; and afterwards, seating ourselves around the fire, we amused ourselves by listening to several of the women singing. In the meantime a slave girl was killed, and put into a hole in the earth to roast, in the manner already described, in order to furnish a feast the following day, in honour of the chief's return home. We slept that night in the chief's house; but the next morning a number of the natives were set to work to build us one for ourselves, of the same form with that in which the chief lived, and nearly of the same size. In the course of this day, many other chiefs arrived at the village accompanied by their families and slaves to welcome Aimy home, which they did in the usual manner. Some of them brought with them a quantity of water-melons, which they gave to me and my comrade. At last they all seated themselves upon the ground to have their feast—several large pigs, together with some scores of baskets of potatoes, tara and water-melons having first been brought forward by Aimy's people. The pigs, after being drowned in the river and dressed, had been laid to roast beside the potatoes. When these were eaten the fire that had been made the night before was opened, and the body of the slave girl taken out of it, which they next proceeded to feast upon in the eagerest manner. We were not asked to partake of it, for Aimy knew that we had refused to eat human flesh before. After the feast was over the fragments were collected and carried home by the slaves of the different chiefs, according to the custom which is always observed on such occasions in New Zealand."

The house that had been ordered to be built for Rutherford and his companion was ready in about a week, and having taken up their abode in it, they were permitted to live, as far as circumstances would allow, according to

their own customs. As it was in this village that Rutherford continued to reside during the remainder of the time he spent in New Zealand, we may consider him as now fairly domesticated among his new associates.

The details we have thus given will enable the reader to form a conception of the state of society in the country in which Rutherford now found himself imprisoned. The spot in the northern island of New Zealand in which the village lay where his residence was eventually fixed cannot be exactly ascertained from the account which he gives of his journey to it from the coast. It is evident, however, from the narrative that it was so far in the interior that the sea could not be seen from it.

"For the first year after our arrival in Aimy's village," says Rutherford, "we spent our time chiefly in fishing and shooting, for the chief had a capital double-barrelled fowling piece, as well as plenty of powder and duckshot, which he had brought from our vessel; and he used to entrust me with the fowling-piece whenever I had a mind to go a shooting, though he seldom accompanied me himself. We were generally fortunate enough to bring home a good many wood-pigeons, which are very plentiful in New Zealand. At last it happened that Aimy and his family went to a feast at another village a few miles distant from ours, and my comrade and I were left at home, with nobody but a few slaves and the chief's mother, an old woman who was sick, and attended by a physician. A physician in this country remains with his patients constantly both day and night, never leaving them till they either recover or die, in which latter case he is brought before a court of inquiry, composed of all the chiefs for many miles around. During the absence of the family at the feast my comrade chanced to lend his knife to a slave for him to cut some rushes with, in order to repair a house, and when this was done he received it back again. Soon after he and I killed a pig, from which we cut a portion into small pieces and put them into our iron pot, along with some potatoes which we had also peeled with our knives. When the potatoes were cooked, the old woman who was sick desired us to give her some, which we did in the presence of the doctor, and she ate them. Next morning she died, when the chief and the rest of the family immediately returned home. The corpse was first removed to an unoccupied piece of ground in the centre of the village, and there placed, with a mat under it, in a sitting position

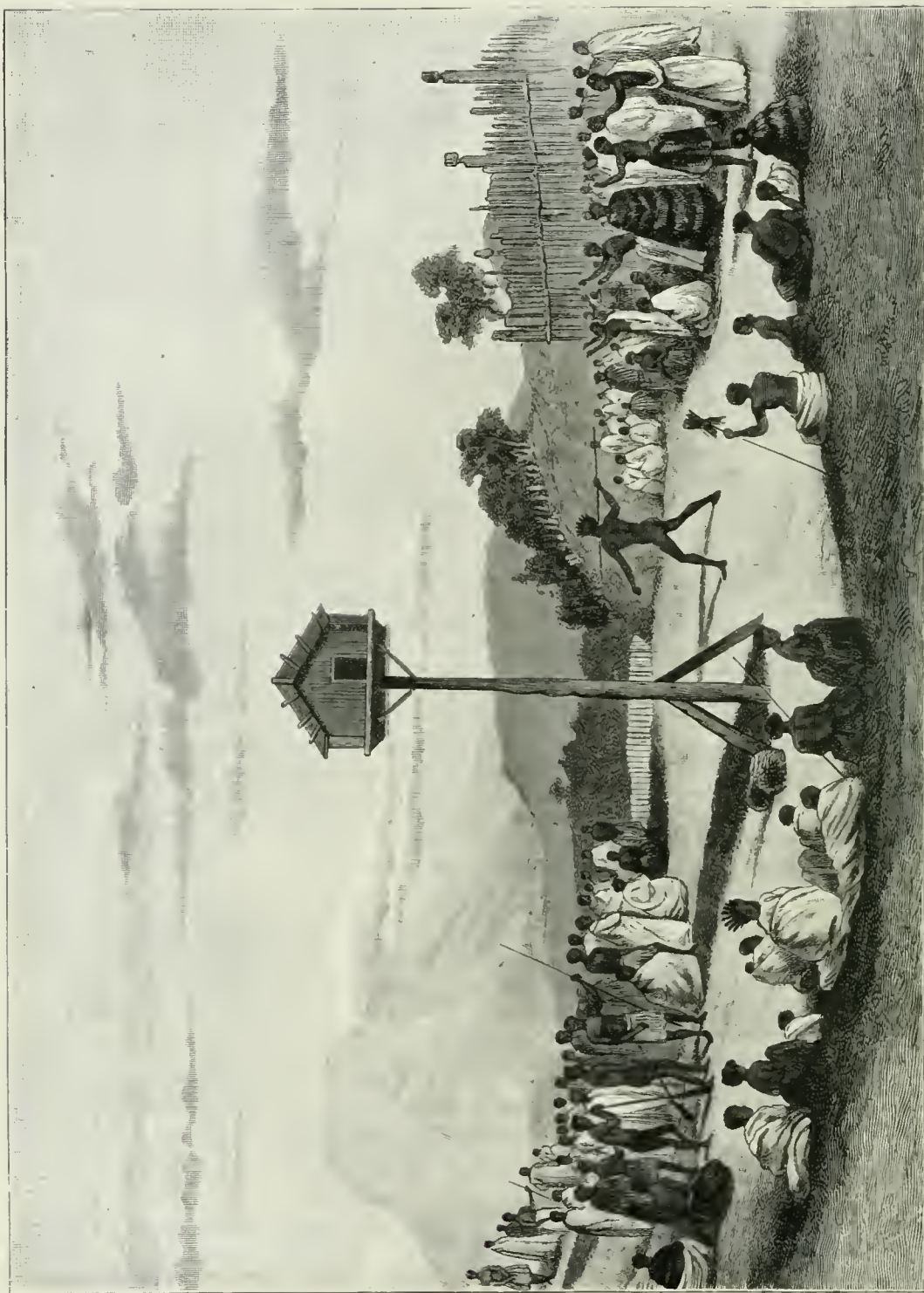
against a post, being covered with another mat up to the chin. The head and face were anointed with shark oil, and a piece of green flax was also tied round the head, in which were stuck several white feathers—the sort of feathers which are here preferred to any other. They then constructed, around the corpse, an enclosure of twigs, something like a bird's cage, for the purpose of keeping the dogs, pigs, and children from it, and these operations being over, muskets continued to be occasionally fired during the remainder of the day to the memory of the old woman. Meanwhile, the chiefs and their families from miles round were making their appearance in our village, bringing with them their slaves loaded with provisions. On the third day after the death, they all, to the number of some hundreds, knelt down around the corpse, and having thrown off their mats, proceeded to cry and cut themselves, in the same manner as we had seen done on occasion of the different chiefs of the villages through which we passed being welcomed home.

“After some time spent in this ceremony, they all sat down together to a great feast, made of their own provisions which they had brought with them. The following morning the men alone formed a circle round the dead body, armed with spears, muskets, tomahawks, and meres, and the doctor appeared walking backwards and forwards in the ring. By this time my companion and I had learned a good deal of their language, and as we stood listening to what was said, we heard the doctor relate the particulars of the old woman's illness and death, after which the chiefs began to inquire very closely into what she had eaten for the three days before she expired. At last, the doctor having retired from the ring, an old chief stepped forward with three or four white feathers stuck in his hair, and having walked several times up and down in the ring, addressed the meeting, and said that in his opinion the old woman's death had been occasioned by her having eaten potatoes that had been peeled with a white man's knife after it had been used for cutting rushes to repair a house, on which account he thought that the white man to whom the knife belonged should be killed, which would be a great honour conferred upon the memory of the dead woman. To this proposal many of the other chiefs expressed their assent, and it seemed about to be adopted by the court. Meanwhile my companion stood trembling and unable to speak from fear.

“I then went forward myself into the ring

and told them that if the white man had done wrong in lending his knife to the slave, he had done so ignorantly, not knowing the customs of the country. I ventured at the same time to address myself to Aimy, beseeching him to spare my shipmate's life, but he continued to keep his seat on the ground, mourning for the loss of his mother, without answering me, or seeming to take any notice of what I said; and while I was yet speaking to him, the chief with the white feathers went and struck my comrade on the head with a mere and killed him. Aimy, however, would not allow him to be eaten, though for what reason I never could learn. The slaves, therefore, having dug a grave for him, he was interred after my directions. As for the corpse of the old woman, it was now wrapt up in several mats, and carried away by Aimy and the doctor, no person being allowed to follow them. I learned, however, that they took her into a neighbouring wood and there buried her. After this the strangers all left our village and returned to their respective homes. In about three months the body of the woman was again taken up and carried to the river side, where the bones were scraped and washed, and then enclosed in a box, which had been prepared for that purpose. The box was afterwards fastened on the top of a post, in the place where the body first lay in state, and a space of about thirty feet in circumference being railed in around it, a wooden image was erected, to signify that the ground was tabooed, or sacred, and as a warning that no one should enter the enclosure. This is the regular manner of interment in New Zealand for anyone belonging to a chief's family. When a slave dies a hole is dug, and the body is thrown into it without any ceremony, nor is it ever disinterred again, or any further notice taken of it. They never eat any person who dies of disease, or in the course of nature.”

Thus left alone among the savages, and taught by the murder of his comrade on how slight a tenure he held his own life, exposed as he was every moment to the chance of in some way or other provoking their capricious cruelty, Rutherford, it may be thought, must have felt his protracted detention growing every day more insupportable. One of the greatest inconveniences which he now began to feel arose from the wearing out of his clothes, which he patched and tacked as well as he could for some time, but at last, after he had been about three years in the country, they



Throwing the Spear.

would hold together no longer. All that he had to wear was a white flax mat which was given to him by the chief, and which being thrown over his shoulders, came as low as his knees. This, he says, was his only garment, and he was compelled to go both bareheaded and barefooted, having neither hat, shoes, nor stockings. His life meanwhile seems to have been varied by few incidents deserving of being recorded, and we are left to suppose that he spent his time principally in shooting and fishing as before. For the first sixteen months of his residence at the village he kept a reckoning of days by notches on a stick, but when he afterwards moved about with the chiefs he neglected this mode of tracing the progress of time.

"At last it happened one day," the narrative proceeds, "while we were all assembled at a feast in our village, that Aimy called me to him in the presence of several more chiefs, and having told them of my activity in shooting and fishing, concluded by saying that he wished to make me a chief if I would give my consent. This I readily did; upon which my hair was immediately cut with an oyster shell in the front, in the same manner as the chiefs have theirs cut, and several of the chiefs made me a present of some mats and promised to send me some pigs the next day. I now put on a mat covered over with red ochre and oil, such as was worn by the other chiefs, and my head and face were also anointed with the same composition by a chief's daughter, who was entirely a stranger to me. I received at the same time a handsome stone mere, which I afterwards always carried with me.

"Aimy now advised me to take two or three wives—it being the custom of the chiefs to have as many as they think proper, and I consented to take two. About sixty women were then brought up before me, none of whom, however, pleased me, and I refused to have any of them; on which Aimy told me that I was tabooed for three days, at the expiration of which time he would take me with him to his brother's camp, where I should find plenty of women that would please me. Accordingly we went to his brother's at the time appointed, when several women were brought up before us; but having cast my eyes upon Aimy's two daughters, who had followed us, and were sitting on the grass, I went up to the eldest, and said that I would choose her. On this she immediately screamed and ran away; but two of the natives, having thrown off their mats, pursued her, and soon brought her back, when, by the direction of Aimy, I went and

took hold of her hand. The two natives then let her go, and she walked quietly with me to her father, but hung down her head and continued laughing.

"Aimy now called his other daughter to him, who also came laughing, and he then advised me to take them both. I then turned to them and asked them if they were willing to go with me, when they both answered, '*I pea*,' which signifies 'Yes, I believe so.' On this Aimy told them they were tabooed to me, and directed us all three to go home together, which we did, followed by several of the natives. We had not been many minutes at our own village when Aimy and his brother also arrived, and in the evening a great feast was given to the people by Aimy. During the greater part of the night the women kept dancing a dance which is called *kane-kane*, and is seldom performed, except when large parties are met together. While dancing it they all stood in a row, several of them holding muskets over their heads; and their movements were accompanied by the singing of several of the men, for they have no kind of music in this country.

"My eldest wife's name was Hau, and that of my youngest Peka. They were both handsome, mild, and good-tempered. I was now always obliged to eat with them in the open air, as they would not eat under the roof of my house, that being contrary to the customs of their country. When away for any length of time, I used to take Peka along with me, and leave Hau at home. The chief's wives in New Zealand are never jealous of each other, but live together in great harmony, the only distinction among them being, that the oldest is always considered the head wife. No other ceremony takes place on occasion of a marriage, except what I have mentioned. Any child born of a slave woman, though the father should be a chief, is considered a slave like its mother. A woman found guilty of adultery is immediately put to death. Many of the chiefs take wives from among their slaves; but anyone else that marries a slave woman may be robbed with impunity; whereas he who marries a woman belonging to a chief's family is secure from being plundered, as the natives dare not steal from any person of that rank. With regard to stealing from others, the custom is that, if any person has stolen anything, and kept it concealed for three days, it then becomes his own property, and the only way for the injured party to obtain satisfaction is to rob the thief in return. If

the theft, however, be detected within three days, the thief has to return the article stolen; but even in that case he goes unpunished. The chiefs also, although secure from the depredations of their inferiors, plunder one another, and this often occasions a war among them."

Rutherford gives us some account of a journey which he once accomplished in company with the chief Aimy. "I took," says he, "my wife Peka with me, and we were attended by about twenty slave women to carry our provisions, everyone of whom bore on her back, besides a supply for her own consumption, about thirty pounds of potatoes, and drove before her at the same time a pig, which she held by a string tied to its foreleg. The men never travel without being armed. Our journey was made sometimes by water and sometimes by land, and proceeding in this manner, we arrived in about a month at a place called Taranaki, on the coast of Cook's Straits, where we were received by Otako, a great chief who had come from near the South Cape. On meeting we saluted each other in the customary manner by touching noses, and there was also a great deal of crying, as usual. Here I saw an Englishman named James Mowry, who told me that he had formerly been a boy belonging to a ship called the Sydney Cove, which had put in near the South Cape, when a boat's crew, of which he was one, had been sent on shore for the purpose of trading with the natives. They were attacked, however, every man of them being killed except himself, he having been indebted for his preservation to his youth and the protection of Otako's daughter. This lady he had since married. He had now been eight years in the country, and had become so completely reconciled to the manners and way of life of the natives, that he had resolved never to leave it. He was twenty-four years of age, handsome, and of middle size, and had been well tattooed. He had also been made a chief, and had often accompanied the natives to their wars. He spoke their language, and had forgotten a great deal of his own. He told me he had heard of the capture of our ship, and gave me an account of the deaths of Smith and Watson, two of my unfortunate shipmates. I, in turn, related to him my story, and what I had gone through.

"The village of Taranaki stands by the sea side, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants are the same as prevail in other parts of the island. We remained here six

weeks, and during this time I employed myself in looking out for a ship passing through the straits, by which I might make my escape, but was never fortunate enough to see one. I kept my intention, however, a secret from Mowry, for he was too much attached to the natives for me to trust him.

"On leaving Taranaki we took our way along the coast, and after a journey of six weeks arrived at the East Cape, where we met with a great chief named Pomare, belonging to the Bay of Islands. He told us that he resided in the neighbourhood of Mr. Kendall, the missionary. He had about five hundred warriors with him, and several war-canoes, in one of which I observed a trunk having on it the name of Captain Brin, of the *Asp*, South Seaman. These people had also with them a number of muskets, with polished barrels, and a few small kegs of powder, as well as a great quantity of potatoes and flax mats. They had plundered and murdered nearly every person that lived between the East Cape and the River Thames, and the whole country dreaded the name of Pomare. This great warrior showed us several of the heads of the chiefs whom he had killed on this expedition, and which, he said, he intended to carry back with him to the Bay of Islands to sell for gunpowder to the ships that touched there. He and his followers having taken leave of us, and set sail in their canoes, we also left the East Coast the day following, and proceeded on our journey homewards, travelling during the day and encamping at night in the woods, where we slept around large fires under the branches of the trees. In this way we arrived in four days at our own village, where I was received by Hau, my eldest wife, with great joy. I was much fatigued by my journey, as was also my other wife Peka, who had accompanied me."

For some time after his return from Cook Strait Rutherford's life appears to have been unvaried by any incident of moment. "At length," says he, "one day a messenger arrived from a neighbouring village with the news that all the chiefs for miles round were about to set out, in three days, for a place called Kaipara, near the source of the river Thames, and distant about two hundred miles from our village. The messenger brought also a request from the other chiefs to Aimy to join them along with his warriors, and he replied that he would meet them at Kaipara at the time appointed. We understood that we were to be opposed at Kaipara by a number of chiefs from the Bay of Islands and the

river Thames, according to an appointment which had been made with the chiefs in our neighbourhood. Accordingly, everything was got ready for our journey as quickly as possible, and the women were immediately set to work to make a great number of new baskets in which to carry our provisions. It is the custom for every person going on such an expedition to find his own arms and ammunition, as also provisions, and slaves to carry them. On the other hand, every family plunder for themselves, and give only what they think proper to the chief. The slaves are not required to fight, though they often run to the assistance of their masters while engaged.

"When the day was come for our departure, I started along with the rest, being armed with my mere, a brace of pistols, and a double-barrelled fowling-piece, and having also with me some powder and ball, and a great quantity of duck-shot, which I took for the purpose of killing game on our journey. I was accompanied by my wife Peka, who carried three new mats to be a bed for us, which had been made by Hau during my absence at Taranake. The warriors and slaves whom we took with us, amounted in all to about five hundred; but the slaves, as they got rid of the provisions they carried, were sent home again, as we had no further use for them. While on our journey, if we came to a friendly village at night we slept there, but if not we encamped in the woods. When the provisions we had brought with us were all consumed we were compelled to plunder wherever we could find anything. Our journey being made during the rainy season, was more than usually fatiguing. We were five weeks in reaching Kaipara, where we found about eleven hundred more natives encamped by the side of a river. On our arrival huts were immediately constructed for our party, and one was allotted to me and my wife. We had also two female slaves allowed us for the purpose of digging fern-root, gathering cockles, and catching fish, which articles were our only provisions while we remained here, unless now and then when I went to the woods and shot a few wood-pigeons or a wild pig.

"On the opposite side of the river," Rutherford proceeds, "which was about half a mile wide, and not more than four feet deep in any part, about four hundred of the enemy were encamped waiting for reinforcements. Meanwhile messengers were continually passing from the one party to the other with

messages concerning the war. One of them informed us that there was a white man in his party who had heard of and wished to see me, and that the chiefs, who also wished to see me, would give me permission to cross the river to meet him, and I should return unmolested whenever I thought proper. With Aimey's consent, therefore, I went across the river, but I was not permitted to go armed, nor yet to take my wife with me. When I arrived on the opposite side several of the chiefs saluted me in the usual manner, by touching my nose with theirs, and I afterwards was seated in the midst of them, by the side of the white man, who told me his name was John Mawman, that he was a native of Port Jackson, and that he had run away from the Tees sloop-of-war while she lay at this island. He had since joined the natives, and was now living with a chief named Ruamati, whose daughter he had married, and whose residence was at a place called Sukyanna, on the west coast, within fifty miles of the Bay of Islands. He said that he had been at the Bay of Islands a short time before, and had seen several of the English missionaries. He also said that he had heard that the natives had lately taken a vessel at a place called Wangalore, which they had plundered and then turned adrift, but that the crew had escaped in their boats and put to sea. This is the same place where the crew of the ship Boyd were murdered some years before.

"While I remained among the people, a slave was brought up before one of the chiefs, who immediately arose from the ground, and struck him with his mere and killed him. This mere was different from any of the rest, being made of steel. The heart was taken out of the slave as soon as he had fallen, and instantly devoured by the chief who slew him. I then inquired who this chief was, and was informed that his name was Hongi, one of the two chiefs who had been at England, and had been presented to many of the nobility there, from whom he received many valuable presents, among others a double-barrelled gun and a suit of armour, which he has since worn in many battles. His reason, they told me, for killing the slave, who was one belonging to himself, was that he had stolen the suit of armour, and was running away with it to the enemy when he was taken prisoner by a party stationed on the outskirts of the encampment. This was the only act of theft which I ever saw punished in New Zealand. Although Hongi has been two years among

Europeans, I still consider him to be one of the most ferocious cannibals in his native country. He protects the missionaries who live on his ground entirely for the sake of what he can get from them.

"I now returned to my own party. Early the next morning the enemy retreated to the distance of about two miles from the river, upon observing which our party immediately threw off their mats and got under arms. The two parties had altogether about two thousand muskets among them, chiefly purchased from the English and American South Sea ships which touch at the island. We now crossed the river, and having arrived on the opposite side, I took my station on a rising ground about a quarter of a mile distant from where our party halted, so that I had a full view of the engagement. I was not myself required to fight, but I loaded my double-barrelled gun, and thus armed, remained at my post, my wife and the two slave girls having seated themselves at my feet. The commander-in-chief of each party now stepped forward a few yards, and placing himself in front of his troops, commenced the war song. When this was ended both parties danced a war dance, singing at the same time as loud as they could, and brandishing their weapons in the air. Having finished their dance, each party formed into a line two deep, the women and boys stationing themselves about ten yards to the rear. The two bodies then advanced to within about a hundred yards of each other, when they fired off their muskets. Few of them put the musket to the shoulder while firing it, but merely held it at the charge. They only fired once, and then, throwing their muskets behind them, where they were picked up by the women and boys, drew their meres and tomahawks out of their belts, when, the war-song being screamed by the whole of them together in a manner most dismal to be heard, the two parties rushed into close combat. They now took hold of the hair of each other's heads with their left hands, using the right to cut off the head. Meantime the women and boys followed close behind them, uttering the most shocking cries I ever heard. These last received the heads of the slain from those engaged in the battle as soon as they were cut off, after which the men went in among the enemy for the dead bodies; but many of them received bodies that did not belong to the heads they had cut off. The engagement had not lasted many minutes, when the enemy began to retreat, and were

pursued by our party through the woods. Some of them, in their flight, crossed the hill on which I stood, and one threw a short jagged spear at me as he passed, which stuck in the inside of my left thigh. It was afterwards cut out by two women with an oyster shell. The operation left a wound as large as a common-sized teacup; and after it had been performed I was carried across the river on a woman's back to my hut, where my wife applied some green herbs to the wound, which immediately stopped the bleeding, and also made the pain much less severe.

"In a short time our party returned victorious, bringing along with them many prisoners. Persons taken in battle, whether chiefs or not, become slaves to those who take them. One of our chiefs had been shot by Hongi, and the body was brought back, and laid upon some mats before the huts. Twenty heads also were placed upon long spears, which were stuck up around our huts; and nearly twice as many bodies were put to the fires to be cooked in the accustomed way. Our party continued dancing and singing all night, and the next morning they had a grand feast on the dead bodies and fern-roots, in honour of the victory they had gained. The name of the chief, whose body lay in front of our huts, was Wanua. He was one of those who were at the taking of our vessel. His body was now cut into several pieces, which being packed into baskets, covered with black mats, were put into one of the canoes, to be taken along with us down the river. There were besides Wanua five other chiefs killed on our side, whose names were Nainy, Ewarree, Tometooi, Ewarrehum, and Erow. On the other side three chiefs were killed, namely, Charly, Hongi's eldest son, and two sons of Mootyi, a great chief of Sukyanna. Their heads were brought home by our people as trophies of war, and cured in the usual manner.

"We now left Kaipara in a number of canoes, and proceeded down the river to a place called Hauraki, where the mother of one of the chiefs who was killed resided. When we arrived in sight of this place, the canoes all closed together and joined in singing a funeral song. By this time several of the hills before us were crowded with women and children, who, having their faces painted with ochre and their heads adorned with white feathers, were waving their mats and calling out to us, '*Arami, arami*,' the usual welcome home. When the funeral song was ended we disembarked from our canoes, which we hauled

up from the river, and our party then performed a dance, entirely naked, after which they were met by another party of warriors from behind the hills, with whom they engaged in a sham fight, which lasted about twenty minutes. Both parties then seated themselves around the house belonging to the chief of the village, in front of which the baskets containing the dead body were at the same time placed. They were then all opened, and the head, being taken out and decorated with feathers, was placed on the top of one of the baskets, while the rest of the heads that had been taken at the battle were stuck on long spears in various parts of the village. Meanwhile the mother of the slain chief stood on the roof of the house, dressed in a feathered cloak and turban, continually turning herself round, wringing her hands, and crying for the loss of her son.

"The dead body having been in a few days buried with the usual ceremonies, we all prepared to return to our own village. Hauraki is one of the most delightful spots in New Zealand, and has more cultivated land about it than I saw anywhere else. While I was here I saw a slave woman eat part of her own child, which had been killed by the chief, her master. I have known several instances of New Zealand women eating their children as soon as they were born."

We have noticed all the adventures which Rutherford records to have befallen him during his residence in New Zealand, and have now only to relate the manner in which he at last effected his escape from the country, which we shall do in his own words.

"A few days," says he, "after our return home from Hauraki we were alarmed by observing smoke ascending in large quantities from several of the mountains, and by the natives running about the village in all directions and singing out '*Kipoke*,' which signifies a ship on the coast. I was quite overjoyed to hear the news. Aimy and I, accompanied by several of the warriors, and followed by a number of slaves, loaded with mats and potatoes, and driving pigs before them, for the purpose of trading with the ship, immediately set off for Tokamaro, and in two days we arrived in that place, the unfortunate scene of the capture of our ship and its crew on the 7th March, 1816. I now perceived the ship under sail at about twenty miles distance from the land, off which the wind was blowing strong, which prevented her nearing. Meanwhile, as it was drawing towards night, we encamped, and sat down

to supper. I observed that several of the natives still wore round their necks and wrists many of the trinkets which they had taken out of our ship. As Aimy and I sat together at supper a slave arrived with a new basket, which he placed before me, saying that it was a present from his master. I asked him what was in the basket, and he informed me that it was part of a slave girl's thigh, that had been killed three days before. It was cooked, he added, and was very nice. I then commanded him to open it, which he did, when it presented the appearance of a piece of pork which had been baked in the oven. I made a present of it to Aimy, who divided it among the chiefs.

"The chiefs now consulted together, and resolved that, if the ship came in, they would take her, and murder the crew. Next morning she was observed to be much nearer than she had been the night before, but the chiefs were still afraid she would not come in, and therefore agreed that I should be sent on board, on purpose to decoy her to the land, which I promised to do. I was then dressed in a feathered cloak, belt, and turban, and armed with a battle-axe, the head of which was formed of a stone which resembled green glass, but was so hard as to turn the heaviest blow of the hardest steel. The handle was of hard black wood, handsomely carved and adorned with feathers. In this attire I went off in a canoe, accompanied by a son of one of the chiefs, and four slaves. When we came alongside of the vessel (which turned out to be an American brig, commanded by Captain Jackson, employed in trading among the islands in the South Sea, and then bound for the coast of California), I immediately went on board, and presented myself to the captain, who, as soon as he saw me, exclaimed, 'Here is a white New Zealander.' I told him that I was not a New Zealander, but an Englishman, upon which he invited me into his cabin, where I gave him an account of my errand, and of all my misfortunes. I informed him of the danger his ship would be exposed to if he put in at that part of the island, and therefore begged of him to stand off as quickly as possible, and take me along with him, as this was the only chance I had ever had of escaping. By this time the chief's son had begun stealing in the ship, on which the crew tied him up, and flogged him with the clew of one of their hammocks, and then sent him down into his canoe. They would have flogged the rest also, had not I interceded for them, considering that there might be still some of

my unfortunate shipmates living on shore, on whom they might avenge themselves. The captain now consented to take me along with him, and the canoe having been set adrift, we stood off from the island. For the first sixteen months of my residence in New Zealand I had counted the days by means of notches on a stick, but after that I had kept no reckoning. I now learned, however, that the day on which I was taken off the island was the 9th of January, 1826. I had, therefore, been a prisoner among these savages ten years all but two months."

Captain Jackson now gave Rutherford such clothes as he stood in need of, in return for which the latter made him a present of his New Zealand dress and battle-axe. The ship then proceeded to the Society Islands, and anchored on the 10th February, off Otaheite. Here Rutherford went into the service of the British Consul, by whom he was employed in sawing wood. On the 26th of May he was married to a chief woman, whose name, he says, was Nowyrooa, by Mr. Pritchard, one of the English missionaries. While he resided here he was also employed as an interpreter by Captain Peachy, of the Blossom sloop-of-war, then engaged in surveying those islands. Still, however, longing very much to see his native country, he embarked on the 6th of January, 1827, on board the brig Macquarie, commanded by Captain Hunter, and bound for Port Jackson. On taking leave of his wife and friends, he made them a promise to return to the island in two years, "which," says he, "I intend to keep if it is in my power, and end my days there."

The Macquarie reached Port Jackson on the 19th of February, and Rutherford states that he met here a young woman who had been saved from the massacre of those on board the Boyd, and who gave him an account of that event. This was probably the daughter of the woman whom Mr. Berry brought to Lima. He also found at Port Jackson two vessels on their way back to England with a body of persons who had attempted to form a settlement in New Zealand, but who had been compelled to abandon their design, as he understood, by the treacherous behaviour of the natives. He now embarked on board the Sydney packet, commanded by Captain Taylor, which proceeded first for Hobart Town, in Van Diemen's Land, and after lying there for about a fortnight set sail again for Rio de

Janeiro. On his arrival there he went into the service of a Mr. Harris, a Dutch gentleman. Mr. Harris, on learning his history, had him presented to the Emperor Don Pedro, who asked him many questions by an interpreter, and made him a present of eighty dollars. He also offered him employment in his navy; but this Rutherford refused, preferring to return to England in the *Blanche* frigate, then on the point of sailing, in which he obtained a passage by an application to the British Consul. On the arrival of the ship at Spithead he immediately left her, and proceeded to Manchester, his native town, which he had not seen since he first went to sea in the year 1806.

The publisher of the biography from which these facts have been culled, remarks:—

"After his return to England Rutherford occasionally maintained himself by accompanying a travelling caravan of wonders, showing his tattooing, and telling something of his extraordinary adventures. The publisher of this volume had many conversations with him in January, 1829, when he was exhibited in London. He was evidently a person of considerable quickness, and great powers of observation. He went over every part of his journal, which was read to him, with considerable care, explaining any difficulties, and communicating several points of information, of which we have availed ourselves in the course of this narrative. He seemed to have acquired a great deal of the frankness and easy confidence of the people with whom he had been living, and was somewhat out of his element amidst the constrained intercourse and unvarying occupations of England. He greatly disliked being shown for money, which he submitted to, principally that he might acquire a sum, in addition to what he received for his manuscript, to return to Otaheite. We have not heard of him since that time, and the probability is that he has accomplished his wishes. He said that he should have no hesitation in going to New Zealand; that his old companions would readily believe that he had been carried away by force, that from his knowledge of their customs, he could be most advantageously employed in trading with them, and that, above all, if he were to take back a blacksmith with him, and plenty of iron, he might acquire many of the most valuable productions of the country, particularly tortoise-shell, which he considered the best object for an English commercial adventure."



EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH MISSION.

Regulations regarding trading—Arrival of Mr. George Clarke—Condition of the mission stations and work—Settlement of runaway sailors at the bay—Estimate of the Maori population—Rangi, the first Christian convert—Launch of the Herald mission boat—Her voyage to Sydney—Return of the Williams Brothers—Work in connection with the mission—Earle's account of his visit to the mission stations—A cold reception—Translation of a portion of the scriptures—Loss of the schooner Herald at Hokianga—First interference in native politics—Missionaries accompany a war party and negotiate a peace—A pleasing missionary gathering—Missionary influence spreading—Mr. Marsden, in 1829, considers New Zealand now open in every part to the introduction of Christianity—The natives cultivating wheat and maize—Use of the word Maori—Taiwhanga applies for baptism—Review of the mission in 1829—Progress of settlement—Mr. Mair makes the first shipment of kauri gum.



IT has been already mentioned that the Brampton arrived at the Bay of Islands on the third of August. In little more than a month, on 5th September, Mr. Marsden re-embarked in the same vessel with Mr. Kendall and his family, who were to return to New South Wales; but the ship was wrecked on the 7th, and his departure had to be deferred, and he was detained in New Zealand till the 14th November, when he sailed in the Dragon; but Hongi having in the meantime returned from his taua, whence he started early in the year before, Mr. Kendall determined to stay in New Zealand. The Rev. John Butler and his family, with Mr. and Mrs. Cowell, returned to Port Jackson in the Dragon, circumstances having, according to the twenty-fourth Report, which we quote, rendered this measure requisite. Several chiefs who had been promised a passage in

the Brampton could not be accommodated in the Dragon; but six native youths, at their own earnest entreaty, were permitted to accompany Mr. Marsden, as they were willing to sleep on deck. The Dragon arrived in Sydney early in December, and accompanying Mr. Marsden and the Church of England party were Mr. and Mrs. Leigh of the Methodist Mission from Whangaroa, who had been passengers on the Brampton when wrecked on the rock which still chronicles the event.

Before Mr. Marsden left New Zealand in the Dragon, he established some regulations for the guidance of the missionaries and settlers in their intercourse with the shipping which visited the bay. He found some rules of this nature absolutely necessary to prevent the recurrence of the serious evils which had injured the mission. He said, "This intercourse encourages a spirit of idleness and trifling, and of petty barter and traffic, which excites the love of money, calls avarice into exercise, and turns the whole attention of the missionaries from their proper object."

The regulations appointed by Mr. Marsden were the following:—1. That no missionary,

servant, or mechanic in the service of the mission shall directly or indirectly carry on any private trade, or purchase any articles from masters of ships, without the knowledge and consent of the existing committee, to whom is entrusted the local management of the concerns of the Society. 2. Should circumstances render it necessary for the comfort or convenience of the body, or for that of any individual or individuals employed in the service of the mission, to make purchases from the ships which may anchor in the Bay of Islands, the articles so required shall be stated to the committee, and the sanction of the committee be first obtained; and two members from the committee shall be appointed to transact the business with the masters of the ships. If this rule is attended to, it will remove all jealousy from the minds of some, and all suspicions and reflections from others. 3. No timber of any kind, either in plank or log, is to be hereafter supplied to any ship or vessel by any missionary or other person in the service of the Society without the full consent of the committee, which shall be first obtained; and the proceeds of all such timber shall be carried to the credit of the Society. Should any of the missionaries, directly or indirectly, violate any of the above regulations, their colleagues are solemnly enjoined to report such violation to the Society's agent in New South Wales, and to the parent committee in London, in order that such missionaries may be punished by suspension or dismissal, as the nature of the offence may require. 4. It is further ordered that all transactions with ships, which the missionaries shall have either as a body or as individuals, shall be recorded in a book kept for that purpose, as a public record; in order that the missionaries may at all times be able to justify their conduct to their superiors, and to stop the mouths of gain-sayers. The above regulations to remain in force until the parent committee shall rescind them.

In the twenty-fifth report it is stated that Mr. Butler's son and Mr. and Mrs. Cowell remain in New South Wales. Mr. Butler and the rest of the family had returned to England. Mr. Butler is not heard of again until he joins the New Zealand Company in 1839. The connection of all the parties above mentioned with the Church Missionary Society had been dissolved.

In the twenty-second report of the Society it was stated that Mr. George Clarke, of Wymondham, in Norfolk, having been strongly

recommended by the Society's friends at that place, was appointed as a settler at New Zealand. Mr. and Mrs. Clarke sailed for Port Jackson on the 28th of April, 1822, on their way to New Zealand, and arrived at Rio de Janeiro on the 20th of June. After a stormy passage from thence to the Cape of Good Hope they reached Tasmania on the 10th of September, and after remaining there about four weeks, landed at Port Jackson on the 16th of October. On their arrival they went to reside with Mr. Marsden at Parramatta, where Mr. Clarke was employed instructing some natives of New Zealand and the Sandwich Islands who were there; for though the seminary had been suspended yet the natives continued to visit it on all opportunities. It had been intended that Mr. and Mrs. Clarke should have accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Williams to New Zealand; but Mrs. Clarke became ill, and her illness having occasioned delay, and Mr. Clarke's care of the school for the aborigines to which he had been transferred in New South Wales being considered of great value, it was at length determined the Clarkes should not proceed to their destination until Hongi had become pacific in intent, he having been led to believe that Mr. Clarke, who was by trade a gunsmith, would be at his service to make and repair his guns. Eventually, however, Mr. and Mrs. Clarke left Port Jackson on the 19th of March, 1824, with their child, and two of the New Zealanders, on board the *Coquille*, a French discovery ship, Captain Duperry, and arrived at the Bay of Islands on the 4th of April, having received great kindness from the captain and his officers.

On the 10th of November, 1823, Richard Davis, his wife and family, and Charles Davis were despatched to their appointments as settlers in New Zealand. Mr. Charles Davis was a carpenter, and though bearing the same name the two settlers were not relatives. They embarked at Woolwich for New South Wales on the 22nd of the month, on board the *Brothers*, Captain Motely, and sailed from the Downs on the 6th of December. The Government granted them a free passage. The *Brothers* arrived off Rio on the 1st of February, 1824, and at Port Jackson on the 7th May. They reached New Zealand on the 13th of August, but Mr. Marsden detained the two eldest daughters of Mr. Davis in New South Wales until their father was settled in New Zealand.

It will be convenient at this period, the mission now being in its tenth year, to note

who were the settlers attached to the different settlements connected with the Church Missionary Society. There were Messrs. W. Hall and John King at Rangihoua, Messrs. James Kemp and G. Clarke at Kerikeri, Rev. H. Williams at Paihia, and Mr. Richard Davis and Mr. C. Davis, whose place of residence had not been determined. All these had come from England and were married, with the exception of Mr. C. Davis. Others attached to the mission were from New South Wales, whose names were Mr. James Shepherd and his wife at Kerikeri, Mr. and Mrs. Fairburn at Paihia, while Mr. W. Puckey, senior, with Mrs. Puckey, W. Puckey, junior, and W. Spikeman, rendered assistance in the mission wherever their services were required.

The earliest mission appears to have languished. A building was set apart as a chapel where Mr. Hall and Mr. King alternately every Sunday read the Church Service and a printed sermon; and a school was open which had some fourteen children, but their attendance, we are told, was much interrupted. What was gained, however, was to be found in the deportment of the natives, who were peaceable and quiet and well behaved. Five acres of wheat, we are told, yielded the last harvest a fair crop, sufficient for the supply of the mission families and those they fed.

At Kerikeri, the arrival of the Clarkes was almost a reunion for the Kemps, all of them having been intimate with one another from their childhood in their Norfolk home. Mr. Clarke, we are told, had charge of a native school, while he and Mr. Kemp kept an evening school for adults three times a week. The religious instruction of the natives was pursued when the settlers had any opportunity of so doing. In April a building was opened as a chapel, when Mr. Williams preached to twelve Europeans and an equal number of natives. Some of the parents had promised to send their children to school, but on opening the school in June only one came. In a little time, however, the report says, more were collected, and nine boys and three girls were under instruction, most of them living in the family, seven of the boys being sons of chiefs, one of whom was the youngest son of Hongi. At Michaelmas, Mr. Clarke reported that eight boys and three girls had been supported at the expense of the Society.

After Mr. Marsden left New Zealand on his fourth visit, a plan was formed among the natives to put Mr. Kendall into possession of the house which had been occupied by Mr. Butler, and in which Mr. Shepherd had

succeeded him, but the settlers gave them to understand that if the property of the Society were wrested from them by violence such a step would probably cause the withdrawal of the mission. The threat appears to have been sufficient.

Mr. Kemp writes: "We have about thirty head of cattle, which we keep together in one herd; several have, however, left the herd, and are running wild. The natives have not hitherto molested them, but many chiefs have requested to have a male and a female, which, I think, we should do well to let them have in order that they might soon stock the island, which would be a great blessing to the country."

At Paihia, divine service was held morning and evening in English, and in other parts of the day there were singing, prayer, and conversation. The natives connected with the settlement and resident in the families were twelve or thirteen men, boys, and girls. They were reported to conduct themselves well and attend family worship twice daily, repeating prayers they had learned, and singing well.

The constant resort of shipping to the Bay was considered by the settlers "not a little injurious." At the close of the year 1824, the report says, there were perhaps twenty men who had left their ships and were living on plunder; and within the year not less, it was supposed, than a hundred men had fixed themselves among the natives, the captains of other vessels not hesitating to employ them when they wanted men.

Mr. Richard Davis had, we learn, thus early visited Hokianga, and Mr. Shepherd had been invited to go and live at the Waikato. One of the earliest estimates of the numbers of the native population was given by Mr. Shepherd, who thus computed them:—Bay of Islands, not more than 3,000; Kaipara, nearly 4,000; the Thames, 4,000; Waikato, 5,000; Mercury Bay, 4,000. The people of Hokianga he considered more numerous than that of the Bay of Islands.

Several names among the natives with which we are familiar deserve mention. Korokoro had died and was succeeded by Tui, of "pious memory," but Tui became dangerously ill, having completed his evil course. Captain Lock, of the *Mary*, then lying in the Bay of Islands, hearing of his illness, and that he had nothing to eat but fern root, sent his boat for him that he might have medical assistance and proper food. But it was too late, for Tui died on the 17th

of October, 1824. Cruise, who met him often shortly after his return from England, remarks: "The trouble and expense that had been bestowed in attempting to civilize him appeared to have entirely failed, and we found him without exception the greatest savage and one of the most worthless and profligate men in the Bay of Islands."

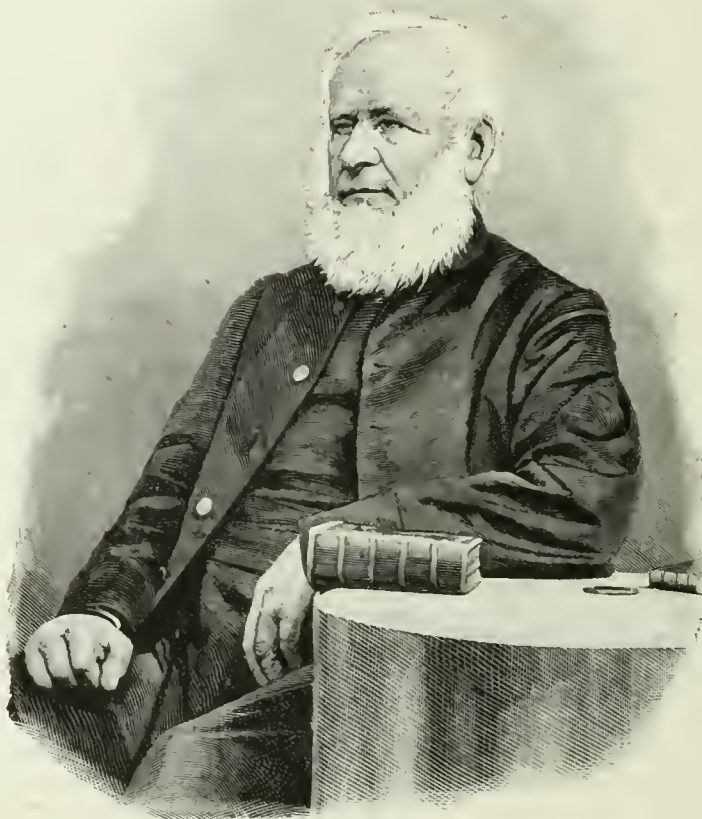
Mr. William Williams, a brother of Mr. Henry Williams, was admitted to deacon's orders on Sunday, 26th of September, 1824, and was admitted to the priesthood on the 19th December following. He left England in the *Sir George Osborne*, Captain Thomson, on the 15th of August, 1825. With him came Mr. James Hamlin (a flax-dresser) and his wife. In the instructions of the committee to the former occurs the following remark:—"From your medical knowledge, united with a zealous and affectionate discharge of your ministerial functions, the committee trust that the most solid advantages will, under the Divine blessing, arise to their mission in New Zealand;" while

to the latter they said, "By your example, Mr. Hamlin, as a private Christian, as well as by your exertions in communicating to the natives of New Zealand a knowledge of the art you have practised in England, will you be enabled to serve the designs of the Society." The Rev. William Williams and Mr. James Hamlin arrived at Sydney on the 17th of December, and left that colony in the *Sir George Osborne* on the 18th of March, and reached the Bay of Islands on the 25th.

In February Mr. Marsden advised the Society that Mr. Shepherd had arrived in New South Wales, having suffered much from inflammation in the eyes, being in danger of losing one. His visit was also made a pretext for inducing the natives to be more careful in their conduct, and to regard the missionaries as not being subject to Maori law, or its pains and penalties. Mr. William Hall was obliged to leave New Zealand from

ill-health and retire to New South Wales, where he became employed in the New Zealand Seminary.

To the three stations mentioned last year a fourth had been added at the Kawakawa, about ten miles south of Paihia, on the bank of the river. Mr. R. Davis, who selected the site, writes: "It is at present covered with small timber and brushwood. The quantity purchased does not exceed ten acres, it being recommended that land should be purchased only as wanted. Two acres are sown with wheat, which is growing very luxuriantly. I have



Rev. William Williams, missionary.
(Afterwards Bishop of Waipou.)

no doubt if I can get the natives to work but I shall be able to raise in the course of another year a sufficient quantity of wheat to support the mission."

After the departure of Mr. Hall the care of the mission at Rangihoua fell upon Mr. King, who read the Church service on Sundays and in his leisure time kept school. He says, "I have taught eight boys to read, who are capable of reading the Bible if it were translated into their tongue." He also says,

"For a great while past the principal inhabitants of the village have visited our houses in a most civil and peaceable manner; and there is scarcely a day passes but some of them come or send for a little tea or bread for their sick, and in such cases we always make a point of supplying them."

At Kerikeri there appears little or nothing to report. Towards the end of the year Hongi was preparing for another war expedition, when the mission settlers proposed having a conference with the chiefs, for the purpose of dissuading them from the war. It was arranged to issue a notice that on a certain day the settlers would meet for the purpose of conversing with them, but the object of the meeting was not declared. As the proposal was somewhat novel, it excited considerable interest, and all were desirous to know what was to be said or discussed. The day at length arrived, and Hongi and six of the chiefs met at the house of Mr. Kemp. Their behaviour was pleasing, and the meeting full of interest, though Hongi said that he must go to revenge the death of his son. It certainly had, the chronicler said, considerable effect, and comparatively few of the people went to the war.

At Paihia the record was as follows:—During the former part of the year things were a very gloomy aspect. The inhabitants of Whangaroa had seized the brig *Mercury* from Port Jackson, and the people of the Bay of Islands had in consequence become menacing and unsettled; while the scarcity of provisions pressed hard on the settlers. As the year advanced there were signs of a movement among the people in the "conversion," as it was called, of Rangī. The incident perhaps may require fuller mention.

After the devastations committed by Hongi at the river Thames, the people of Bream Bay, a little further north, who were the allies of Hongi, felt insecure in their position, which was a sort of borderland between the hostile tribes, and through fear of the vengeance of the Thames natives they came to live at the Bay of Islands. Rangī was a chief of some rank in his tribe, and he with his small party took up their abode about a mile from Paihia, where they came under the frequent instruction of the missionaries. While indifference marked the character of most of his friends, old Rangī listened with attention to the new instruction. This was during the year 1824. He impressed upon the people the necessity of observing the Sabbath day, and he was in the habit of hoisting a piece of red cloth for a

flag as a signal to his neighbours that it was the sacred day. He came ultimately to renounce his Paganism and to profess Christianity, and on his profession became baptized, and was the first Christian convert.

On the 10th September Mr. Williams writes: "We are treated with as much attention and respect as we could possibly wish, and the people receive us with kindness wherever we go. Their behaviour has been universally respectful for several months past."

On the 3rd July, 1824, Mr. Williams wrote: "In the course of a week the keel of a small vessel will be laid. It will, perhaps, engage the carpenters four months. She has been ordered by Mr. Marsden, and will prove exceedingly useful. We shall be enabled by her to obtain food, which has been very scarce of late, both for ourselves and the natives about us. We shall this day cook our last potatoes, and have been out of pork for some length of time. Indeed, the provisions for all the settlements are short, and should not a vessel arrive in a little time we shall be driven to eat fern-root."

It was in connection with the building of this vessel that the name of Mr. Gilbert Mair first appears in the pages of New Zealand history. Mr. Mair was born at Peterhead, Scotland, in the year 1800. He was a man of an active and enterprising spirit, and early evinced a love for the sea, which was fostered by his being sent, while yet a lad, for several voyages to Spain in one of his father's sloops, for the purchase of fruit, etc. Some years later he made a voyage to Port Jackson, and arrived at the Bay of Islands in 1824. He engaged with the Rev. Henry Williams and others in building the first mission vessel, the *Herald*, a schooner of sixty tons. The construction of this vessel, which was to be the forerunner of many other smart schooners built in North New Zealand, did not pass off without opposition from the natives. On one occasion while he and the Rev. H. Williams were working at the vessel, they were surrounded by a large party of Maoris who, for some fancied grievance, were in a furious rage, and with wild gestures and threats declared their intention of burning the vessel and annihilating the builders. Nothing daunted, Mr. Williams seized a stout stake, and Mr. Mair a broken oar, which they used so vigorously as to soon put the dusky warriors to flight, but not before Mr. Mair's left arm was broken in two places.

Major-General Sir Thomas Brisbane, K.C.B.,

entered on his duties as Governor of New South Wales on the 1st December, 1821. He was in office for four years, and by the encouragement which he gave to immigration, men of capital became attracted to that colony, and proved the nucleus of the resident gentry and educated class. He established an observatory at Parramatta and sought to promote education. Sir T. Brisbane was a distinguished officer in the Peninsular war, and had acquired repute as an astronomer.

The official history of New South Wales says he established a colonial currency, which raised the pound sterling twenty-five per cent. The discontent caused by the commercial embarrassment which followed this action led to his recall.

The launch of the *Herald*, as the mission boat was called, took place on the 24th of January, 1826, and is thus described by Mr. Carleton in his happiest manner: "Due notice had been given; a fleet of boats and canoes had assembled; numbers had come from inland, partly from curiosity, partly in hope of payment; upon a rough estimate from three to four thousand persons were present. Mr. Williams had been out the night

before inspecting the ways, and taking every precaution against any risk of failure. The natives, who had supposed that the vessel was to be moved off in Maori style by main force, had passed their time in calculating the amount of payment they were to receive, and in devising pretexts for extortion. As was the difference in size between a canoe and a fifty ton vessel, so was to be the difference in payment for service. They declared that they would not move a hand till their terms should

have been complied with, enforcing the demand by divers weighty and ingenious reasons, in reply to each of which they got nothing but a quiet nod of the head. They were already engaged by anticipation in apportioning the payment among themselves, when Mr. Williams announced that all was ready. But instead of going among the mob to clinch a bargain he walked up to the vessel and named her. This was the signal for a start. The dogshores were knocked

away, the ship glided gently down the ways into the water, to the utter amazement of the natives, who rose as one man with a roar of '*Ana na, ana na-a-a-a!*'"

The *Herald* proved a good sea boat, and Mr. Williams made in her a trial voyage to Sydney. Mr. Gilbert Mair was appointed to command her. Writing on board the vessel, on the 3rd March, at sea, 135 miles west of Port Jackson, Mr. Williams says: "Our voyage has been very pleasant as yet, but protracted, in consequence of light winds and but few sails to set. She is a fine little vessel; acts well in rough weather, according to the trial we have yet been able to give her. We have three native men and three boys as crew, two English seamen, a captain



Mr. James Hamlin.

(Mair), Mr. Fairburn as supercargo, William Puckey as mate; passengers, Mr. and Mrs. Puckey and daughter, a sick carpenter, a native chief, and your humble servant."

The Rev. H. Williams met his brother in New South Wales, and returned with him to the Bay of Islands in the *Sir George Osborne*, arriving there on Lady-day. With the *Sir George Osborne* returned Mr. Shepherd, much benefited by the medical treatment he had obtained. He resumed his mission labours at

Rangihoua, strengthening the hand of Mr. John King and his wife, addressing the natives on the Sunday morning, and visiting in the afternoon the adjacent native settlements. In July Mr. King reported the scholars improving in learning and behaviour. From seven to ten boys attended the school and seven girls and three adults. In November he added: "Their parents are much pleased to see them write and to hear them read, and say that they are missionaries, and employ them to write to me for anything that they want."

At Kerikeri Messrs. Kemp, Clarke, Hamlin and their wives were stationed. Mr. Clarke reported in July that the attention of those under instruction had been pleasing during that and the preceding quarter. There were then in the boys' school fourteen boys and six adults; in the girls' school, thirteen girls, some of whom were living in his house, the rest in Mr. Kemp's. The total number under instruction, besides working natives who attend, was thirty-three, residing in the two families. Several had left during the quarter, of whom he entertained a favourable opinion. They could read and write their own language with propriety.

Mr. Kemp wrote: "On our first coming here it was with great difficulty that we were able to live among the natives, who at one time hardly ever came to our settlement without molesting us in some way or other, in climbing our fences, stealing our fowls, and pilfering everything they could lay their hands on, as well as abusing us if we attempted to prevent them. But it is not so now; it is very seldom they molest us, except when fighting parties assemble together: then they are troublesome to us, but nothing so bad as they used to be."

At Paihia the following persons were engaged in the mission during the year: Revs. Henry and William Williams with their wives, Mr. and Mrs. Fairburn, Mr. and Mrs. Davis, Mr. Charles Davis, and Mr. W. Puckey, who were joined by Mr. John Tuckwell, brother-in-law to Mr. Fairburn, who was chiefly employed, or supposed to be, in navigating the *Herald* when at sea. Something of the discipline of the ship appears to have been imported into the habits of the settlement.

At half-past five in the morning a large bell was rung to arouse the whole settlement; at half-past six the natives and Europeans assembled for prayers; at half-past seven they met in the native school; at half-past eight

they began to study the native language, which was continued until eleven. Of the mode of translation employed Mr. Williams writes: "We find much benefit in carrying on this work in a body. William Puckey, a young carpenter who has been brought up in this island, has a very extensive knowledge of the language. He therefore first translates the passage, and the rest examine his production by the original and other translations."

The lack of a printing press was, however, quickly felt, as Mr. Williams says: "We feel very much the want of a printing press to work off some copies of portions of Scripture which could be read by several natives now with us. If the Society were to send a missionary instructed in the art of printing, together with a printing press, we should be able to keep him well employed, but without his help we shall be much crippled, as the schools are now kept very backward for want of printed lessons. A building, forty feet by twenty feet, to serve the purpose of a school, was commenced and completed."

Of Kawakawa Mr. Davis writes: "I have continued to visit my natives on Sundays, and have been much encouraged in so doing." Not having met the people through bad weather, some of them came to inquire the cause of his absence, and were apprehensive of their being left altogether. In reference to the cultivation of the ten acres of land, Mr. Davis said: "I have not been able to succeed according to my expectations in cultivating land at Kawakawa. I cannot get the natives to work, and great part of what is done has been done by my own exertion. I have now growing about five or six acres of wheat on very good land, which was two years ago heavily timbered, but as the season has been wet, and the land sour, it looks but badly. At present there is but little probability of my being able to do anything in cultivation to any extent, not only on account of my not being able to get hands to work, but also on account of the unwillingness of the natives to part with their lands." Here, it may be noted, is found an early indication of the reluctance of the natives to part with their lands.

Early in the year 1827 the Church missionaries were alarmed by the breaking up of the Wesleyan mission at Whangaroa, which was an unexpected incident of Hongi's expedition to punish the tribe for their raids on the Europeans, and the consequent insecurity of the shipping. The *Mercury* was the last of their exploits, and this culminating outrage drew upon them the ill-will of the

surrounding natives, who felt that if such conduct continued, it would be the means of driving from the coast any vessels that were willing to put in for refreshments. War was accordingly declared by Hongi, and the mission was broken up, but without either his knowledge or authority. The Methodist mission at Whangaroa is, however, dealt with in another place.

The difficulties in which the mission was involved induced the Rev. Mr. Marsden, as soon as he heard of them, and could get away, to visit New Zealand for the purpose of conferring with the missionaries and aiding them by his counsel. He arrived in the Bay of Islands in the H.M.S. *Rainbow* on the 5th of April, 1827, re-embarked on the 10th, and reached Port Jackson on the 18th.

At Rangihoua the report was as follows :—“On the Sunday there is a public service in the schoolhouse, conducted by Mr. King and Mr. Shepherd, at which from fifteen to thirty, and sometimes more, natives attend, and after praying and singing, are addressed from a portion of Scripture. Mr. Shepherd employs the remainder of the day in visiting the natives residing within two or three miles of Rangihoua, and Mr. King conducts a second service in the schoolhouse, and afterwards visits the natives at the station. The secular concerns of the mission necessarily occupy a considerable share of Mr. Shepherd's and Mr. King's time. They meet together twice a week for the purpose of translating portions of the Scriptures, and a part of each of the remaining days is employed by Mr. Shepherd in itinerating among the natives, and by Mr. King in instructing the children and superintending the adults. In November Mr. King had thirteen men and boys and seven girls residing with him, and Mr. Shepherd five men and boys and three girls.”

At Kerikeri there were in the schools, in July, twenty-two boys and adults and twelve girls. Later in the year the settlement was visited by Mr. Earle, and as all that we know up to this date of the mission settlements is from details supplied by the mission settlers themselves, a visitor will give us fresh light as to the kind of work the settlers were performing. At this date the Kerikeri mission was under the management of Mr. James Kemp, Mr. George Clarke, and Mr. James Hamlin. Earle published his work in 1832, with his name attached, and as it bears evidence of being kept in the form of a journal, it may be inferred that the entries it contains were made on the dates under which they appear.

This is the impression that Kerikeri gave him:—

Earle says that when going overland from Hokianga to the Bay of Islands he was surprised when he came suddenly in front of “a complete little English village. Wreaths of white smoke were rising from the chimneys of neat weather-boarded houses. The glazed windows reflected the brilliant glow from the rays of the setting sun, while herds of fat cattle were winding down the hills, lowing as they leisurely bent their steps towards the farm-yard. It is impossible for me to describe what I felt on contemplating a scene so similar to those I had left behind me.

“According to the customs of this country we fired our muskets to warn the inhabitants of the settlement of our approach. We arranged our dresses in the best order we could, and proceeded towards the village. As the report of our guns had been heard, groups of nondescripts came running out to meet us. I could scarcely tell to what order of beings they belonged, but on their near approach I found them to be New Zealand youths who were settled with the missionaries. They were habited in the most uncouth dresses imaginable. These pious men certainly have no taste for the picturesque. They had obscured the finest human forms under a seaman's huge clothing. Boys not more than fifteen wore jackets reaching to their knees, and buttoned up to the throat with great black horn buttons; a coarse checked shirt, the collar of which spread half way over their faces; their luxuriant, beautiful hair was cut close off, and each head was crammed into a close Scotch bonnet.

“These half converted, or rather half *covered* youths, after rubbing noses and chattering with our guides, conducted us to the dwellings of their masters. As I had a letter of introduction from one of their own body I felt not the slightest doubt of a kind reception. So we proceeded with confidence. We were asked into a house, all cleanliness and comfort, all order, silence, and unsociability. After presenting my letter to a grave looking personage, it had to undergo a private inspection in an adjoining room, and the result was an invitation to stay and take a cup of tea. All that an abundant farm and an excellent grocer in England could supply were soon before us. Each person of the mission, as he appeared during our repast, was called aside, and I could hear my own letter read and discussed by them. I could not help thinking within myself whether this were a way to

receive a countryman at the Antipodes. No smile beamed upon their countenance; there were no inquiries after news; in short, there was no touch of human sympathy such as we 'of the world' feel at receiving an Englishman under our roof in such a savage country as this.

"The chubby children who peeped at us from all corners, and the hearty appearance of their parents, plainly evinced that theirs was an excellent and thriving trade. We had a cold invitation to stay all night, but this the number of our party entirely precluded. So they lent us their boat to convey us to the Bay of Islands, a distance of about twenty-five miles. As the night proved dark and stormy, and as our boat was crowded with natives, our passage down the Kerikeri river became both disagreeable and dangerous. The river being filled with rocks, some under and others just above the water, we were obliged to keep a good look out. After experiencing many alarms we arrived safely at Kororareka beach about midnight, where an Englishman of the name of Johnstone gave us a shelter in his hut."

Of Paihia, the official report says:—"The services at the station and on board one of the ships, and the visits to the natives have been continued, and the various members of the mission having appropriated a certain portion of their time to the study of the language, considerable proficiency has been made in attaining it. A translation of a part of the Scriptures has been effected." On this subject Mr. W. Williams writes in November: "Great improvement has been made in the knowledge of the language by every individual, so that now there is no difficulty in making ourselves understood by the natives. We have under preparation a dictionary of New Zealand and English and English and New Zealand, with examples under each word. This, of course, will be a work of time. The translation goes on better than it did, though slowly, the reason of which partly is that every word undergoes two public examinations before it is allowed to pass."

Earle says that a few days after his arrival in the bay he crossed to the opposite side to Kororareka to visit the Church Missionary settlement and to deliver a letter of introduction he had to one of the members. He was very soon given to understand that his acquaintance was not desired, and the coldness with which he was received, he says, created in his mind a thorough dislike to them. "Upon inquiring who and what these

men were I found that the greater part were hardy mechanics sent out to teach the natives the importance of different trades—a most judicious arrangement, and which ought to be the foundation of all missions. In New Zealand the 'mechanic' missionary only carries on his trade till he has every comfort around him—his home furnished, his garden fenced, and a strong stockade enclosing all to keep off the 'pagan' savages. This done then commences the easy task of preaching. They collect a few ragged urchins of natives, whom they teach to read and write their own language, the English tongue being forbidden. I once saw a sturdy blacksmith in the prime of life sitting in the midst of a group of savages attempting to expound to them the mysteries of our holy redemption, perplexing his own brains as well as those of his auditors with the most incomprehensible and absurd opinions. How much better would he have been employed in teaching them how to weld a piece of iron or to make a nail?"

Some time having elapsed after the visit to Kororareka, Earle says: "We proceeded on Christmas Day to Te Puna in two whaleboats. It was a most delightful trip, the scenery being strikingly beautiful. The village of Rangihoua, belonging to Wharepoaka, is situated on the summit of an immense hill. The huts belonging to the savages appeared in many places as though they were overhanging the sea, the height being crowned with a mighty pa. At the bottom of this hill, and in a beautiful valley, the cottages of the missionaries are situated, complete pictures of English comfort, content, and prosperity. They are close to a bright sandy beach; a beautiful green slope lies in their rear, and a clear and never-failing stream of water runs by the side of their enclosures. As the boats approached this lovely spot, I was in an ecstasy of delight: such a happy mixture of savage and civilized life I had never seen before; and when I observed the white smoke curling out of the chimneys of my countrymen, I anticipated the joyful surprise, the hearty welcome, the smiling faces, and old Christmas compliments that were going to take place, and the great pleasure it would give our secluded countrymen to meet us in these distant regions, at this happy season, and talk of our relatives and friends in England. My romantic notions were soon crushed; our landing gave no pleasure to these secluded Englishmen; they gave us no welcome; but as our boats approached the shore they walked

away to their own dwellings, closed their gates and doors after them, and gazed at us through their windows; and during three days that we passed in a hut quite near them, they never exchanged a word with any of the party. Thus foiled in our hopes of spending a social day with our compatriots, after our dinner was over we sent materials for making a bowl of punch up the hill to the chiefs, and spent the remainder of the day, surrounded by generous savages, who were delighted with our company, and who did everything in their power to make us comfortable. In the course of the afternoon two of the mission came up to preach, but the savages were so angry with them for not showing more kindness to their own countrymen that none would listen to them."

Mr. R. Davis replies to Earle's strictures in a letter to the Rev. J. N. Coleman, dated Waimate, 17th April, 1833. He says: "Mr. Earle, in his work entitled 'Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand,' has held up the New Zealand missionaries to derision. When his house was burned, Mr. Williams and myself were among the first to assist him, and supplied to the full every want he named. Christ's servants are indeed made spectacles to the world. If Mr. Earle has sinned in so writing, the reviewers, the guardians of the reading class in Great Britain, have been partakers of his crime. The day is coming when God will have these mockers in derision. May the Lord bless with true conversion those our bitter persecutors."

When the *Herald* went to New South Wales in August, 1827, for the annual supply of mission stores, Mr. Richard Davis was deputed by the New Zealand committee to confer with the committee in Sydney, a plan having been in agitation, after the failure of the mission at Whangaroa, to form a settlement of New Zealanders in New South Wales. Mr. Davis, during his visit to the colony, carried through the press a translation of the first three chapters of Genesis, the 20th of Exodus, part of the 5th chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, the Lord's Prayer, and some hymns. Four

hundred copies were printed at the expense of £41.

The Rev. William Yate and Mr. Charles Baker and his wife embarked at Woolwich on the 14th of July, by the grant of Government, on board the *Sovereign* convict ship, Captain McKellar, for New South Wales, on their way to New Zealand. They sailed from Deal on the 22nd of July, reached Hobart Town on the 19th of November, and Sydney on the 31st of December, 1827. Mr. Yate went on to New Zealand almost direct, where he landed on the 19th of January; but Mr. and Mrs. Baker only got to their destination on the 9th of June, 1828. On their arrival they were located at Kerikeri. Mr. Charles

Davis having received the sanction of the auxiliary committee in New South Wales to visit England, he embarked on board the *Ann*, Captain Grey, on the 5th of April, 1828, and arrived off Dungeness on the 30th of July. He was accompanied by Mr. John King's eldest son.

Early in 1828 Hongi died. "He was," to use the language of Mr. Richard Davis, "ever the missionary's friend, a shrewd thoughtful man, very superior to any other native I have yet seen, the greatest man who has ever lived in these islands. He died in March, 1828."

In May the schooner *Herald* was lost on the Hokianga bar. She had

been very valuable to the mission. She had made three trips to Sydney for stores, and two to Hokianga. In her some of the members of the mission had made four voyages to Tauranga and other places in the Bay of Plenty for the purpose of visiting the tribes in that district, bringing back with them children for school and potatoes. On the last occasion, the 4th of April, 1828, she had to leave Paihia at eleven o'clock at night in order to elude the vigilance of Marupo and his tribe, who were watching an opportunity to cut off Pango and other Arawa who had taken refuge at Paihia. These were landed in safety by Mr. Williams and Mr. Davis. It was on her return that she was wrecked, on attempting to enter the Hokianga River.



Mr. C. Baker.

The *Herald* had been off the Heads for two days waiting a chance to cross the bar. On the 6th of May, a little before sunset, she was making for the bar with a fair wind, but when upon the bar the wind suddenly failed, and she was left to the power of the breakers, and was carried upon the rocks. The boat was lowered, and Mr. Fairburn and a boy got into it. The wind, however, freshened; the boat filled and went down, but being good swimmers, they got safe to shore. The tide by this time had turned and the wind increased, and one heavy sea drove the little schooner on shore. She was soon high enough to allow of communication, and the natives helped the crew on shore and immediately stripped them to their shirts, saying they must shift with mats as they did, for they wanted their clothes to purchase powder with. With the same object they soon completely divested the vessel of all her tackle.

Mr. Mair and the crew remained on the spot to endeavour to restrain them, but to no purpose. On one occasion, while thus engaged, Mr. Mair very nearly lost his life. In an encounter with an infuriated savage he was thrown down and the Maori struck at him with his tomahawk, but a Maori woman threw her mat over Mr. Mair and so saved his life. When the wreck was subsequently visited the hull was found in a bad state, for though a great part of her keel was lying near her, having been torn away by her continual beating on the beach when wrecked, yet the wanton mischief of the natives amounted perhaps to a greater evil. They had little to say in their justification, for though the plundering of the loose articles was according to Maori custom, the damage done to the hull of the vessel they acknowledged to be wrong; but the chiefs cast the blame on those over whom they had no control. The *Herald* was, however, insured, and the loss to the Society was therefore not great.

The period had now arrived when the influence of the mission came to be felt generally by the tribes at Hokianga and the Bay of Islands from its interference in native politics. A similar desire had been manifested by the settlers at the conference at Kerikeri on the 15th November, 1825, the details of which are presented to us by Mr. Davis, but beyond the discussion of peace proposals the conference was void of perceptible influence. Now, however, missionary interference or mediation was solicited. A quarrel had arisen among two sections of the

people, who, for lack of another term, are called Ngapuhi. A Bay of Islands chief had been shot in a quarrel, when Whareumu, one of the hapu of Pomare, set off to make inquiry. Whareumu was called by the Europeans King George, and was the successor of Tara, of Kororareka.

The origin of the quarrel came from Whangaroa, and though somewhat confused, is made clear by the Methodist missionaries, who about this time founded their mission at Hokianga. The narrator was probably Mr. Stack, who alone among the mission could have manifested sufficient familiarity with the cause of the feud. He writes, under date of 27th of January, 1828, as follows: "A party from the Bay of Islands who came over to Hokianga last week, stole on their return two male slaves belonging to Ahurhuru—the brother of Tara and Te Puhi of Boyd notoriety—and a musket the slaves had with them. Ahurhuru being the guest of Mahurehure, the Hokianga natives considered it a great insult. Huruhuru and his son with two others went to recover the spoil. In the encounter which followed the young man was shot. Soon as the report of this young man's death reached the Bay of Islands it was resolved that it should be revenged, and four hundred fighting men were collected and formed into two divisions, one commanded by Toi, the other by Whareumu, or as he is usually called by the Europeans, King George. They marched direct to Hokianga; Toi arrived at Waima first, where Patuone and others were assembled. After Toi had robbed the natives of their potatoes, a reconciliation took place. When Whareumu, however, arrived the next day, he prevailed on Toi to break the league, was insolent to Muriwai, and sneered at the idea of the Hokianga tribes being able to defend themselves against him.

"A quarrel subsequently took place between the people from Hokianga and those of the Bay of Islands. Muriwai, who was acting as pacificator, was wounded and fell. Supposing he was killed his people singled out Whareumu, as utu, and who having received two balls, the second passing through his throat, died. As soon as he fell all his followers retreated, leaving nine dead, among whom was Oro, who commenced the pillage of the mission premises at Whangaroa. Here the contest terminated, when Patuone and Waka Nene took the body of the fallen chief, and carried it away.

"In the evening eight or ten natives came to

Waihou and sung the *pihē*, or funeral ode, as an expression of great joy at the victory they had obtained over the Bay of Islands, proclaiming their own bravery. They intimated that we should no longer be safe at Waihou, as all the tribes intended to remove to a pa near Horeke, and there, by uniting in one body, prepare for a contemplated attack by the people of the Bay of Islands." Earle's version of the cause of the feud harmonises, it will be seen, with the above. Whareumu fell, it appears, about the 16th of March, a few days after the death of Hongi.

Payment had to be obtained for the death of Whareumu, but, as Carlton remarks, the Bay of Islands' people did not care to fight Mahurehure, as they were all nearly related. The narrative of Davis may be here taken as shorter than that of Mrs. Williams, he, moreover, being present. "On the 18th March," he writes, "the natives are preparing to go to Hokianga to attack that people. Some of the chiefs not being able to make peace themselves, wish us to go to make a reconciliation. Rev. H. Williams and myself have volunteered to go in company with as many as are willing to join us." It is, perhaps, only fair to Mr. Davis to say that the narrative has been condensed by the omission of a number of sentiments of a religious character. "20th March. This morning Mr. Williams and myself set off, in company with Rewa, the principal Ngapuhi chief, towards Hokianga, expecting to fall in with the army at Pukenui. 21st March. This morning we proceeded on our journey. About nine a.m. met a large party of natives going to join the army, and went on with them. Between one and two p.m. we reached the camp. 22nd March. After the natives had prepared their sheds, and we had pitched our tents, we went round to the chiefs to urge them to make peace. The chiefs would not allow Rewa to go, but permitted us to offer conditions of peace for them. We readily undertook the embassy. We were kindly received at the pa by the Hokianga people, who wished peace to be settled immediately. When we returned to the army, most seemed pleased with the prospect of peace. In the evening we went round the camp and requested the chiefs to sit still to-morrow, because it was the Lord's Day. Sunday, the 23rd March. Messrs. Williams and Clarke went to the pa to visit the enemy; Mr. Kemp and myself remained in the camp to speak to the army. We hoisted a flag as a token of the Sabbath. As soon as our flag was hoisted they came

together, and the chiefs arranged them in order. Surrounded by about five hundred immortal souls we gave out a hymn, and prayed, and addressed them. Mr. Kemp spoke first, and I closed the discourse and concluded with prayer, all in the native tongue. As many did not attend, we went round the camp twice and conversed with the people in their own sheds. The natives were very attentive and behaved well all day. Our camp resembled a county fair in England.

"24th March. This morning two of the principal men breakfasted with us in our tent. We requested that peace should be made that day, and agreed to go with one of them to select a proper place for the conference. We fixed on a place near a deep ditch, which was to be between the two parties, and hoisted our flag. We then went into the enemy's pa, taking a chief with us to the neutral ground, which was not a musket shot from the pa. The army now marched down in regular order, each tribe by itself, and took their stand on the neutral ground, and formed one body on their side of the ditch. They had then their war dance and fired a volley of musketry. They had a second dance and fired a second volley. During these manœuvres the other party formed themselves into a solid body close to their pa, but did not advance until they were called. They then came within twenty yards of the army" Davis called his own party, it will be seen, the army, "and danced and fired twice. The chiefs made their speeches and peace was happily concluded. Many shots were afterwards fired by evil-disposed persons on both sides, but no one was wounded. The natives dispersed immediately. Early the next morning we started for Kerikeri, which we reached at five o'clock p.m. We there took our own boat, and arrived safe at home the same night, having journeyed nearly fifty miles in the course of the day."

"Thus," Mr. Davis adds, "was brought to a happy conclusion one of the most alarming circumstances which has occurred in New Zealand since the mission commenced."

When Mr. Davis came to New Zealand he was told that an axe was the best missionary for New Zealand. It was now made plain to the natives that the mission had other capabilities, and it may be said, about this time, to have made a new departure by entering, as it were, into the life of the people.

In October, 1828, the various members of the mission were in good health, and the natives in the schools at the three settlements,

Rangihoua, Kerikeri, and Paihia, were about two hundred in number.

In December, 1828, the first annual examination of the schools took place. The Rev. W. Yate wrote: "I do not know that I ever experienced feelings of greater satisfaction than arose from the sight of these New Zealanders: all collected in our chapel, and all evidently anxious to learn anything which we may require from them. About sixty strangers of the natives were present in addition to the hundred and seventy children." Mrs. Williams, however, gives a fuller description of the scene, which will bear reprinting. She says, in a letter to her mother-in-law: "Next morning the chapel bell rung before all had breakfasted. After native prayers the natives were examined. And now, my dear mother, I must invite you to go with me up to the hill on which the chapel stands. Just outside the door upon the green sat a group of girls, being the third class, waiting to be called, arranged in their clean blue gowns, with white aprons and buff handkerchiefs. Inside the chapel were the first classes of boys and girls from the three settlements, undergoing the fiery trial of being examined and cross-examined in the two catechisms. After looking on for some time, and speaking to Mrs. King, Mrs. Hobbs, Mrs. Fairburn and Mrs. Mair, I walked outside to where Henry (her husband), Mr. Clarke, and Mr. Hamlin were examining a large circle of boys and girls of the two classes; Mr. Fairburn, Mr. Puckey, and Mr. Baker taking the third class. To this succeeded a trial for sums, and of writing from dictation. Specimens of work were then exhibited, and when all was concluded, the bell rang for the native dinner. Benches and planks had been erected, and now a troop of natives, singing as they went, brought a quantity of rush baskets from each home, filled with bread, cakes, potatoes, pork, and beef, spreading all the tables in succession. Every native had a basket before him, an arrangement which was greatly admired, because they could take away with them what they could not eat. All seated themselves in great order, and waited until grace was said at each table. The girls sat by themselves, seventy in number. After dinner the English matrons adjourned to Mr. Clarke's to examine the girls' work; and as each article passed the scrutiny it was hung upon a long line stretched round the room. Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Hobbs, who were appointed judges, made three lists. Those upon the first were to have each a gay gown,

upon the second a bag or apron, those upon the third nothing. To judge was really an arduous task, for there were gowns, shirts, frocks, trousers, flannels, nay, even a boy's jacket; indeed we were all astonished at the quantity of good work, when we saw it all together. The following morning was wet and showery; we again adjourned to the chapel where we saw a window-sash, a panelled door, a table, etc., for which prizes were given, as specimens of carpenters' work. After the prizes had been distributed, William addressed the natives, and all dispersed."

Mr. Marsden writes on the 1st of January, 1829: "The natives are now at peace with one another. The chiefs at the Thames and those at the Bay of Islands are now united, and those further to the south. The Gospel begins to influence some of them, and they improve much in civilization. A chief has come to me this morning from Cook Strait, to see if he can obtain a missionary. About two years ago he sent to me one of his boys about five years old, though I had never seen the father. I sent him home a fortnight ago to see his father, not knowing that his father was coming over for him. New Zealand is now open in every part for the introduction of the Gospel and the arts of civilization. I have lately had about twenty natives with me from the west side of New Zealand" (he means Hokianga); "they have not all returned yet. There can be no doubt that New Zealand will become a civilized nation."

"During the last six months," Mr. Davis writes, at the end of January, 1829, "whooping cough, brought by a brig from Sydney, has prevailed among natives and Europeans. Many of the natives have died of it. The whooping cough was certainly never previously known in New Zealand." "I have endeavoured," he says, "to grow wheat, but from want of land and means have not succeeded to any extent. I have planted potatoes which answer tolerably for the support of our schools. This cultivation I hope to extend as fast as I can enclose lands. Seconds' flour we procure from Port Jackson so cheap that the whole expense of feeding a native is less than 1½d. per day. We give them a ½lb. for a meal, which they make into thin paste, and are well satisfied. The working men receive an axe per month for wages, wherewith they purchase provisions, so that with what they grow themselves and the shellfish, etc., they catch they live well."

On 18th May he writes: "This year I have purchased from the natives a great quantity of

Indian corn and sweet potatoes for our native schools. Many natives have begun to sow wheat, and their desire to do so is on the increase. The whole of the trade of the mission devolves upon me, so that my time is almost devoted to trade and looking after food. For a blanket I buy about 900 lbs. of potatoes or Indian corn in cob. We also purchase pigs with blankets. One blanket is the value of a fat pig weighing about 100 lbs. But pigs can seldom be purchased, as the natives prefer selling them to the shipping for muskets, gunpowder and balls. They will give eight or ten pigs for a musket, and one good pig for thirty musket balls. For gunpowder they pay very dear. Nevertheless, of muskets, powder and balls they possess a large quantity. Almost every native has now a musket and a sufficiency of ammunition to last him for a long time, so that when they assemble together they present a formidable appearance.

Yates makes an entry, under date of 28th of June, referring to Kerikeri. "Sunday. Opened the new schoolroom as a temporary chapel. I preached in the morning, read a sermon in the afternoon, and addressed the natives in the evening. Our morning service is conducted in the native language, except the sermon; our afternoon service all in the English language, and our evening service entirely in native."

Here it may be noticed that one of the earliest uses of the word "Maori" is to be found in the paragraph of Mr. Williams in the twenty-ninth report, when he says: "The translation goes on, and we have lately introduced part of the Liturgy in *Mauri* into our morning and evening service, and shall probably continue until the whole be accomplished."

On the 26th of July the Rev. W. Williams writes: "We received a public application from Taiwhanga last night in behalf of his children, whom he wishes to have baptized. Taiwhanga had long been attached to the mission, and at Kerikeri the Rev. Mr. Butler years before had given him an excellent character. He was a great warrior and frequent follower of Hongi to the field of battle. His application for the baptism was a written one, and unique in its way. Among other odd expressions it contains is the one, 'Here I sit thinking and untying the rope of the devil.'"

On the 23rd of August Mr. W. Williams writes: "It having been considered that the application made by Taiwhanga should be

together with my own little boy. The names given to them were Richard Hill, Samuel Marsden, Mary Ann Davis, and James Davis. The effect of this public ceremony could not fail of travelling among the tribes, and as Taiwhanga was a man of mark, and of good birth, it formed an epoch in the mission annals. Others might confidently be expected to follow where Taiwhanga led."

On the 20th September he writes: "I went with Mr. Shepherd to visit some of the neighbouring natives, who were for the most part busily employed about their nets. Waikato, who went to England, is as superstitious as any of the natives, and would not on any account neglect one of the rites of tapu. With a new net there is very much ceremony, and the whole of the sea in the immediate neighbourhood of Rangihoua is now sacred in consequence, and no canoe is allowed to pass under any pretence. Waikato would fain have prevented my boat from returning on the morrow, and I was only allowed to pass on the promise of steering as far from the net as possible. Waikato says that we have our sacred days, and that we are angry if they are violated, and that they have a right to do the same."

The year ended by another school examination at Kerikeri. The members met together were about two hundred and ninety. The closing business, Mr. Williams says, was the most interesting to the greater number of the natives. It was a dinner, consisting of pork, beef, potatoes, and bread, served up in little baskets, which answered the purpose of plates. "They had not been eating," he says, "many minutes, when all with one consent left their seats and scampered off with the remainder of the food, it being the native practice never to leave anything which is set before them, but to carry off what they cannot consume at the time." The needlework of the girls was afterwards examined, when some creditable specimens were shown, and the next day a few prizes were awarded to the most deserving. Work done by the native carpenters was also brought forward, which would have done credit to workmen in a civilised country. 1829 may be considered an uneventful year.

The Rev. Alfred Nesbit Brown and Mrs. Brown, Mr. C. Davis and his wife, and Mrs. Hart, sailed from England in the *Elizabeth*, Captain Macdonald, for New Zealand, on the 25th April, 1829, and arrived in Sydney 10th October following. Mr. C. Davis, his wife, and Mrs. Hart left Port Jackson for New Zealand on the 18th October in the *Harriers*,

attended to, I baptized his four children but they were never heard of afterwards. Mr. and Mrs. Brown left Port Jackson on the 10th of November, and arrived at the Bay of Islands on the 29th following. Their residence was fixed at Pailia.

Mr. R. Davis tells us: "From the time of my arrival in this country to the present hour I have never lost sight of an agricultural establishment. During the last twelve months I have been particularly anxious about it, and deeply impressed with the necessity of making an immediate trial on some of the best lands at Kerikeri. At a committee held at Kerikeri on the 16th of October, the necessity of an immediate attention to agriculture was suggested for the three following reasons, viz.:—1. From the signs of the times it is not only possible, but probable, that the time may not be far distant when our Christian friends in England may not be so well able to keep us as they now are; consequently, we should so prepare while we have it in our power as to be able in some measure to furnish ourselves with some of the necessities of life. 2. Our numbers are increasing, our families becoming large, and some of our children growing up, so that our expenses increase and are already become considerable; consequently it appears necessary that we should endeavour to do something in order to lessen the expense. 3. If we do not attempt agriculture while we have the means in our power of paying working natives to clear the land, and our resources should fail at home, we shall have no means of support, and may be obliged at length to leave the island and our work, which would not only be wicked in the sight of God, but cowardly in the sight of the natives. Whereas, were we to set about doing something by way of agriculture, we may be able to support ourselves in a partial manner, and continue to labour in the Lord's vineyard, while the gathering storm is disembodying itself over Europe.

"This point was unanimously carried, and a resolution passed that the lands adjoining the Kerikeri should be purchased. As we had not wherewith to purchase those lands at that time, things remained as they were until Mr. Marsden came down, when it was resolved that the agricultural establishment should be undertaken at Waimate. There is not a doubt in the mind of any one of us as to the superiority of Waimate for such an establishment, because it possesses two principal

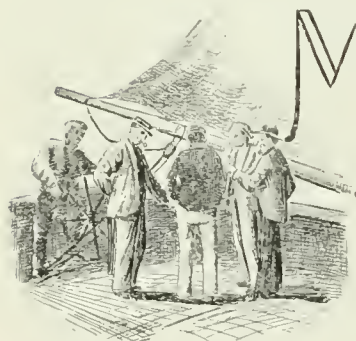
advantages which Kerikeri does not possess, which are good land and timber."

Having now brought the history of the Church Missionary Society's mission up to the close of 1829, we must turn back and review some other events that were occurring in New Zealand about this time. It may be observed in passing, however, that the germ of regular European settlement was now beginning to take root in New Zealand. Mr. Gilbert Mair, who had married Elizabeth, only daughter of Mr. Puckey, after the loss of the *Herald* established himself at Te Wahapu, Bay of Islands, where, with commendable energy, he soon established a flourishing business as a merchant, building spacious stores, a wharf, the first in New Zealand, and locating tradesmen of all branches, for whom he built comfortable cottages, and thus supplying the wants of the increasing settlers. Here we find the first blacksmiths, shoemaker, cooper, cabinetmaker, and carpenter outside the Church Mission stations. Nor was the schoolmaster forgotten, Mr. Fogan, a man of very superior attainments, being brought from America. Trading and whaling vessels soon found their way hither in considerable numbers, and to supply these Mr. Mair established agents along the East Coast, nearly as far as Gisborne, to purchase pigs, maize, potatoes, flax, etc., sending his small coasting craft to bring the produce home. He established a whaling station on Whale Island, Bay of Plenty, in 1833. His brother William, while master of one of his vessels, the *Glatton*, was drowned at Waiheke. To Mr. Mair is due the credit of sending the first and many subsequent shipments of kauri gum to America, and in connection with this is another illustration of what "great effects from little causes spring." The captain of an American whaler visiting at the house one day had his attention drawn to a small lump of bright-looking gum which one of the children had picked up and placed on the mantelpiece. Turning to Mr. Mair he said: "This is the very substance we want to produce varnish from. I can guarantee you fourpence a pound for any quantity." Mr. Mair dealt largely in the timber trade, and in later years, in partnership with Messrs. Busby and Lenington, erected the first saw-mills in the colony. Mr. Mair proved himself a most ardent colonist, and was also untiring in his efforts to civilize the Maoris, over whom he acquired great influence.



TWO NAUTICAL TRAGEDIES.

Seizure of the brig Wellington by convicts—They dress themselves in the military uniforms—Dissensions among the captors—Arrival at the Bay of Islands—Discovery of the condition of affairs by the missionaries and two whaling captains—Negotiations for surrender of the ship—The whalers open fire—Surrender of the Wellington—The mutimers placed in irons and set out for Sydney—Further attempts at escape thwarted—The prisoners landed at Sydney and placed on trial—Dispute over the reward for the capture—Capture of the brig Haweis by Maoris at Whakatane—Massacre of the crew — The vessel recaptured by the aid of another English vessel.



MRS. WILLIAMS writes in her diary on the 5th of January, 1827, as follows: "At eight o'clock in the morning a brig was in sight — not a whaler. All thought she must be from Sydney. Her decks were crowded. We saw a boat lowered, which pulled towards the watering place at Kororareka, and was then seen to be filled with water casks. A boat was sent across, which brought word she was of very suspicious appearance; and upon Mr. Williams going over himself it was ascertained that she was the Wellington, from Sydney, bound for Norfolk Island, laden with convicts and stores. The convicts had risen, making prisoners the captain, crew, guard, and passengers."

Some prisoners being sent to Norfolk Island from Port Jackson, seized the vessel, but a portion of them, led by a man called Anthony Best, refused to take any part in the piracy. She was called the Elizabeth, commanded by Captain Harwood, and belonged to Mr. Joseph

Underwood. The names of the persons tried for the offence were John Edwards, Edward Colethurst, William Leddington, James Smith, Richard Johnson, William Douglas, John Boyd, James Drummond, Abraham Davis, John Magennis, William Hope, Michael Doyle, Richard Carter, Thomas Bayley, John Swan, Thomas Edwards, George Slater, William Walker, Thomas Watkins, William Bateman, William Hathaway, John Rawlings, Noel Hargraves, John Walton, Charles Clay, *alias* Todhunter, Richard Hicks, William Brown, John Lynch, Charles Daley, James O'Neill, William Ryan, — Flanigan, Hugh Carline, and Anthony Best and nineteen others who did not participate in the outrage.

It appeared on inquiry that the plan had been matured before they came on board. The day on which they were to have made Norfolk Island was the time fixed for carrying it out. The ringleader's name was Walton. At noon on the day of the seizure, the captain was busy taking sights. Two soldiers were parading the deck; Walton was sitting either on or contiguous to the bowsprit; and the troops were in the fore scuttle. Six prisoners were on deck, and the sergeant went below to allow another batch to come up for fresh air. No sooner did Walton observe the condition of things so favourable than the signal was given.

The sentinels on deck were secured and deprived of their arms; the captain was made prisoner, and the hatch of the fore scuttle, in which the military were all pent up, was closed. In the act of closing the hatch, however, one of the prisoners was wounded in the shoulder, as the soldiers immediately commenced firing. The sailors were in the like manner secured by being forced into the prison hold, and at the same time Walton and his party liberated their fellow-prisoners from confinement. In the cabin, Mr. Buchanan, a passenger, hearing the turmoil, seized a brace of pistols and was in the act of discharging them, when he was knocked senseless by the butt end of a musket, and in a minute or two the pirates had complete possession of the ship.

Walton took upon himself the command; another of the name of Douglas was appointed chief mate; Edwards, *alias* Flash Jack, became second mate, and Clay contented himself with the stewardship. No violence was offered to any one on board after the capture. The soldiers kept firing away, however, through the bulk head into the hold, until they understood that the crew were in danger of being shot. The military were divested of their accoutrements and red coats, in which the insurgents became dressed, and in less than a quarter of an hour the sergeant had the mortification to behold his stripes decorating one of the men, who lorded it away at a great rate.

A number of the prisoners, among whom was a man called Best, refused to share in the "honours of the day," and on that account were confined with the crew in the hold. Being short of water, a nautical almanac, and a chart, they resolved to make for New Zealand to obtain these requisites for their contemplated voyage to South America. Walton, however, had his fears about going to New Zealand at all, but Captain Harwood induced him to believe that no force he could meet with could resist him and his following. The crew were made

to work the vessel, and the captain to navigate the ship.

There were dissensions, however, on board, and at one period the pirates were split into three sections. There was the Protestant party that had the command, and a Catholic party that had formed the plan of taking the ship and making the others "walk the plank." There was also what may be called the "Gallio" party, that cared nought for creed distinctions.

The whalers Sisters and Harriet were in the Bay of Islands when the Wellington came in sight. They had been there several days. As she appeared to be a stranger to the port the two captains of the Sisters and

Harriet went outside in a whaleboat and brought her in. The following extracts from the log-book of the Sisters narrates the proceedings which followed fully and clearly:—

"At nine a.m. Friday, 5th January, 1827, a brig hove in sight, coming into the bay, which we supposed to be a stranger. When they saw the ships they hauled in, and at ten o'clock, she being nearly in, the captain went on board, and inquired of him whom he supposed to be command-



Mr. Wm. Thos. Fairburn.

ing the stranger whence he came. He replied from New South Wales, bound to the river Thames with troops and provisions. There were about fifty men on deck, chiefly armed, which lent colour to the statement that she was proceeding to a settlement. The manner, however, in which the ship was handled seemed strange. Captains Duke and Clark inquired of the captain of the brig whether he was acquainted with the place. He said he was not very well, and he was advised in order to get a good berth to run further in, and close to the ships at anchor, which he did. We asked one of the men who was walking on the poop, and supposed to be an officer, how long he had been coming across, and he replied abruptly that he did not know. About an hour after Captain Clark, of the Harriet, sent Mr. Summerfield on board the brig with a note

requesting any pitch, tar, or rosin they might have to spare, as his ship was in a leaky condition, and received the following answer :

Captain Walton's compliments to Captain Clark, but having only one cask of tar is willing to spare him a part of it, and will render him any service.—Your obedient servant, JOHN WALTON, brig Wellington.

"In the course of the day Mr. Fairburn, having some business with Captain Duke, came on board and inquired what vessel the brig was. Captain Duke replied that he could not tell, but supposed her to be the brig Wellington, from Port Jackson. Mr. Fairburn and Captain Duke then went on board to see if there were any letters for the missionaries, when Mr. Fairburn recognised a person who had been formerly a painter in Sydney, named Clay, and Captain Duke also recognised another who had formerly been condemned in England, and was to have been sent to Norfolk Island. This excited their suspicion that the vessel had been run away with from Port Jackson, for the people on deck in soldiers' jackets had no appearance whatever of regular troops."

The subsequent action in connection with the vessel is thus told: "Captain Duke then sent a polite note to the commander to come on board the Sisters to dine, but he declined the invitation and said he would come on board for an hour in the afternoon. He did not come according to promise, however, and we went on board again and remained upwards of an hour, during which time they appeared in great confusion, watering the vessel and trading with the natives, which we thought strange, as she was only proceeding to the Thames, that they should be taking such a quantity of water on board for so short a passage. During the time that Captains Duke and Clark were on board they observed a number of countersigns passing among the company, which consisted of about ten persons and a guard. Mr. Williams came on board and put a few questions to the commander, which he answered in a very unsatisfactory manner. As we were going away a gentleman, who proved to be Captain Harwood, who commanded the brig previously to her capture, found an opportunity of whispering to Captain Clark, and to the surgeon of the Harriet who he was, and that the vessel had been taken from him. We invited the two captains Walton and Harwood, to tea; Walton came, but Harwood was not allowed to do so, and our boat's crew told us that a number of persons were confined below in irons. Mr.

Fairburn had a note slipped into his hand acquainting him that the vessel was from Port Jackson bound to Norfolk Island with prisoners and provisions; that on the 21st of December the prisoners rose upon the guard whom they subdued and confined below in irons, in which situation they were at that time, together with some of the prisoners, and that they intended to take the vessel to South America, where it was reported they were going to set the passengers and a number of prisoners on shore. When Walton came on board Mr. Williams put some close questions to him. He prevaricated a good deal until Mr. Fairburn produced the note given him by Captain Harwood, when he did not attempt to deny its truthfulness. He confessed the whole of the transaction. We told him that he should consider himself a prisoner, and that we should not allow him to leave the ship, which we, however, did between ten and eleven o'clock, as the brig could not that night proceed to sea. He told us that they were bound for South America, where they would go on shore and deliver the brig up to the former captain and crew, and that on leaving the Bay of Islands it was their intention to set the passengers and a number of the prisoners on shore with two months' provisions.

"On Saturday, the 6th, at daylight, we got the guns on deck, and made all ready, in case the pirates should make any attack upon us. At eight a.m. the brig bore down close alongside of the Harriet, and let go the stern anchor. They wanted several articles from us, in lieu of which they offered us provisions and every description of tools, all Government property, but the captain resolved to have no transactions with them. At noon an invitation was sent to Captain Walton to dinner, and any of the passengers who might feel disposed to accompany him. This was declined, but after dinner Walton sent the following note to Captain Clarke:—

Captain J. Walton's compliments to Captain Clark, and will be glad of his company to spend an hour or two this afternoon with himself, the late officers and passengers, in which he may rest assured nothing but sociability is intended.

N.B.—I cannot with propriety allow Captain Harwood to go out of the vessel alone.—I remain, yours, etc.,

JOHN WALTON.

"We went on board, and while there were told all. The passengers said they had been well used since the time of their capture by the prisoners, except in being plundered of their property. Mr. Buchanan sent some of

his property to me to be taken care of if he were not allowed to go on shore.

"Captain Harwood complained of not having sufficient rope to bring the vessel from South America to Port Jackson again, and Captain Clark agreed to let him have a small quantity if he would give him a receipt for it. But he never received any until the brig was recaptured and he was reinstated in his former situation. At this time the crew and officers did not consent to have anything to do with the vessel further than in self defence.

"While Captains Duke and Clark were on board the brig, Mr. Tapsell, chief mate of the Sisters, got a spring upon her cable, which when the pirates discovered they called Captain Duke on one side and told him they observed the spring on the cable, and that they were told by the native girls the guns were loaded, and that the chief mate meant to fire four guns at them if they got under weigh. However they allowed Captain Duke to depart on giving his word that it was not his intention to fire upon them.

"When they returned on board, the crews informed Captains Duke and Clark that there were more prisoners on board than they were aware of; that it was the intention of the rest when they went out to sea to make them walk the plank, and that if it was agreeable they would endeavour to stop her, rescue the poor fellows below, and reinstate the captain; and at 7 p.m. we resolved not to let her go out of the harbour, but to attack her the next morning. The brig having moved further in shore, and clear of the Harriet, we hove taut the spring and brought the ship's broadside on to her.

"On Sunday the 7th, at 1 a.m., the brig hove short and loosed the jib. At five we hoisted our colours and fired the first shot. The pirates hoisted no colours, and we again fired, after which both the Harriet and ourselves continued firing some time and then ceased. After the second shot had been discharged, the chief part of the pirates ran below, and some jumped overboard. Finding that a number again mustered on deck, we fired one more shot. The pirates never fired any, and they having received a considerable

deal of injury, both in the hull, and rigging, and masts, we sent them a note to the following purport:—

We wish to know your determination, as to whether you mean to strike and deliver the passengers, guard, and those confined on board the brig, otherwise we can command one thousand natives who will massacre the whole of you. We mean to behave humanely to you all.

ROBERT DUKE.
JOHN CLARK.

"To this communication we received the following reply:—

It is with the greatest reluctance I have on the part of the majority of the crew, to request that if they resign the vessel, they may be permitted to land some provisions, etc., etc.,

together with themselves. On these terms we will surrender, otherwise the passengers, crew, and soldiers must share our fate.

JOHN WALTON.

Sunday morning, January 7.

NOTE.—We allow you to land your prisoners, provided you give up your passengers and guard to my chief officer, and allow them to come on board the ship.

ROBERT DUKE.

ANSWER.—We have come to a determination that until those canoes of New Zealanders sent expressly by the missionaries be returned to whence they came, we cannot think of landing, as we conceive there is more danger in going on shore than in remaining on board open to your fire. We have as a security troops, crew,



From an old plate.

Haputu, a Chiefess of Wairoa.

and passengers, who must all share the same fate. We intend landing as soon as the canoes depart.

JOHN WALTON.

"In the course of the day on Sunday, the canoes being withdrawn, Captains Duke and Clark, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Fairburn went on shore to disperse the natives. At three o'clock the pirates began to disembark, the guards were released, and at four we had full possession of the brig. Soon as the prisoners landed the natives commenced stripping them. Forty-one prisoners landed, leaving twenty-five in irons.

"They all landed at Kororareka, except Captain Walton and George Clay, who were put on shore a little further off by Captain Duke himself for fear of the natives. On going on board the brig we found a man named Skidmoor, residing in New Zealand, bartering for and buying everything he could purchase out of her. In the latter part of the day we hove the brig's anchor up, and warped her close to the two ships for protection in case of being attacked from the shore.

"On Monday, the 8th, Captains Duke, Clark, Messrs. Williams and Fairburn went on board the brig to survey her, and finding her much damaged, set the carpenters to work to make repairs. They discovered that a large quantity of provisions had been taken and brought on shore, and searching discovered a cask hidden in tapu ground.

"On Tuesday the natives brought on board Douglas, who acted as mate when the brig was captured, and received fifty pounds of powder for his apprehension, and a like amount was given for the return of the brig's boat.

"On Friday, the 12th, at daylight, the natives brought on board James O'Neal, Henry Drummond, Charles Daly, William Lyddington, William Ryan, and William Holt, prisoners whom they had secured.

"On Saturday, the 13th, the natives brought in Jennings, M'Guinness, John Lynch, and William Webb, for each of whom was given twenty-five pounds of powder.

"On Sunday, the 14th, Matthew Flanie, Cornelius Killick, and John Stewart were brought on board by the natives, who received for their apprehension one musket and car-touche box.

"On Monday, the 15th, at daylight, the natives brought in a number of prisoners, among whom were John Walton and Charles Clay, the purser. For these two superiors on board the natives demanded and obtained one hundred pounds of powder and two muskets. For Thomas Yarn, Richard Johnson, John

Edwards, Edward M'Guinness, John Swan, and Richard Carter, twenty-five pounds of powder each was given; and for Thomas Cole, William Brown, and Patrick Gorrell, one musket each.

"On Tuesday, the 16th, James Bennett, for whom twenty-five pounds of powder was given.

"Wednesday, the 17th, John Smith and Andrew Davies were delivered and paid for at twenty-five pounds of powder each.

"Thursday, the 18th, at daylight, we took on board William Worker and Thomas Bayly, and gave twenty-five pounds of powder each for them.

"Friday, the 19th, Edward Colston was brought in; waiting for handcuffs.

"Saturday, the 20th, the people were employed to-day getting in order pistols, muskets, and cutlasses, some of the prisoners having been heard to say that they would retake the ship, if they should lose their lives in the attempt. The armourer is employed in making irons. There are yet ten prisoners on shore. The natives have captured four of them, and are tracking the rest.

"Monday, the 22nd, at daylight, the Harriet got under weigh. A strong guard was kept over the prisoners, and double irons put on three of the most desperate characters.

"On Tuesday, the 23rd, we hove and warped the ship into the stream, and after taking the missionaries* and their families on board, took some provisions out of the Wellington for the use of the prisoners."

Turner says: "While yet in the bay they almost executed a second diabolical conspiracy. The manacles of some of them had been filed almost through, and they were within a few hours of a murderous outbreak, when one of their number informed. One of the ring-leaders was chained on one side of the quarterdeck and his informant on the other, and to each was allotted a tun-butt as a sleeping room."

"Wednesday, the 24th, at 9 a.m., the mate went ashore to bring a prisoner on board whom a chief had in possession. As he returned with the prisoner, and having mustered all the others, examined their irons, and found eleven cut and two knives in their possession. They were tied up and received each of them two dozen lashes, with the exception of a man named Henry Drummond, who, after receiving three lashes, begged to be let down and said that he would confess all

* The missionaries here alluded to were the fugitives from the Whangaroa Methodist Mission, who were fellow passengers with the convicts in the Sisters.

he knew. On this condition the captain let him loose, and he then told that their intention was to rush up the hatchway, get possession of the vessel, and put the crew to death if they did not comply with their wishes, and again take the brig. The crew of the brig were then to be sent on board the Sisters, and the crew of the latter on board the brig, and after taking the masts and all they wanted out of the brig to let us go.

"On Thursday, the 25th, the armourer was employed making handcuffs and irons for the legs of the prisoners. Henry Drummond and John Boyd were kept on deck, as the other prisoners swore they would massacre them for informing. The handcuffs were taken off John Stewart and Thomas Cole to attend upon the rest.

"Sunday, the 28th, got under weigh with brig Wellington at daybreak.

"Tuesday, the 30th, we allowed four prisoners to come on deck at a time and inspected their irons. None were found cut.

"Saturday, February 23, the cooper's mate discovered a plot, the existence of which he had learned from one Thomas Ryan, after having been sworn to secrecy. It was to again seize the vessel and carry out the original intention of going to South America. We then immediately commenced handcuffing the prisoners behind, and bolted Walton and Clay to the deck.

"Sunday, the 4th, found most of the prisoners who had been handcuffed behind with their

irons before, they having drawn their legs up through their arms; allowed none of them to come on deck in the forenoon."

On arriving at Port Jackson the prisoners were tried in three lots, and those who were found guilty were sentenced to death. There were, however, only five persons hanged, one being reprieved at the gallows; the remainder were sentenced to Norfolk Island for life to work in irons. The men hanged were the

five first named on the list. It was difficult to get a complete list of the convicts, as several of them were left behind in New Zealand, and the Government at Port Jackson always shrouded their escapees in a great deal of mystery.

Beside the odd men who were occasionally captured, Earle says: "Six of the convicts managed to elude the search of their captors, and here they are now. The day on which our houses were burned down"

Earle had built a house on the Kororareka beach, close to Captain Duke's. "these six landed in the train



From an old plate.

Urua-wero, or the red-haired chief of East Cape.

of one of the chiefs, and I have since entertained a suspicion that it was their desire of revenge that occasioned the destruction of our property. At the time of the calamity I was in the house alone, and was amazed by seeing an Englishman enter the hut with his face tattooed. Not being aware he was one of the runaways from the Wellington, I spoke to him. He slunk into our cooking house on pretence of lighting his pipe, and before ten minutes had elapsed the house was in flames."

Captain Duke, of the *Sisters*, preferred a claim of £5,000 on the Colonial Government for the action he had taken in bringing back the escaped convicts, and a long and somewhat bitter controversy arose as to whether the merit of the service was due to him or to his first mate Tapsell. The result of the quarrel was that Tapsell was discharged and disgraced by Captain Duke, and had to find another patron in Captain Rous, of *H.M.S. Rainbow*, and finally came and settled at Maketu. His proper name was Hans Homman Falk. He was a Danish subject by birth.

It appeared that the gangrene of grog selling even in these days so permeated the public service that spirits were sold on board the *Wellington* for the benefit of the captain or some other person, and that it was a common practice for prisoners on their way to penal settlements to have an opportunity of supplying themselves liberally on board the vessels employed in such services. The prisoners on board the *Wellington* could buy rum at seven shillings the bottle, so much was found on inquiry, but for whose benefit the sale was made was not discovered.

The second nautical tragedy, which for convenience of arrangement may be described here, occurred in March, 1829. The brig *Haweis*, Captain James, belonging to Campbell and Co., proceeded to Whakatane for the purpose of loading with flax and pork. In order to accomplish the process of curing the pigs more expeditiously, the vessel was anchored under the lee of Whale Island (or Motu Hora) for the sake of the hot water spring. The chief had been taken on board the brig to conduct her to a good anchorage. On the morning of the second of March the chief, with four of the crew, landed the hogs preparatory to their killing. Being absent, however, longer than was expected or was necessary for the object in view, the captain proceeded in a small canoe with two other men to the shore to learn the cause of the delay, leaving the brig in charge of the second officer and three others. At that time there were about ten natives alongside. The captain, after seeing what was being done, changed the canoe for the boat which the party on shore with the chief had taken with them.

On leaving the shore a hatchet was missed out of the boat which was immediately sought to be launched. Before those who were con-

nected with the boat were able to do this, the firing of muskets from on board the brig was distinctly heard. When the boat was got afloat it was discovered that the oars had been taken away, and on looking for them an old chief was observed walking away with them, but upon being pursued by part of the boat's crew he gave them up. Before, however, they could be shipped and the boat got under way firing commenced from behind the rocks, which was followed by some of the natives running on the sand to the water's edge. At this time the brig was captured, and two long canoes containing nearly one hundred men were seen making towards her. The captain not having a musket in the boat, and finding that two of his men had been shot, pulled with all possible despatch to a harbour in the Bay of Plenty, where he knew the *New Zealander*, Captain Clarke, was lying. He was not able to reach the vessel until five the next morning. On narrating the cause of the visit, the *New Zealander* was cleared and put to sea in a few hours. Owing to light and contrary winds the party did not arrive at Whakatane, where the brig was left, until 2 p.m. the following day, when she was found to have been removed and drawn up close under the mainland. On boarding her, which was done under arms, a most revolting scene was presented to their view. The decks were literally stained with human blood, and here and there were to be seen the mangled remains of the crew. Arrangements were made for cutting the brig from her moorings, and with the assistance of a kedge, she was brought alongside the schooner. The following day they reached Tauranga, when a party of natives was despatched in search of the second officer, who had been left in charge of the brig. After an absence of three days they returned with him, demanding as a ransom a fowling-piece, a blunderbuss, a pistol, and some powder. The ransom, of course, was speedily paid. Mr. Hobbs, in his diary, says, "Two of our chiefs from Hokianga, Rewa and Nene, were on board the *Haweis*, and helped Captain Clarke to retake the vessel." The second mate had been badly wounded, and three of the crew killed and eaten. The brig had been much damaged and plundered while in possession of the natives, but had been refitted from the mission stores.



BAKED HEADS.

Practice of preserving heads—Originally adopted as a means of preserving the heads of friends—The process of preservation—Specimens purchased and taken to Europe—Men murdered to supply heads—Pomare's practical way of showing Mr. Marsden how heads were preserved—Growth of the trade—A head sold for two guineas in Sydney—Tattooing slaves to prepare their heads for the market—How a trader lost his own head—Captain Jack exposes a parcel of heads in sight of the relatives—Proclamation suppressing the trade.



THE New Zealanders had a curious practice of preserving heads that was perhaps peculiar to themselves; at least there is no clear evidence that any other race preserved heads in a similar manner. A French writer compared the Maori art to the Egyptian method of preparing mummies, but the two processes appear to have no resemblance to each other. Neither has sufficient time elapsed to warrant the supposition that the one process is as effective as the other. The practice of preserving heads is involved in that obscurity which covers all matters of practice, whether connected with law or religion, pertaining to the Maori people. No one knows whether the Maori brought the art with him or evolved it from his consciousness or observation. It was in vogue before Cook came to the country, as Mr. Banks purchased specimens from the natives in Cook Strait. The entry reads as follows:—"Date 20th January, 1770. In the morning of the 20th our old man kept his promise and brought on board four of the heads of the seven people (killed a week or thereabouts previously) who had been so much

the subject of our inquiries. The hair and flesh were entire, but we perceived that the brains had been extracted. The flesh was soft, but had by some method been preserved from putrefaction, for it had no disagreeable smell. Mr. Banks purchased one of them, but they sold it with great reluctance, and could not be prevailed upon to part with a second. Probably they may be preserved as trophies like the scalps in America, and the jaw bones in the islands of the South Seas. Upon examining the head which had been bought by Mr. Banks we perceived that it had received a blow upon the temples which had fractured the skull."

Many persons not ignorant of Maori custom consider that the preservation of heads was confined to those who were slain in battle, but respectable authority gives the belief emphatic contradiction. Yates wrote fully on the subject—considering the size of his book—and he says: "The custom of preserving the heads of their enemies is of recent date among the New Zealanders. They formerly used to preserve the heads of their friends, and keep them with religious strictness; and it was not till Europeans proposed to buy them that the idea occurred to them of preparing the heads of their enemies, first as an article of barter, and more recently as a trophy of victory." He is careful to tell us that he obtained his information from a chief who had preserved and assisted in preserving many.

Taylor says: "Connected with tattooing was the art of embalming. This was done in order that great warriors might show the heads of all the distinguished chiefs they had killed. But this art was not employed for this purpose alone. It enabled them to preserve the heads of those who were dear to them, and to keep these remembrances of beloved objects ever near. It was no uncommon thing to embalm in this way the head of a beloved wife or child."

Maning, in the third chapter of his "Old New Zealand," relates how, seeing a crowd assembled, and walking up to it, he saw a head lying on the ground on a clean mat. He says: "This head I found on inquiry was not the head of an enemy. A small party of our friends had been surprised. Two brothers were flying for their lives down a hillside: a shot broke the leg of one of them, and he fell. The enemy were close at hand. Already the exulting cry, '*Na! na! mate ratwa,*' was heard. The wounded man cried to the brother, 'Do not leave my head a plaything for the foe.' There was no time for deliberation. The brother did not deliberate. A few slashes with the tomahawk severed his brother's head, and he escaped with it in his hand, dried it, and brought it home."

The mode of preparation is thus related by the Rev. J. G. Wood: "The head being cut off, the hair is removed, and so are the eyes, the places of which are filled up with pledgets of tow, over which the eyelids are sown. Pieces of stick are then placed in the nostrils in order to keep them properly distended, and the head is hung in the smoke of the wood fire until it is thoroughly saturated with the pyroligneous acid. The result of this mode of preparation is that the flesh shrinks up, and the features become much distorted; though as the Maori warrior always distorts his countenance as much as possible before battle, this effect is rather realistic than otherwise.

"It is often said that heads prepared in this fashion are proof against the attacks of insects. This is certainly not the case, as I have seen several specimens completely riddled by the ptilinus and similar creatures, and have been obliged to destroy the little pests by injecting a solution of corrosive sublimate. In spite of the shrivelling to which the flesh and skin are subject the tattooing retains its form, and it is most curious to observe how completely the finest lines retain their relative positions. Not only are the heads of enemies treated in this fashion,

but those of friends are also preserved. The difference is easily perceptible by looking at the mouth, which, if the head be that of a friend, is closed, and if of an enemy, is widely opened.

"Some years ago a considerable number of these preserved heads were brought into Europe, having been purchased from the natives. Of late years, however, the trade in them has been strictly forbidden, and on very good grounds. In the first place no man who was well tattooed was safe for an hour, unless he was a great chief, for he might at any time be watched until he was off his guard, and then knocked down, killed, and his head sold to the traders. Then when the natives became too cautious to render head-hunting a profitable trade, a new expedient was adopted. It was found that a newly-tattooed head looked as well when preserved as one which had been tattooed for years. The chiefs were not slow in taking advantage of this discovery, and immediately set to work at killing the least valuable of their slaves, tattooing their heads as though they had belonged to men of high rank, drying, and then selling them.

"One of my friends lately gave me a curious illustration of the trade in heads. His father wanted to purchase one, but did not approve of any that were brought for sale on the ground that the tattoo was poor and was not a good example of the skill of the native artists. The chief allowed the force of the argument, and pointing to a number of his people who had come on board, he turned to the intending purchaser saying, 'Choose which of those heads you like best, and when you come back I will take care to have it dried and ready for your acceptance.'"

The following account of the mode of preservation, which differs from the above, was given by a chief who has preserved and assisted in preserving many, after the various battles in which he had been engaged. "When the head has been cut from the shoulders, the brains are immediately taken out, through a perforation behind, and the skull carefully cleansed inside from all mucilaginous and fleshy matter. The eyes are then scooped out; and the head thrown into boiling water, into which red-hot stones are continually cast to keep up the heat. It remains till the skin will slip off, and is then suddenly plunged into cold water, whence it is immediately taken, and placed in a native oven, so as to allow the steam to penetrate into all the cavities of the interior of the skull. When sufficiently steamed it is placed on a

stick to dry, and again put into an oven made for the purpose, about the dimensions of the head. The flesh, which easily slips off the bones, is then taken away, and small sticks are employed to thrust flax or the bark of trees within the skin, so as to restore it to its former shape, and to preserve the features. The nostrils are carefully stuffed with a piece of fern-root, and the lips generally sewn together, though sometimes they are not closed, but the teeth are allowed to appear. It is finished by hanging it for a few days to dry in the sun. Should the head not now be perfectly preserved, which is but rarely the case, or should there be any internal or external appearance of putrefaction, it is again steamed. This operation is continued till the skull is thoroughly dry, and all other soft matter removed or destroyed, as to insure it against decomposition, unless much exposed to a humid atmosphere."

When the head of a friend is preserved, as is the case on his being slain in battle and it has not been possible to carry off the whole body, the head is deposited in the sacred grove; and when a friend or near relation visits the village it is taken out, in order that he may weep over it and cherish the spirit of revenge against those by whom he fell. The head is generally placed in some conspicuous part of the residence, on a piece of fence, or on the ornament of the roof over the doorway of a house. The stranger is then led to the spot, and his eyes are directed to the ghastly object before him, when he immediately assumes the attitude of grief, stands in front of the skeleton head with his body bent almost to the earth, the big tears rolling down his manly cheeks, and in the most melancholy tones gives utterance to the overpowering feelings of his heart, till at length, as his grief subsides, he works himself up into a fit of rage bordering on madness, at which time, it is well for all poor slaves, both male and female, to keep out of sight, or he might slay one or more as a satisfaction to the trunkless head of his friend which is placed before him. When this ceremony is concluded the head is rolled again in its grave-clothes and carefully deposited in the burial place till required again to excite the passions of some other friend.

Taunting language was customary to be made use of towards the heads of the dead, and Yates renders in the following manner what he has heard the men say to the insensible semblance of the seat of sense: "You wanted to run away did you? but my

mere overtook you! and after you were cooked you were made food for my mouth. And where is your father? He is cooked. And where is your brother? He is eaten. And where is your wife? There she sits a wife for me. And where are your children? There they are with loads on their backs carrying food as my slaves."

The first head that was taken to Sydney, of which there is any record, was one brought from Foveaux Strait in the year 1811 by a sealer called Tucker. He obtained it by theft, and so tenacious at that time were the natives of the possession of these heads that a whole boat's crew were nearly cut off as *ulu* for Tucker's theft. The crew of the vessel in which Tucker was employed had been, an hour before the natives discovered their loss, on the most friendly terms with them, when suddenly the loss was shouted forth, and had not the vessel immediately got away a number of canoes would have gone alongside and would have cut her off. It was not, however, until the arrival of the party in Sydney, and Tucker offered the head for sale, that the cause of the anger of the natives was known and the peril of the crew understood. In early days baked heads fetched in Sydney twenty guineas each. Tucker subsequently lost his life in New Zealand, perhaps as a consequence of evil doing, reminding one of Taylor's statements that he had been assured that not a few of the heads preserved were those of Europeans, and some of them of the very individuals who came to purchase such things from the natives for the European market.

After Tucker had brought a sample to Sydney a trade in the article sprang up, and when in 1814 Mr. Marsden inquired of Pomare, who was skilled in the mode of preserving them, if he could procure him a head properly preserved, Mr. Nicholas says that it occurred to Pomare that he might receive an axe for his trouble, and "this idea made the man of business not only enter into a copious explanation, but induced him also to offer us a sample of his practice, by telling us he would go and shoot some people who had killed his son if we would supply him with powder for the purpose, and then, bringing back their heads, would show us all we wished to know about the art of preserving them."

It will be seen from what Nicholas states that heads had not in 1814 become an ordinary article of trade between the Europeans and the natives, but from a letter published in the *Sydney Gazette* under the signature "Verax,"

in 1820, it appears that preserved heads in Sydney were then not uncommon. "Verax" says: "Passing through George-street my attention was arrested by a very extraordinary sort of bundle under the arm of a man who was passing me on the footpath. I called to ask him what the bundle contained, when I beheld, on his opening its covering, a human head with long black hair, in a state of perfect preservation. I asked the man if what he showed me was really a human head, when the man replied that it was the head of a New Zealander which he had purchased from a person lately arrived from that country, and that he was going to dispose of it for two guineas to a gentleman who was about to embark for England."

The trade, however, subsequently assumed large proportions, and so great at one time was the demand that many a raid was made to obtain heads for the market. Chiefs' heads were of course in the greatest demand, as the tattoo on their faces was more elaborate than



Specimens of Preserved Heads in Auckland Museum.

on those of common people; the consequence being that the Maori had slaves tattooed to resemble chiefs, and then killed, and their heads preserved and sold as though they belonged to their betters. Many have laughed at Maning's story of the dishonest slave who ran away with his own head after trouble and expense had been incurred in tattooing it to make it more valuable. After stating that the skippers of many colonial vessels were always ready to deal with a man who had "a real good head" for sale, and used to employ agents to pick them up, he adds, "It is a positive fact that some time after this the head of a live man was sold and paid for beforehand, and afterwards honestly delivered as per agreement."

Taylor relates how a trader in baked heads lost his own. He says: "On the 14th January, 1831, a man named Andrew Powers entered the Wanganui river. He formed one

of a boat's crew belonging to Joe Rowe, a trader in preserved human heads. It came from Kapiti on a trading expedition. There were three white and one coloured men with him. They rowed as far as Sandy Bight, adjoining the southern bluff, where they landed to dine, and whilst doing so a party of natives joined company. They had some cooked food with them, two baskets of which were given to the party. Whilst eating their dinner, Puta, one of the natives, went and sat in the boat. Joe Rowe called out to Powers to go and turn him out. He replied, 'You had better do so yourself, as you know more about Maoris than I do.' Joe then got up, and asked him what he wanted in the boat. The native replied, to look at him. The sailor commanded him to leave, and when the native continued to sit still, he took hold of his mat to drag him out. The native immediately arose, drew out his *pātiti* hatchet, from beneath his mat, and cleft his skull. Powers went to help his comrade, when a native named Wetu knocked him overboard, and as he laid hold of the boat with one hand, they immediately struck him over it, and made him let go. He then put his hand on the side of their canoe, and got in. The natives pulled him down on his belly, one sitting on his legs and another on his arms, and so held him for some time. When he was permitted to look up he found that three of his comrades had been killed, but the man of colour was spared. They cut off the heads of Rowe and another, and placed them to steep in a little water hole above the cliff, down which a small stream trickled. One of these heads was afterwards dried in the usual way for sale; the other being very much chopped about in the face with the hatchet, he thought was not preserved. The bodies of two of the victims were cut up and eaten. Afterwards, when Powers had been some time with them, he asked what had become of the third who was killed, as he only saw two of their heads. They told him that when he was killed he cried, and their *Ahuas* said they were not to eat the bodies of men who cried from fear of death, lest it should make them cowards; so they buried him in the sand."

In 1831 a man named Jack, the master of the schooner *Prince of Denmark*, having been to the Bay of Plenty, had purchased the heads of some twelve or fourteen persons belonging to the Bay of Islands, who had been killed a few weeks previously. Possibly under the influence of liquor, when in the Bay of Islands, where the dead people were all well known,

he one day, when a number of natives were on board, went into his cabin, and bringing out the bag which contained the heads he had bought, he emptied them out on the ship's deck before the eyes of their relatives. Some recognised their fathers, brothers, and sons, and Captain Jack's time on earth would have been short had he not speedily weighed anchor and sailed away. He was met by some of the aggrieved people afterwards at Tauranga, and fired upon, when he deemed it prudent to proceed to Sydney and dispose of his purchase.

This escapade of Captain Jack put an end to the trade, as Governor Darling, hearing of the transaction, issued the following proclamation:—

GOVERNMENT ORDER.

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Sydney, 16th April, 1831.

Whereas it has been represented to His Excellency the Governor that the masters and crews of vessels trading between this colony and New Zealand are in the practice of purchasing and bringing from thence human heads, which are preserved in a manner peculiar to that country; and whereas there is strong reason to believe that such disgusting traffic tends greatly to increase the sacrifice of human life among savages whose disregard of it is notorious, His Excellency is desirous of evincing his entire disapprobation of the practice above-mentioned, as well as his determination to check it by all the means in his power; and with this view, His Excellency has been pleased to order that the officers of the Customs do strictly watch and report every instance which they may discover of an attempt to import into this colony any dried or preserved human heads in future, with the names of all parties concerned in every such attempts. His Excellency trusts that to put a total stop to this traffic, it is necessary for him only thus to point out the almost certain and dreadful consequences which may be expected to ensue from a continuance of it, and the scandal and prejudice which it cannot fail to raise against the name and character of British traders in a country with which it is now become highly important for the merchants and traders of this colony, at least, to cultivate feelings of natural goodwill; but if His Excellency should be disappointed in this reasonable expectation, he will feel it an imperative duty to take strong measures for totally suppressing the inhuman and very mischievous traffic in question.

His Excellency further trusts that all persons who have in their possession human heads recently brought from New Zealand, and particularly by the schooner *Prince of Denmark*, will immediately deliver them up for the

purpose of being restored to the relations of the deceased parties to whom these heads belonged; this being the only possible reparation that can now be rendered, and application having been specially made to His Excellency for this purpose.

By His Excellency's command.

ALEXANDER MCLEAY.

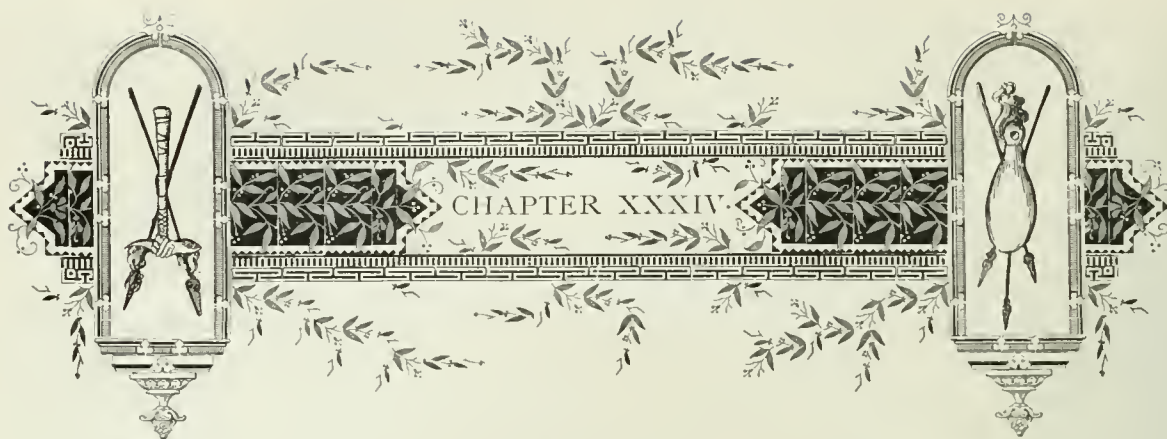
In a subsequent issue of the *Gazette* the following notice appears:—

BAKED HEADS.

We have to state from authority that, although the name of the *Prince of Denmark* is mentioned in the Government Order No. 7, in consequence of a special application having been made to the Governor respecting the heads brought in that vessel, yet there is no reason whatever for supposing that the master and crew have been in any respect more blameable, or more engaged in the traffic complained of, than those of other vessels engaged in the New Zealand trade.

Polack writes that baked heads were absolutely entered into the books of the Customs of Sydney under the head of imports, until the humanity of Governor Darling rendered criminal the nefarious traffic, while Yates says that for the promulgation of the humane order the Governor was made the object of most virulent attacks by some of the colonial newspapers. He also states that when the traffic in heads became general the natives ceased altogether to preserve the heads of their friends, lest by any means they should fall into the hands of others and be sold.

The Tartars used to collect as trophies of their victories the ears of the killed and of their prisoners. At the battle of Lignitz, fought against the Poles, the Tartars filled nine large sacks with such mementoes. The ancient Scythian warrior, Herodotus says, was wont to carry away the heads of those whom he slew in battle; while the Gauls, it was said, used to hang such spoils around the necks of their horses. In America the scalp served instead of the whole head, while in New Guinea at the present day, Chalmers says, the skulls are hung on pegs all around the dwelling places of chiefs. The Egyptians gathered together the tongues of the slain to show how many they had killed.



THE BATTLE OF KORORAREKA; OR, THE GIRLS' WAR.

Two rivals for the affections of a whaling captain—Maori resentment against a curse—Assembling of the tribes—Mr. Williams visits the camp—His dissuasions unsuccessful—Horrible result of the battle—Nearly a hundred killed and wounded—Fraternisation after the engagement—Preparations for further hostilities—Opportune arrival of Mr. Marsden—He visits the rival pas in company with Mr. Williams—Success of their negotiations for peace—Ambassadors appointed—Account of their proceedings—War dance by a thousand natives—Conclusion of the peace—Hongi's sons dissatisfied demand utu—The Maori law of muru—Descent on Mayor Island: a cold-blooded massacre—Reprisals by the Ngaiterangi—The Ngapuhis cut off on Motiti and slaughtered—Their relatives resolve upon a war of revenge—Missionaries being unsuccessful in advocating peace accompany the expedition—Progress of the expedition along the coast—Consulting the oracle—The prophecy of the old wizard—Arrival at Tauranga—Operations against a pa—The missionaries failing to make peace return home—The mission vessel narrowly escapes shipwreck—Return of the war party—Its comparative failure—Tilore organises another expedition—An account of the operations—Further efforts of the missionaries—The final peace-making.



TWO young women of rank, the daughters of Rewa of Kerikeri, and of Morunga of the Kawakawa, were bathing together on the beach at Kororareka, towards the latter end of February, or first day of March, 1830. They were rivals for the affections and gifts of Captain Brind, the master of an English whaling ship, the *Toward* Castle, at that time lying in the waters of the Bay of Islands, where there were eight vessels at anchor. "Whenever the captain came to the Bay of Islands," the Rev. Mr. Williams writes, "he had heretofore living with him the daughter of Morunga, upon whom, with her friends, he was in the habit of lavishing a large amount of property." He had, however, lately taken a second woman, the daughter of Rewa. The jealousy

of the girls found vent in words, and one cursed the other, and, according to Wilson, "the other's tribe." When the cursing became known the hapus took sides, involving their allies in the contest. Pomare and his friends espoused the cause of the Kawakawa girl, and defended Kororareka; whilst Rewa led the attack against the people who shielded her. Cursing among the Maoris, if it may be so termed, was regarded as a deadly sin, and was an entirely different thing to the European mode of malediction. The subject is difficult to understand, but it has been acutely pointed out by Polack that the cursing of the Maoris almost wholly, if not entirely, consisted of expressions having reference to the practice of cannibalism.

The idea in cursing was to degrade a man by describing him as something only fit to be eaten, or to be compared with subjects fit for reproach. Slaves found cursing their masters would be killed forthwith, the result being

that respect was assured. Thus if the term *Kohatu unu* were applied to a man, the inference would be that as stones are wanted to cook kumaras, so should you, the person cursed. In the use of the term *U'po ko tu ki tu kia*, the indication would be that the man's head should be pounded and beaten. *Tou upoko* would mean, your head though sacred I would make common. To be called *Kai a te kuri* food for dogs carries its own meaning.

It was hoped, when the rumours of warfare among the hapus was first promulgated, that the plunder of the kumara gardens at Kororareka, which was the first act in the drama, would be regarded as sufficient utu for the malison, but the torch had been thrown, as Mr. Carleton says, into inflammable materials, and on March 6th the beach was in a blaze.

Ururoa, the brother-in-law of Hengi, having been sent for from Whangaroa, arrived in the Bay on Friday, the 5th, and was resolute in determining to attack the Kororareka party, as it may for the sake of distinction be called, the following day. Mr. Williams, who went to see the belligerents before hostilities commenced, found the assailants on the Friday feasting on the sweet potatoes which they had just pulled up from the garden where they had landed at Kororareka. He writes: "We found Tohitapu in the midst of the council, making an harangue. As soon as we came in sight the natives received us in a most gracious manner, and prepared a way for us. We took our station for the purpose of speaking to them, which they desired us to do, and commanded silence that all might hear. They turned out their forces that we might see their strength. We returned after two hours and did not apprehend any mischief."

Of the proceedings on Saturday, we are told that "about nine o'clock there was much firing at Kororareka. By the glasses we could observe persons moving in all directions (the distance was about two miles), and the canoes pulling off to the shipping filled with people. Mr. Davis and I immediately went over in the boat, and after communicating with Captain King on board the Royal Sovereign, I went on shore to endeavour to put a stop to the firing. I landed at the scene of action, but could not see anyone of rank, as all were concealed by fences and screens. The parties were about twenty yards apart.

"I made as much noise as I could, but to no immediate effect. I passed on to our old friend Tohitapu, who was resting on his

arms at the extremity of the beach, and endeavoured to persuade him to accompany me to the opposite party to draw them off, but he would not however move. Tuaiangi, a young chief, was deputed to accompany me. We had not proceeded far before the firing ceased. Rewa came forward and waved to the parties to desist. As we drew near to the spot we learned that many were killed and wounded. I was conducted to Ururoa, who was scarcely able to speak from excessive excitement. However, numbers surrounded me, and all attention was given to what I had to say. In a short time the people in the boats landed from the shipping to witness the distressing scene; many were dead, others dying, and the wounded no one knew."

The ship Royal Sovereign was lying in Kororareka Bay, and not more than two or three hundred yards from the scene of action. Mr. Richard Davis, who was on board the vessel, says: "The deck presented a woeful spectacle of horror and despair. Many of the wounded men had been brought on board, and were lying in a mangled state,* while the surgeon was engaged dressing their wounds." A great number of women and children had congregated on board for safety. "I had not been long on board," he writes, "before the assailants gave way and fled in all directions. On seeing this I went on shore. The sight was dreadful, as nearly one hundred people were killed and wounded. Soon after we landed the assailants were permitted to come and carry away their dead and wounded chiefs, but the bodies of the dead slaves they left behind. As one of the bodies left was that of a chief of little note, a chief of the village [Kororareka], ran out, and with a hatchet cut the body open and took out a small piece of the liver. This they told me was for the New Zealand god."

Mr. Williams comments on the scene in the following pregnant manner: "I have observed with great wonder the conduct of this people. Within a quarter of an hour after the firing ceased, very many of each party were dispersed indiscriminately among their opponents, and we found that parents, children, and brothers had been fighting against one another."

At the dawn of day on Sunday, the 7th, there was musketry heard firing in Kororareka, but before sunrise it ceased, and about seven in the morning Ururoa and his party crossed over the bay to the island of Moturoa. Mr. Henry Williams continues the narrative thus: "Canoes from Kororareka arrived at

* Some of them had been carried to Pahia.—*Carleton*.

the mission station at Pahia all through the day with men, women, and children, bringing with them all their possessions. At three in the afternoon at Kororareka the houses were observed to be on fire, and all the canoes

Kororareka was said to be defended by eight hundred men, and assailed by six hundred; but the numbers were doubtless exaggerated, and the estimates are interesting mainly as showing that the attacking party



Titore, a Bay of Islands Chief.

leaving the beach in various directions, the natives going to a fortified spot up the river Kawakawa. At sunset Ururoa and Tohitapu came to the Pahia beach to take up their quarters, and shortly after Rewa with his family."

was outnumbered. A chief of high rank from near Whangaroa, who went out unarmed at the commencement of the engagement for the purpose of bringing about a reconciliation, was shot. Messengers were sent all over

the district for reinforcements by both parties, and serious complications appeared almost inevitable, when on the Monday morning a vessel hove in sight, which proved to have Mr. Marsden on board, whose presence was especially opportune.

Mr. Williams had better be taken as the chronicler for what followed:—

“March 9.—Mr. Marsden and I went up to the pa (Otuihu) where the Kawakawa natives were assembled. Every attention was paid to what we had to say, and it was unanimously agreed that Kororareka should be given up to the opposite party as payment for Hengi (of Whangaroa), and for the numbers that had been slain. The universal word was ‘peace.’ We afterwards pulled to Kororareka, when it was agreed that Tareha and Titore (of Ngatiwake) should accompany us to Ururoa, who was at the island of Moturoa. The wind being favourable we soon arrived, and had a very pleasant conversation.

“March 10.—At daylight the Urikapana passed through the settlement. They stopped a short time to hear the news and to see Mr. Marsden. After dinner we went over to Kororareka to see Ururoa, who had just come from Moturoa. He said that it would be needful to wait till all had assembled before peace was made. He appeared apprehensive that the opposite party was not sincere.

“March 11.—After breakfast Rewa, Mr. Marsden, and I went up to the pa at Kawakawa. We hoisted the white flag at Rewa’s request, as a signal that we had come to treat for peace. On our arrival all assembled, and I told them we were come to receive instructions as to the message to be sent to Ururoa, whether peace or war; it was now high time, before the assembling of the multitude. They replied that it was very good, but that Ururoa must depute some chief to meet them in the pa, and afterwards some one from the pa should go to them. This being concluded, we proceeded to Kororareka and met Ururoa and other chiefs. They appeared of our opinion; but they waited the arrival of Mango and Kakaha, the two sons of Hengi, the chief of Takou, who was killed, as the duty of seeking revenge now devolved upon them for the death of their father. I told Ururoa we were weary of going about, but he and others replied that we must not be weary, but strong and courageous; that should these two men come in the course of the night they would send a canoe over to us, and peace should be concluded in the morning.

“March 13.—At breakfast Tohitapu came

and spoke about the necessity of making peace, that the distant tribes would arrive, and that there would be no restraining them.

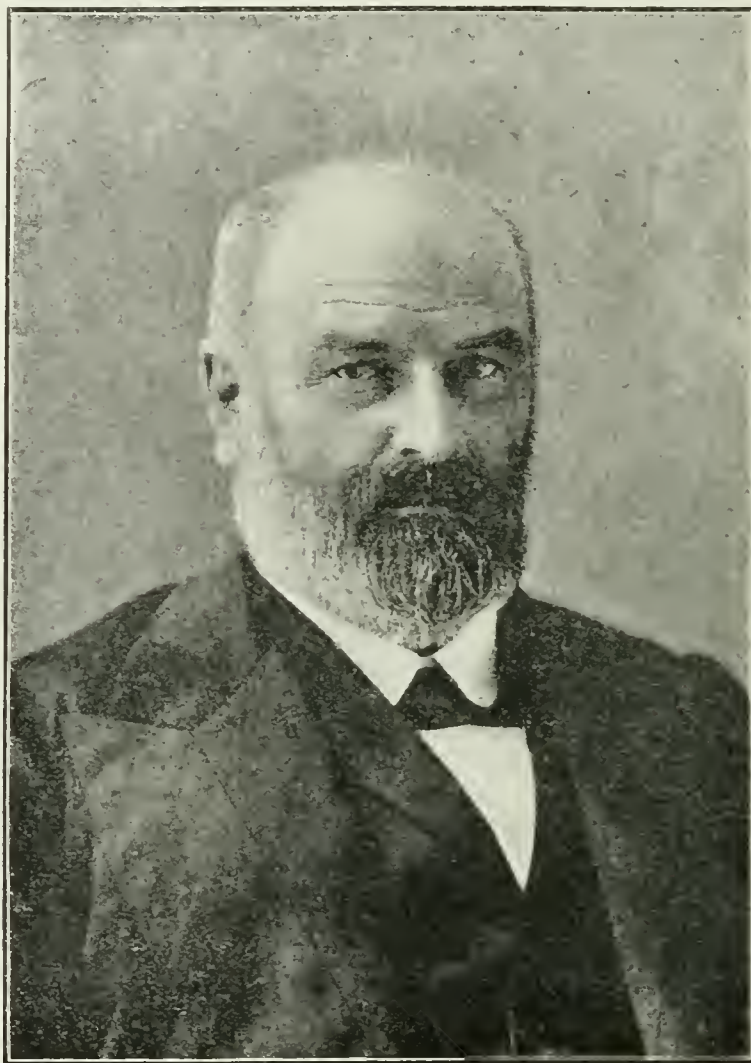
“March 14 (Sunday).—Tohitapu and Rewa were very urgent that communication should be held with Ururoa and others at Kororareka, as several canoes were observed to pull over from Moturoa. I therefore went over myself and took the opportunity of speaking to them. All were inclined for peace. Wharenuī came from the pa much concerned at the delay.

“On March 17, the minds of the natives in reference to peace having been ascertained, both parties equally manifesting a disposition to put an end to hostilities, it was arranged that a meeting should take place to-day according to the native custom. At an early hour we observed several canoes in motion from Kororareka towards Kawakawa, and immediately we put off in two boats to meet them. The party amounted to about three hundred, which advanced till within a mile of the opposite party, when the ambassadors of peace, three in number, proceeded with us to the pa. On landing we proceeded towards the principal chiefs, when all sat upon the ground, leaving a narrow space for the speakers to walk backward and forward according to the native manner. First one of Pomare’s sons held forth and intimated that the peace would not hold good because a chief of his people had not been killed as an equivalent for Hengi, and that he should be afraid to remain at his own place, and would go to live at Kaipara. He was followed by several others, some of whom spoke to the same purport. And when this was over the different tribes mustered on a rising ground and had a war dance. It was a larger body of fighting men than I had seen before at one time, amounting to about one thousand men, more than half of whom had muskets. The three ambassadors remained in the pa for the night, which part of the ceremony was to be repeated the next day by the people of the pa.

“March 18.—The ambassadors returned this morning with three others from the pa, and calling at our settlement, we accompanied them to Kororareka. A similar scene occurred to that we witnessed yesterday. The final ratification of the peace, as far as I could understand it, was the following:—A chief of the party of Ururoa repeated a long song with a small stick in his hand, which at the conclusion he broke and threw down at the feet of one of the ambassadors from the opposite party, the meaning of which was that hostili-

ties were broken off. The latter chief then repeated a similar form of words and cast down his broken stick at the feet of the former speaker. The natives speak of this peace as made by Europeans, and I believe they have been much influenced herein by the presence of Mr. Marsden."

But the consequences of the girls' quarrel were a long way from being at an end, and though the scenes of the further strife are away from the Bay of Islands, the story is so indicative of Maori custom, that it shall be related to its conclusion without breaking the thread of the narrative. Hengi, who was



Judge Wilson.

Author of "The Story of Te Wāhanga."

From another source we are told that the chiefs contended that as the war did not originate with them, but with an European, the Europeans were answerable for all the consequences, and they wanted to know who was going to give them *utu* for their friends who had been killed, as it was not their quarrel.

killed almost ere the fighting commenced, lived at Takou, a bay between Te Puna and Whangaroa. The Rev. W. Williams, first Bishop of Waiapu, in his book "Christianity among the New Zealanders," says that soon after the firing began Hengi rushed forward with merely a wand in his hand to try to stop the

strife spreading, when he was deliberately shot through the body. As already stated, he had two sons grown up, called Mango and Kakaha. These people at Takou had not been under mission or European influence, and would be chary of foregoing their claim for payment for their father's death, though a consensus of chiefs with whom they were related had arranged a peace. Accordingly, after some time had elapsed, they arranged an expedition of about seventy warriors, mostly relatives, to obtain utu for their father. There was nothing uncommon in the action. It made little difference from whom the payment was obtained as long as the utu was got. A story, not without interest and amusement, will illustrate this custom of the natives clearly. It happened to the Church mission in 1824.

When the Rev. Henry Williams founded the Paihia mission station, the chief Te Kohi was his recognised protector. Entering the carpenter's shop one morning the ship carpenter swore at the chief, who organised a taua to obtain payment for the offence. The mission was threatened to be stripped, and had a weaker man than Mr. Williams been in its custody, such certainly would have been its fate. When all the hubbub was over, and the carpenter's wound had been dressed, for he had been wounded in the *melee*, the cause of the violence, Mrs. Williams writes, was understood. "When Mr. Williams asked some of the leading men the cause of the attack, the answer was, 'The carpenter swore at Te Kohi.' Mr. Williams replied, 'What is that to me, have I ever sworn at anybody?' 'No,' they replied, 'but the carpenter had nothing to be taken and you had.' Mr. Williams set his face against the customs of muru and tapu from the first. But with the Maori the law was imperative—'an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.' " Mr. Carleton happily says, "Whose eye, or whose tooth, does not so very much matter."

The expedition organised by Mango and Kakaha killed several of a defenceless tribe with whom they were not at war and with whom the Ngapuhi generally were at peace. They went as far as Mercury Island and got what utu they obtained in the Hauraki Gulf and returned back to Takori; but, being dissatisfied with the fruits of their expedition, they planned another, and destroyed a large body of natives belonging to Tauranga living on Mayor Island. They killed all the males they found on the island, reserving the women and children as slaves, excepting a few who

made their escape under cover of the night to Tauranga and gave the alarm. Wilson, in his "Story of Te Waharoa," projects this taua into the year 1832, but a reference to the journal of the Rev. Henry Williams will show the erroneousness of the assumption. "At one period," Mr. Gold-Smith says, "the Maori population must have been very large; pas now in ruins are found scattered over the island on every commanding hill or point of vantage." Without, however, pointing out that a "very large" population could subsist on a small island, the abundance of pas in ruins afford no index of a densely peopled district.

Wilson's account of this taua is fuller than that of any other writer, and had, therefore, better be given *in extenso*. He says:—"Haramiti's taua set out and landed at Ahuahū—Mercury Island—where about one hundred Ngatimaru were surprised, killed and eaten. The only person who escaped this massacre was a man with a peculiarly shaped head, the result of a tomahawk wound he then received. He said that as he sat in the dusk of the evening in the bush, a little apart from his companions, something rustled past him; he seemed to receive a blow, and became insensible. When next he opened his eyes he saw the full moon sailing in the heavens; all was still as death; he wondered what had happened. Feeling pain he put his hand to his head and finding an enormous wound began to comprehend his situation. At length, faint for want of food and believing the place deserted, he cautiously and painfully crept forth to find the bones of his friends and the oven in which they had been cooked. Food there was none, yet in that wounded condition he managed to subsist on roots and shell-fish until found and rescued by some of his own tribe who went from the main to visit the slaughtered.

"From Mercury Island Te Haramiti's taua sailed to Mayor Island, where they surprised, killed and ate many of the Whanau-o-Ngaitaiwhao. A number, however, took refuge in their rocky and almost impregnable pa at the east end of the island where they contrived to send intelligence of the Ngapuhi irruption to Tauranga.

"The Ngapuhi remained several days at Tuhua, irresolute whether to continue the incursion or to return to their own country. A few men of the taua, satisfied at the first slaughter, had wished to return to Mercury Island; but now all, excepting Te Haramiti, desired to do the same. They urged the success of the expedition; they having accom-

plished their purpose further operations were unnecessary; that they were then in the immediate vicinity of the hostile and powerful Ngaiterangi, who, should they hear of the recent numbers, would be greatly incensed; that their own numbers were few, and there appeared but little hope of the promised reinforcements. Haramiti replied that though they had done very well the atua was not quite satisfied, and that they must therefore try and do more. He showed them that the promised succours were at hand, and that they were required by the atua to go as far as the next island, Motiti, from whence they would be permitted to return to the Bay of Islands. To Motiti accordingly they went."

Although in quotations the form of speech is used "The Atua did this," or "The Atua did or wanted that done," it must not be understood that the writer agrees with the authors he quotes in their conception of Maori theology, as he believes, with Mr. C. O. Davis, that it is a subject on which Europeans know little or nothing, and that any attempt to clothe the Maori mind with the conception of a Semitic deity, which our race has inherited, is only a puerile fancy, arising from our ignorance of the native mode of thought, while any desire to draw analogies between Polynesian and Semitic forms of religious belief, though they may amuse the ideologist, can serve no other purpose.

"The Ngapuhi," Wilson says, "when they arrived at Motiti, were obliged to content themselves with the ordinary food found there, such as potatoes and other vegetables, with pork, for the inhabitants had fled. But this disappointment was quickly forgotten, when the next day at noon a large fleet of canoes was descried approaching from Tuhua, the way they had come. Forthwith the cry arose, 'Here are Ngapuhi! here is the fulfilment of the prophecy of Haramiti,' and off they rushed in scattered groups along the south-western beach of Motiti, to wave welcome to their supposed friends."

"Let us leave this party a while," Mr. Wilson says, "to see how in the meantime Ngaiterangi had been occupied. As soon as the news from Tuhua reached Tauranga, the Ngaiterangi hastily assembled a powerful force to punish the invaders. In a few days a fleet of war canoes, bearing one thousand warriors, led by Tupaea and Te Waharoa, sailed out of Tauranga harbour and steered for Tuhua. The voyage was so timed that they arrived at the island at daylight the following morning, when they were informed by the Whanau-o-

Ngaitaiwhao from the shore that the Ngapuhi had gone the previous day to Motiti. At mid-day, as they neared Motiti, the enemy's canoes were seen ranged upon the strand at the isthmus which connects the pa at its south end with the rest of the island; and now Ngaiterangi deliberately lay on their oars and took refreshment before joining issue with their antagonists. The Maungatapu canoes, forming the right wing of the attack, were then directed to separate at the proper time and pass round the south end of the island to take the enemy in the rear, and to prevent the escape of any persons by canoes that might be on the eastern beach.

"All arrangements having been made, Ngaiterangi committed themselves to that onset which, as we have seen, the doomed Ngapuhi rushed blindly to welcome. The latter, cut off from escape, surprised, scattered, and outnumbered, were destroyed in detail, almost without a show of resistance. Old Haramiti, blind with age, sat in the stern of his canoe, ready to receive his friends, but hearing the noise of a conflict, he betook himself to incantations to insure the success of his people; and he was thus engaged when the men of Ngaiterangi came up and pummelled him to death with their fists, a superstitious feeling preventing them from drawing his sacred blood. Only two Ngapuhi survived—a youth to whom quarter was given and was afterwards restored to his friends by the Rev. T. Chapman, and a man who, it is said, swam to Wairake on the main."

The preserved heads purchased by Captain Jack, master of the schooner, the *Prince of Denmark*, of which mention has already been made in a preceding chapter, were those of Ngapuhi natives killed at Motiti. When he brought them back to the bay, he called a number of the people together, and ordered a sack to be brought up from the hold of the vessel, which contained thirteen heads he had purchased; and then he emptied them down before the parents and friends, brothers and sisters and other relatives. The chiefs wept bitterly, as may well be imagined, over the relics of their friends. They went on shore and told the captain that it was their intention to bring a party and take possession of the ship and put the laws of their own country into execution. When he found that they were really in earnest, and bringing their war canoes alongside, he cut his cable and went out of the harbour. Meeting him again, however, at Tauranga, he was again obliged to slip his cable and run for his life and ship.

This outrage having been brought under the notice of Governor Darling, he promptly proclaimed that such actions in future would be severely punished, and the hideous traffic was suppressed.

The first Bishop of Waiapu tells us that it was not till the month of March, 1831, that the people in the Bay of Islands knew the fate of the expedition the sons of Hengi had organised. The news put all the north in a state of unrest and agitation. The general feeling was that their death should be avenged. It was true that they had gone forth on a mission to slay, and were slain themselves; but this mattered not to their relatives, who wanted payment for their death. The tribes assembled in council, and one purpose we are told animated them, but the time of the year was inopportune to commence a southern raid, and it was agreed that the taua should be put off till their crops were in, and the proper season for fighting had arrived. Bishop Williams says: "There were in the resolve all the elements of a terrible storm. All the tribes from the Bay of Islands to the North Cape, with those of Hokianga, were involved." The natives of the Bay of Plenty were well provided with firearms since the trade in flax with New South Wales had been developed among them.

When the natives had arranged the preliminaries of their expedition they were elated with the hope of success and being enabled to destroy the people in the Bay of Plenty as they pleased. The Bishop of Waiapu again appears behind the scenes, and as this was a native war in which the Church missionaries took an active interest and accompanied the warriors somewhat in the light of chaplains, there are sufficient reasons for quoting their account of the expedition. The missionaries determined to bring about a reconciliation, but the chiefs would hear of no interference with their plans. "On the 24th of November," the Bishop writes, "I accompanied the Rev. H. Williams to Kororareka to ascertain whether Ngapuhi were inclined to make peace with Tauranga. We found Wharerahi and several other chiefs busy preparing their canoes, but they all left work to come to us. On asking what their intentions were, Rewa rose up and made a violent harangue, saying that they intended to fight and take slaves, and that it would not be well for any of the missionaries to go with them because they would only be offended with the sight they would witness. When he had concluded we obtained a quiet hearing, and he told us

privately that it did not rest with him to make peace, and that we were at liberty to go with them if we liked. They had been somewhat disconcerted the day before by a report that the natives of Te Kawakawa, who, the year before, had abandoned Kororareka, intended to go and kill their wives and children during their absence, and they requested us to go and speak to them. The next day we went up to Otuihu, when the chief disclaimed all idea of attacking the families at Kororareka."

About a week after this the missionaries saw the chiefs at their respective residences, when they gave their sanction for some of the mission staff to accompany them. Feeling had risen to some height, as the extermination of the Tauranga people was openly announced. On the 7th of December Bishop Williams observed several canoes under sail standing for Kororareka. Tohitapu came and invited his clerical friends to go over, which they immediately did. He observed on the way that they must be very urgent with the natives and not regard their objections to interference.

The Bishop continues: "We met the principal chiefs at the home of Moka. After some conversation they all went to Ururoa, the Whangaroa chief, who did not show much desire for fighting, being contented to do as the majority resolved. Titore was the leader of the expedition, and when he went over to Paihia he said that it must proceed, but that when it came near Tauranga 'something might be done to bring about peace.' It had become clear that one section of the taua inclined to peace and to listen to its voice; but the peace party was in a minority."

A week afterwards the Bishop writes: "Three canoes came over from Kororareka to Paihia, conveying Tareha, Rewa, and Moka, among others. Their language, our instructor says, was totally changed. They expressed a desire that both the mission vessels should go in company with the canoes. The battle against Maori excess was therefore half won."

At the commencement of the year 1832 it had been arranged that the missionaries should accompany the taua, and the Rev. H. Williams, Messrs. Kemp and Fairburn were selected for that purpose. In all the annals of the mission to New Zealand there is no episode so remarkable as this. Two high-born Maori damsels, ignorant of the Western idea of unmarried chastity, having fallen out and cursed one another for the love of a man of another race than their own, had embroiled by their maledictions a whole country side in a warfare which had already cost many lives,

and now, after two years had almost passed away, was still spreading and still active. But the strangest part of the whole affair was to see clergymen of the Church of England accompanying an expedition in this Maori strumpets' war. Not but their action was thoroughly meritorious, though the light it reflects is lurid and sinister.

Starting at six o'clock on Tuesday morning, the 3rd January, 1832, the flotilla, including the mission boats *Karere* and *Active*, reached Tutukaka Bay on Saturday afternoon, the 7th, so slow was the progress made. The taua was said to be six hundred strong.* Tutukaka, it will be remembered, is only thirty miles from Cape Brett, and though comparatively unknown to European tourists, has always been valued as a coasting harbour both by the natives and Europeans. The "Chaplain of the Fleet" tells us that "some of the warriors spent their leisure time on shore making up cartridges, others paddles, 'but the greater number sleeping.' The natives in their war expeditions are hampered by many restrictions. They must not take any cooked food in their war canoes, have any fire in them, eat, or spit in them, or smoke their pipes, and should a few drops of water be shipped they immediately land in a great fright. If they should be where they cannot land everyone immediately ceases talking, and they commence their incantations." It was in consequence of the canoe of Titore having taken in a little water that the halt was made at Tutukaka. Sunday was kept as a day of rest by the majority of the warriors, and religious service was celebrated.

On the following Sunday Mangawhai had not been reached, and the fleet was in motion, as the following entry occurs in the diary of Mr. Williams: "About nine o'clock a canoe came pulling close to the *Active*, making a great noise and singing with voice of victory. In passing they called out they had caught four Englishmen. We told them to come alongside. The men were part of the crew of the *Lucy Ann*, lying in the Thames. They had left twenty-three days, and were on their way to the Bay of Islands. The natives had stripped them of nearly all they possessed, but afterwards returned some of their things to them. Much consultation among the natives as to what should be done with the Englishmen. Most were for harnessing them to the great guns, that they might work them against

the enemy. The next day the missionaries advised their release, which was done."

Tareha and his movements gave the warriors food for speculation. His movements were as uncertain as his purposes. He had not as yet joined the main body of the taua, but was in a large canoe in which there were no other persons save three of his wives who found occupation in pulling the vessel through the water. The canoe was eminently tapu as it conveyed the body of Hengi, whose death had caused all the warfare, from Kororareka to his kainga. It was now to be taken to the place where his sons were killed to be broken up and burnt, as were many other things which had belonged to the persons slain—offerings, Mr. Williams suggested, to the *manes* of the dead. Tareha was now left behind and fears were entertained that he might take it into his head to return to the Bay of Islands, as a chief was independent of control, and could go when and where he chose. Mr. Williams was much distressed to hear that some of the Hokianga contingent proposed leaving the main body and proceeding to Tauranga, by the way of the Thames, with the design of falling upon the women and children in accordance with their old habits before they were accompanied by Christian clergymen in their raids. Food, moreover, was becoming scarce, and the hunger and restraint were manifest in discontent on the second Sunday out when occupation was discountenanced. No progress being made on the Saturday, 28th January, Mr. Williams returned to Paihia, where he found all his people well, and, on the evening of his arrival, nineteen adults and thirty-three children were entertained at tea.

He was detained by bad weather at Pahia for some time, and only overtook the fleet again at Tairua. From Tairua they went to Whangamata, when it transpired that Wharerahi and a large party had passed overland with the purpose of surprising Ngatiwhatua. The day following was Sunday, the 4th of March, when Mr. Williams obtained an insight into Maori customs that have now almost entirely passed away, and which even fifty or sixty years ago only few Europeans on special occasions had an opportunity of witnessing. Early in the morning he was told that fire and water were both tapu—that none were to eat or drink until the oracle had been consulted, and that the priest was preparing for the ceremony at a short distance from them. He went and found about eight chiefs in a retired shady spot, and was at first forbidden to approach;

* A pictorial representation of this Expedition appears on page 135 of the History.

but after a little consultation he was permitted to join them under the plea that he was a white man. They were all naked, and were fixing sticks about a foot long in the ground, in rows, according to the number of the canoes. There were other sticks also to represent the chiefs of the enemy. Against each of these were placed two others of the same length, each stick having a piece of flax leaf tied to it. When all was duly

priest had been at work, and found the sticks in the greatest disorder. About a third of them lay on the ground, which were said to indicate those who were to fall in battle. He had one set of sticks for the boat, that is for Mr. Williams and his crew, which were all safe. In a few minutes a large body of natives rushed up to learn their impending fate, each making inquiries about himself with so much vociferation and earnestness that it was



A Whātea, or provision house, at Otumatua Pa, Cook Strait.

arranged the chiefs and Mr. Williams were required to withdraw, and the old wizard alone remained, who had scarcely five pounds of flesh upon his bones. In about half an hour the old fellow, with an air of great self-importance, came out and sat down in the midst of the expectant host. He inquired of Tohitapu his dreams, and related his own of the preceding night. The chiefs then approached the scene of action, where the old

impossible for any to hear. At length partial silence was obtained, and the old man began to relate particulars, but did not advance far before he was confused, and the ceremony had to be gone over again. The sacred spot was again cleared, and no one was allowed to be there but the old man. Inquiries were made whether Mr. Williams had had any breakfast, and they were much pleased when they heard he had not. When the ceremonies and divinations

were completed, the bell, we are told, was rung for Christian service, at which about one hundred attended. Tauranga was reached on March the 6th, and an encampment made at Matakana. It soon became known that the advance portion of the taua, under Wharerahi and Rewharewha, had engaged the enemy, but that none were killed on either side. "About midnight," Mr. Williams says, "the camp was alarmed by four guns being discharged close to the beach, and not knowing whether friends or foes, all were soon under arms; the sound of the shot—those messengers of death—flying over our heads, waking out of first sleep, was truly heart-sickening, and represented to my mind the awful state in which these poor creatures are. We, however, soon learnt that it was an express from Rewharewha. The messengers came forward in silence, which struck a degree of awe over the assembly, who were sitting down, several fires being scattered about to give light, heightening the effect. The person who now stood before us was a stranger to me. He was a fine-looking man, though wild in his appearance. He stood in silence, leaning on the top of his musket, a billhook, bright as silver, in his belt in front, and a handsome dogskin mat thrown carelessly over his shoulders; by the light of the fire he presented a fine specimen of savage nobility. He first spoke of the expedition of Wharerahi against Ngatiwhatua, then of their own interview with the enemy here, who had given them a meeting this afternoon. Several rounds were exchanged, but so respectful were they that no mischief ensued."

At daylight on March the 7th all the taua was busy launching canoes, and at ten o'clock all embarked in close order, each canoe displaying a separate flag obtained at different times from the shipping. There were about eighty canoes and boats, so that a formidable appearance was presented. A position was taken up some two miles from the pa Otumoetai, situated on a tongue of land almost opposite Tauranga Heads. At low water all the Ngapuhi set off foraging in the plantations near the pa, some going close to the pa itself, outside of which only two of the defenders were seen for a considerable time. The numbers, however, increased, and the bed of the river only separated the two parties, each keeping up a brisk fire until dark, when the flowing tide separated them. It says little for their skill in the use of firearms that none were hit on either side.

Nothing further is heard of fighting until the 10th, when after midnight orders were

given to embark, which was done with much noise and confusion, and a landing was effected near Otumoetai. "When all were afloat," Mr Williams says, "we presented quite an armament, the surface of the river seemed covered and our force multiplied from the face of the country in the rear being all on fire. The blaze illuminated the sky and was again reflected in the water. Landing in the rear of the pa, in a few minutes some three hundred lights were in motion, and all the appearance of a large town was apparent. At daylight there was a general movement towards the pa. All the men were naked, save one or two who had a shirt or handkerchief around the waist, and a cartouche box buckled before and behind close under the arms or round the loins. Firing soon commenced on both sides and lasted about three hours, when the Ngapuhi returned to their camp having expended all their ammunition, bringing with them one killed, and one who had been struck on the cartouche box buckled around his waist, which saved his life. After the party had retired their opponents took possession of the heights some half mile distant from their camp, and kept firing on some wild fellows who were exchanging shots with them in view of both parties, sometimes dancing and brandishing their muskets in defiance."

Mr. Williams, seeing that no good could be done with the leaders of the taua, determined to take up his quarters on board the mission schooner, and to leave his flock to their own devices. The chiefs appeared crestfallen at their lack of success, sitting by their canoes as he marched down to the boat; while several of the Tauranga people spoke to the missionaries in a friendly manner as they passed towards the schooner.

The skirmishing parties were now out daily, and the details of the engagements were mainly to be seen from the deck of the mission schooner. At one time Ngapuhi were within two hundred yards of the fence of the pa, but were soon dislodged; while the children from the pa itself were to be seen digging up the shot as it fell among them.

The prodigal manner in which the natives used munitions of warfare was well told by Polack in his evidence before the committee of the House of Lords in 1839. He said: "In May last 1837), there was a war in the Bay of Islands. I was there. There were about thirty to forty canoes went every day to fight at a fortification up the river. I may say without exaggeration, on my oath, that at

least 20,000 round of ball cartridge was expended daily when they went out. The return of the killed and wounded proves that, though there were perhaps 3,000 natives engaged, the loss was but a cipher. At another period the valiant fellows lost three."

On March 13th, the people on board the schooner observed some close struggles on the beach, and two persons belonging to the pa carried off to all appearance dead. The firing continued at intervals during the day until dusk. During the day a cutter came from Maketu with an European on board, whose business was to sell munitions of war and to learn if Ngapuhi would accept as allies the Rotorua people against the Ngatiawa and the coastal tribes. He proffered the Ngapuhi powder and guns, Mr. Williams tells us, on credit. The following day, in the early morning, two canoes came alongside the cutter for some great guns, small arms and ammunition, but the inmates knowing that the missionaries disapproved of their action, proffered them no friendly greeting. Every voice was for war, and Te Naana, a Waimate chief, sought to embitter the feeling against the missionaries by stating that Mr. Williams had been describing the principal Ngapuhi chiefs to the defenders of the pa in order that they might be "picked off," but he found only a few to hearken to his fabrications.

On March the 15th Mr. Williams makes the following entry:—"Passed a sleepless night. Our fears were great on behalf of Ngatiawa (the people in the pa). Ngapuhi had the advantage in experience. We concluded that our efforts must now come to a close among these, and that it would be best to return home as soon as possible. We accordingly passed through the camp and returned on board. After breakfast hoisted in my boat and prepared for sea as soon as wind and tide should permit. Several natives came on board from the pa, among them Kiharoa. They spoke of their hope that we would soon return, and that some missionaries should be sent to their place. In the evening at high water made sail and reached the Bay of Islands on March 18th."

After a lapse of eight days, Mr. Williams and Mr. Fairburn again sailed for Tauranga, anxious to observe any favourable opening that might occur for the restoration of peace. They entered the Tauranga harbour on the night of Saturday, the 31st of March. The next day was Sunday, and at sunrise upwards of a dozen canoes full of men were observed pulling towards them from the Ngapuhi camp.

They landed at some distance, and continued running along the beach until they came abreast of the vessel. A white flag was hoisted, but they were not satisfied what the vessel was until they had hailed her, when they danced the war dance, and invited the passengers to go on shore. They said they thought it was the schooner with which they had been engaged two days before, and had come to take her, having brought six big guns with them for that purpose.

Some portions of Mr. Williams' narrative cannot be condensed without suffering loss, and of such is the following:—"The visitors related their proceedings during our absence and appeared glad to see us. Titore, with three canoes, remained with us until the tide flowed, for the purpose of conducting us up the river to the camp; others returned immediately. At ten o'clock held service on board. In the afternoon we went up the river by ourselves, the canoes going in another direction, having observed some persons on an island near us. We met a canoe coming towards us in which were the principal chiefs of Ngapuhi; they were very friendly and returned with us. We passed through the camp and were thankful for the great change in the tone of the people from what it was when we were last among them. Many shook their heads, signifying that they were tired; others complained of want of food. Their attempts had failed. They found that their opponents were not backward to meet them; their great guns had been brought into action and were of no use. They had dragged them close to the pa two days after we had sailed for the Bay, and were firing nearly the whole day without any effect, but had sustained some loss themselves, the two guns belonging to Moka having nearly fallen into the enemy's hands. News of importance was, moreover, to hand. A large reinforcement had arrived at Otumotai pa from the Waikato." The missionaries went and saw the Bay of Plenty people, who were in good spirits and by no means cast down. They were willing to make peace, but they were also prepared for war. But as there was nothing of a decisive nature impending in the way of battle, Messrs. Williams and Fairburn again departed from the seat of war, leaving Tauranga on April 7th, and reached Paihia in safety, after having incurred greater risk of their lives by shipwreck than the warriors did at Tauranga from their foemen.

When they left Tauranga the wind was fair,

the Bishop of Waiapu writes, and was freshening to a gale, and it was thought advisable to proceed to the Barrier Island, where there are two good harbours. As they drew under the land the gusts were so violent that it was feared that either the masts or the sails would be carried away. The vessel became unmanageable and with much apprehension they were obliged to take in sail and let the vessel drift. As the darkness set in so did the fears of those on board increase. They could not keep the weather shore—what were they to expect from a lee one? It was an iron-bound coast with rocks and small islands scattered in all directions. At first dawn of day there was a dark heavy loom of high land close to the lee beam. They wore the ship and made sail under the impression that it was Cape Colville; but it was soon seen to be the North Head of Port Charles in which there was no shelter. They stood on under all sail to endeavour to weather the point which presented itself on their lee bow; but despairing of this, as the sea was setting them fast to leeward, they determined to try and stay the ship as the only alternative, there not being room to wear. She had missed stays several times the preceding day, which had brought them into their present position. Every countenance spoke alarm, and it was declared to be impossible to save her. They however watched for a suitable opportunity to put the helm down, and at that interval there was a lull. The vessel came round in a surprising manner, though to all human appearance it was impossible she could weather the land, owing to the heavy sea which was running. After a short time they were relieved by perceiving that they gradually drew off the shore. They stood on wishing to regain the islands to windward of Mercury Bay; but still the weather was so very thick, they could scarcely see the vessel's length around her. After standing with intense earnestness on the lookout, for the danger was not yet over, land was announced on the lee bow, close to them, which they perceived was the desired point. They bore up and were soon in smooth water under the lee of the Mercury Isles, and discovered, what had not been before seen, though they had often been in this neighbourhood—a commodious bay, in which they anchored, to the unspeakable relief of both body and mind. They all assembled in the cabin to offer up praise to the God of all mercies for their great deliverance. As soon as the gale broke the vessel proceeded back to the Bay of Islands.

The attempts thus made to bring about a

reconciliation between the contending tribes were unsuccessful, but still it was believed that the proceedings of the natives were much influenced by this interference. Little mischief, comparatively, was done on either side, and on the return of Ngapuhi to the Bay of Islands the chiefs acknowledged that their expedition had been a failure and that they believed the God of the missionaries had made them listless and had prevented them from carrying out their purposes. Some said their guns would not shoot straight, for though they were frequently quite close to the enemy the shots flew off from the object aimed at. They brought with them, however, a few of those trophies over which they most exulted—the heads of their enemies. The following scene took place at Kororareka, when Mr. Williams and Mr. Brown went with Tohitapu to see Titore. After a good deal of ceremony on the part of Tohi, they walked towards Titore and his party, who were all tapu, and consequently sitting by themselves, in an open space, with the heads of their friends and enemies arranged before them. There were fourteen heads of the Ngatiawa, and three of Ngapuhi. The latter were at a short distance from the others, being worthy of more honour. The sight was most disgusting. The heads were dressed with feathers, and the teeth exposed to view, which gave them a most ghastly appearance. The countenances of all the natives seemed to partake of the image of their father the devil. They were truly Satanic; a grin of satisfaction was on every face. Tohitapu walked towards the three heads belonging to Ngapuhi, and addressing "Tu," the god of war, from whom the art of war, bravery, and cunning is considered to proceed, he extolled the heroic deeds of these warriors, and looking to the payment, the fourteen heads of Ngatiawa, he expressed his approbation. He then turned to Titore, and falling on his neck, they joined in a New Zealand lamentation. This lasted a few minutes, after which they proceeded to talk over the events of the late campaign.

Although on the 8th August, 1832, there was a general thanksgiving held throughout the Church Mission districts for the peace with Tauranga that had been achieved, Titore did not return to the Bay of Islands until the November following, and on his return still declared his determination to carry on the war. He wanted to do, in fact, what others had been unable to do, and in a short time succeeded in taking with him a large number of the Rarawa, principally from the North

Cape. The Rarawa had little or no apparent connection with the Tauranga feud, and could have had no concern with the quarrel the ship-girls had fomented. The missionaries again determined that it would be prudent for them to follow Titore and his allies, and accordingly the Rev. Henry Williams and Mr. Chapman proceeded south in two boats, hoping to overtake the tauu. Their destination was Maketu, which when nearing they observed the flag at the signal station half-mast high, and soon were made acquainted with the fact that ten persons had on the previous day been killed on the road to Rotorua. On landing they were received by the Rarawa and the Ngapuhi, with Titore, very graciously, every one turning out to meet the visitors, and giving them the news of the day. The missionaries overtook the tauu at Whakatuwhenua, on February 11th, but only reached Maketu at the end of the month, when they found that many of the Ngapuhi contingent would be glad to return.

Early in March there was a rumour current that four hundred men had departed to lay in wait for the Bay of Plenty natives, and on Mr. Williams making inquiries as to the truth of the story, it was confirmed, whereupon he told the leaders of the tauu that as soon as the weather should clear up he would return to the Bay of Islands, leaving the belligerents to their own devices. This determination, he says, led to much conversation and the calling together in the pa of a second council to which he himself was introduced. Some urged the necessity of having one or two days' good fighting as a kind of finishing stroke and the settlement of all differences, but as Titore was away no final resolution was arrived at. It must be understood that Bishop Williams is careful to point out that in the previous campaign of Ngapuhi against Tauranga they had been joined by the Rotorua tribes and the conflict between Rotorua and Tauranga was still going on.

On March 11th, Mr. Williams writes:—"In the afternoon several idle youths crossed over to Ngatiawa, to offer them battle; a few shots exchanged. Toward sunset the parties increased, when one person was brought back dead. Immediately all was confusion and noise, firing guns, wailing and howling in a horrid manner. This last part exclusively belonged to the women, who arranged themselves before the corpse, throwing their bodies into every attitude, filling the air with their lamentations, cutting themselves till the blood gushed out, and besmearing their faces and arms. The frantic widow sat in grief upon

the body of her husband—a most distressing spectacle; tossing her head and her arms around her like one deranged. The chiefs retired to their respective places apparently much chagrined that we should witness their folly, knowing that we should be much displeased at their proceedings."

The firing of musketry was heard beyond the Tumu, a pa of Ngatiawa, at a short distance from Maketu, and within sight, being close to the beach and on the road to Tauranga. The Maketu natives immediately prepared for action, and crossed the river to attack the side of the pa nearest to them, under the idea that Titore and the Rarawa were assaulting the opposite side. They disregarded all remonstrance, and left only women and children behind, expressing their confidence that the pa of the enemy would be taken. As they crossed the river they gathered around their priests, who stood in the water during the performance of a religious ceremony, sprinkling the people occasionally with water, at the conclusion of which they caught up handfuls of sand, and throwing it into the river they all ran off towards the enemy. As they approached the pa they slackened their pace, and most of them were content to sit down under the cover of a rising ground, but few were inclined to expose themselves to the enemy's fire. In about two hours they returned, bringing two wounded men, but none were killed. In the afternoon a party of those who had gone out in the morning returned in a frantic state, exclaiming that Tupaea, the chief of Ngatiawa, and twenty of his people were killed, and their bodies taken, upon which all the women showed the strongest signs of exultation, tossing up their hands, and presenting a most frightful appearance.

On the 11th, Te Amohau, the father of a man who had been shot a few days before, after he had lamented over the corpse, addressed himself to the people, saying, that as he had now lost a son in the war, it was for him to decide what should be done, and that he should proceed with the missionaries and make peace. He wished for no payment on account of his son, his only desire was that these proceedings might be stayed. When Mr. Williams met the old man, he proposed that a letter should be sent in the morning to some of the leading men of the enemy, and if they were willing, he would then accompany the missionaries in their boat to Tauranga to meet Titore and the Rarawa, and at once make peace. The poor man appeared to be

much in earnest, but when at length news arrived that the Rarawa had entered the harbour of Tauranga, and Mr. Williams and Mr. Chapman prepared to depart for that place, Te Amohau was unwilling to go with them; perhaps he thought that now his allies were at hand in strong force, he had a better prospect of effecting the destruction of his enemies.

At Tauranga they found Titore with Papahia, the Rarawa Chief, and Te Rohu, a chief from the Thames, who had joined them with about seventy of his people. Te Rohu seemed to be much surprised that any foreigner should come among them for the purpose of turning them from their ancient custom of killing each other. He spoke of the sufferings of his own people from war, and of their strong desire that missionaries should live among them to preserve peace. When Titore was asked what they proposed to do, he first said that they should fight, but after a private conversation with Papahia he requested Mr. Williams to go to Otumoetai and talk to Ngatiawa. He went, therefore, and told them what Titore had said. They appeared to be rejoiced in the prospect of peace, though doubtful of Titore's sincerity.

The next morning there was the sound of firing in the distance, and by the help of glasses it was observed that the Rarawa were making an attack on Otumoetai, though with much caution; and that the people of the pa were in their trenches, not returning the fire.

It was now evident that there was nothing more to be done by delay. Here was a fresh body of natives just arrived from the north, come with the intention of fighting, and it was clear that they would fight until they were convinced by experience that nothing was to be gained by this course. The missionaries on their part, at great personal sacrifice, had followed them to the scene of warfare; and after three weeks had been spent in fruitless expostulation, they were obliged to leave them to their own devices, and return home to the Bay of Islands, which they reached on the 4th of April.

The war lingered and languished after the departure of the missionaries, and the dying out of active hostilities was marked by the application of Mr. Tapsell, the flax agent at Maketu, for missionaries, desiring that one should be sent to Tauranga, Whakatane, and the River Thames, as the applicant said it would be the means of keeping peace among the tribes.

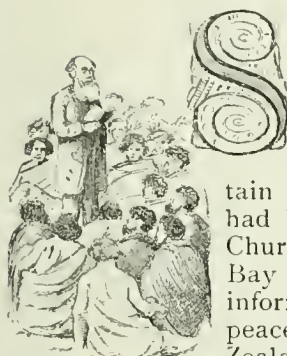
Somewhere in the month of June, 1833, a month at least after the arrival of Mr Busby at the Bay, peace was concluded, and it is significant of the state of Maori society in the Bay of Plenty to know that in a few days after peace was supposed to be established, some of the Rarawa who remained behind were surprised and killed by some of the Tauranga people, which, of course, immediately involved the breaking out of renewed hostilities.





THE WESLEYAN MISSION AT HOKIANGA.

Re-establishment of the Wesleyan mission—Departure of Messrs. Stack and Hobbs—Choice of site—Mangungu selected—Slow progress of the work—Mission stations successfully established at Kawhia and Whaingaroa—Improved prospects of Hokianga—Mr. Turner sent to re-organise the mission—Mission founded at Kaipara—The mission station at Mangungu burned—The mission strengthened.



FRACHAN, in his Life of the Rev. Samuel Leigh, says:—“On 29th August, 1827, the brethren were convened to consider certain communications that had been received from the Church missionaries at the Bay of Islands. Mr. Leigh informed the meeting that peace was restored to New Zealand; that the brethren of the Church Mission had no intention of leaving the country, and that the way was now open for the re-establishment of the Wesleyan Mission. After a little discussion it was unanimously agreed that the missionaries should sail for the Bay of Islands by the first conveyance. In this arrangement they anticipated the decision of the committee in London. On hearing of the destruction of the mission premises at Whangaroa, that committee had held a special meeting at which it was resolved that New Zealand should not be given up while there remained any hope of reclaiming the natives to Christianity, and that the brethren who had left should be requested to return to the country without loss of time.”

When it became known in Sydney that the Wesleyan Mission intended to make another venture in New Zealand, Messrs. Raine and Browne, who had a timber establishment on the Hokianga River, expressed a desire to see

the mission established in the district where their operations were being carried on, promising to render all the aid that was in their power to effect that purpose. The native population was known to be comparatively large in the Hokianga district, and was separated from that portion of the peninsula where the Church Mission was established, and these considerations, combined with the desire expressed in Sydney, caused Hokianga to be chosen for the future field of operations, and induced Messrs. Raine and Browne to send the following letter to Mr. Clarke, the superintendent of their timber yard there:—

Should the missionaries have settled in our neighbourhood, we wish you to show them every attention and civility on our behalf, and to afford them every assistance in our power; and for any work you may do for them keep an account, and take their bill for the amount on the Treasurer of the Society here. With respect to the conduct of the establishment, we trust you will be able to keep it as regular and orderly as possible; and to this end it would be well to limit the issue of spirits, never giving to any man at one time sufficient to produce a bad effect. We request a particular attention to the strict observance of the Sabbath. This has in one or two instances been broken; but never again for the sake of expediting any work of ours let this be the case. The sawyers and carpenters must be expressly forbidden to work for themselves, as some of them have heretofore done, on that day. We can by no means allow it. The ensign hoisted on that day must be understood to proclaim our wishes in this respect.

(Signed) THOMAS RAINE.
GORDON D. BROWNE.

To Mr. Clarke, Superintendent, Houreke, Hokianga.
Mr. Stack, it appears, preceded Mr. Hobbs,

he having been at the Bay of Islands when Mr. Hobbs left Sydney on the 20th of October, 1827, with Captain Kent, of the brig Governor Macquarie, arriving at Hokianga on the 30th of the month following their departure. Mr. Stack, early in the month, wrote from Paihia to the committee, stating that he had returned to New Zealand to recommence the mission, not at Whangaroa, but at Hokianga on the western coast, agreeably to an invitation to the Rev. S. Leigh from Patuone, who, it will be remembered, met the Wesleyan fugitives at the time of their stampede. Mr. Hobbs proceeded up the river on his landing, accompanied by Messrs. Earle and Shand, past the mission station finally selected at Mangungu, to the Waihou, where Patuone had land claims.

The official journal commences on the 14th November, 1827, but the entries it contains are not pertinent to our story before that on Monday, the 14th January, 1828, when Mr. Stack writes: "The Toke or place we have been felling timber at to form a settlement, being now considered by Mr. Hobbs and myself as a disadvantageous place in many respects for a mission station, we have determined to consult the brethren at the Bay of Islands as to whether we had not better remove to a place called Mangungu, which is situated about five miles lower down the harbour. Mangungu possesses advantages of a very superior kind to the Toke. It is centrally situated for having access to the native tribes of all Hokianga by water at any hour of the day or night. It is an open, healthy situation by nature. There is land enough clear on it now to commence building upon immediately. The soil is equally good with Waihou or the Toke. The natives are just situated far enough from it to make it a more desirable mission station, for their contiguity to a mission station never enhances its value. A ship of 500 tons may be moored opposite to it, and within one hundred yards of the dwelling house."

On the 18th of the month Mr. Stack writes: "Mr. Hobbs, accompanied by myself, went down the harbour and engaged to purchase Mangungu from two natives named Ngatume and Wharekaua, who are relations of Patuone. They seemed much pleased at the idea of our buying their place, and agreed most readily to be paid for it in such articles as we think lawful to dispose of. Some 850 acres of bush land were secured at a cost of some £190."

Strachan says that Messrs. Hobbs and Stack, on inquiry, found five lads, who had

formerly lived with them at Whangaroa, expressed their willingness to receive instruction, and render what service they could in return. Those who had fled from Whangaroa of the Ngatiuru, it may be stated, had taken refuge among their kinsmen at Hokianga. Assisted by this little band of juveniles, they commenced on the 19th January — the day following the agreement to purchase — to make preparation for the erection of a wooden house for the accommodation of the family. After erecting a place of shelter, they proposed forming the general outline of their mission premises, and by subsequent and occasional labours filling up and completing the outline.

Up to the middle of 1830, the mission had obtained no success, and those employed in it became apprehensive that orders would come from England to break it up, and Mr. Hobbs wrote to the committee that if they had any such intention they would at least allow him to remain in order that he might make further trial. Later in the year another of the staff wrote on the 29th November: "Our prospects have assumed a more cheering aspect, and we are not without hope that we shall ere long have to report to you the conversion of some of the young men who live with us. The number of natives living with us is thirty-four; of these twenty-eight are young men and boys, and six are young women. At present we can only devote about two hours each day to their instruction in reading and writing. They are catechised generally three evenings every week, and often addressed on some Christian doctrine in addition to the services on the Sabbath."

At the end of the year 1831 the same person writes to the committee: "It is with considerable pleasure that I am able to inform you of the formation of a little class consisting of five members. Four of them are young men and one married. They are not satisfied with meeting once a week, hence we meet on Tuesday and Saturday evenings. They are beginning to be very useful. In case of my absence one of the young men takes school, and also conducts public worship. Several of our boys can read and write, and he who takes charge of the school in my absence has mastered the three first rules of arithmetic. It has frequently afforded me considerable amusement and sincere pleasure in travelling to meet with sentences written on the smooth beaten path with a stick, or on the sand beach by the sea side."

On 24th January, 1833, Mr. Hobbs says:

"For this long time past it has become fashionable for the young people to try to learn to read, and such is the manner in which they teach one another, that very many of them who have never lived at any of the mission stations can read the translated portions of the Scriptures well. Such is the wish of many of the natives to learn to read, that on several occasions they have brought pigs which would weigh from fifty to one hundred pounds, and offered them as a payment for a book consisting of portions of the Scriptures and the Liturgy of the Church of England, which is used here on the Sabbath Day as well as among the Church Missionary brethren." Mr. Hobbs, according to the Wesleyan custom, was about to proceed to

proceed forthwith to visit new stations; Mr. White to Waikato, a large river to the southward, about one hundred miles on the western coast, and I to Kawhia, about half that distance. Mr. White will go from the Bay of Islands in a boat, along the eastern coast to the river Thames, which runs inland to a very short distance of the Waikato River on the western coast. I proceed by land from the head of this harbour.

"February 22nd.—On Saturday evening I went down the river and spent the Sabbath with the natives and Europeans at the Heads, and on Monday proceeded towards Kawhia, where I arrived on the evening of the following day. No missionary has ever visited these natives before, yet they have erected a chapel



The Rev. J. Whitely.



The Rev. James Wallis.

join the mission at Tonga, when Mr. White with Mr. Whitely alone constituted the teaching staff. Mr. White, it should have been said, joined the mission early in 1830.

Mr. Whitely arrived at the Bay of Islands on May 21st, 1833. The mission he found enlarging and needing more labourers. The schools were very promising. At a public examination four hundred scholars attended. They were of all descriptions. Chiefs, with old men and young, old women and girls, and slaves of both sexes submitted to catechetical examination.

Mr. Whitely's journal furnishes us with the following extracts: "February 11th, 1834.—It has been agreed that Mr. White and I shall

and have obtained books, and to the best of their knowledge have, for some time past, regularly attended to the ordinances of religion as taught by the missionaries in other parts of the island." That they made a somewhat protracted stay appears evident from Mr. Woon, who had joined the mission from Tonga as a printer, writing from Mangungu May 26, 1834, saying: "In the absence of Messrs. White and Whitely, the one being at Waikato and the other at Wangape, I had to perform the services. The native chapel was crowded to excess, and great numbers had to sit outside for want of room. Some of the worshippers on this occasion had come as much as forty miles. A few years ago only a

few obscure individuals attended the means of grace, but now hundreds flock together to hear words by which they may be saved, and every one seems anxious about salvation, their singing, prayers, and attention to the classes and other ordinances of religion. On the above-mentioned occasion, a great chief from Mangamuka, a place about fifteen miles off, assembled with his countrymen, for the first time, to profess his attachment to Christianity, and almost every Sabbath strangers make their appearance, who have been invited by their neighbours and friends to forsake their heathenish pursuits."

On the 27th July, 1834, there was a marked day at Mangungu. It was Sunday, and fourteen couples were married and eighty-one persons baptized. "Yesterday afternoon," the journal says, "our place was thronged with canoes from different parts of the river, and our chapel, at morning service, was crowded and overflowing. The Sabbath was ushered in as usual by a crowded assembly of natives for prayers; at nine o'clock the bell was rung for public worship, after which the matrimonial business commenced. The form adopted by the Church of England and translated into the New Zealand tongue was used. Most of the afternoon was taken up in attending to the baptisms, which, for want of chapel room, took place in the open air. The weather was unsettled and very heavy rain compelled us to conclude rather abruptly."

On 18th August of the same year, the following entry appears: "At one of the native villages, since my last visit, they have built a new chapel and are very urgent for a native teacher to be left with them; but as I had no one with me that could conveniently be left, one of their party returned with me to fetch one; and to-day one of our baptized natives has gone with him to instruct him and his people."

On the 1st December of the same year, Mr. and Mrs. Wallis arrived in Hokianga in the Brazil Packet, Capt. Crowe, from Hobartown, to join the mission. For some time Mr Wallis assisted in building the chapel that was being built, after a somewhat long delay, the service having before this date been held in a building not erected for or adapted for religious worship.

In April, 1835, Mr. Wallis was at Whangaroa, whither he had proceeded in a vessel chartered by Mr. White for the purpose of locating Mr. Whitely and himself at southern stations. Mr. Whitely was at Kawhia, on the southern side of the harbour, and Mr. Wallis at Whangaroa. (The "i"

was inserted in the word "Whangaroa," to make it distinctive from the Whangaroa on the east coast.) Mr. Wallis, writing to the committee on the 18th January, 1836, says: "On my arrival among this people, in April last, I was led by their general deportment to entertain a hope that they would gladly receive the instructions of the Christian missionary, and these expectations I am now delightfully realising. Several large and influential tribes have come forward professing their attachment to Christianity. I have been frequently much delighted with the passive manner in which they place themselves under our direction. Forbearing to exercise their own judgment, they cheerfully and confidently pursue any course of conduct to which we may direct them. This confidence is not founded on any good opinion entertained by them of European settlers in general, but on the great objects of your mission; hence they frequently remark that as a missionary does not come to get their pigs, and corn, and potatoes, and flax and timber, he must be a good man and a proper person to govern and direct them."

During his residence he had baptized many infants and married several persons. Many of them frequently brought pigs to the settlement to purchase a book which Mr. Wallis was not able to supply, who speaks of the reluctance with which they drove the pigs back to their disappointed home. "All our services," he writes, "are well attended. The number of our hearers is, on the Sabbath-day, on most occasions, between 400 and 500. The atonement of Christ for the transgression of man seems to be a subject as exactly adapted to their understanding as it is to their moral condition, owing perhaps to their familiarity with the law of recompense as instituted among themselves. They come to the settlement on the Saturday evening, bringing their food with them, and return home on Monday morning. Our Sabbath services consist of preaching morning and evening, meeting two classes, and catechising the natives who come from different villages. Four other evenings of the week are occupied with class meetings, one with catechising the settlement natives, and the other (Saturday) in administering medicines, etc., to the natives, and in preparing for the duties of the approaching Sabbath." "The present number of scholars in our school," Mr. Wallis further writes, "is about three hundred, many of whom read with an ease and correctness truly astonishing."

The experience of Mr. Whitely at Kawhia

would be similar to that of Mr. Wallis at Whaingaroa.

On the 5th February, 1835, writing from Mangungu, the chronicler says: "From the various outstations we had on our beach fifty-three canoes, which in all, I suppose, contained about one thousand persons. They brought their own provisions with them, and several came from the distance of twenty-six, and two or three more than thirty miles. Our new chapel, which was not then covered in, was crowded, and several sat outside. After the service was over an examination in reading and writing took place, when we had present fifty-eight males, chiefly young men and boys, who could read the New Testament and write a good hand. The number of females present who could read was twenty, making in all seventy-eight persons. There were also many who had not courage to come forward for examination because they could not read without spelling."

The same correspondent says: "Several chiefs have lately declared in favour of Christianity. I name two—Tawhai and Miti. They are both about thirty-five years of age. The former has been one of the most successful and celebrated warriors in the land. These two chiefs, with all their people, including some old gray-headed cannibals, are now sitting like the man in the gospel out of whom the foul spirit had been cast, anxious to learn and ready to embrace the will of God. We have cut a road through a dense forest from behind our settlement, about six miles, that we may be able to visit them on horseback. Moetara, a popular chief at the entrance of the harbour, and about twenty-four miles from this station, has within the last month expressed a strong desire for a teacher. Some of his friends have embraced the truth, but he says he will not unless he has a missionary stationed at his village."

The chapel to which allusion had been made was a plain but substantial "shell of a wooden oblong building." The Rev. J. Buller writes: "The materials had been sawn and put together by native workmen under European supervision. It held about five hundred

people, seated on the floor after their fashion. The only seats provided were for the mission families, and these were near the pulpit. On a high pole in the front hung the bell. Behind the church were some small rooms; on the same level, and not far from it, was the school-house. Descending from the church and close to the water's edge, there was a capacious dwelling-house of one story enclosed by a high paling fence. A little higher up on one side of the dwelling-house, was a raupo building of several rooms. Attached was an orchard of apples and other trees. On the opposite side of the mission section, some hundred yards, there was another and larger house built of raupo, in which Mr. Woon and his family lived."



The Rev. James Buller.

Close by the whare occupied by the Woon family was the burial-ground, protected by a rude fence and overshadowed by willows. There were many graves, some of them having head marks. Many of the occupants had been drowned in the river. Some low huts served as dormitories for the natives who lived at the station as workmen and domestic servants. By the river side there was a boat-house. A row of stout piles stretched out to low water mark. In the erection of the buildings no plan or order had been observed. Neither meadow nor garden met the eye. Flocks of goats wandered over the place.

Such Mangungu appeared to Mr. Buller, who came there in April, 1836, as tutor to the family of Rev. N. Turner. The latter's son, who became his father's biographer, remarks: "The New Zealand mission had become sadly disordered, and Mr. Turner had been appointed to proceed thither and direct its affairs as chairman. This was a severe trial, especially as he had a large family, for whom New Zealand could not supply the education they needed. The committee, however, had written to him in the kindest manner, expressing regret that they had felt compelled to lay such a burden on him, yet hoping for his compliance, if only for two or three years, until the affairs of the mission should be brought into a better state. He could not leave any of

his children behind him as boarders in Sydney, and his parental anxiety was considerable. A kind Providence, however, relieved his difficulty. At that juncture, Mr. James Buller, an intelligent young married man, with good credentials as a local preacher, arrived from England, and Mr. Turner engaged him as tutor to his family in New Zealand for two years."

Mr. White, whom Mr. Turner superseded, was immersed in timber and land speculations, contrary to the rules of the society, and was the cause of the "disorder" Mr. Turner had been appointed to repress. The Rev. James Wallis, soon after his arrival, made a complaint against

Mr. White to the mission authorities in England, and wrote that the New Zealand Mission required the immediate inspection and oversight of one who, regardless of human favour or power would prove himself a servant of God.

Mr. White, soon after Mr. Turner's arrival, went to England, and his connection with the mission was severed.

In 1835, Messrs. Whitely and Wallis, as we have

already seen, were successful in forming mission stations at Kawhia and Whaingaroa. Raupo chapels, dwelling and school-houses, were erected at both places, the natives eager to receive missionary instruction, and all the elements of a successful settlement surrounded the teachers. But, pursuant to an arrangement between the London committees of the Church and Wesleyan Missionary Societies, as to the territorial limits of mission operations, Messrs. Wallis and Whitely were withdrawn from their respective scenes of labour, and Mr. Turner was instructed to carry out the arrangements

agreed upon. Mr. Wallis arrived in company with Mr. Whitely on the 17th June, 1836, at Hokianga, and in the same month proceeded to Kaipara, where he found the people in a mood for instruction. Later, he removed to Kaipara and founded the mission there, as Mr. Turner, under date 13th April, 1837, writes: "Mr. Wallis has also lately removed to the place we have fixed upon and purchased for a permanent mission in the district of Kaipara." The Society had purchased about three hundred acres, for which about £40 was paid. Mr. Turner further adds, "It is from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and

fifty miles up a most splendid river named Wairoa, which is navigable for vessels of considerable burden nearly one hundred miles up, and I suppose for vessels of one hundred tons burden up to the mission station. The native name of the place is Mangakahia."

The mission was under the protection of Te Tirarau, its site not being far from his pa. Two Europeans living there—all the white men in the Kaipara—cut the timber for the



The Rev. John H. Bumbo.

mission station, and Meurant (a name well known in early days, helped to build the house, with which Mr. Wallis himself aided. After a comparatively short stay, considering the hardship of pioneering, Mr. Wallis returned to the station in the south, which the committee now desired should be resumed, and Mr. Buller, whose term of engagement with Mr. Turner had for some time been up, took the Kaipara station, which he occupied for some time and did much to improve.

Concerning the suspended missions at Kawhia and Whaingaroa, the Rev. John Whitely said: "Some time ago, 25th April, 1837, the

principal chief and others from Whaingaroa paid us a visit to Mangungu, and it appears that they are still attending to the ordinances of religion. They were very urgent for books and a bell for public service, and the chief, in pleading their claims for a missionary, said, of the address which I gave them on going away, one word stuck by him which he had not forgotten. 'It was this,' said he; 'the tide ebbs and it gets very low, but it does not always ebb; by and by it flows again.' He then exclaimed, 'When will the tide flow and bring us a missionary?'

"I was much surprised some time ago by a visit of twelve of my old friends from Waiharakeke, and the more so because of the difficulties I knew they especially would have to encounter during the journey. They came by land, were about three weeks on their journey, and had to pass through an enemy's country, who, had they known them to belong to the Ngatimaniapoto tribe, would doubtless not have suffered them to escape alive. They dare not return by land and are for the present waiting in hope that something will be done in the way of providing them with a missionary. They

meet regularly at my old station for public worship. The number of worshippers has greatly multiplied and there is a general expectation that I shall return to them."

The Rev. John Beecham, one of the Secretaries to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, stated in May, 1838: "From other communications which we have received, it appears that the people to whom these extracts refer had built themselves several chapels, and that they had paid five several visits to their former teachers praying them to return. By subsequent arrangements which we have with the Church Missionary Committee,

it is agreed we shall permanently re-occupy these two stations; and as at the date of the latest of these accounts Mr. Wallis had gone to them with several native teachers, we expect the stations are now in active operation."

At the latter end of 1837, there were fifteen chapels or out-stations in connection with the parent chapel, if it may be so called, at Mangungu, all on the Hokianga River, with the exception of the one at Whangape. A printing press having been erected at Mangungu during the same year, there were printed 200 copies of a small first book of four pages; 2,000 of a Harmony of the Gospels, and lessons from the Acts of the Apostles, 120 pages duodecimo; 1,000 of Church of England Liturgy, etc., twelve pages; 1,000 hymn books; 1,000 Conference First Catechism Scripture Names, etc., twelve pages; 1,000 Compendium of Short Lessons on the leading doctrines and ordinances of the Gospel; 1,000 rules of the Methodist Society and tickets of membership.

In a letter of the 22nd August, 1838, Mr. Turner reports the destruction of the mission house and

store at Mangungu by fire, in the night of the 18th of that month, with such rapidity that his sickly wife and their nine children were rescued with some difficulty from the flames. The loss of property was estimated at £800. He writes: "Our natives in general acted a noble part in attempting to save whatever they could from the devouring element; nor are we aware of any among them having been guilty of pilfering on the occasion. What a contrast between them and those by whom we suffered the loss of all but life in 1827."

On Sunday, the 18th November, 1838, there were a thousand worshippers at the mission



The Rev. John Warren.

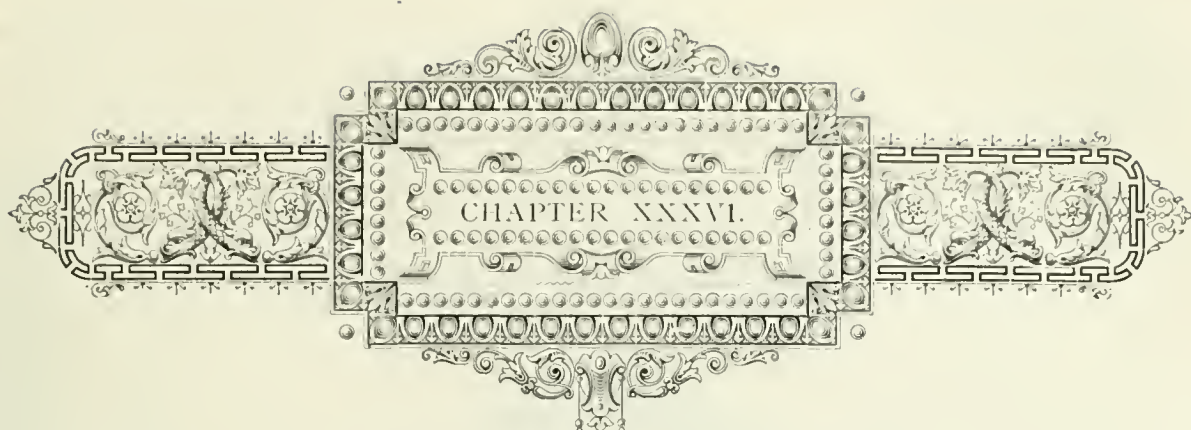
station. The chapel was more than filled. From end to end, from side to side, it was crowded. The window sills were thronged, and every rising slope close by was taken up. Mohi Tawhia and others had induced the Christians of the settlement to give place to strangers. With the utmost good will and decorum this had been done. After Mr. Hobbs had preached from "Go ye into all the world," etc., 138 adults and 46 children were baptized. Several of these were of the first rank, and had for some years gainsaid mission teaching. Among these was Hongi, eldest son of Te Pahi, a principal chief of Whangaroa, and brother of Tara, of Boyd notoriety. Another was his wife, a woman of rank, who was supposed to have been in league with Ora, who led the taua at Whangaroa when the missionaries were made the subjects of muru, and whom the missionaries, after their return to Hoki-

anga, were careful to state had been eaten by dogs.

The mission was reinforced on 19th March, 1839, by the Rev. J. H. Bumby, who was accompanied by his sister, Miss Bumby, and the Revs. Samuel Ironside and Charles Creed, with their wives. The Rev. James Warren had been of the party, but had been detained at Hobartown in the place of Rev. John Hobbs.

Mr. Bumby, who had the charge of the mission, frequently said the natives were far in advance of what he had expected. According to the latest returns, the Rev. John Beecham said, in July, 1840, there were connected with the Wesleyan mission nearly 1,300 communicants or accredited members of society, and about 600 more who were on trial as catechumens. The cost of the mission was about £4,000 per annum.





HOKIANGA: THE TIMBER TRADE AND PROGRESS OF SETTLEMENT.

Captain Kent's visit to Hokianga—Kent's marriage to the "Amohia" of Domett's poem—The first sheep and cattle station established at Hokianga—Te Waenga's daughter thwarts an attempt to seize Kent's vessel—Ship-building commenced at Hokianga by Sydney merchants—Wreck of the Enterprise, and murder of her crew—A colony of sawyers protected by Patuone—Pioneer settlers—A man who kept his coffin in stock—The New Zealander brig built at Hokianga—Declaration that New Zealand was not British territory—Growth of the timber trade—Purchase of Hokianga dockyard by Lieutenant McDonnell—Difficulty in registering New Zealand-built vessels—Wreck of the New Zealander—Wreck of the Fortitude, Captain Clendon, and resultant native war—Marmon fighting on the side of Patuone's tribe—H.M.S. Buffalo loaded with spars in 1838—Titore's letter to King William—Meeting at Hokianga to suppress grog-selling—"The battle of plank," a war between sawyers and a sea captain—A tragedy of the sea: the crew throw a captain overboard—Growth of population and lack of magisterial authority—Some early settlers at Hokianga.



CAPTAIN KENT, who commanded the brig Governor Macquarie, that brought Earle and Shand to Hokianga, was called by some the pioneer of the river trade, he having supplied the natives early with seeds. He married a sister of Moetara, a chief of Ngatikorokoro, a tribe famous in Maoridom for its beautiful and graceful women. Her name was Wharo. She did not, however, live long, as Kent had a second wife in 1830, who was a daughter of Potatau, called Tiria, who lived at Kawhia and is said to have been the Amohia of Domett. Kent bought a large piece of land from the natives at Hokianga called Koutumongero, where Captain Young subsequently lived, commonly known as One Tree Point, from its containing

a large pohutukawa tree which was used as a gallows when cattle were killed. The land was sold by Ngatikorokoro, Te Poro, and others, and paid for in trade. It subsequently passed into the hands of a Sydney firm named Mitchell, with whom Captain Young made arrangements for purchase and possession. He occupied it in 1831, bringing down cattle and sheep to stock "the run." There being no grass on the land the sheep wandered and fed Maori dogs, while the cattle thrived and multiplied.

Kent in the Governor Macquarie had evidently made one or more trips in the same vessel before taking Mr. and Mrs. Hobbs there as passengers. He continued in command of the Prince Regent, the first vessel crossing the bar in 1820, until early in 1823, when he became master of the Mermaid cutter. We next find him in command of the colonial vessel, Elizabeth Henrietta, which was wrecked at Goulbourn Island, Ruapuki, on the 25th February, 1824, and seems to have been a valuable vessel from the efforts made

to get her off the beach. She was eventually burned to save her iron work. Kent next appears in the Governor Macquarie and would appear to have been there about the same time as Herd in the *Rosanna*.

It would appear as if the evil habits of the natives had grown apace with their European communication, as Polack relates how a plan was organised to cut off Kent's ship. When she had anchored in the river, the natives flocked on board in such numbers that it was found impossible to move. Te Waenga, a priest at the Heads, early came on board. He was among the visitors to the *Dromedary* in 1820. Soon after the arrival of Captain Kent, it was proposed to seize and strip the vessel and to eat the crew. The chief officer, whose name was Martin, had formed an intimacy with the daughter of Te Waenga, who informed her lover of the Maori design. Hospitality and courtesy were continued by the natives to lull suspicion; but Captain Kent, being forewarned of the proposed plot, at dusk placed a gun at each side

of the deck with their breeches against the traffrail, filled with grape shot, that should an attempt be made to take the vessel, the actors should smart for their temerity. As the period approached, the master and mate alone remained on deck, close to the guns, prepared to defend themselves. The natives, who had crowded on deck, suddenly commenced hostilities by stripping off their only garments, dancing naked the war dance; on which the daughter rushed before the guns and called out aloud to the natives that their intentions

were discovered, imploring them to fly instantly, or not one would escape death by the discharge of *na purepo*, or the great guns. The terrified assailants cleared off instantly by jumping into the river and swimming on shore, leaving their garments behind. Te Waenga was in the act of following their example when his daughter captured him by the heel. The old man was treated kindly for the service his daughter had performed, and it was agreed that the natives should scrape flax for the white people, and

that the mate should return and reside on shore.

Martin subsequently became the river pilot, and married the damsel who had done him so great a service, and who in after years was known as "Maori Kate," having done as Ruth did, declaring that her husband's people should be her people and his God her God.

Earle relates how he proceeded up the river with the vessel until the morning of the 6th November, but could not proceed far, as the "shoals were becoming

so numerous as to render the navigation dangerous. But here," he says, "we beheld with both surprise and satisfaction a most unexpected sight, namely, a snug little colony of our own countrymen, comfortably settled and usefully employed in this savage and unexplored country. Some enterprising merchants of Port Jackson have established here a dockyard and a number of sawpits. Several vessels have been laden with timber and spars; one vessel has been built, launched, and sent to sea from this spot, and another of



Te Waenga,
High Priest of Hokianga River entrance.

a hundred and fifty tons burthen was then on the stocks.

"On landing at this establishment at Horeke, or, as the Englishmen have called it, Deptford, I was greatly delighted with the appearance of order, bustle, and industry it presented. Here were storehouses, dwelling-houses, and various offices for the mechanics; and every department seemed as well filled as it could have been in a civilised country. To me the most interesting circumstance was to notice the great delight of the natives, and the pleasure they seemed to take in observing the progress of the various works. All were officious to 'lend a hand,' and each seemed eager to be employed. This feeling corresponds with my idea of best civilising a savage. Nothing can more completely show the importance of the useful arts than a dockyard. In it are practised nearly all the mechanical trades, and these present to the busy inquiring mind of the New Zealander a practical encyclopædia of knowledge. When he sees the combined exertions of the smith and carpenter create so huge a fabric as a ship, his mind is filled with wonder and delight, and when he witnesses the moulding of the iron at the anvil it excites his astonishment and emulation.

"The people of the dockyard informed me that although it was constantly crowded with natives, scarcely anything had ever been stolen, and all the chiefs in the neighbourhood took so great an interest in the work that any annoyance offered to those employed would immediately be revenged as a personal affront."

The merchants mentioned by Mr. Earle were Messrs. Raine, Ramsay, and Browne, of Sydney, of whom in May preceding the following notice appeared in the *Sydney Gazette*: "A branch of commerce has been entered into by Messrs. Raine and Ramsay. The speculation consists of an extension of the trade with New Zealand. A cargo of produce was brought up the other day in the barque *Faith*, probably consisting of spars, fine deal planks, and forty tons of flax." And some three weeks later the same journal says: "About fifty Englishmen from this port are at Hokianga, sawing deals and instructing the natives in shipbuilding."

Early in the year, in January, the following advertisement appeared in the *Gazette*:—

NEW ZEALAND SPARS.

Raine and Ramsay have received per *Faith*, and have for sale, an excellent assortment of the above, consisting of rickers to masts of 80 feet, which may be seen at Fowler's Sawpits, Cockle Bay.

The dockyard mentioned in the narrative of Earle was opposite to the mission station at Mangungu, to the westward, and the vessel which had "been built, launched and sent to sea from this place," was the *Enterprise*. When Earle landed at Hokianga she was at Sydney, whither she had taken a mixed cargo of produce. He says: "While we were lying at the mouth of the river, in April, 1828, for a chance to get out, the *Enterprise* was wrecked a few miles to the northward of the river's mouth and every soul on board perished. It was perceived but too plainly, from the appearance of the wreck and the boat and by finding also the clothes of the crew, that they had reached the shore in safety and had afterwards all been murdered; but how or by whom it was impossible to discover. The most probable conclusion was that the tribes situated around the European dockyard, having meditated for some time past a great warlike expedition, waited the return of the vessel from Sydney to possess themselves of an additional supply of arms and ammunition which might enable them to take the field with a certainty of conquest. They had regularly purchased the cargo of this vessel by their labour and merchandise, and the schooner was merely employed to convey it thither from Sydney for the use of the natives; unhappily for the poor creatures on board, in running for the mouth of the river she fell to leeward and got stranded on the beach in the very territory of that tribe against whom these preparations were made—the tribe intended to be invaded.

"Moetara no sooner heard of the fate of the vessel and her crew than he hastened to the spot. It was owing to the investigation which then took place that the conclusion was arrived at that all had been murdered. Moetara commenced obtaining compensation for the loss by killing the people to the north, and returned laden with spoil. The action of Moetara gave confidence to the settlers."

Polack says the *Enterprise* was well-spoken of, being put together of puriri and rata, and planked with kauri.

Returning to Earle, who writes on the 7th November: "We all embarked in a canoe in order to reach the head of the river before we began our pedestrian tour; and after paddling eight or nine miles further up, where the river became exceedingly narrow, we came to another English settlement. This consisted of a party of men who had come out in the *Rosanna*, the vessel employed by the New Zealand Company. When all ideas of

settling were totally abandoned by the officers sent out for that purpose, these men chose rather to remain by themselves than to return home; and we found them busily employed in cutting timber, sawing planks, and making oars for the Sydney market. The chief of the district, whose name is Patuone, has taken these industrious men under his special protection, and seemed very proud of having a settlement of that kind in his territories."

The persons mentioned as staying behind when the *Rosanna*, Captain Herd, returned to England, were Scotch carpenters and cabinet-makers. Their names were

McLean, Nimmo, Gillies, and Nesbitt. Although Earle found them

on the banks of the Waihou, their stay there was not of any long duration, as on his return from the Bay of Islands they were squatting on the land Kent originally purchased, but which at a later date became the property of Captain Young. Subsequently to Captain Young's arrival in 1831, they again went up to Motukauri, where they purchased a location. McLean was the first who died. He was spoken of in "Old New Zealand" as

being the friend who welcomed Maning on his arrival. Nesbitt removed to the Bay of Islands. Nimmo purchased 200 acres of land, in 1831, for £80 5s. They had houses and land fenced in before Captain Young's arrival. The Rev. Mr. Buller, who saw Nimmo in 1869, when he was over seventy years of age, writes: "He lived alone, and had things very natty. Nor was he unmindful of death, for he had long before made his own coffin, lest no one should do it for him. More than once his ready-made coffin was in request; first for the

corpse of the late Mrs. McDonnell, then for that of Mr. Trusted; and now he had all the boards ready to make a third. Moreover, he had chosen the spot for his grave." Some time after his removal up the river, Nimmo returned to Waipuna, and the Crown grant for Kent's first purchase was ordered to be issued, when surveyed, to George Nimmo.

Early in 1828, we find a New Zealand timber yard advertised in Sydney, owned by Mr. Gordon D. Browne. White pine spars and rickers of all sizes were said to be for sale, and deals, from four inches thick down-

wards, at 20s. per hundred feet; pine oars, from ten to thirty feet, at 9d. per foot; and good pork, in tierces, at 4½d. per lb.

Later in the year the advertisement is altered thus: "1 inch boards, 20s. per 100 feet superficial; 1½ inch, 17s. 6d.; 2 inch, 16s. 6d.; 3 inch, 15s.; 4 inch, 14s.; ½ inch, 16s. per 100 feet running. The above prices to be in dollars at five shillings, if payment be made on delivery, but sterling if booked. No credit given on orders under £20."

When Earle was returning from the Bay of Islands, where he

had stayed at Kororareka from November to April, he found the people at the dockyard in much concern respecting a probable war among the tribes. They had another vessel near completion, larger than the *Enterprise*, called the *New Zealander*, a brig of 200 tons, and were anxious to see its peaceful completion. Earle says: "Several native chiefs had encamped around the settlement. The settlers had fortified their place in the best manner they could, and were determined to defend themselves and their property to the last. They



Patuone.

had four nine-pounders mounted on a hill and a tolerable battery made of three inch pine stuff.

"Before the settlers erected their fortifications there was a great difference of opinion as to the propriety and utility of adopting so strong a measure, and the question was finally put to the vote, when the majority proved to be in favour of a strong resistance.

"I opposed the measure all I could, for I felt convinced that in the event of our allies being worsted we all should be involved in one common massacre; whereas if no resistance was made, plunder alone would have been the extent of the injury we should suffer, and even of that taking place I had strong doubts. However, as my opinion was overruled I had to submit, which I did unhesitatingly, and, like a good soldier, I held myself in readiness in case of an attack.

"The proprietor and manager of the dockyard possessed certainly a 'satisfying reason' for striving to defend himself at all hazards. The vessel I had left here on my former visit in frame was now nearly completed, and a most beautiful one she was. He told me that he would much rather part with life than see her destroyed, and I confess I could fully enter into his feelings on the subject; but as I had no such object at stake, and was not quite enthusiastic enough to fight for a vessel I had no share in, I felt very much inclined to let the natives war among themselves without interference; but as we Europeans had agreed to assist each other, I would not be behind-hand."

The New Zealander was not, however, completed as speedily as was anticipated, as it was not until the middle of December that she arrived in Sydney, laden with flax and planking. She was a brigantine, with the figure-head of a New Zealander—hence her name—and was said to be one of the prettiest vessels of her class that ever entered the Sydney harbour. She brought to Port Jackson no less than twelve passengers, and performed the trip in less than six days, the quickest passage at that time recorded.

It appeared, however, that, shortly after the arrival of the New Zealander in Port Jackson, a difficulty arose about her admission to the privileges of registry. By the Registry Act then in operation vessels to be registered as British required to be wholly built in the British dominions or in British colonies, or have been condemned as prizes of war; the consequence being that the New Zealander was only permitted to trade between Sydney

and New Zealand under a licence from the Collector of Customs. It was about this period that the doubt arose in the official mind of Great Britain and New South Wales whether New Zealand was a portion of the British Empire, and this matter of the registry of the New Zealander, which had been referred to the Home Government for direction, seems to have caused the fact to be known that the royal instructions issued to Governors since the time of Macquarie had omitted to include New Zealand in the colony of New South Wales, although the country was included in the instructions of Governor Phillip.

Governor Macquarie acted as though New Zealand was an undoubted British possession, but on referring to the New South Wales Act (9 Geo. IV.) for regulating the trial by jury of actions at law brought in the Supreme Court, we find a declaration to the contrary. The Act, in the fourth section, empowers the Supreme Court to hear and determine all offences of what nature and kind soever committed in New Zealand by British subjects, but its words are:—"The islands of New Zealand, Otaeite, or any other island, county, or place situate in the Indian or Pacific Oceans and not subject to His Majesty or to any European power or state."

Early in 1829 the firm of Raine and Ramsay became insolvent, a circumstance which caused the dockyard at Hokianga to pass into other hands and the withdrawal of the firm from the trade they had been so active in developing.

About the middle of 1829, we are told by the *Gazette* of there being a "very bustling commerce now going forward at New Zealand." The brig Governor Macquarie, which had only lately arrived, reported no less than seven trading vessels belonging to New South Wales then off the coast. The Harmony, Captain Church, was in the Bay of Plenty taking in spars; the Sophia, Captain Elley, was in the Thames, similarly engaged; while the Surrey (Dacre), the City of Edinburgh (Clendon), the Roslyn Castle (Duff), and the New Zealander (Clarke), were all at Hokianga, and the Hunter schooner was sealing in Cook Strait.

The Captain Dacre here mentioned as master of the Surrey was previously master of the London Missionary Society's schooner Endeavour, which, as narrated on page 277, visited Whangaroa in 1824. He was one of the most enterprising of the early traders, and visited many of the coastal settlements.

The Sir George Murray was the next vessel laid down at the Horeke by Messrs Raine and

Ramsay. She arrived at Port Jackson about the end of November, 1830. Her burthen was 394 tons. She was commanded by Captain Clarke, under whose superintendence she was built, and carried a crew of twenty-three. She was laden with flax and timber. The *Gazette* remarks: "She is a fine vessel, and considering that she was built entirely, equipped, manned and laden at the uncivilised islands of New Zealand, she reflects the highest honour upon the enterprise of Captain Raine and all connected with her construction."

Polack says: "Three smaller vessels were built at the same river, *i.e.*, the Hokianga, but they all shared a similar fate to their precursors, and were in each instance seized and burnt by the natives."

At the end of the year, we are told that a Mr. Mears and another proposed forming a timber yard at Whangaroa, and that Mears and his partner had built the Sir George Murray.

From uncertain causes the Sir George Murray was put into the whaling trade and sold in January, 1831, to Lieutenant McDonnell for the sum of £1300, the purchaser running the risk of the lack of the ship's register. With the purchase of the vessel McDonnell appears to have become the purchaser of the dockyard at Hokianga, as on the 31st March, the date of the vessel's sailing to Hokianga, there are found among the passengers Mrs. McDonnell, two children and domestic servant; Messrs. Weller and Wright, and Samuel Egert, Thomas Wilson, Thomas Cassidy, Edmond Ruff, John Baker, Alexander Chapman, John Rowe, Isaac Palmer, and W. Edge, mechanics.

McDonnell's visit to New Zealand on this occasion lasted only to the 5th of August, for we find him back in Sydney with the Sir George Murray, after a voyage of twenty-seven days from Hokianga, having Mrs. McDonnell and two children passengers and a Mr. Weller who went with him on his voyage in March.

As Lieutenant McDonnell was a prominent figure in the early days of the colony, a brief sketch of his career prior to arrival in the colony may appropriately be given here. Lieutenant Thomas McDonnell was

born in the year 1788, in County Antrim, Ireland, and belonged to the Antrim family. He was a Commander in H.M. Navy and served in the American war and afterwards on the coast of Africa putting down the slave trade. Leaving the Navy he entered the East India Company's service and commanded one of the East Indiamen. Having plenty of means of his own he accompanied Sir Frederick Henniker in his travels in Egypt and the Holy Land. He afterwards travelled far and wide in India. Purchasing a smart vessel he converted her into an opium clipper and traded to China. He after this went for a cruise to the South Seas, visited New Zealand, and roughly surveyed portions of the coast and the Kaipara and Hokianga bar

rivers, entered Hawke's Bay and discovered Port Ahuriri Napier, which he named "McDonnell's Cove," and it is so marked on old maps. Struck with the splendid forests of kauri in Hokianga he reported to the Admiralty and his friend, the late Lord Derby, who took the greatest interest in this colony. He proceeded to Sydney some time in 1828-9, and purchased there, for some £350, land owned in Hokianga by a Sydney firm. He returned to New Zealand and made other purchases from the Maoris and enlarged the boundaries of the land purchased in Sydney. His appointment as British Resident, and other incidents connected with his



Lieut. Thos. McDonnell.

life in New Zealand, will be alluded to in the regular course of our story.

In January, 1832, the Sydney authorities had received instructions as to the registration of vessels such as the New Zealander, not built in places within the British dominion. The ruling of authority was that vessels built at places not British possessions were not entitled to a British register, but could be allowed to trade between New South Wales and the islands in which they were built, under an Order in Council, dated 16th July, 1827. She did not, however, appear to have complied with the conditions of the law, as in January, 1833, the customs authorities seized her for non-compliance with the custom laws. The hardship of the case was well stated at the time. There were two vessels frequenting the

Sydney port at the same time, built in the same place, *i.e.*, the *New Zealander* and the *Sir George Murray*. The latter, sailing under a foreign flag, could arrive at Port Jackson with a foreign cargo and foreign crew. She could cast anchor within a pistol shot of the custom house, and within view of the collector. She could discharge her cargo upon paying the prescribed dues, and she could then bid the port and its people farewell, whenever it might suit the pleasure or convenience of the owner or commander. "And yet," says the *Gazette*, "if the same vessel, under British colours, with a British owner, and a British crew, trading among the islands, were to put in here, she would be liable to seizure should she not have a certain piece of paper called a register on board."

The vessel was, however, delivered up to the charge of the owner, upon his entering into sureties of double the amount of the value of the vessel and cargo, pending the decision of the Imperial authorities as to what course they elected to adopt to insure entire compliance with the law.

The *New Zealander* continued running until 1836, being employed in various commercial pursuits and regarded as the swiftest sailer out of Port Jackson. She had been purchased by Messrs. Grose and Sherwin and left Sydney on a New Zealand trading voyage in June, 1836, under the command of Captain Bryce; supercargo, Mr. Sherwin. She arrived at the Bay of Islands on the 1st of July, and sailed from thence about the 8th for the East Coast. A cargo consisting of 3000 bushels of maize and ten tons of pork having been obtained along the coast, it was resolved to return to Sydney, when, being at anchor at Table Cape, a heavy sea set in shore with a smart breeze. The captain sought to get under weigh, it being an exposed anchorage, when the cable parted. The ship continued to tack about for some time, but not making any headway the master ordered another anchor to be lowered and the sails furled. The breeze subsided shortly afterwards, but a heavy sea still continued and swept away the second anchor and cable, driving the vessel on the rocks upon which she settled, Polack says, "on the same spot that the brig *Byron*, in 1832, commanded by Captain Kent, was wrecked. In the morning the crew succeeded in reaching the shore, and afterwards unrigging the vessel and saving what they could. The natives helped themselves to the cargo and the sailors' clothes. Intelligence of the wreck was sent overland—the wreck was off the Mahia—to the schooner

Harlequin, which speedily got under weigh and took Captain Bryce and his crew on board."

The demand for timber for the Admiralty of long lengths—masts from 60 to 78 feet in length, and 23 inches in diameter—led to a search being made of the various inlets on the coast. Captain Dacre, in this pursuit, took two vessels into the Kaipara Harbour, being the first white man to cross the Kaipara bar. While there the chief who had undertaken to assist him in supplying the freight, demanded some powder, blankets, and muskets on account, and adopted a menacing attitude towards Captain Dacre and his party, who only had about fifty men, while the tribe mustered a thousand. The captain, however, threatened to throw the chief overboard, and the dusky warrior was so taken aback by the audacity of the stranger, and his respect for him was so much enhanced, that he put on more men and earned his pay.

Some of these early traders had strange experiences. During a visit to the Thames on one occasion, a kit was forwarded to Captain Dacre, with an intimation that it contained *kaikai* for the *rangatira*. Upon opening it he saw, to his horror and disgust, the cooked breast of a Maori girl. Another incident which befel the same trader at the Bay of Islands illustrates the sacred character of a chief's head. While Captain Dacre's vessel was loading at the Bay of Islands, the chief Patuone frequently came on board, and was in the habit of taking up the captain's little daughter Julia and nursing her. Once while so engaged, the child, all unconscious of wrong, caught him by the hair. Patuone at once set down the child on the deck and left the vessel with all the members of his tribe who were aboard, and for three days the people debated what reparation should be exacted for the wrong that had been done. Most of the tribe were in favour of cutting the vessel off. Patuone, however, argued that the child, not knowing better, should be treated just like one who was *porangi* (mad), whose actions were not regarded as wilfully wrong. This view was ultimately adopted, and the natives resumed their trading. The chief, however, never again attempted to nurse the little girl. In 1832, Captain Dacre proceeded from Mahurangi to Coromandel in an open boat to obtain supplies. Immediately upon landing there a chief brained one of his men. Captain Dacre protested in such an emphatic way that the chief confessed his error and offered to allow one of his own slaves to be killed or taken

away in payment. Of course neither suggestion was acted upon.

As very great interest centres in the men who were the pioneers of the New Zealand trade, a brief epitome of the previous career of Captain Ranulph Dacre may be given. He was a son of Colonel Dacre, of the Hampshire Light Fencibles, and was born at Marwell Hall, Hampshire. He entered the navy as a midshipman when only twelve years of age, having as a fellow midshipman the lad who afterwards became famous as Captain Marryatt. He served in the American war in 1812, but the peace which followed the war of 1815 was too uneventful to satisfy his adventurous spirit, and he sought a field of operations in the mercantile marine, taking command of a trading schooner in the West Indies. His first visit to New Zealand was in July, 1824, as commander of the London Missionary Society's schooner *Endeavour*, which called at Whangaroa when returning from a visit to the Society's mission stations in the South Sea Islands. The incidents connected with this visit have already been narrated. He afterwards traded between London and Sydney in command of the ship *Surrey*, of which he was part owner, the chief interest being held by Mr. Robert Brookes. The visit of this vessel to Hokianga to procure spars, directed Captain Dacre's attention to the timber trade, and having purchased a vessel called the *Lucy Ann*, he visited Whangaroa and Mercury Bay with Mr. Rolt. In April, 1832, Captain Dacre entered into a contract to supply the Admiralty with a large number of spars, and he arranged with Mr. Gordon D. Browne to superintend the cutting of the required timbers at Mahurangi. Mr. Browne extended his operations to Mercury Bay, which he finally made the headquarters of the business. The desultory warfare which took place between the Mercury Bay tribes and the Waikatos in 1834 greatly interfered with trading. In February, 1835, the Europeans working timber under the superintendence of Mr. Gordon Browne numbered thirteen.

A curious letter written by a Maori to Mr. Gordon Browne about 1832 has been preserved, and is in the possession of Mr. James Dacre, of Auckland. It shows that the art of writing had made progress among the natives at that time. For a pen the author of the letter had used the point of a charred stick, and the paper written upon is a fly-leaf from the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*." The letter, so far as it can be deciphered, when translated

literally, runs as follows:—"Friend Browne, —You did hear that abode kainga was sacred. That is correct. That was my tapu. Did you not know that that place kainga was tapu—that was my sacredness, because it was my place. You will send me a blanket—let the payment be great, friend—by and by I will come. Friend, let me have it.—NA KATIKATI."

In July, 1832, the ship *Meredith*, of Liverpool, last from the Sandwich Islands, was wrecked while crossing the Hokianga Bar for a cargo of timber. According to native usage the Maori people carried off all that the shipwrecked people possessed.

About this period Hokianga appears to have acquired some notoriety in England for its timber, as a cursory examination of the shipping files will show that several vessels were loading or had been loaded there for various English ports. Among the notices of departure, the *Fortitude*, schooner *Clendon*, from Deal with general cargo, having sailed for Hokianga for timber, thence to proceed to Sydney, is almost of family historic interest. The *Fortitude*, it may be said, was owned at the Bay of Islands. Of her voyage for timber to Hokianga, Mr. C. O. Davis, in his "*Life and Times of Patuone*," says:—

"The *Fortitude* when about to sail for Sydney laden with sawn timber, stranded at Motukauri, near the Whirinaki River. Some of the natives, Whirinaki and Rarawa, in accordance perhaps with their ancient law that all vessels, birds, fish, etc., cast on shore within their tribal territory, should become the property of their tribe, boarded the *Fortitude* and appropriated to themselves sundry articles found on board, including the ship's papers. I have no hesitancy in saying that if prudent steps had been taken the purloined articles would have been restored to the owners, and the difficulty amicably settled. Moral suasion, however, was not the mode resorted to in these days, but the spirit of retaliation was preferred by both races. Quickly therefore after the capture of the *Fortitude* an army was raised by the chiefs Moetara, Rangatira, Te Kakahi and others, whose country extended from Maunganui on the coast to One Tree Point, seven miles from the Hokianga Heads. The armed tribes in a fleet of canoes paddled on to Motukauri, where they landed in battle array, a circumstance it would appear that greatly exasperated the people from Whirinaki and Rarawa, as they fired into the army of Moetara, immediately upon its landing, killing one man, which was the signal for attack. A general fight there-

fore ensued. Of the party of Moetara some distinguished chiefs were killed, Te Kakahi, Pahau, Paura, Taungahuru, and others. On the side of the aggressors two great chiefs, Mariaio and Taku, were killed. The killed and wounded numbered twenty-two.

"Fearing a general war among the Hokianga tribes, and as each settler was under the special protection of a chief, Moetara, on his return from Motukauri with his dead and wounded, landed at One Tree Point, and built there a large pa, enclosing the houses (Captain Young's and others), and formed an encampment, as a precautionary measure, fearing that the exasperated tribes would make a descent upon the station, rob the stores, and illuse the family. Munitions of war were poured in from various localities, and while warlike preparations were being proceeded with under the supervision of a warrior chieftain named Te Waenga, by an act of carelessness a barrel of gunpowder ignited, scorching him severely, from the effects of which he soon expired. Patuone and his brother Waka Nene joined Moetara at One Tree Point, with three hundred followers, including an European named Marmon, who had been in the habit of shouldering his musket and fighting side by side with the people of Patuone against the foes of the tribe, whether at Hokianga, Taranaki, or elsewhere. Marmon and about thirty of the people of Waka Nene crossed the river from One Tree Point, and fired into the Orongotea Pa, occupied by a section of the Rarawa. A series of skirmishes ensued, with little harm to either party.

"The allies at One Tree Point demanded the delivery of the Fortitude's papers, which happily was acceded to, a circumstance that brought about the establishment of peace between the belligerents. All matters being satisfactorily settled, Moetara and Rangatira returned to their settlements, and the allies went to their homes about thirty miles from One Tree Point."

In October of the same year, 1833, H.M.S. Buffalo was sent to New Zealand for a cargo of spars, and calling at Sydney on her way, Captain Kent was engaged as trading master and interpreter for the trip. Titore took advantage of the opportunity of the presence of one of the king's ships to send the following letter to the King of England:—

KING WILLIAM, Here am I, the friend of Captain Saddler. The ship is full and now about to sail. I have heard that you aforetime were the captain of a ship. Do you therefore examine the spars whether they are good

or whether they are bad. Should you and the French quarrel here are some trees for your battle ships. I have put on board the Buffalo a greenstone battle axe and two garments. These are all the things the New Zealanders possess. If I had anything better I would give it to Captain Saddler for you. This is all mine to you. Mine.

(Signed) TITORE.

The King duly replied to this communication, styling Titore in his reply, "His Highness," sending him a suit of armour as a present. The official answer was signed "Aberdeen."

The Buffalo was not, however, able to cross the Hokianga bar and was compelled to fill up on the East Coast, enhancing the cost of each spar two or three times from her draught of water preventing her filling at Hokianga in a few weeks. In a letter written from Mahurangi by Mr. Gordon Browne, in February, 1835, he remarks: "Our natives were so enriched and spoiled by the Buffalo last year, that they positively refuse work, and whilst I have the spars in my own neighbourhood, I am obliged to go to another port for them to obtain labour."

Another letter from Mr. Gordon Browne, dated Mahurangi, August 29th, 1835, contains the following:—"Count Dillon is on the coast (Bay of Plenty) flax gathering, and surveying, he says, for a location for a French colony."

In 1835, Commander Norton, of the Brazilian Government, was in Hokianga in search of spars for the Brazilian Navy, and, being successful in his search, chartered the Waterloo to take spars to Rio Janeiro.

The trade in spirits having attained large proportions on the river banks of the Hokianga, a public meeting was called at Mangungu on the 21st September, 1835, for the purpose of prohibiting the importation and sale of ardent spirits on the river Hokianga, Lieutenant McDonnell in the chair, when the following resolutions were passed unanimously:—"1. That the British residents and natives do from this day (21/9/1835) agree that the importation and sale of ardent spirits be abolished. 2. That Captain Young and Mr. Oakes, with Moetara, a native chief, be appointed to board and examine all vessels entering the Hokianga River, and to make their commanders acquainted with the native law against the importation of ardent spirits, which will be subject to seizure if attempted to be landed, as also the boat in which such ardent spirits shall be found. 3. That the creditable determination of Mr. Maning and Captain Clendon to follow the example set by Captain McDonnell, the additional British Resident, in starting all the spirits of his

establishment previously to this meeting, be publicly recorded. 4. That Thomas Mitchell, George Stephenson, John Jackson, and Robert Hunt be appointed a committee to decide on all measures connected with this meeting. 5. That in order to the more effectual crushing this infamous traffic, it is also agreed that if it can be satisfactorily proved that any person imports or sells ardent spirits after this date, a fine of fifty pounds shall be levied on the vendor or purchaser, namely, twenty-five pounds each. The amount of the said fine to be put to such purposes as the committee shall direct in defraying any expenses which may be incurred to support the object of this meeting. It is not intended that any spirits now held as the property of others shall be destroyed, but shall be shipped from this river at the earliest opportunity, of which the committee shall give due notice to the agents, in order that no excuse may be pleaded. 6. That a fair copy of these resolutions be sent for publication in the *Sydney Herald* and in the *Hobart Town Courier*. 7. That the thanks of this meeting be given to Captain McDonnell, the additional British Resident, for the

very warm manner in which he has advocated a cause so replete with benefit to all, and for his impartial conduct in the chair."

About five hundred of the natives were present at the meeting and a few of the colonists. In accordance with the fourth resolution, a deputation proceeded to a vessel shipping timber for Australia, and, making known the decision of the meeting, "the delivery of the grog on board was demanded. The master, finding there was no alternative, reluctantly complied, making this observation, 'Matters have come to a pretty pass now that

we are compelled to go on our voyage without our supply of grog.' The captain, however, ordered the puncheon of rum to be hoisted on deck; it was taken by the natives to the gangway, the bung drawn, the sailors' coveted treasure emptied into the sea, and the cask handed back to the captain, who remarked, 'I have no more spirits on board.'"

The resolutions were not, however, likely to be kept. Some of the settlers renewed their excesses openly, and some of them went so far as to visit the mission chapel at Mangungu and dance around it holding bottles of rum in their hands.

They were a rough lot congregated at Hokianga. One of them named Thomas Styles received a blow from John Marmion, which gave him only twenty-four hours to prepare for death. He was a man of mark among his fellows and when seeing how fatal would be the effects of the blow, "he sent for the missionaries, expressed his sorrow on account of his determined opposition to them and to the confederate chiefs, and, as a proof of his compunction, he ordered all his rum puncheons to be taken from his store and their contents to be poured



Judge Maning.
Author of "Old New Zealand."

on the ground in the presence of his assembled associates." This was about April, 1837.

In the year following occurred the first execution, on the River Hokianga, of a Maori for the murder of a white man. On the 15th April, a European surveyor named Henry Biddell, was missing. He was on a visit to some sawyers, and wanting to cross the river and proceed some distance down the stream, he proffered a man in a canoe some tobacco to carry him to his destination. After being carried some distance, the native wanted payment, but the European, knowing that if he

paid when the work was but half done the contract would not be completed, refused, when the native, being a strong man, threw him down and beat out his brains with a stone. There was a lad in the canoe at the same time, and the story soon got spread abroad. The body was thrown into the river, and on the third day after the murder it was found twelve miles from the place where the man lost his life. The murderer was a slave, and the chiefs offered to surrender him to the Rev. N. Turner, who declined from prudential reasons to receive him. Later in the same day on which the offer was made Waka Nene went and induced them to bind the man and hold him over for trial. Mr. Turner buried the murdered man in the presence of some sixty Europeans.

The settlers called a meeting, Mr. Busby presiding, and had the native placed in irons, the fetters being manufactured by the blacksmith, "Jack Wright." It was determined that the man should be tried for his life before a mixed jury of six Europeans and six native chiefs. The forms of the Court were adhered to as nearly as possible, a Mr. Russell being the counsel for the accused. By five in the afternoon the evidence was concluded, and the verdict was, "Guilty of wilful murder." Sentence of death being passed upon him, he was ordered to be put to death by a Maori executioner. Pangari kai Tangata was chosen for the duty, and the island of Ruapapaka, close to the mission station, as the place of execution. A grave was dug for the body, and Pangari attended armed with a musket and fifty or sixty rounds of ammunition, intending to go to a respectable distance and fire away at the murderer until he brought him down. When, however, he was told that this was not the correct mode of procedure he put the musket close to the head of the man and shot him. The missionaries attended the man on the Sunday, who was shot the day following.

Davis relates, but without date of occurrence, a quarrel which at one time threatened to bring about a settlers' war. "The quarrel originated with certain sawyers, who had been employed by a Mr Crowe, who was both captain and owner of the brig *Brazil Packet*. The kauri forest in which the sawyers had been placed was also the property of Captain Crowe. A large quantity of timber had been prepared for shipment, when some misunderstanding arose as to the agreement previously entered into by the men and their employer, the former prohibiting the rafting of the

timber till a full understanding was arrived at in relation to payment.

"Captain Crowe, on the other hand, avowed his intention of removing the timber irrespective of the workmen's protests. The sawyers thereupon made known their grievance to the settlers residing along the banks of the Hokianga River, who at once responded to their call for aid. About one hundred settlers, armed with guns, swords and other weapons, came in their boats to One Tree Point. After landing they drew up in military order, the officers being distinguished by wearing scarlet scarfs and other martial habiliments. The army marched in rank and file to Crowe's sawing station and halted near the stacks of timber where a serious altercation took place, and more than once the life of the captain was in imminent peril. Crowe's Maori allies lingered with their arms in the immediate neighbourhood, refusing to interfere unless Crowe or some of his party were fired upon. Having minutely observed the various phases of the hostile movement, I was led to believe that the armed settlers were overawed by the presence of Crowe's Maori allies. After the destruction of the sawn timber by fire, the European braves returned from this singular affray in their fleet of boats to their distant homes. These unique soldiers, made conspicuous by the formidable array of their rusty flint muskets, were under the guardianship of Patuone and Waka Nene; and Captain Crowe under the protection of Moetara and Rangatira." The dispute was locally known as "the Battle of Plank."

On 30th November, 1835, the schooner *Industry* arrived at Hokianga from Launceston, and, on being boarded by Captain Young, who acted as pilot, he learned from the mate that the crew had thrown the captain overboard. To avoid suspicion on the part of the men further communication between the mate and the pilot was not made on the subject. Captain Young, however, remained on board all night, and having made up his mind what course to pursue, brought the schooner up the river with the first flood tide, and anchored her within a short distance of Lieutenant McDonnell's house. Mr. Maning chanced at the time to be staying with Lieutenant McDonnell.

When Lieutenant McDonnell went on board and was informed secretly of the position of affairs, he said to the mate: "It is the custom here that all coming into the river have to enter their names in the book at the house of the British Resident, so if you will

bring your crew on shore we will go through the formality. You can come at once, as I have other business to attend to." He left for shore, and went with Mr. Maning to the house, which was on a rise in sight, and a couple of hundred yards from the vessel. The plan was, when the crew were in front of the house to call the men in one by one into the dining-room, produce a book, and while the man was either writing his name or making his mark (X), to overpower and handcuff him, pass him out by the back, where there was a strong bullet-proof house, and fasten him up. The mate came up and the crew with him. Lieutenant McDonnell called the mate first, and he disappeared into the house. Soon he reappeared and called out a name. The man answering to it went in through the wide hall and into the room. "Your name?" said Lieutenant McDonnell. "So and So." "Seaman?" "Yes." This was written. "Can you write?" "Yes." "Well then, sit down here." Lieutenant McDonnell rose from the chair. The man sat down, when Mr. Maning presented a horse-pistol to his face, while Lieutenant McDonnell twisted a handkerchief round his neck, *a la Thug*. "One word, and I fire," said Maning, and the mate slipped on the handcuffs. The fellow was then led out through a back door and placed, ironed, in the strong room or house. In this way all those who had joined in the piracy were secured. The statement was made and sworn to by the mate and others. It seemed that the crew had been shipped at either Sydney or Van Dieman's Land—bad characters, perhaps escaped convicts—and when on the high seas had shown evil symptoms, and the captain, being something of a tartar, flogged one of the crew. The majority of the men rose, and after a tussle pitched the captain overboard. The wind was light at the time, and it was near sunset. The captain rose and swam after the brig for a considerable time, entreating to be taken on board. The mate wished to lower a boat, but was seized and made to swear he would navigate the brig to New Zealand, when his life would be spared. On arrival in New Zealand, they meant to rob the ship and live with the Maoris—freemen. "We have not murdered the captain," said these ruffians; "only given him a long swim to shore." The captain was of course drowned. The prisoners were a few days after their seizure placed on board the brig, in charge of the mate and a few true men, and sailed by orders from Lieutenant McDonnell to Sydney, where the

murderers were tried and some of them hanged.

The number of vessels at Hokianga during the six months ending 30th June, 1835, was, arrivals, 13; departures, 9.

In December, 1836, another schooner called the *Industry*, or the same vessel with another captain, called Skelton, was driven ashore some twenty miles north from the Heads at Hokianga, where she was boarded and stripped even to the lead on the rudder case. Her papers were saved through the influence and instrumentality of the Church catechist who was stationed among the *Rarawa*.

Early in 1837 Lieutenant McDonnell wrote to the *Sydney Herald*, stating that the European population of Hokianga was nearly double that of the Bay of Islands, and complaining of Mr. Busby's lack of power, he not even being a magistrate, as though that were an essential condition of influence.

Among other documents which he transmitted for the *Herald* to publish, which they did without offering any opinion upon them, was a draft petition to the King, in which it was stated that the number of arrivals of vessels in the Bay of Islands for the last three years had been considerably on the increase. At one period there were thirty-six vessels at anchor there at one time, and in the six months ended June, 1836, no less than one hundred and one vessels had been in the Bay.

At the mouth of the river was the pilot station called Omapere, where John Martin and Maori Kate resided. How she saved her husband's life has been already told. The heads of the Hokianga River were called after a male and female Atua; the southern one Araiteuru, or the barrier of the sky; on the north head resided the female Niiwa. The places were of course tapu, as Mr. Marsden early discovered. He writes: "Mr. Puckey went to sound the sandbank, and I landed near a sacred rock. One chief with me expressed great alarm lest I should tread on the consecrated ground, and said that the Atua would kill him if he suffered me to do so; and he frequently laid hold of me when he thought that I approached too near. I was obliged to take advantage of every retiring wave and run on the beach till I had passed the residence of the imaginary deity." Martin purchased land from the natives in 1832, forty-five acres for £34 10s, and in 1838 fifty acres, where the flagstaff was erected, for £38 13s.

Among the earliest residents on the river were the Butlers. Mr. Samuel Butler was the son of the Rev. Mr. Butler, the first ordained

clergyman in New Zealand. He lived opposite Captain Young's at One Tree Point. He married a Miss Dunn, of Sydney, who after the death of her husband—he was drowned in the river in December, 1836—went with her children to New South Wales. The Butlers lived, however, at three different places on the river. Turner says “his widow and children were for some time under the care of the mission.”

Captain Young lived at One Tree Point, some six or seven miles up the river from the pilot station. He came to New Zealand in 1831, and bought his location from Captain Kent. His family consisted of himself and wife, and Edward and Charles Davis. They all came from New South Wales.

Maning lived at Whirinaki, some seven miles further up the river than One Tree Point, but on the same side at a place called Onoke. He married a woman of Hikutu, but when he came first on the river is somewhat uncertain. He came from Tasmania and his settler friend whom he speaks of in “Old New Zealand,” was McLean, of the New Zealand Company. His description of his reception when he first came to New Zealand is more an effort of imagination than memory. He appears to have purchased 200 acres of land in 1830 for £235 10s. It was on his second trip to New Zealand that he made it his home.

The Monros came from Tasmania, where the father held a Government appointment, which he resigned from having disagreed with Governor Arthur. Having a small cutter at his command, and New Zealand being much spoken of in the other colonies, he proceeded to the Bay of Islands, where he met the Chevalier Dillon, of La Perouse notoriety, who recommended his visiting Hokianga, which he did, Dillon accompanying him, where he bought *Monro's* cutter. *Monro*, liking the district, purchased in 1835 six hundred acres of land and settled there. He lived on the opposite side of the river to One Tree Point. The price of the purchase was £208. The

family consisted of Mr. and Mrs. *Monro*, two sons and two daughters.

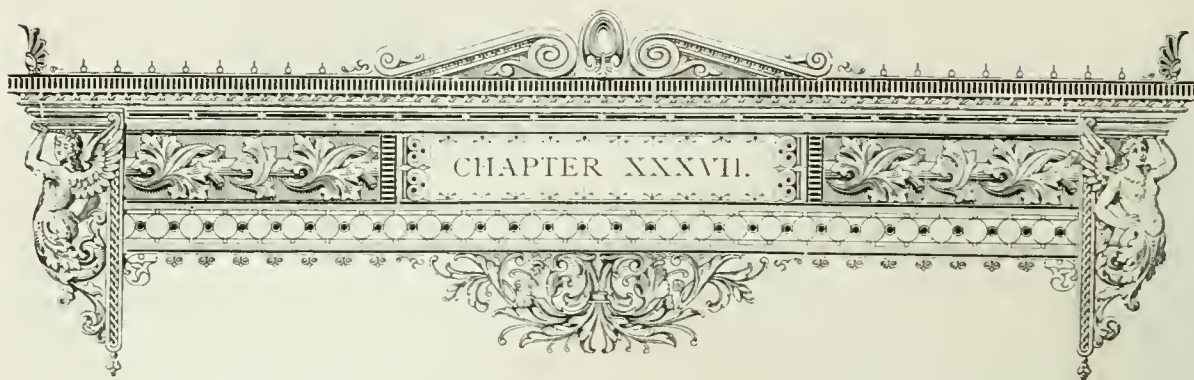
At Whanganumu, opposite Whirinaki, a large number of sawyers were located, and had been for some time prior to 1830. The land belonged to Te Karawa.

At Herd's Point, which was at the mouth of the Waima River, there were no settlers. In the Waima, however, lived one, *Inches*, who had a Maori wife.

At Mangamuka Poynton was stationed. He went there in 1829, and was connected with the timber business. His children were born there, and the first-born was taken to Sydney to be baptized. There were two girls and a boy, the latter of whom died young. He purchased land from Te Roroa. He bought 100 acres, in 1831, for which he paid £109; 200 acres, in 1835, for £98; and several other areas at a later date. On the mouth of the river was located *Wright*, the village blacksmith.

Cochrane also lived on the Mangamuka. He had a large family of half-caste sons and daughters. He bought land in 1831—a thousand acres for £68 15s. 6d., five hundred acres in 1833 for £60, and the like amount the year before for thirteen guineas. He was a powerful man—an old soldier. *Buller* saw him hale when over eighty years of age. Above the Mangamuka the sawyers were principally located in the kauri forest. *Marmon* lived at Rawhia, above *Wright's*, on the Mangamuka. He came to live on the Hokianga after the death of *Hongi*, who protected him while living at Kerikeri. On the Hokianga he obtained the protection of *Muriwai*.

At Mangungu, which may be described as being at the junction of the Hokianga and Waihou rivers, was the Wesleyan mission station, some twenty-five miles in a direct line from the Heads. To the west of Mangungu was the dockyard, called by the Europeans of an early date “Deptford,” but later “Horeke.” Mr. Frederick Russell managed the yard and the business pertaining thereto before Lieutenant McDonnell went to reside there.



FURTHER HISTORY OF THE CHURCH MISSION.

Translation of the Scriptures—Introduction of a printing press—A station established at Waimate—Tānehanga's baptism—The fire spreading in the fern—A report that the Harecis was not lost but run away with—A fruitless search—Roll of the mission in 1831—Influence of Christianity manifested—Journey northward by Mr. Fairburn—Success of the mission station at Waimate—Missions to Rotorua, Tauranga, North Cape, and Kapiti projected—Visit of a French man-of-war—The natives address a letter to King William—Removal of the Rangihoua station to Te Puna—A mission journey north—Printing and circulating the Scriptures—Mr. Kendall drowned—Arrival of the Rev. J. A. Wilson and Mr. John Morgan—Captain Jacobs' report on the mission—Mission station established at Kaitaia—Appointment of Mr. Bushy as British Resident—Missionary expedition to the Thames, where a surprise awaits them—A station established at Puriri—Various new comers—Grotesque appearance of a native congregation—A missionary exploration southward—The country almost deserted—Two excursions to Waikato—A station established at Mangapouri—Visit to Te Waharoa—Reception at Tauranga—Mr. Colenso's account of the reception of the press—Translations of the New Testament completed—Schism in the native church—Condition of the mission in 1835—Founding stations at Matamata and Rotorua—A murder at Rotorua and its consequences—Mr. Marsden's last visit—Affectionate reception by the natives—Lawless condition of the European settlement at Kororarua—The printing report—Native wars over the murder of Huka—The sacking of Maketu—Heavy loss sustained by Mr. Fapsell, a trader—Te Waharoa's attack on Ohinemutu—Plunder of the mission station at Matamata—The Rev. R. Maunsell's report on the Manukau district—Administration of Sir R. Bourke—Bishop Broughton's visit to New Zealand—Rapid diminution of the Maori population—Death of the Rev. Samuel Marsden—Condition of the mission station in 1838 and 1839—Mission established by the Rev. W. Williams at Waiapu—Rauaparaha asks for a missionary at Kapiti—The Rev. O. Hadfield undertakes the new station.



R. THOMAS CHAPMAN and his wife sailed for New South Wales on the 18th of January, 1830, on board the Arab, Captain Ferriers, and arrived in New Zealand on the 1st of August, 1830, in the missionary vessel, the

Active. In the schools at the various stations, one hundred and fifty-eight men and boys and thirty-seven females were receiving instruction and training in habits of industry and order. Many of them had learned to read and write their own language, and were masters of the first rules of arithmetic.

During a visit to New South Wales Mr. Yate carried through the press an edition of five hundred and fifty copies of a small volume containing translations of portions of the New Testament and other portions of Scripture, and became located at Kerikeri. Mr. Marsden visiting New Zealand in March, Mr. Yate was enabled to take his duty in Parramatta.

The small volume prepared for the press by Mr. Yate comprised the three first chapters of Genesis, the first eight chapters of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, the first four chapters of the Gospel according to St. John, the first six chapters of the Epistle of



The House of Hiwikau and the Falls of Kō Waihi at Te Rapa, Lake Taupo

St. Paul to the Corinthians, parts of the Liturgy and Catechism, and nineteen hymns. Mr. Yate remarked: "The natives were much pleased with the books, and willing to purchase them. They would work for a month to call it their own."

Mr. Yate took with him to New Zealand a youth, fifteen years of age, recommended by Mr. Marsden, who was to assist him in printing. The lad, whose name was James Smith, was put into the *Sydney Gazette* printing office, until Mr. Yate was ready to sail. A printing press, sent by the Society for mission service, was at the same time taken by Mr. Yate to New Zealand.

As this was the first printing press in the colony, we may note Mr. Yate's remark on the subject: "1st September, 1830. Employed with James Smith in printing off a few hymns in the native language. We succeeded beyond our most sanguine expectations." Again, in the same month, writing to the secretary, he says: "We thank you for the press. You will perceive by the copy of a hymn, forwarded by this conveyance, that we shall be able in a short time to manage it. We have made a requisition for some figures, and other little articles connected with the press, which we hope you will forward as soon as possible." Mr. J. Kemp also says: "The schools will receive great benefit from the press, for we shall be able to get portions of the Scriptures printed as they are wanted."

The Rev. S. Marsden arrived in New Zealand on his sixth visit on the 8th of March, 1830. He made arrangements on this occasion for the establishment of a new station at Waimate, about nine miles inland from Kerikeri. About two hundred and fifty acres of very good land, well wooded and watered, were secured for the station by the Society, for the purposes of cultivation, and Messrs. Yate, Clarke, Davis, and Hamlin were appointed to its custody.

Mr. Yate tells us: "There were many difficulties in the way of forming this establishment, the first of which was the want of a road over which a cart could be driven to convey stores to and from the coast, or the Kerikeri, a distance of about ten miles. After much research a road was at length found which headed most of the deep ravines and avoided the swamps. By the erection of three substantial bridges, one of them over the river Waitangi, a deep and rapid stream, and two others over smaller and less important streams, and by a cutting through a wood for about a

quarter of a mile, a good road was formed, passable for drays and carts both in summer and winter. The span of the bridge over the Waitangi was sixty feet, and its height from the bed of the river forty feet. This great work was performed by the natives themselves, with the assistance of Messrs. Clarke and Hamlin. The spot was admirably adapted for a mission station, being in the centre of a numerous body of natives, within a reasonable distance of other tribes, with land available for agriculture."

Mr. Marsden extended his stay from 8th of March, when he landed at Pahiia, to 27th of May, when he left on the schooner *Prince of Denmark*.

Mr. Yate writes of the new settlement under date 11th September as follows: "Went to Waimate to purchase the land. The natives were all assembled, and were anxiously waiting to receive their payment. They were perfectly satisfied with what they received, and willingly signed the deeds of conveyance. When it was concluded, they fired a volley of muskets, and one of the principal men rose to make a speech. He was listened to with great attention, and we were much pleased with the advice which he gave his assembled friends. He said: 'Be gentle with the missionaries, for they are gentle with you. Do not steal from them, for they do not steal from you. Let them sit in peace upon the ground which they have bought, and let us listen to their advice and come to their prayers. Though there are many of us, missionaries and native men, let us all be one, all one, all one. That is all I have to say.' The meeting then separated."

It had been in the contemplation of the committee to relinquish the station at Rangihoua with a view of strengthening the others; but the chiefs were extremely averse to the proposal. They told Mr. Marsden, "When you are gone no one shall touch your houses; but they shall stand empty until they rot and fall down, and when any Europeans come on shore and inquire whose houses they are we shall tell them they belonged to the missionaries who left us without any cause, and they now stand as a monument of their disgrace." After this there was, of course, nothing more to say.

Early in the year Taiwhanga himself was admitted by baptism into the Church, and at the same time a man and his wife who had for some years been connected with the mission settlers. Taiwhanga, as already stated, had lived with Mr. Butler at Kerikeri and after-

wards at Port Jackson where he was staying with Mr. Clarke. Hearing that some of his friends had been killed in battle and that Hongi was going to attack them, he determined to join him and accompanied Mr. Clarke to New Zealand for that purpose. He was with Hongi in ten different engagements, and afterwards came to reside with Mr. Davis.

Of the people of Kerikeri Mr. Hamlin writes: "The natives that live with us are, I hope, on the whole, gaining knowledge in temporal and spiritual things. Several of our lads have made considerable improvement in carpentry and other useful branches of trade; but we find that in order to bring them on in the knowledge of these useful arts we must devote more of our time to them. This we find we cannot do and visit the natives at their residences also, which appears to us to be of the first and greatest importance. We find that for want of a better principle than their natural one, whatever they have learned of the arts, we are never sure of them; for on occasions, which we have lately been called on to witness, when any disturbance takes place, many of them will join the natives, and return to their former habits."

At Paihia, Mr. Fairburn wrote: "Our schools continue to go on with increasing numbers, and, I trust I may add, with increasing improvement. Many there are whose minds are stored with much Scripture knowledge, and who are occasionally employed to teach others; the whole of them are more or less employed each day. There are a few set apart for the carpentering department, some of whom have made great improvement. On the whole I believe the New Zealand mission was never under more encouraging circumstances than at this time."

In December, 1830, the third general examination of the schools took place; one hundred and seventy-eight men and boys and ninety-two girls took part in the procedure. About a thousand strange natives, all armed, but peaceable, attended as spectators. To use a native simile, "The fire was spreading in the fern."

Mr. Richard Davis wrote during the year: "It no doubt appears very strange to many people in England that upwards of one hundred natives should be fed and clothed at the Society's expense in our settlement at Paihia; but let it be remembered that the present state of this country is a peculiar one, as these feuds and broils to which the natives are so much exposed, and to which they are naturally so much addicted when living in their native places, have a direct tendency to distract the minds and draw their attention from every other object. Let it be remembered also that these natives are our labourers, both men and women. Some of the men are very useful as mechanics; some are carpenters, some are brickmakers, and some are plasterers.

It is by these people we get our work done. I hope and trust that the day is not far distant when it will not be necessary thus to collect the natives together, because the bulk of the work at the mission stations will be done."

At Rangihoua there were in the school seventeen men and boys and ten girls; at Kerikeri, forty-four men and boys and twenty-two girls; and at Paihia, seventy-seven men and boys and twenty-five women and girls. Marriage came to be regarded with favour among a few, as on the 11th of May we find Mr. Marsden noting the marriage of two native men and women by the Rev. H. Williams.

The loss of the *Herald* was sought to be supplied by the *Active*, which arrived at Port Jackson on the 20th June, and sailed thence for New Zealand on the 19th of July, with the Rev. Mr. Yate, Mr. and Mrs. Chapman, and James Smith, printer, on board as passengers. She arrived in the Bay of Islands on the 31st July, and proved but a sorry sailer.

The number of baptisms during the year at Paihia were twenty-one, of which fifteen were adult natives, and six of European and native children.

In 1829 it was thought desirable that a small vessel not exceeding thirty feet keel should be built for the purpose of transporting stores from ships in the Bay to the public



Mr. Chapman.

store at Kerikeri, and also to proceed occasionally along the coast to procure potatoes for the schools. She was accordingly built, and launched on the 10th of May, 1830, and called the *Karere*, or Messenger.

It will be remembered that it was stated that after Mr. and Mrs. C. Davis and Mrs. Hart had taken passage on board the *Haweis* to New Zealand that no more was heard either of the vessel or her passengers. The Rev. Richard Hill, however, wrote to the mission on the 21st December, as follows:—"A vessel has entered our port from New Zealand by which some hopes are excited that the *Haweis* has not been lost but piratically taken away. Mr. Campbell sent me a note that a report had reached the missionaries by a whaler that two white women had been on shore at the most leeward of the Navigator Islands; that one of the women had been confined and the other had died."

Hopes were consequently entertained that the *Haweis* had not been lost, and the *Active* was directed to proceed to Tongataboo as early as possible in search of the missing party, and the Rev. Mr. Yate was directed to accompany her. He thus recounts the circumstances and result of the voyage:—"You will perceive by a former letter of mine that I was requested by the Committee of Missionaries to accompany the *Active* in her search for Mr. and Mrs. Charles Davis. I accordingly embarked in the beginning of January, accompanied by Mr. W. Puckey and sixteen natives of New Zealand. After a month's rough passage we arrived at Tongataboo, where we found Messrs. Turner and Cross, the Wesleyan missionaries. Having received all the advice I could from that quarter, and had a letter of Captain Christie's put into my hands, I determined to proceed to Lefooga, where I met with chiefs from Fiji, Hamoa, Vavaoo, and several other islands. The intelligence which I received from them, and also from a European, put the matter beyond all doubt that the vessel spoken of was the *Cyprus*, taken by prisoners from Van Diemen's Land. No other vessel had been heard of or seen at any of the other islands, so that there was not the least possible clue for any further research. With the advice of the captain, Mr. Puckey, and Mr. Thomas, I departed from Lefooga to Tonga on my way to New Zealand, where I arrived last midnight, after an absence of two months."

Mr. James Preece, a wheelwright, embarked for New South Wales on board the *Craigieoar*, Captain W. Roy, on the 14th August, 1830,

and arrived in Sydney on 21st December. He remained there until the 15th January, 1831, when he proceeded to New Zealand by the *Olive Branch*, belonging to the London Missionary Society, and arrived at Paihia on the 6th of February, 1831. Mr. Joseph Matthews embarked on the 18th March, 1831, and reached Rio Janeiro on 23rd May, whence he sailed on the 3rd June, and reached Sydney on the 17th of September, and entered the mission on the 26th of March, 1832.

In 1831 the following may be called the muster-roll of the Church Mission in New Zealand:—At Rangihoua, John King and James Shepherd, catechists. At Kerikeri, Rev. Alfred Nisbet Brown; James Kemp, C. Baker, catechists; James Smith, printer. At Pahia, Rev. H. Williams, Rev. W. Williams; W. Fairburn, T. Chapman, catechists; W. Puckey, artisan. At Waimate, Rev. W. Yate; G. Clarke, James Hamlin, Richard Davis, James Preece, Joseph Matthews, catechists. In the four stations there were four English clergymen, thirteen laymen, and twelve females; and in five schools one hundred and fifty male and seventy-two female scholars.

About this period, as Mr. Fenton writes in his luminous Orakei judgment, "Christianity had begun to make some progress, and wearied and worn out with war, the people appear to have hastily and gladly embraced the new religion which, while it offered them a prospect of a happy life after death, secured to them, at any rate, a tolerable certainty of keeping their bodies in peace in this world until the time came for them to die naturally; and without being converted into the 'heads' which one of the witnesses so frequently alluded to and by the number of which he appears to have recollected events." Nor was the desolation that war produced confined to the Thames district and about Tamaki, which for several years remained almost uninhabited, but it extended far to the northward, of which we have direct evidence from Mr. W. Fairburn, who, in 1831, had in one of his journeys by sea for a companion Taiwhanga, who had recently joined the Church. He writes, under date 7th September, 1831: "Two months ago I went round the coast about forty miles distance. I took Taiwhanga with me. He is a man of considerable information respecting his own country, men and manners. As soon as we had cleared the heads of the Bay of Islands, he called my attention to the many deserted and desolate fortifications and villages along the coast, many of which, I have not the least doubt, he had formerly taken an

active part in the destruction of. Not a vestige of either smoke or fire was to be seen—the native mode of welcoming strangers. ‘Where are all the inhabitants?’ I asked. ‘Killed, taken slaves, and the rest dispersed,’ was the reply. ‘Is Satan idle?’ he asked. ‘Is it not his own work?’”

At Rangihoua, on the 26th December, 1831, Mr. King writes: “The general behaviour of the natives gives hope. Some of them have attained a good deal of Bible knowledge. A party of natives was here a few weeks ago on a Sunday; in the evening they collected together on the beach. One asked questions

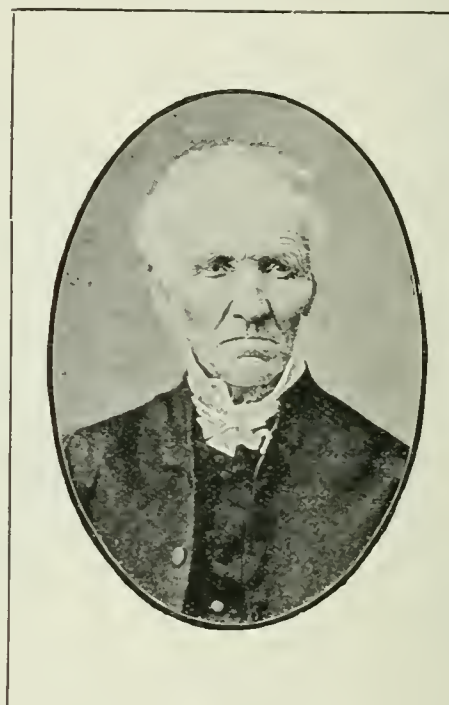
“The native schools at Paihia are five in number:—1. The native boys are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, catechism, etc. The average attendance is 60. The number now on the books is 71. Total taught from the beginning, 263. 2. The native girls are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, catechism and sewing. The principal attendance is in the afternoon, when the average number is 40. The number now on the books is 50. Total taught from the beginning, 209. 3. The infant school was commenced in January last, and contains 22 pupils, English and native. 4. English Boys’ School. This contains the



Mr. James Preece.

out of the Catechism without any book and the others answered; what one had forgotten the others remembered. They then gave out a hymn and sang it, repeated the confession and prayers out of their book, and closed with the Lord's Prayer.”

At Paihia, on the 5th of December, the Rev. W. Williams makes this entry in his journal: “Spoke to some of our baptized natives on the subject of the Lord's Supper. None have yet been admitted to this ordinance; but most of the baptized have behaved consistently since they were received into the Church.”



Mr. Matthews.

sons of the missionaries, fourteen of whom are now under instruction. The system which has been adopted embraces religious instruction, geography, history, arithmetic, the classics, etc. 5. The English Girls' School contained at the commencement of the past twelvemonth ten pupils, including the younger children, who have since been transferred to the infant school. There are now but four pupils. In reference to the agricultural proceedings, which form so necessary a part of the labours of the missionaries for their subsistence, it is stated: A large addition has of late been made,

by purchase, to the Society's land on each side of the settlement, by which a good supply of timber for fuel, etc., has been secured. The land is generally barren, consisting, for the most part, of hills. The patches of low ground are available for cultivation, and afford also pasturage for the cattle. During the year, 1,400 bushels of potatoes have been raised toward the maintenance of the schools."

At Kerikeri, Mr. C. Baker on the 26th of December writes: "Our schools afford us much encouragement. The natives manifest a strong desire to learn to read the Scriptures. There is also a good number of them who can read for themselves the Word of Life. Whenever I go among the natives I hear portions of the catechism repeated. One native who, though he cannot read, has learned a considerable part of the catechism, puts the questions to those around him, and then he and the others repeat the answers. By this practice many at a distance from us have a knowledge of many important truths of Christianity."

On 21st February, 1831, Mr. G. Clarke writes: "I have just returned weary from Kerikeri to Waimate with our two horses and carts. Mr. Hamlin and family, myself and family, have removed to Waimate. Mr. Davis, we hope, will join us in about a month, with his family. Our movements in the interior have at once brought into operation all our mechanical powers, and engaged us in road-making, bridge-making, and a number of other employments before unknown among the natives. We are now situated in the midst of the body of natives of Waimate and Pukenui, and in a circuit of about five miles we can visit from two to three thousand natives without the great inconvenience of leaving our families for several days together as we used to do."

On the 28th of April Mr. R. Davis writes: "On the 14th inst. we arrived safely here with our family, and took possession of our new house. It is at present rather cold, as we have no chimney, and our house is neither wind nor water-tight."

On the 29th Mr. Clarke says: "I have commenced a native school at Waimate, and have the pleasing prospect of its being largely attended. Between seventy and eighty attend for daily instruction. Numbers attend our public instruction, which puts us to the pleasing necessity of erecting with all speed a little chapel, to serve as a school-room also. The whole will be done without the assistance of any other mechanics than those connected

with the settlement, the natives living with us being quite competent to the undertaking."

On the 6th September the same gentleman writes: "Hitherto the settlement has exceeded our most sanguine expectations. We commenced a weather-board building, forty feet by twenty, in the beginning of May, and by the beginning of July it was so far completed as to enable us to use it as a place of worship for our public services."

On the 16th November Mr. Yate says: "I baptized eight adult natives at Waimate, last Sunday." And on the 29th December he adds: "The Waimate is going on prosperously, and is answering our warmest expectations. The pleasing attention of the natives to our message gives us great encouragement."

The work of translation was carried steadily forward, though from the care the work demanded its progress was slow. The revision was left to a committee consisting of Mr. Yate, Mr. W. Williams, and Mr. William Puckey.

A leading chief at Rotorua expressed a desire to have a missionary settled with him for the instruction of his people. It was the view of Mr. Williams that two Europeans with two or more baptized natives should be placed at Rotorua or Tauranga, and a similar number of each class at the North Cape. The committee requested the missionaries to prepare an estimate of the expense which would be incurred by the formation of the settlements. About the same time it was proposed to form an establishment at Kapiti.

On the 3rd of October a French man-of-war arrived at the Bay of Islands, and the captain stated that he was to have brought out by direction of the French Government, a Roman Catholic Bishop to New Zealand, but the Revolution in Paris (three days of July) had caused the abandonment of their intention. The natives, however, were apprehensive of French annexation, and sent the following letter to the King through the Governor of New South Wales:—

TO KING WILLIAM THE GRACIOUS, Chief of England.

KING WILLIAM,—We, the chiefs of New Zealand assembled at this place, called the Kerikeri, write to thee, for we hear that thou art the great chief of the other side of the water, since the many ships which come to our land belong to thee.

We are a people without possessions. We have nothing but timber, flax, pork, and potatoes. We sell these things, however, to your people, and then we see the property of the Europeans. It is only thy land which is liberal towards us. From thee also come the missionaries who teach us to believe on Jehovah God, and on Jesus Christ His son.

We have heard that the Tribe of Marion (the French) is at hand, coming to take away our land. Therefore we

pray thee to become our friend and the guardian of these islands, lest the bearing of other tribes should come near to us, and lest strangers should come and take away our land.

And if any of thy people should be troublesome or vicious towards us—for some persons are living here who have ran away from ships—we pray thee to be angry with them that they may be obedient, lest the anger of the people of this land shall fall upon them.

This letter is from us, the chiefs of New Zealand.

(The foregoing is a *literal* translation of the accompanying document.—WILLIAM YATE, Secretary to the Church Missionary Society, New Zealand.)

- No. 1. WARERAHI, Chief of Paroa.
2. REWA, Chief of Waimate.
3. PATUONE
4. NENE } two brothers, Chiefs of Hokianga.
5. KEKEAO, Chief of Ahuahu.
6. TITORE, Chief of Kororarika.
7. TAMORENGA, Chief of Taiaimai.

the same time I married two of our domestic natives. The chapel was full: the flagstaff was decked with Rongo pai and the British Union; and on our return from church nine hearty cheers were given by the natives.

"19th October.—Married my favourite lad Pahau to Rea, a young woman from the pa. Over three hundred natives present at the feast.

"25th October.—Another wedding! My lad Waru to Ngoru. Four hundred natives at least were in the chapel upon each other's shoulders. Waru killed thirteen pigs for the feast."

The current of New Zealand history having hitherto been strongly affected by the course of events in New South Wales, it may be well



The mission house at Waimate.

8. RIPE, Chief of Mapere.
9. HARA, Chief of Ohaiawai.
10. ATUAHAERE, Chief of Kaikohi.
11. MOETARA, Chief of Pakanai.
12. MATANGI, Chief of Waima.
13. TAUNUI, Chief of Hutakura.

The letter was sent by Mr. Yate through the official channel, and it was not a little singular that the French ship *La Favorite* anchored in the Bay of Islands the day after the document was signed.

A few entries from the journal of Mr. Davis may well end the record of the year. "11th October, 1831. This has been a grand day at Waimate. The first European wedding in New Zealand took place here this morning between W. Puckey and Matilda Davis. At

to glance for a few moments across the ocean to note what had transpired there.

Lieutenant-General Darling was described by Dr. Lang as "a Governor who, on his arrival, was sincerely desirous of discharging the duties of his station with credit to himself, with satisfaction to his superiors, and with general benefit to the colony." His stern and cold deportment was not popular, and he was impressed with the belief that under preceding Governors the emancipist class had been unduly favoured, whom he kept at a distance. He was mainly a military man, and beyond a knowledge of the military department, he was not versed in the business and ways of the world. He had but little acquaintance with literature

and less with law. He was prone to interfere with departmental business which should have been left to subordinates. He interfered even with judges of the Supreme Court. He became unpopular with the moneyed class. He disliked the freedom of the press, and the editors of two papers opposed to him were both in gaol for a considerable time. "The case that excited most annoyance during his career was that of Ludds and Thompson, two soldiers of the 57th Regiment, convicted at the Quarter Sessions for larceny. The punishment he substituted for the sentence of a court of justice was of putting the men in chains and exhibiting them on parade in iron collars with spikes before their regiment." His action became the subject of a parliamentary inquiry, but at its termination he was made a Knight Commander of the Bath. In his time the Murray was discovered. In his conduct and that of the whole of his family the example of a virtuous private life was exhibited.

Thierry adds: "The administration of General Darling may be regarded as an intermediate one, forming a connecting link between the early governors, whose careers closed with Sir Thomas Brisbane in 1825, and the later governors commencing with Sir R. Bourke, at the end of 1831."

Returning to the history of the New Zealand mission, it may be noted that Miss Maria Coldham, sister of Mrs. H. Williams, sailed from Deal on 24th April to assist in the charge of the mission families. She arrived in the Bay of Islands in August, 1832.

In the four stations, Rangihoua, Kerikeri, Paihia, and Waimate, there were under regular instruction about 320 persons, whose average age was sixteen. When the hours appointed for instruction in writing, reading, and accounts were expired, the greater number were employed in building, others as carpenters, and some in general labour. There were three substantial chapels capable of holding from 200 to 300 each, in which services were held three times on Sunday, and always well attended.

On the 13th September, 1832, the mission at Rangihoua was removed to Te Puna. The distance between the two places was, however, so small that many people got into a habit of thinking and speaking of the two places as one. On a review of past years, Mr. J. King, the senior settler, remarks: "This mission had to commence civil and religious life in the midst of savages, without a word of their language, or any knowledge of their customs and manners—without a book or letters to

instruct them in—without a Sabbath. A long time elapsed before the natives seriously thought of attending to religion; their minds were taken up in obtaining a supply of axes, hoes, etc., for the cultivation of their land, and guns and powder to revenge their wrongs and to defend themselves and property. The natives were very slow in their improvement. We were in haste to see a great change, and a rapid progress, but hitherto the work has been slow and gradual. However, a good portion of the New Testament is in print, as also prayers and hymns and catechisms, which are well calculated to spread the knowledge of God through the islands."

The mission generally began to gain in popularity and strength. At Waimate, as already stated, the chapel was too small. At Ohaiawai there was an average attendance of from sixty to seventy, and sometimes there were more than the house could hold. At Kerikeri the desire to read the Scriptures was increasing, and those who made a profession of religion displayed earnestness and caution.

Mr. Richard Davis writes on the 25th June, 1832: "Our chapel could not contain the whole of our congregation yesterday, so that we shall have to enlarge it as soon as possible. The manner in which the Lord's Day is kept by this tribe would shame many country parishes in England. Their firewood is always prepared and their potatoes scraped and got ready on the Saturday afternoon, to be cooked on the Sunday, and this is no new thing, as they have proceeded in this way now for a long time. The natives are erecting a chapel of considerable size, as the present building will not contain the congregation. The building of this chapel is altogether their own doing."

On the 2nd of November, Mr. George Clark declares: "The farming establishment will, I have no doubt, fully answer the expectations of the Society; make us in a measure independent of the colony for supplies, as well as be the means of securing for the rising generation all the necessities of life. It has not a little cheered me to see the plough at work."

The natives of Tauranga and Rotorua had expressed their wish that missionaries should settle among them, but that part of the island they considered was in too disturbed a state. It was determined, therefore, that a party should visit the tribes in the northern part of the island. The party consisted of the Rev. W. Williams, Messrs. Baker, Hamlin, Puckey, Matthews, and some natives who had been baptized, numbering some thirty-six, who

carried provisions and bedding. They started from Kerikeri on the 26th of November, 1832. Proceeding from Whangaroa, the party came to a deserted fortification, the greater part of the fence still remaining. It had belonged to Hongi and his followers; from thence to Papuke, the residence of Aruroa. Hongi came here when wounded in 1827. Then the inhabitants were numerous, but now sparse. Proceeding to the valley of Oruru the party got a scant welcome and went onwards to the river Whakiake, where Pauakareao, one of the leading chiefs among Te Rarawa, resided. The Rarawa people displayed much earnestness about the founding of a mission station, and having got to the western ocean and seeing the wreck of a vessel there, a careful examination of the district was made and a site selected at Kaitaia; but Pauakareao was told that no promise could be made of the establishment of a mission.

Mr. Baker writes, under date 4th December: "The people of Waro having heard that we were at hand sent a messenger off early in the morning. We proceeded in regular military order, our party consisting of many belonging to Pauakareao. They received us with much respect; more

I never saw paid to any of us. About three hundred armed men formed a circle, whom we addressed at considerable length. There were a number of old venerable-looking chiefs among this party who seemed quite struck with the new subject."

Mr. Williams was careful to remark that wherever the party went they found a general knowledge of their object prevailing, and that the natives knew full well the difference between the missionaries and the Europeans living among them who were connected with

the flax trade. There was also some idea of the Sabbath, which they professed to keep.

Mr. Baker states that there were several native settlements in and about Kaitaia which could be visited with facility from the place where the station would be placed, while Waro might be attended to every Sunday as well as on other days. Schools could be established at Waro, where one or two Christian natives could live, and, being frequently visited, would be likely to do well. The party reached the native settlement at Hunahuna on the 7th December on their return journey.



Rev. J. A. Wilson.

Mr. Yate again visited Sydney, where he arrived by the *Active* on the 1st December, 1832. He says: "The object of my visit is to carry through the press portions of Scripture with the Liturgy, Communion, Baptismal and all the other services of the Church, a number of hymns, and six catechisms. The Scriptures ready for the press are the first eight chapters of Genesis, the whole of St. Matthew and St. John, with the whole of the Acts, the Romans, and the first of the Corinthians." He adds, on the 2nd March: "Eighteen hundred copies of each are struck off, which, with the binding, paper, etc., will come to nearly £500—a

large sum, but much cheaper than the last edition, inasmuch as we had only 550 volumes of the last for £90, we have now 3,000 volumes for £500. Out of this must be deducted about £90, the Wesleyan Mission's share, as they are to have a portion of the work, and £70 which the Auxiliary Bible Society gave us, besides some paper we shall have when it arrives, and about £120 for collections, which would most assuredly not have been made had I not come to New South Wales. Thus £280 must be deducted from the sum total, which will

make the actual cost to the Society, for 3,000 volumes, about £220."

In August, 1832, the Rev. Mr. Kendall, who had long severed his connection with the New Zealand mission, was lost in the schooner *Brisbane* on the coast of New South Wales, in the neighbourhood of Jervis Bay. All hands perished, the vessel being found capsized by the blacks. Mr. Florence, a surveyor, was on board. The *Sydney Gazette* of the 16th August states that about a week previous the little vessel, freighted with cedar, cheese, and other articles to the value of some £200, left Mr. Kendall's farm at Mulladulla for Sydney, and two days afterwards was found by the natives as described.

The Rev. J. A. Wilson and Mrs. Wilson sailed from Plymouth on the 5th October, 1832, on board the convict ship *Camden*, Captain Clayton, and arrived in Port Jackson on the 18th February, 1833, from whence they proceeded to New Zealand on the 18th of March, where they arrived on the 11th of April.

Mr. John Morgan sailed from Liverpool on the 6th of November, 1832, on board the *William*, Captain Boag, and arrived at Sydney on the 21st March, and in New Zealand on the 21st May.

In January, 1833, Mr. Richard Davis relates how two special parties came all the way from Kaipara to Waimate to learn what the missionaries taught and had to say, and when they proposed paying them a visit.

Captain W. Jacob, of the East India Company's service, on the Bombay establishment, was at the Bay of Islands early in 1833, and in a letter to the secretary of the Church Mission Society's Corresponding Committee in New South Wales, thus writes respecting the missions in New Zealand:—"I landed at Paihia, in the Bay of Islands, on the 9th of February, after a voyage of fourteen days from this place, and met with a kind and cordial reception from the Rev. Messrs. W. Williams and A. N. Brown and Mr. Fairburn. The Rev. H. Williams had, two days previous to our arrival, proceeded to Tauranga, in the Bay of Plenty, in company with Mr. Chapman, in the hope of being able to arbitrate between the contending chiefs.

"The day on which I arrived at Paihia was Saturday, and on ascending the beach immediately in front of the mission settlement, I observed a venerable native chief and his attendants seated, wrapped up in their mats, on the bank. These men had, I was told, come all the way from Whangaroa by sea in

their open canoe for the express purpose of attending the religious services of the following day at the mission station, the distance being about fifty miles—a pleasing indication of their anxiety for instruction.

"The next morning I awoke to the enjoyment of one of the most interesting and delightful Sabbaths I ever spent. The church bell summoned us to the sanctuary at 8 o'clock, and on entering it I found it completely filled with natives, who were seated on forms, the males on the one side, and the females on the other, leaving a passage down the centre to the organ, which is opposite to the pulpit and altar. The mission and other families sat round the pulpit at the east end, which part was somewhat raised above the great body of the church. The Rev. W. Williams officiated, and never did I witness a more attentive, orderly, and devout congregation, even in a Christian country. The whole congregation appeared to join in the singing and in the responses and repetitions of our Liturgy, and with the greatest possible propriety and devotion; indeed, so intensely interested was I in the service that it was with considerable difficulty I could suppress my feelings when the notes of the organ were almost drowned by the full burst of the voices of these native worshippers, who, from having once been savage cannibals, were now uniting in the praises of God. The whole of the service, with the exception of the Psalms, was in the New Zealand language.

"I accompanied the Revs. Messrs. W. Williams and A. N. Brown, between the services, to the village of Kororari, on the opposite side of the bay, about two miles from Paihia, where, ringing their bell, we assembled a congregation of about seventy natives in the division of the village belonging to the chief Rewa. Here also I was much astonished and gratified by seeing the apparently savage natives take out their books from under their mats, and turn over to the hymn and to the other parts as the clergyman proceeded, both singing and joining in the responses, as with one voice, with much solemnity and propriety. I was not prepared to find among a people who had previously no written language so many who had benefited by the instruction given in our mission schools; and I was not a little delighted to witness the attention and evident interest which every face exhibited as the preacher addressed them, every eye being directed towards him.

"From Paihia I accompanied Mr. Clarke, the

Catechist, to Waimate, fourteen miles direct distance. Here I was much gratified with witnessing the advanced state of the settlement. It was only formed early in 1831, and already they have a row of excellent houses nearly finished, and several acres enclosed with a neat paling fence, and under cultivation with wheat, barley, Indian corn, and potatoes, enough for the supply of the whole mission for half a year to come. As the farming establishment advances, they will be able to accomplish more; and next year they hope to raise sufficient to make the whole New Zealand mission independent of these colonies for the hitherto periodical supplies of flour, etc., besides providing against the usual wants of the natives in the settlement, for whom they have hitherto had to purchase potatoes from the villagers; which will, I apprehend, be found a material saving to the mission.

"The little church at Waimate was run up in six weeks for the present emergency, and being too small to contain the congregation, will be shortly replaced by a more permanent edifice. The schools, like those of Paihia, exhibit abundant proofs of the zealous attention of the persons composing this mission. The writing of the senior classes was really better than that of most of the school boys in England, and what struck me much, it was remarkably free from orthographical mistakes, which can only be accounted for from the simplicity of their language, each letter of which admits but of one simple sound. Here I observed chiefs and subjects, old and young, free men and slaves, all incorporated into classes; only one distinction, viz., that of

proficiency of learning—a remarkable feature in all the schools of the New Zealand mission."

"I reached Kerikeri, ten miles distant from Waimate," Captain Jacob says, "and found the little church on the hill filled with attentive worshippers. They have twenty baptized natives, of whom twelve are adult converts, and in their schools they have sixty-eight males and females under daily instruction."

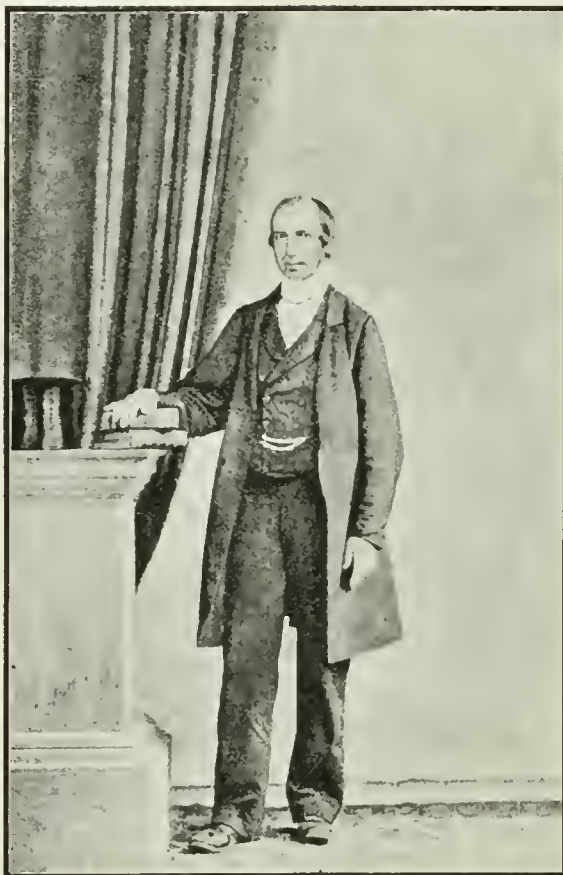
Of Te Puna he writes very briefly. "Here," he says, "I found Mr. King and his family,

who are nearly grown up. His coadjutor I did not see, as he was in the woods cutting timber for the new church now in progress of construction at this station."

Captain Jacob left New Zealand for New South Wales in the schooner *Fortitude* on 16th February, and on his return to Sydney remarks, "I have carefully looked into the missionary reports, and I am bound to say that they are anything but exaggerations, so far as I have had any opportunity of judging from personal inspection."

Kaitia having been fixed upon as a site for a settlement in the north, Messrs. Clarke, Baker, and Matthews proceeded thither on the 13th of March, 1833, to purchase the ground required for the settlement. Mr. Baker related how the party

got on in a letter dated 15th April. He says:—"The situation we have fixed upon is central to the body of the Rarawa, and it is eligible in every other respect, being of the first quality of soil, and there being sufficient timber for all purposes. The extent of land purchased is an abundance for the settlement; it also offers a good prospect with respect to agriculture, and may some day turn to good account. The natives mani-



Mr. John Morgan.

fested a strong desire to have us among them. We set out some necessities to be done before we can enter upon the station, and the whole party belonging to Panakareau seemed ready to enter upon it. That part of the river leading to where the station will be is not as yet navigable, being glutted with timber, which will require clearing away. We have engaged the natives to do this, and also to clear a road by land in times of flood. Panakareau and his party are anxious to put up some rush houses for us, as being the strongest pledge of our going to live among them. We therefore staked out a rush house for each of us. This we have done with a view to serve our purpose till we can erect wooden houses."

"The design," Mr. Puckey says, "of our second journey was to explore a road through a forest extending nearly from Waimate to Kaitaia, lying over a ridge of mountains. We discovered that a good road might be made in a direct line to Waimate, and that we should save a distance of 36 miles, the new road being 44; whereas by the old road it is 80. We shall also secure good travelling at all seasons of the year. The object of our third journey was to ascertain the true state of the minds of the natives with regard to our settling among them, and the extent of the population. On our arrival we were rejoiced to find that the natives with one voice said, 'Make haste and take up your abode among us.' As to population, we learned from inquiry of the different chiefs that the number of fighting men within our reach amounted to sixteen hundred, not including slaves. We came down the fourth time to prepare our houses and to abide a few months among the natives, after which we returned to fetch Mrs. Matthews and Mrs. Puckey. We took full possession of the settlement on the 14th of March, 1834, when Mrs. Matthews arrived with Messrs H. Williams and Davis. On the 18th March the land was paid for, the quantity being "upwards of 1,000 acres, 600 of which was of fine alluvial soil. The price paid was 80 blankets, 70 axes, 30 iron pots, 30 hoes, 40 plane irons, 30 pair scissors, 30 combs, 10 shark hooks, 2,000 fish hooks, various sizes, and 50lbs. tobacco."

Mr. James Busby, a civil engineer in Sydney, received the appointment of Consular Agent in New Zealand, in June, 1832. He was in England at the time, and brought the reply of the King to the chiefs who had written to him the previous year. He arrived in Sydney in the transport Planter, on the 15th of October, and brought his appointment with him. He

arrived in the Bay of Islands on the 5th of May, 1833, in H.M.S. Imogene, and formally entered upon his duties on the 17th of May following, when he landed under a salute of seven guns from the ship, a hearty welcome from the mission, firing of muskets and the haka from the natives.

In the month of October, 1833, a detachment of the missionary body, consisting of the Rev. H. Williams, Rev. A. N. Brown, Mr. Fairburn, and Mr. Morgan, left the Bay of Islands in two boats, for the purpose of selecting a site for a station at the Thames. After an examination of the western coast of the firth, which they found without inhabitants, they passed over to the opposite side, where the natives were numerous. Pulling up the river Waihou, they came to a small branch stream, which they entered, and found a body of natives at their cultivations. They expressed great pleasure when they learned who their visitors were. Having taken their evening meal, they assembled, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred natives, to evening prayers. The missionaries commenced, as usual, by singing a hymn, but what was their surprise when they heard the whole assemblage join and sing correctly with them; and in the prayers the responses were made by all as by the voice of one man. Nothing like this had been witnessed before. Many asked for books and slates. These people had received instruction from three youths who had lived in the mission families at Paihia.

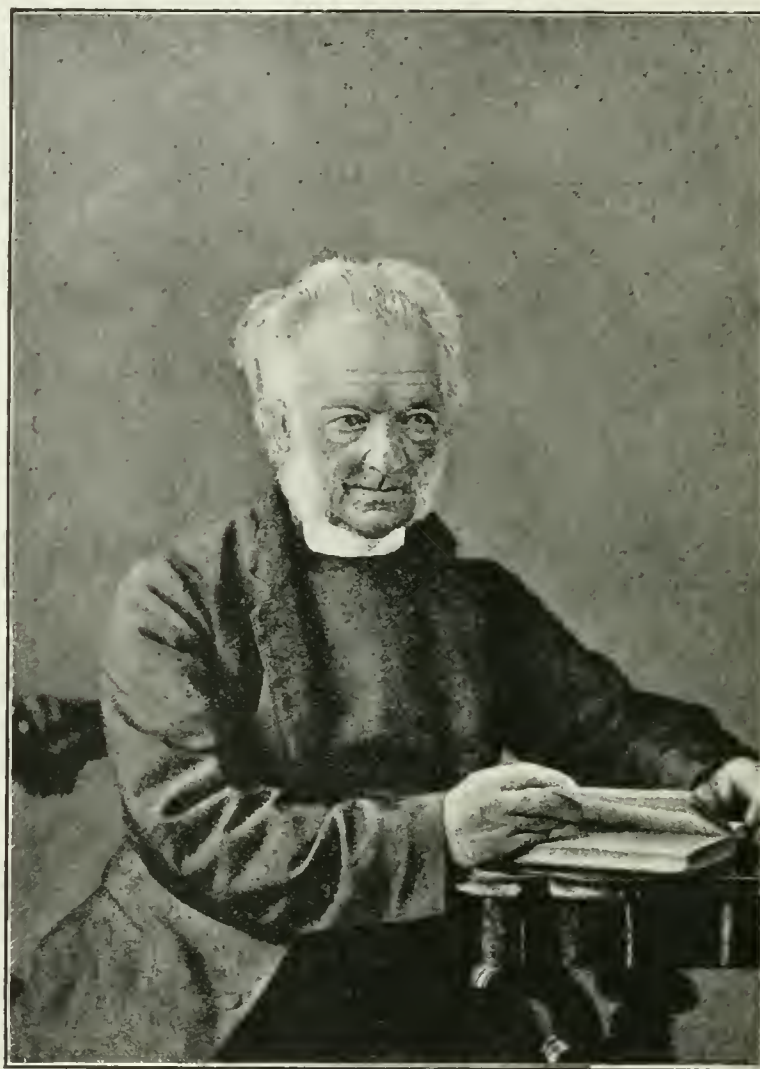
They continued their course up the river, and on the 15th of November they reached Matamata, where Waharoa, the chief of this tribe, resided. He asked many questions, and inquired what they were to do without a missionary to teach them. From this point they turned down the Waihou river to Puriri, and, after consultation, concluded that for a mission station Puriri was the best site. They accordingly took a survey of the ground, and gave orders for the building of three raupo houses.

The schooner Fortitude was chartered for the purpose of conveying timber and stores to Puriri for the new station, and Mr. Preece and Mr. Morgan went as passengers in charge. They left the Bay of Islands on the 19th December, and on 24th anchored a few miles from the proposed settlement. The next morning they proceeded up the river calling at several villages on the way. It was late in the day when Puriri was reached, when a tent was pitched and a hearty welcome given to the new comers. At Kopu they found about

fifty natives and four European residents; at Puriri about one hundred and fifty who had been hard at work erecting houses for the reception of those appointed to the station. The population was estimated as follow: the Ngatiwhaunanga, 400 men; Ngatitamatarā, 60; Ngatimarū, 200; Ngatipaoa, 550. This

send one to Tauranga, Whakatane, and the river Thames, as it would be the means of keeping peace among the natives.'"

Tohitapu, a Maori priest, died in July. He was a man of influence, and though addicted to the customs of his fathers, a friend of the mission.



Rev. A. N. Brown. (Afterwards Archdeacon of Tauranga.)

was the native computation of fighting men. Lesser incidents may be briefly summarised. Under 8th June, Mr. Williams writes:—"Received two letters from Mr. Tapsell, a flax agent at Maketu. He says at the latter end of the first letter: 'My people bid me write to you to send them a missionary. If you should approve of that I hope you will

Messrs. P. H. King, H. Pilley, and John Edmonds, artisans, sailed on 8th July, 1833, from Portsmouth, in the Persian, Captain Mallard, and arrived in New Zealand on the 7th February, 1834.

Mr. James Stack, formerly of the Methodist mission, and his wife he having married a Miss West on the 6th of November, sailed

from Gravesend on the 28th November, and arrived at Sydney on the 26th May in the Sovereign, Captain Baker, on their way to New Zealand.

Messrs. R. Wade, W. Colenso, W. Flatt, and Mrs. Wade embarked at Gravesend on the 18th June, 1834. They arrived at Sydney on the 30th October, and New Zealand on the 30th December.

The mission staff in the year 1834 was thus distributed:—Te Puna, Mr. John King and Mr. James Shepherd; Kerikeri, Messrs. Kemp and Baker; Paihia, Messrs. H. and W. Williams, T. Chapman, W. Puckey, and Maria Coldham; at Waimate (the Rev. W. Yate having gone to England), Messrs. G. Clarke, James Hamlin, and Richard Davis; at the two new stations of Kaitia and Puriri, Messrs. A. N. Brown, W. Fairburn, James Preece, Joseph Matthews, John A. Wilson, and John Morgan. The number of scholars was 420. "The greater number of the natives," Mr. Yate says, "living in the mission settlements are able to read the Scriptures, and are now in possession of the portions already printed. The natives at their own residences are many of them so far advanced as, with a book in their hands, to perfectly understand what is written. Whenever they sit down to rest all take out their Scriptures and begin to read. I have been kept awake in my tent till after midnight by the natives outside reading the Scriptures and asking each other questions or making comments."

At the Te Puna station on the 14th of June, Mr. Shepherd says: "I now go to the heads of Whangaroa to a village, the principal chief of which is Tupe, whose conduct is highly praiseworthy, and both he and his people call loudly for our attention. They have built a place of worship large enough to hold two hundred persons, they have regularly morning and evening service, previously to which they sound a hoe by striking another piece of iron against it, to let the people know the time for service has arrived. Another chief who lives on the way home from Whangaroa has built a place of worship and is very anxious for instruction."

Under date 10th December, 1834, of the Waimate, Mr. Hamlin writes:—"There are many of the natives of the settlement coming forward for baptism, and some for the Supper of the Lord, and I believe all who have been received into the church continue to walk consistently. Our chapel on Sundays is crowded to excess, and I think if it were twice as large, it would be filled. At a part of the

Ahuahu, which is visited by myself every Sunday except when out at Kaikohi, the average attendance used to be about seventy, but now it is about one hundred and twenty. At this place there is a school conducted by the natives themselves, in which are taught the catechisms, reading, and writing, and there is not perhaps a single individual who cannot repeat the catechism without the book. There are about twenty who have learned to read fluently."

Some of the congregations would excite a smile from the serious manner in which the natives sought to prove their civilization. Thus at Kaikohi, Mr. Clarke says: "The two hundred people assembled formed one of the most grotesque gatherings conceivable. Broughton, as he had been named, was dressed in a long carter's frock, over which he had two black waistcoats, no trousers, shoes, or stockings. Some of the women had forced their way into gowns of all shapes and sizes. One boy had a shirt on, once white, over which he had the body of a woman's gown to answer the purpose of a jacket. Many of the women who could not procure a gown were dressed in men's striped shirts over their native garments. One man had inverted the order of the shirt and forced his legs through the sleeves making thus a pair of trousers; and another, to show that he was not destitute of European clothes, had tied a pair of trousers round his neck. Such and more ludicrous was the outward appearance of my congregation; and, to crown the whole, they were perfectly unconscious of there being anything about them to excite a smile."

At this station the mission-houses were fenced in with paling, and contained upwards of thirty acres, and its condition is thus described:—"The whole of the ground within these fences is broken up, some laid down with clover and grass, other parts appropriated to orchards, well stocked with fruit-trees; others to good vegetable gardens, and portions also devoted to the service of married natives as gardens around their neat little domiciles. Outside the fences, and in what may be properly termed the farm, there are more than forty-eight acres sown with wheat, barley, oats, maize, lucerne, etc., of which about thirty acres were reaped last season. A prospect more pleasing cannot meet the eye of the philanthropist than the sight of the British plough breaking up the deserts of New Zealand, and the youth of New Zealand themselves the drivers of the plough, and the conductors of the whole business, after they



have received their instructions from their teachers and friends. The introduction of the ploughs and harrows, all of which were made at the Waimate, constitutes an era in the history of the country. Till these instruments were brought into use the people little knew what their land was capable of producing, but very small portions were brought under cultivation owing to the great difficulty of breaking it up with the hoe or the spade. Further, all the blacksmith work necessary in a farming establishment for carts, waggons, drays, ploughs, harrows, etc., was done here. Three wells upwards of fifty feet deep have been dug, a dam has been erected, and a race cut for the mill; all the bricks, boards, and timber used in the station have been carted from the places where they were respectively made and sawn; all the stores, household furniture, coals, etc., brought in from the Kerikeri, a distance of ten miles, and numerous other works have been completed, or are now in hand. The whole of this has been accomplished by about forty adults and forty youths, who never before were accustomed to labour, and amidst all the difficulties attendant on efforts made in an uncivilised land."

Mr. John Morgan, at Puriri, under date 6th March, says: "Yesterday Titore, the principal chief northward, landed here from Mahurangi, at which place he has been for the last two months endeavouring to procure timber for H.M.S. Buffalo. He came up here, a distance of fifty miles, in a canoe, to visit us before his return North."

Under date 4th June, Mr. W. Fairburn wrote: "Our schools are going on in a manner which affords us much encouragement. The boys' school commences at half-past seven during winter, the infants' at ten in the morning, and the girls' at three in the afternoon. Our chapel on Sunday is respectably attended, and it not unfrequently occurs that numbers are obliged to sit outside. We are now preparing a place to be built chiefly by natives for a place of worship, 40 feet by 20 feet."

The Rev. J. A. Wilson, on the 25th July, writes: "Since our residence at this place I have been engaged in a variety of ways, carpentering, building chimneys, superintending the cutting of roads, rendering swamps passable for our horses, fencing in land for my house and garden, and assisting Mr. Morgan in the school."

It having been considered desirable that the Rev. A. N. Brown and Mr. Hamlin should

proceed from Paihia to explore the Waikato district with a view of forming mission establishments, they proceeded together, with some native youths attached to them. The journey occupied from the 26th of February to 17th May. Setting forth from the Waimate, they proceeded by the Wairoa River to the Kaipara, thence through broken country in the direction of Waikato, and after a journey of seven or eight days they struck the Waikato River.

"The state of the country," says the late Bishop of Waiapu, "was very different at that period to what it after became. Apprehension of a foreign enemy had obliged the tribes severally to withdraw into their own fastnesses. Hence all those connected with Ngapuhi retreated towards the north, while of the Waikato tribes there was not a single individual to be found further north than Ngaruawahia, at the confluence of the rivers Waipa and Horotiu. The greater part of Manakau, Waitemata, Tamaki, and all lower Waikato, was a waste, unoccupied country. The travellers, therefore, when they reached Kaipara had to travel by compass through a trackless region."

"As there were no inhabitants there were no canoes, and it became necessary to construct a kind of float, made of flags tied fast together in the form of a small canoe, sufficiently buoyant to support two persons, which is called moki. On ten of these moki they paddled across, and found them to answer so well that they proceeded some miles in them down the river. The natives were cautioned when they started not to pull ahead of one another, lest they should fall in with any people who might suppose they were Ngapuhi who had come again to fight. Notwithstanding this caution, two of them pulled on, when they came all at once upon a boat pulling towards them, full of people, among whom were a younger brother of Te Whero-where, the principal chief of Waikato, and an Englishman. When they saw the foremost moki they called out to the two men, 'Where are you from?' 'From Ngapuhi,' they replied. Seeing the rest of the moki astern, he said, 'You are a fighting party.' He then told his man to load their muskets and fire. The two men then called out, 'We are not a fighting party, but are come with some missionaries who are close behind.' He did not believe them, but told the Englishman to turn the boat round, and wait till they came up. One of them then cried out in English, 'Hallo,'

which the Englishman recognised, and said, 'There are some Englishmen behind.' The boat then pulled onward, and when they saw who the party were, they gave a hearty welcome and entered freely into conversation. They said the missionaries had remained so long at the Bay of Islands that surely their children must be old enough to become missionaries too. The chief added: 'If you had come among us some time ago Taranaki would have been alive, but now we have cut them nearly all off.'

They were very friendly, offered the missionaries a passage in the boat to Waipa, and what was still better to famished travellers, they gave them nearly all the potatoes they had."

It appearing expedient that another visit should be paid to Waikato with the view of determining the proper site for a settlement, the Rev. W. Williams, the Rev. A. N. Brown, and Mr. Morgan proceeded thither. Their journey extended over four months. The party reached Ngaruawahia on the 16th of August, having left the Bay of Islands in the barque *Bolina* on the 19th July. They were accompanied by Kate, the brother of Te Wherowhero (the future Potatau), who had married the daughter of Rewa.

At Ngaruawahia they pitched their tents near to the house occupied by Captain Kent, who had married the sister of Te Wherowhero, with whom the mission party, on the 18th, had a long conversation as to the place where they were to reside. He was anxious for them to remain near him, and was willing to give up any situation they might select, but the body of the natives, he told them, were higher up the river.

Leaving Ngaruawahia on the morning of the 21st, the land that Te Wherowhero wanted to assign them was soon reached, but as there were no resident natives the proposal was not entertained. They proceeded about fourteen miles further up the river Waipa, and found the banks of the river lined with cultivations. Still ascending the river against a strong current, Te Rore was passed—the place where Pomare met his death—and Matakītaki—fatal to Waikato—and landed on the afternoon of

the 25th of August at a village called Mangapouri, not being able to proceed as far as they wished. They were afterwards so much pleased with the spot that they considered their halting a providential circumstance. On meeting the chief Awarahi, who owned the mana of the district, and telling him that they had decided to remain, he asked them to point out the spot for their house; and in five minutes, the narrative says, about forty men were employed in clearing the ground upon which it was to stand, and the dimensions were marked out on the 28th August. Mr. Brown and others were employed planting fruit trees they had brought with them, while the natives went in quest of materials for the house.

Passing on to Matamata and Tauranga, to select another mission station, they found Te Waharoa, seated at the outside of the pa, waiting to receive them. Mr. W. Williams thus describes the warrior: "The old chief was one of the finest specimens of a native I had yet seen. He is of middle stature, with small features, well formed. His beard is gray, and his hair, which is partially so, is exceedingly neat; while his dress and general deportment mark him out among the multi-



Mr. W. Colenso.

tude as a superior chief. He has long been celebrated as a warrior; but his manners are mild, and the expression of his countenance prepossessing. I had expected to find a surly old man, not very well-pleased because he had not yet got a missionary to reside with him."

"I explained to him," Mr. Williams says, "our plans for Waikato and Tauranga, and said that when a mission was established at the latter place, we hoped to do something for him. Our settlement in the Thames and those projected at Waikato and Tauranga form a triangle; and Matamata lies between the three, but nearest to Tauranga."

Mr. Brown, under date 3rd September, furnishes us with a somewhat Arcadian picture. He writes: "We went this morning at the request of Waharoa to a plantation in the woods, near the pa, where about 600 natives were assembled. The men were engaged in planting potatoes with long pieces of wood answering the purpose of spades; the old chiefs were sitting under the trees, and groups of children were playing around. When they had finished planting, Waharoa proposed our returning to the fence of the pa in order that his people might assemble there to hear the talk of the missionaries. After sitting a short time the people rushed from the plantation in native style, and began dancing and making a few speeches. Waharoa said that his residence was at a cross path, and that while sitting there he should see a white man coming towards him whom he should find to be a missionary from Tauranga, passing through his place on a visit to a missionary at Waipa; that afterwards he should see another white man coming along who would prove to be a missionary from Waipa to Tauranga, or else to the Thames station; and that when we passed by him and saw that there was no teacher living with him, we should be *bad with exceeding shame*."

Mr. Williams says: "We arrived at Otumoetai, the principal pa of Tauranga, on the 6th of September, and the next day being Sunday, Hikareia and Tupaea came to see us, when I explained the object of our visit. We received scarcely a word in reply, and it seemed to be a matter of indifference to them whether we found a settlement or no. We proposed to assemble the natives, and about five hundred came together, who showed more interest than their chiefs had done. The next day we went to Te Papa, which had been previously recommended as the site for a mission station. We found the situation exceedingly advantageous, and gave directions

that two raupo houses should be put up for the missionaries who might be appointed to the place."

The Rev. Robert Maunsell and Mrs. Maunsell left London for Gravesend on the 4th February, 1835, to embark for New Zealand on board the *Florentia*, Captain Deloitte. They arrived at Sydney on the 30th July, and New Zealand on the 25th November of the same year.

The Rev. Henry H. Bobart and Mr. B. Y. Ashwell, with their wives, sailed from Gravesend on the 12th of June, 1835, and arrived in Sydney on the 2nd November. Mr. and Mrs. Ashwell joined the mission on the 23rd December, 1835, but was not accompanied by his companions, as Mrs. Bobart became ill on her arrival in New South Wales, and died at Parramatta at the residence of Mr. Marsden, on the 12th January, 1836, which necessarily delayed her husband proceeding to New Zealand until the 3rd March, reaching Waimate on the 5th following.

On the 10th of January, 1835, when the press was landed, Mr. Wade wrote: "The arrival of the press is, as we expected, hailed by our friends here as a memorable event; while as for the natives who assisted in bringing it on shore, they danced upon the sand;" and in like manner, Mr. Colenso adds, "No hero of olden times was ever received by his army with greater *acclat* when it was known that I was a printer and had come out to print books for them." "The chiefs of distant places," he says, "come down to Waimate and this place for books and missionaries. These seem to be the *ne plus ultra* of their ambition. They gladly bring their potatoes for a book." He was swift to recognise the sonorous tones of the Maori tongue in the Confession, the Lord's Prayer and the Liturgy when uttered in unison which he described as "really awe inspiring." Mr. Wade also drew attention to the native responses in public worship. "All the voices," he said, "seem to join in and keep exact time together, and the melodious language of the natives was such that he had heard nothing in England to come up to it."

Mr. Colenso writes, "I have been employed in cleaning and setting up the press, making and getting tools to rights, laying type in cases, composing and working off 2000 copies of the Epistles to the Ephesians and Philippians, and folding and sewing the same; composing and working off 600 tables for schools; repairing native and other books, and numerous little things for the station."

At the end of the year he adds: "I have

been engaged in composing and printing 1000 copies of St. Luke's Gospel and a 12mo book of 67 pages; since which I have bound in leather and cloth upwards of 400 of these gospels. I have also printed 75 circular letters in English and 70 in the native language for the British Resident. Of the Gospel of St. Luke," he says, "I cannot bind them fast enough for the natives."

The translation of the New Testament was finished this year, and the British and Foreign Bible Society engaged to defray the expense of printing 2,000 copies. The translation thus concluded was begun by the Rev. W. Yate and the Rev. W. Williams about seven and a half years previous, and had undergone many revisions by the whole of the mission, including (according to the report of the Committee which was responsible for its production) "Messrs. Puckey and Shepherd, the former of whom is very familiar with the native language, having resided in New Zealand ever since he was nine years old." It was made, they say, directly from the Greek, and the translators consulted the best commentators during the progress of their work.

There were about 800 adults who had been taught in the mission schools to read, and 400 more were under the same instruction. There was also under mission care 250 infants of eight years old and under. The natives also established schools of their own in which many others learned both reading and writing. The average number of attendants upon public worship at the mission settlements was said to have been a thousand.

At Te Puna, where Mr. King was the sole resident, he was troubled like other abler and wiser men with schism. "Some of the natives,"

he tells us, "have appointed Saturday for their Sabbath, saying that we were under a mistake. That Saturday was the ancient Sabbath, and that the Apostles turned Monday into a Sabbath for us. They hoist a flag, the catechist says, on a pole, pay little or no respect to the day; but at night a few assemble together, when their priest performs his ceremonies and mixes portions of the Scriptures with their old superstitions."

The natives also had their heresies in the cult they inherited from their fathers, of which Mr. Stack gives us the following instance. It

happened in the South Island, and is told in this fashion: "Among those who went off in search of military honours among the Ngaitahu was a certain heretical teacher named Kiri-mahinahina, who left Akaroa for the seat of war near Moe-raki, and fell at the battle of Taraka-hina-a-tea. This tohunga had told Turakautahi the younger that Tiki made man, while the fathers always maintained that it was Io. Te Wera adopted a novel method to prevent the survival of this man's false teaching through his spirit escaping and getting into some

other tohunga. When the battle was over he made an oven capable of containing the entire body, and then he carefully plugged the mouth, ears, nose, and every other aperture, and having cooked the heretical teacher, he managed, with the assistance of some of his warriors, to eat up every portion of him, and so successfully extinguished the incipient heresy."

In the summary of the latter half of the year Mr. King says: "I have visited the surrounding natives on Sunday afternoons, while my son John has had school with the men and



Rev. R. Maunsell. (Afterwards Archdeacon of Waitemata.)

boys in the settlement, and Mrs. King and our daughter with the females. I have visited the natives of Toheranui, Takou, and Matauri. Te Ngange, a chief's son of this place, who was brought up with us, could read and write very well, and was acquainted with the first four rules of arithmetic. He was well versed in the catechisms; knew a good portion of the Scriptures by rote, and most of the English service, and made an attempt to learn to read and write the English language. He went to Tauranga to assist in the formation of that station, but had shortly to return home, being in a consumption."

At Kerikeri, Mr. Kemp reported in July: "In the last six months I have made four missionary visits to the natives of Whangaroa and on the north coast. There are about 350 natives who attend public service on Sundays and at other times when visited. Two new rush chapels have been built in the last six months at the expense of the natives."

At the end of the year, Mr. Shepherd says, "I have been employed in the various duties of the store, in translating the Scriptures and in visiting the districts of Whangaroa and Matauri. Mr. Kemp and myself have alternately continued our visits on Sundays to the congregation at Toheranui and have alternately attended to the spiritual duties of the station."

At Paihia, in July, 1835, the Rev. H. Williams writes: "During the past half-year, I have been attending to the duties of the settlement, and in giving instruction to natives from various quarters who come here for that purpose. At the Kawakawa and Kororareka, particularly pleasing congregations are assembled. Te Puke has also been generally visited, and Wangai, Otuihu, and Waikari."

In November, Mr. C. Baker says: "The Kawakawa party now assumes the appearance of a well organised church. The morning service begins at nine o'clock; afterwards the most promising young men move out to give instruction to the surrounding villages. About half-an-hour after the morning service, the bell rings for catechism, when old and young attend. Catechism being ended, all who are able to read, read a chapter or two. The school concludes with a hymn and prayer."

Of Kororareka, he says: "We have some grounds for hope. The amount of time devoted to this place is very great; and if no real or apparent good has been done, yet much evil no doubt has been prevented. Our new church is getting ready for use. The dimensions are 50 by 30 feet, and it will admit of a gallery. The European population is increasing at

Kororareka, and owing to its situation as a seaport is likely to become a populous place."

Of the Waimate, Mr. R. Davis, at the end of the year, writes: "A very considerable blessing has attended us, and great alterations have taken place since our friend Yate left us. When we last met at the Lord's-table we had seventy-four communicants. Our number of candidates for baptism is considerable, and their number is increasing. The scene in the Waimate and its vicinity is much changed, and here we may truly be said to live in a civilised country. Our neighbours, those not connected with the seaports, are civil, honest, and teachable. Locks and bolts are little needed, and but little used. Working tools are safe, though lying in all directions. Ten years ago, a person scarcely dared to lay a tool down, as it was almost sure to be stolen, and even outside pockets were dangerous. Yesterday, 15th December, I had one hundred and sixty-one persons to converse with on the state of their souls."

A flour mill having been erected at Waimate, Mr. Davis, on the 16th December, has the following entry in his journal: "The mill is a great source of comfort to us, and the natives are beginning to feel the benefit. Yesterday, Indian corn was brought ten miles to be ground." A few days later, he says: "Of the year's supply of food for man and beast, nine acres of barley and three acres of vetches were sown; four acres of potatoes were planted, together with some Indian corn for fodder."

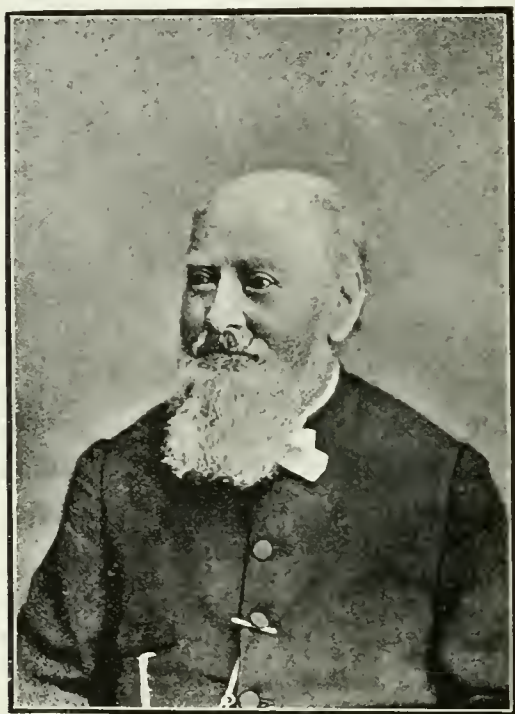
Mr. Puckey says: "Since our last arrival we have built a rush chapel in which are held regular morning and evening services. We have established a morning school for males, our number of men and boys being forty. A girls' school is also occupied by Mrs. Matthews and Mrs. Puckey, the daily attendance at which is sixteen. Up to the present time a considerable portion of our time, with that of our natives, has been taken up in making roads and a bridge over the river in front of our houses in order to facilitate our visiting the natives." On the 6th of June he says, "We have built one bridge over the river in front of our settlement and are now engaged in building another over the main river, as the land on which we live is nearly surrounded by water." When the mission was first established a small chapel, 25 feet by 18 feet, was erected and only for some time became half filled, but the building had now to be enlarged.

At the end of the year he writes: "During the last six months I have been engaged in

superintending the natives making an embankment round our front premises, breaking up land, sawing, visiting the natives in turn with Mr. Matthews, and attending to the spiritual affairs of the settlement. On the 13th of October I visited the Three Kings for the purpose of bringing away the natives residing there, understanding they were in a very distressed state. When I arrived I found they were going to Sunday Island to live. I sent on shore Broughton, the baptized chief, and one of their relations to persuade them to come and live with us at Kaitaia. They listened to what we had to say, but refused to

Six weeks of our time, with that of our natives, was spent in cutting a new road from Kaitaia to Waimate. The distance through the forest is thirty-four miles, which, with ten miles of open country at either end, will make the whole length fifty-four miles."

At Puriri, the Rev. H. Williams, on his way south on the 22nd February, called, and at Mr. Wilson's house assembled the people for English service. He says: "We mustered twelve adults, beside children. In the afternoon we attended Mr. Fairburn's infant school where twenty-eight were present. Most of the children were boys from seven years



Mr. B. Y. Ashwell.

come. Mr. Matthews regrets that sickness had prevailed among his natives. He attended the native school for men and boys, where the attendance was forty, and Mrs. Matthews and Mrs. Puckey to the girls, which average twenty scholars."

Earlier in the year, when stating how seven adult natives had been baptized, Mr. Puckey says: "The week-day employment of our working natives has consisted in clearing and fencing land, in sawing timber, and carpentry. The native carpenters, with our assistance, have built a carpenter's shop and a store.



Miss Serena Davis, Catechist.

(Daughter of the Rev. R. Davis and wife of Archdeacon Butt.)

downwards. Each put on a blue frock upon entering the house, which gave them a clean, uniform, and pleasing appearance. The children manifested much pleasure and desire to learn, and went through their various evolutions with considerable precision. At the conclusion some of the old ladies among the visitors made a special request that the children might be marched around the flagstaff in order that they might see them. Their wishes were complied with, to their great admiration. But one of the most important characters of this school was Tini, a lady of

considerable note, and the wife of one of the principal chiefs here. She came in a clean blue gown, and took the lead under Mrs. Fairburn in pointing to the letters and keeping order. She appeared quick and intelligent."

At Mangapouri, there is little to be said beyond that Messrs. Hamlin and Stack encountered a series of vexatious delays on their journey thither. It was intended that the Rev. W. Williams should have taken charge of the station, but it was arranged that he should go to Waimate to the Missionaries' Children's School, and that Mr. Hamlin should take his place. "It soon appeared," Mr. Williams writes, "that it was not instruction the natives wanted, but the goods the missionaries would bring with them." An illustration will best suffice to show the temper of the people in the vicinity of the new station. Mr. Hamlin is the writer: "July 12: Lord's Day. This afternoon I went to Otuwai, a large pa about seven miles to the east of Mangapouri. There were about 200 natives assembled. I sang a hymn, had prayers, and addressed them; but had scarcely done so when one of them said to me, 'How many baskets of potatoes do you require for an axe?'"

It having been arranged that the next station should be at Matamata, the Rev. A. N. Brown undertook its formation, being assisted by Mr. Morgan, who was to leave Mangapouri. He arrived at the scene of his labours early in April, 1835. Two days after his arrival he commenced school, at which thirty attended. He had found his house in an unfinished state, and was no sooner in the place than his services were wanted for the sick. Disputes followed about potatoes, when the chief who had undertaken to have his house built prevented the natives from working, whereupon Mr. Brown told them he should go back to Puriri and wait till they sent him word that the house was ready. This firmness brought them to terms, and the work went on without hindrance. He, however, went to Puriri, and on his return took his family with him, and was told, on paying for his building, that the chief expected double blankets instead of single. He had hardly his house troubles over when his land tribulation came, and Waharoa wanted, among other things, forty dollars and ten blankets as part payment for his twelve or fourteen acres. On the 22nd July, he made arrangements to hold an English service on Sundays with the three European flax traders resident in the neighbourhood.

Mr. Brown, however, appears to have got along without comparatively great friction, and the missionaries would have won their way, though one cannot well understand why men like Messrs. Brown and Wilson, who were new to the country and ignorant of native customs, should have been chosen to found new stations among strange tribes, while those who were conversant with Maori habit remained about the Bay of Islands.

While Mr. Brown was commencing his work at Matamata, Mr. Chapman was preparing to take some steps at Rotorua, and for this purpose he left Paihia in an open boat, proceeding first to Puriri in the Thames, and from thence overland to Rotorua, which he reached on the 19th of March, accompanied by a carpenter. A beginning was also made at Tauranga, and the missionaries had only become comparatively settled, when a native of high rank, belonging to Matamata, was murdered at Rotorua. Mr. Chapman had better be his own narrator. He says: "We were just beginning to feel some little ease from the burdens which for four months had pressed heavily upon us, when on Christmas morning of 1835, just as I was preparing to assemble the natives for service, intelligence was brought me that a chief named Huka had that morning murdered, in a most barbarous manner, Hunga, a near relative of Waharoa, and that the body had been taken to the pa of Huka, on the other side of the lake, to be eaten. I immediately had the boat launched, and favoured with a fair wind, landed in little more than an hour. The natives received me in sullen silence, no doubt guessing my errand. They made no answer to my inquiries, and Huka himself, I found, was then at the great pa, having gone there, as I afterwards learned, to hang up the poor man's heart in a sacred place in order to avert any danger from himself. I called upon them to give up the body of the murdered man, upon which a young man arose and said that they had not the body, but that it had been quartered and sent away in different directions; that they had the head, which they were willing to give me, but were afraid of the anger of Huka. I told them that I would take the responsibility on myself. He then walked a short distance, and with the utmost unconcern brought me the head wrapped up in a bloody mat. Placing it in the boat I brought it away, and on the following morning delivered it to some of the poor man's relations." There was, for another year at least, little chance for mission work in the district after the murder of Hunga.

Mr. Chapman continues thus: "From the period of our settling down, the station was steadily persevered in, and it may be said that everything was attempted to be done where anything was to do. A large raupo house was floored and fitted with every common and necessary accommodation; a double chimney was raised, an orchard was planted with many fruits of the best European varieties, about an acre and a half in extent. About an equal area of clover and rye-grass was laid down, and the whole fenced in with split palings. A roomy carpenter's shop was also erected and two boys' houses of raupo. Materials were partly collected and prepared at the great pa for erecting a raupo chapel and school-house. So far had we proceeded with our secular duties when war broke out."

The stations for the year 1835 appear to have been as follows: Tepuna, John King; Kerikeri, James Kemp, James Shepherd, John Edmonds; Paihia, Henry Williams, Charles Baker, W. Colenso; Waimate, W. Williams, Henry H. Bobart, G. Clarke, Richard Davis, Serena Davis, James Davis, and thirteen male and one female native assistants: Kaitaia, W. Puckey, John Matthews; Puriri, W. Fairburn, James Preece; Mangapouri, James Hamlin, James Stack; Matamata, Alfred N. Brown, John Morgan, John Flatt; Rotorua, Thomas Chapman, Henry M. Pilley; Tauranga, John A. Wilson, W. Rich Wade, and Philip King. The following summary of the strength of the mission follows:—Stations, 10; labourers on their way and in the field, 6 missionaries, 23 catechists, 1 printer, 16 native assistants, and 24 married and 1 unmarried females. Attendants on public worship, 1530; communicants, 64; schools, 31; scholars, boys, 133; girls, 79; youths and adults, 158; sex not specified, 649; total, 1019.

On the 14th of February Archdeacon Broughton was made the first Bishop in Australasia. He was consecrated by Archbishop Howley, and was authorised by the

Crown to occupy as Bishop a seat in the Legislative Council of New South Wales.

The Rev. Richard Taylor, Mrs. Taylor and four children, with John Bedgood and family left London on the 18th February, landed at Sydney on the 13th June, arriving in New Zealand on the 18th of August, 1836.

Of Te Puna, Mr. King writes: "Some of the natives assemble to morning and evening prayer, read the Scriptures, and catechise each other during the week days. They are slow in their improvement. It requires as much patient continuance in well-doing in order to spread the gospel among the heathen as it ever did. To raise a barbarous nation to a state of civilisation is not the work of twenty, neither of forty years, with the slender means which have been employed. The Europeans living here hinder rather than forward the work. It was by dint of labour and exertion that this mission was begun and carried on, and it requires the same to continue its operations."

Of Kerikeri, it was reported that Mr. Kemp had the charge of the boys' school, and the general oversight of the work in the store, the carpentering portion of which had been completed. He also attended to the natives under his charge, planting a small piece of land with potatoes, and bartering for the settlement. With

visiting the natives at Toheranui, Takou, Waiaua, Matauri, Wainui, and Whangaroa, occupied his time. Mr. Shepherd had the public store, to attend to the duties of which required a great part of the native assistance in the settlement in landing and shipping stores for the different stations in the mission. These duties, with the translation of Malachi, Jonah, and the Book of Ruth, and completing a revision of St. Matthew's Gospel, occupied his time for the year.

The church at Kororareka had been erected during the year, but was not completed. Service, however, had been held in it both in Maori and English. At the Kawakawa a



Mr. James Davis.

good and commodious church had been erected, but was not finished. The congregations were large and regular in their attendance.

The report says: "Our schools have been on the increase. Many applications have been made by natives living far and near for books, slates, etc., where there have been educated and well-disposed natives willing to teach their countrymen. The English girls' school has now become a charge of considerable importance. There are at present twelve under instruction in the school. The Paihia schools have made a creditable proficiency during the year.

At Waimate, Mr. R. Davis, under date 1st March, says: "I met one hundred and twenty-two candidates, and took down thirty-four names for baptism, for next Sunday week." 13th March, he says: "Forty-four adults were admitted to baptism; 20th, fourteen adults have been admitted to the sacred ordinance." On 15th May, he says: "This being Sacrament Sunday, our congregation was large, there being one hundred and five communicants."

Of Kaitia, the report says: "The chief scene of our labours has been at Waro. We have there an attentive congregation of from 70 to 120. As circumstances would admit, we have visited the distant districts of Kerikeri on the east coast, and Whangape on the western. Our chapel has been well-attended, indeed so thronged that we were obliged to desert our old rush building and build another twice as large. It is a custom with many of the natives of the surrounding villages to come to our settlement on the Saturday, so that they may enjoy the whole services of the Sunday. Two separate baptisms have taken place here. Seven of those formerly baptized were admitted to the Lord's Supper. The average attendance of the natives of the settlement and those of the villages near us is forty."

Mr. Fairburn writes from Puriri in May, 1836: "A few days ago we had our Puriri school examination, the first since we have been here; a branch school from Kopu also attended. The Revs. Messrs. Brown and Maunsell were present. The infant school had made good progress; the average attendance has of late been about thirty, ten of whom can read fluently. The boys' school is advancing; some among them write a good hand, and are getting on in their tables and arithmetic. Most of them know all the catechism. A few prizes were given, such as slates, pencils, catechisms, and tracts."

In the joint letter of Messrs. Preece and Fairburn, they observe: "The natives at this time are in a generally unsettled state in the whole of the Thames district, and have retired to their fortifications in order to be in readiness for war, which circumstance has much interrupted our schools and missionary work."

In a general retrospective review of the Mangapouri station, for the year ending 30th June, 1836, Mr. Hamlin observes: "Soon after our arrival, having enclosed a raupo house, 30 by 20 feet, we commenced school, which has been pretty well attended, considering the few natives here and their unsettled condition. The average attendance on Sunday mornings has been about seventy, and in the evenings about thirty. In the boys' school, on the week days, there have been as many as sixty and as few as twelve, but the average number has been about twenty-five or thirty. Most of those who have attended school know the first two catechisms, and about fifteen can read the portions of the Scriptures that are translated pretty well, and write from dictation. The infants' school was continued only a few months. The natives moving out to Manukau in October, and the children following their parents thither, there were only about two or three to attend, so that it was given up. The numerous villages around us have been visited as often as circumstances would allow by ourselves and by baptized natives. At Otawhao a congregation of two hundred regularly assembled for service on Sundays, which has been conducted by Messrs. Hamlin and Stack, and in their absence by a baptized native. Many in the congregation know the two first catechisms, and about eighteen have so far learned to read as to be able to make out those portions of the Scripture which have been translated."

The Matamata station was formed in May, 1835. At that date the Rev. A. N. Brown proceeded thither with his family in the expectation of being shortly followed by Mr. Wilson. The delicate state, however, of Mr. Wilson's health induced him to apply to the committee to change his station to Tauranga, and his place was supplied by Mr. Morgan. Two raupo houses had been erected and floored with timber sawn by the settlement natives, and corn stores and out-buildings had been erected. Timber for the erection of a store was sawn, and a paddock, an orchard, and a garden had been enclosed, covering a gross space of ten acres. Three schools had been started and the catechisms had been committed to memory, the report says, by about

one hundred natives, many of whom had been taught to read and sew. The war, however, put a check on missionary labour. Mr. Brown says, in his journal of the 6th April: "Our work in the settlement seems almost at a stand. Even the school boys desert their houses at dusk and go either into the pa to sleep or secrete themselves in the bush lest they should be surprised at night by the taua they are expecting from Rotorua as a payment for the chiefs killed at Maketu. One man attended school with a loaded gun in his hand lest he should be surprised by the expected taua."

The Rev. J. A. Wilson was born at Ipswich on the 15th of June, 1809. He was the second son of Captain J. A. Wilson, of the Queen's Own or 2nd Regiment. Entered the Royal Navy as a gentleman volunteer in April, 1822, his only exploits in which were the capture of a pirate in the Gulf of Campeachy and the rescue by the fleet's boats at Lisbon of the King of Portugal out of the hands of a faction. In 1828 Mr. Wilson married the second daughter of Major Francis Hawker. In 1832 he left the Navy and joined, as a lay member, the Church Missionary Society and was by them sent to New Zealand. On the 12th of April, 1833, he arrived at the Bay of Islands and was for a few months stationed at Te Puna with Mr. John King. In December of the same year he, with Mr. James Preece, formed the mission station at Puriri, Thames River, where they were joined by Mr. Fairburn.

In 1835, as already stated, a station was

formed at Matamata by the Rev. A. N. Brown and Mr. Wilson. In January, 1836, he was stationed at Te Papa, Tauranga, with Mr. Wade. In March of the same year Te Waharoa, chief of Matamata, made war upon Ngati-Whakane, and Tauranga became a war-path. The mission families were sent for refuge to Puriri. Mr. Wilson remaining in charge.

Of Tauranga, Mr. Wilson reports: "This station was formed by Mr. Wade in August,

1835, and continued to advance until March following, when war bursting out among the various surrounding tribes at once stopped, or rather severely checked, the progress of the settlement. Since the field has, however, been occupied, the natives have conducted themselves towards us in a way which we had no reason to have expected, judging from the coldness discovered by them at the outset, an instance of which is worthy of being mentioned. After the loss of the Tuma, at which place they suffered considerably, several chiefs called on us from Otumoetai for the purpose of advising us to withdraw, at least



Rev. Richard Tauler (Author of *Te Ika a Maui*.)

for a time, from the scene of strife, expressing it as their opinion that the settlement would most likely be plundered by their enemies. They did this with a degree of good nature and disinterestedness somewhat foreign to the native character. In February a school was formed at Otumoetai, conducted by Mr. Wade, with the assistance of Samuel, a native formerly living with Mr. Fairburn. Our schools, though not numerous, were

regular till the taking of Maketu, after which it became no longer prudent to detain natives living on the settlement. There was a total daily attendance of ninety-five in the three schools that had been erected, but at present (July, 1836) only one large raupo house stands at Te Papa. Timber and raupo have been prepared for another, which only waits the close of the war for its erection. A weather-boarded store, a commodious boat-house, a carpenter's workshop of raupo, and the native boys' houses, form at present our establishment. Very considerable difficulty has been felt in procuring fuel and fencing. Nevertheless, I hope in the course of time that this may be obviated. Our boys have been employed in building their houses, fencing, and forming a road toward Rotorua, about four miles of which they had completed in March last. The general attendance of the natives on Sundays had been good, the average being, at Otumoetai, 110; Maungatapu, 150; Maungamanu, 90; Okahu, 30; and at the station, 50; total, 430."

The following extract from the journal of the Rev. J. A. Wilson, which is published through the courtesy of his son, Captain C. J. Wilson, who has the custody of the late Mr. Wilson's manuscripts, describes a journey made by three of the missionaries in 1836:—"June 16th, 1836, Tauranga: Messrs Chapman, Fairburn, and myself, left in the Puriri boat for Tuhua (Mayor Island). The purpose of our visit was this. We had heard that Tautari, chief of Ngatiawa (Ngaitonu), was about to surprise and cut off the unsuspecting inhabitants of the place, and we hoped to give them timely warning of their danger. It was a beautiful day, with a fair breeze, and we came up with the island about four o'clock in the afternoon. As we neared it we saw a small smoke made as a friendly signal. The sides of the island are abrupt and steep. We had difficulty in finding a landing place; but on rounding a large perforated rock which juts out from the western headland, crowned by an old fortification, we opened on a beautiful little cove and good beach. Here we found three men who had been watching the boat, each fully armed. At first they looked on us with suspicion; but when satisfied, were at once friendly. On landing, they told us that Tautari had two days before been at the island with his flotilla of war canoes, and was repulsed by the islanders; that they had observed his canoes in the far distance about sunset. Thus warned, the people assembled in their stronghold, ready to receive them; but though

defeated, he had plundered and taken away their provisions, canoes, etc., and what he could not take he burned. Pitched our tents for the night, and prepared for Sunday.

"June 17th, Sunday.—Though there was no longer cause for alarm, there was not a native to be seen. They were still shut up in their impregnable fortress. A guide had been sent us in the early morning, and following him, he led us to the people. The road is high and rugged in the extreme. Every part bears the mark of volcanic action. As we passed along the central range of hills, we had a fine view all round. The deep ravines, valleys, and curiously formed mounds and hills, of which there are many, all possessed an interest when seen as His works, who is 'wonderful in counsel and excellent in working.' After a circuitous walk of two hours, we came to a long, deep valley, which leads to the pa, and at the end stood the stronghold, very like an old ruined castle. I had often heard the men at Tauranga mention this and its peculiarities, and now I had the satisfaction of seeing it. The ascent to it from the low ground of the valley is difficult. From right to left it is unapproachable by high, broken, volcanic rocks, which protect it. On the north, or sun side, the towering cliff goes sheer down into the deep. Before mounting the steep southern side of the pa, our guide, an old man, stopped by a block of stone, some seven hundred-weight, which lay at the foot of the ascent. 'This,' said he, 'is Tautari! This is the man who drove back Ngaitonu, killing some and wounding others. *E hara i te kamaka!*' ('It is not a rock!'), said the man, with quiet complaisance, and not a little dignity, as he emphasized his own remark. He continued: 'They did not stay for a second when *he* came upon them.' He then told how the watch at the pa had heard Tautari's force at midnight climbing this ground and that the stone already arranged with levers beneath, was weighed out of its place over the edge of the rocky battlement and let loose on the advancing mass. The thundering noise of the block, as in the stillness of night it passed through the severed files of the enemy, joined with the war yell of Ngaitaiwhao, and all their musketry from the crest of the pa, made those deep valleys and rocks resound and echo with revenge, driving back in confusion the assailants, who in haste gathered up their slain and wounded, and leaving some of their arms, fell back in their canoes. As the stone had done all this so recently I said to our guide, 'But where is the blood on the stone?'

He replied, 'How should blood be here! At daylight the women came down from the pa and licked it off the grass.' This he said without emotion of any kind, as a matter of course.

"On reaching the little tribe who were assembled, not quite two hundred men, women, and children, we received a most hearty welcome. They were all heathens, and it being the *ra tapu*, we asked them to hear the Word of God. Mr. Fairburn addressed them, explaining the leading doctrines and precepts of Christianity. After this little morning service, we went round the upper part of this natural fortress and saw its real strength. By the direct road to the entrance gate only one person could approach at a time, along a narrow ridge of slippery rock, over which the path runs, and this way has a crater open on the left side and a deep precipice falling without break into the sea on the right. With merely native weapons, or musketry, it would be impossible to take it, and a few men could hold it against any number of assailants. Tautari is really a brave old man, well-known to the Ngapuhi by his night attacks on them when they invaded his lands; at that time he had only Maori weapons, but found that in the night at close quarters they were as good as the musket, and in this way he often beat them. He had received ten wounds in his wars and was feared by all, hence this handful of islanders were well satisfied at having defeated him.

"18th June.—The wind too high to return to Tauranga. Our tents being at a distance from the pa, we saw little of the natives to-day.

"23rd June.—After pulling two hours in a heavy sea, obliged to make for the island again. We reached it with difficulty. Having gained the eastern end we drew the boat up on a good beach; good water and excellent shelter; we pitched our tents in a little wood glad to be safe on shore again.

"24th June, Sunday.—Strong gale, heavy rain. Unable to visit the people on the opposite side of the island. Morning service with our

natives only, same in the evening. Everything very miserable and very little food.

"25th June.—Tautari having emptied all the stores, the greatest scarcity everywhere, our flour, tea, sugar all out. Reduced to kumara and crawfish.

"27th June.—Our kumara short and too much sea to catch crawfish. Found two beautiful nautilus shells.

"28th June.—Bought one of the only pigs on the island at a great price. Our party all revived.

"29th June.—The wind remaining strong and foul. One of the old islanders declared that it was owing to our natives having hung the dead pig in a tapued pohutukawa tree. The tree was sacred to the taniwha (New Zealand god of the sea). The tapu had been made *noa* and the taniwha had sent this wind.

"30th June. — Wind moderated. At 11 a.m. left Tuhua. There was yet a good deal of sea, but it was better to brave the sea than starvation. After a few hours the day improved and the sea became less rough. After dark, by the good providence of God, we reached Tauranga. My house still standing and the settlement uninjured."

Mr. Samuel Hayward Ford with Mrs. Ford sailed from Gravesend on the 17th November, 1836, for Sydney on their way to New Zealand, but the ship was damaged off Plymouth which de-



Dr. Ford.

layed their departure until the 14th January. They arrived at Sydney on the 24th June and in New Zealand on the 22nd August. It was in contemplation, Mr. Ford being a surgeon, to establish at one of the stations a hospital on a small scale, both for the benefit of natives and Europeans, as the former had become accustomed to apply for relief to the missionaries when sick, who found many patients requiring skilled treatment. At the time of his arrival many were suffering from influenza; many died, and the people became dispirited and desponding. He had in the course of six weeks after his arrival at least 800 natives under his care.

At the request of the Society the Bishop of Australia undertook to visit the mission in

New Zealand, and in doing so remarked: "I will do whatever in me lies, through God helping me, to maintain the Church of New Zealand in the Apostle's doctrine and fellowship. It is highly satisfactory to me that our friends at home are taking a view of these things which proves them to belong, not only to a missionary, but also to a Church society." He adds: "Moreover, I should wish to be understood as making the best provision which our circumstances permit, and which can be made without irregularity until, in God's own appointed time, that infant and struggling Church may be brought, under its own proper superior, to a full participation in the ordinances of the Christian ministry."

On the 7th of February, 1837, Mr. Marsden embarked on board the *Pyramus*, which was going to Hokianga for spars. Being weak and feeble he was accompanied by one of his daughters. On the 23rd they crossed the Hokianga bar and came to anchor when inside. Next morning the vessel went up the river and again anchored near the Wesleyan missionary station. Here he remained thirteen days, seeing many of the chiefs he had formerly known. When he left Hokianga upwards of seventy natives accompanied him. They carried him on "something like a hammock" for twenty miles, when they reached Waimate at sunset, where the party was entertained by the Rev. W. Williams and his colleagues. Mr. Marsden was much pleased wherever he went to find those who could read and write. He was greatly comforted as to what he saw in the native settlements of native progress, but at Kororareka he says a number of Europeans who had settled along with the natives kept public houses and the drunkenness which resulted led to every kind of crime. There were no laws, judges, nor magistrates, and so impressed was he with the condition of the people that he says: "When I return to New South Wales I purpose to lay the state of New Zealand before the Colonial Government to see if anything can be done to remedy these public evils." He visited the stations in the Bay of Islands, and Kaitaia, the Society's station at the Thames, and went on a cruise to Cook Strait in H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*, Captain Hobson, with whom he proceeded on the 2nd June. The natives, in some cases, said that they wished to have a long steadfast look at the old man because he could not live long enough to visit them again.

The printer reported, under date 30th June, 1837: "During the last six months I have

been engaged as follows:—Printing: Compositing and printing the New Testament, demy 8vo, 5,060 copies; advanced as far as 1 Cor. xiv. 10. Compositing New Zealand Grammar in English, demy 12mo, first half sheet, twelve pages. Binding 37 native Scriptures and Prayer-books for natives." In the summary for the year the stations are 11, missionaries 5, catechists and teachers, 30, native teachers 34, communicants 178, attendants on public worship 2,176, schools 54, scholars 1,431.

It will be convenient to give a continuous narrative of the influence of the war on the mission stations in the South, as the details may be made clearer in this manner than by yearly summaries. Of the station at Puriri, Mr. Fairburn, writing on the 22nd June, 1838, observes: "With regard to the Thames station I can only say that, amid all the confusion and tumult consequent upon a state of warfare, we have been mercifully kept in a state of comparative quietness, although there are many hot-headed young chiefs in our neighbourhood who were, and still are, desirous of trying their guns to see if they will carry straight."

Payment was required for the death and the eating of Hunga. He was a man of high rank and a kinsman of Waharoa. No matter from whom the payment came, as the family of the murderer was held responsible for his actions. A mischief-maker could combine at almost any time two or more tribes in war. "No one palliated," Carlton says, "the conduct of Huka; but his own people, as a matter of course, was bound to fight for him. The individual man in the eye of the Maori law does not exist; the act of the individual is the act of the tribe. What the *take* may have been is not clear, but Mr. Morgan said that it was from the inability of Huka to discover a man charged with adultery." Flatt, who was living at Matamata at the time, says that as they could not secure the adulterer they took the nearest relation to him, who happened to be a near connection of Waharoa.

Tapsell, who had been living at Maketu since 1828, was an interested spectator of all that transpired, as he lost of his own and other people's, nearly £4,000 at the sack of Maketu. He had married the sister of Waikato, or to speak more accurately, the sister of Wharepoaka, who was the brother of Waikato, who accompanied Hongi to England. Marsden married them on his fifth journey to New Zealand, and Tapsell says that Marsden made the match. His wife, however, had died, and Tapsell had married a second time before this trouble came

upon him. He was about this period the resident flax dealer in the North Island who did the largest business—at all events on the East Coast. His version of the cause of the murder is different to that of Flatt and others. His narrative says: "It was the custom of Mr Tapsell at this time to give trade to a number of chiefs who supplied him with flax in payment, and when the payment for the first lot of goods was completed, to give them a fresh supply. It usually happened that several chiefs settled accounts in this way at the same time, and on one occasion all the chiefs present had paid off their old debts and received more goods except Huka, chief of Rotorua, who, notwithstanding his unsettled account, applied for more goods. Mr. Tapsell refused the application, informing him that there were six muskets for which he had not paid, and that all the others had squared up honourably. Huka departed saying, "I will stop this flax scraping." Mr. Tapsell and all the chiefs laughed at the threat; but it was no idle one as the sequel proved. Hunga, chief of the Waikato, paid a visit to his daughter, then staying with a near relation at Rotorua, and on leaving took farewell, among others, of Huka. Huka arranged with his son that when he should touch noses with Hunga, the son should immediately split his skull with a tomahawk. When the outrage became known to Tapsell, he went to Tauranga, where the Waikato and Ngaiterangi chiefs were assembled, entreating them not to come to Maketu for reprisals, but to fight at Rotorua, giving the heads of the conclave four double barrelled guns to secure their goodwill. But after he was gone Ngaiterangi changed their minds, saying, "Let us go to Maketu first; there are good pickings there, and very few people." Preparations were accordingly made for the taua.

Clementson, Tapsell's agent in Waikato, and Farrow, his agent at Tauranga, tried to warn Tapsell of his danger from this change of purpose, but their intention being guessed, they were prevented from so doing. Farrow, however, managed to elude the watch upon him, and carried the tidings to Maketu. Brown had obtained a promise from the chiefs to hold Tapsell's property safely, but Tapsell knew the value of such a promise at war time. As soon as the taua came in sight, firing commencing, Farrow ran to Ngaiterangi, while Tapsell exhorted the Arawa to fly to Waihi and escape to Rotorua. Some did so; others remained. All were killed who stayed to fight. The carnage being over, all

commenced to eat the bodies and cure the heads of the slain. Tapsell's wife was saved by Tupaia, whom he took to Tumu, and left there in safety. Waharoa insisted on a ransom for the store, and afterwards for the boat, the payment to be made in powder, but when the powder was all gone he threw off the mask. Hori Tupaia sent Tapsell away in charge of his wife, who took him to Tumu, meeting on the road Messrs. Wilson and Wade, who said they were going to see if they could stop the bloodshed. Tapsell told them that they were too late, and so they found when they got to Maketu and found the taua full of blood and pillage. Tapsell had erected a battery at his residence of ten guns, but the taua, before leaving, spiked the guns and threw them into the river.

Though coming to New Zealand about the same time the Tainui and Arawa people put the width of the island between them. The first war in Maoridom of which we have any record was of their fomenting, and when the descendants of the Tainui migrated in later years and set up a king to rule over all the tribes, the Arawa became the allies of the crown. The two tribes were hereditary foes though intermarried.

"Waharoa," Mr. Morgan said, "and the people of this place are waiting the arrival of a vessel daily expected at Tauranga, from which they expect to receive a supply of arms and ammunition in exchange for flax. If by that time Maketu, a place on the coast which they have demanded as payment, be not given up to them—and our opinion is that it will not—Waharoa and his people will proceed to Rotorua, joined, it is expected, by several other Waikato tribes, to seek satisfaction, or as they called it, payment for the death of their friend."

Chapman wrote on the 9th of January, a fortnight after the murder had taken place, and Maketu was taken on the 29th March. Brown said those killed and eaten were sixty-five in number. Some portions of his journal are of interest. Thus on the 1st of April he says: "The taua passed through the settlement without having done any damage. (The Tauranga people were portion of the taua.) The sights, however, were harrowing—a heart stuck on a pointed stick, a head secured to a short pole; baskets of human flesh, with bones, hands, etc., protruding from the tops and sides; and what more deeply affected me than any other object, one of the infant children of our school dandling on his knees and making faces at the head of some Rotorua chief who had been slain in battle.

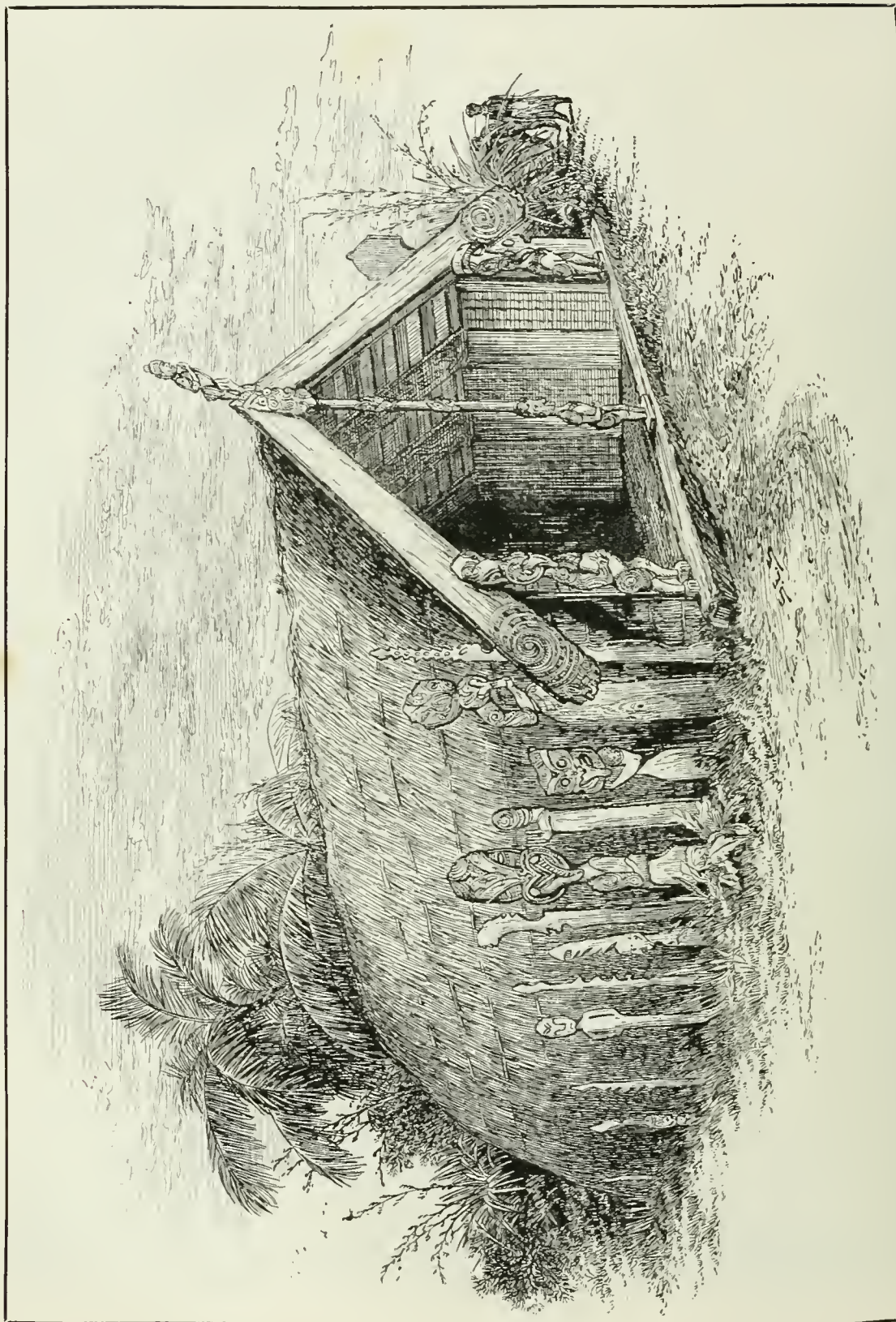
"There were certainly not less than one thousand natives including women and children. The smell of their garments and the packages of human flesh which some of them were carrying to chiefs at a distance, tainted the atmosphere. One of the chiefs told me that he only went to the fight to seize some female slaves for Mother Brown's school. Waharoa said, 'If you are angry with me for what we have been doing, I will kill and eat you and all the missionaries.'"

Tapsell urged the Arawa, with whom he had some influence, to continue the strife by an attack on Tumu, a pa erected by Hori Tupaia, in order to be close to a place where flax was plentiful, and to be also near Tapsell's store. Tumu, it should be said, was about two miles from Maketu on the Kaituna stream. When Tapsell first went to Maketu, he was accompanied by Wharepoaka and his wife. She was called the white woman, on account of the fairness of her skin, a peculiarity in which her brother also shared. It was through their joint influence, and Tapsell's trade, that the flax trade at Maketu was established. When the Arawa took up the flax scraping business, they sent messengers to all their kindred throughout the country, even as far as Cook Strait, to tell them to come to Maketu to scrape flax and get guns. There were few muskets on the coast in 1828. One party arrived, bringing with them an Englishman, a Lascar, and an American Negro, the survivors of a flax party a Mr. Fergusson had fitted out to trade in flax. All had been killed and eaten, save these survivors, who were held as slaves. The Englishman and the Lascar Tapsell ransomed for a musket each, and the Negro for a cask of powder. The Englishman and Negro went to Sydney as soon as a chance offered them, but the Lascar remained in New Zealand. It was at this time Hori Tupaia built the pa at Tumu. Tapsell prospering, the trade increased, and the fish with which Maketu swarmed, was cured and sent to Rotorua. The resident natives in return sent potatoes to feed those employed on the coast scraping flax. Tumu was captured on the 5th of May. Wilson says: "The fall of Te Tumu cost Ngaiterangi seven chiefs and sixty men killed, and about one hundred and eighty women and children killed or taken prisoners." Wade said, in his description of the Maketu taua, that twenty tons of flax were preserved from the fire and stored in the Tumu, but that also followed the fate of the flax at Maketu.

"Affairs continued in a state of uncertainty,"

Bishop William writes, "until July, when Waharoa began to assemble a force at Patetere, a village lying far up on the banks of the Thames, half way between Matamata and Rotorua, and in the early part of August he appeared before Ohinemutu, the principal pa on the Lake Rotorua, adjoining which was the mission station."

Mr. Knight, whose narrative fills up the gap, was at Ohinemutu together with Mr. Pilley, in the absence of Mr. Chapman, when the taua came in sight. He writes: "The first day was spent by the invading tribes in building their camp. On the 4th August, they showed themselves. Some of the Rotorua natives went out to them, and a few rounds of musketry were fired, but without any effect on either side, both parties keeping without the range of the bullets. On the 5th, Waharoa sent a message to the pa stating it to be his intention to remove his camp to the mission station on the morrow. With the earliest dawn of daylight, I left my room, expecting, if Waharoa came, that as usual with New Zealand fights, he would come before the sun rose. All was quiet. I walked into the garden to examine the appearance of a place where we had buried several things the night before. Mr. Pilley soon joined me. I did not remain long at the spot, and had scarcely reached the garden behind the house, when I heard the sound of many voices, apparently proceeding from behind the hill, near the summit of which the station stood. Having acquainted Mr. Pilley with it, we locked every door, not having any domestic at the station, and walked to the top of a hill immediately outside the garden to reconnoitre. We perceived an armed party, consisting of perhaps seventy, running toward the pa. At first we thought they were Rotorua natives, but when they reached a small river they discharged their muskets towards the pa. This immediately informed us who they were. The Rotorua natives accepted the challenge immediately, left the pa, and followed the small party, who retreated before them. Within half-an-hour of the giving of the challenge, the general engagement began, and had scarcely commenced before the allies of Rotorua were routed, and unfortunately fled through our station, thereby drawing the great body of the enemy upon us. A few of the foremost of the enemy were civil, and behaved respectfully toward us, but we soon saw that we were to share in the calamities of the day. I was standing outside of the pathway gate, leading to the house, when two of the enemy came up



Maketu House at Otahao.*

and demanded admittance, alleging as their reason a desire to search whether any of their enemies were secreted there. I refused to admit them, assuring them that no native was in the house. They would not believe me, and seeing that they were determined to force an entrance by another way, I offered to walk with them. When I got to the house the crash of doors, glass, etc., within, convinced me that all was over—that the property of the station was devoted to the enemy. I opened the door, and let in the two anxious beings behind me, who from their manner seemed afraid that they should not be in time to obtain a portion of the plunder. I walked into my bed-room which had not been broken into, my two companions followed, and in a minute every moveable thing had disappeared. I knew that remonstrance was in vain, and therefore said but little. My room being cleared, I walked through the house, through such a scene as beggars all description. Every room was filled with naked savages, armed, their countenances lighted up with an infernal expression of rage and exultation, horrifying; and most of them sprinkled with blood, warm from the bodies of their enemies. With difficulty I got through them, and stood in the front of the house, watching the distressing scene. Mr. Pilley joined me, but we were not

long permitted to be observers. We were separated; five men seized Mr. Pilley, and three myself. I remonstrated and reasoned with them, but all in vain.

“The natives, heedless of my remonstrances, after they had lugged and pulled me about, each wishing to get all, took from me my coat, waistcoat, hat, watch, etc., leaving me only my shirt and trousers, and for these I was not indebted to their generosity; for at the moment of my deliverance a man was threatening me with a blow from his battle-axe if I did not give him my remaining garments, which I felt not disposed to do. But God sent me a deliverer in a young chief of Waikato, who, taking my part, rescued me out of the enemy's hand. He said that if I would walk with him he would be my protector, which I thankfully accepted, knowing that if I remained it would only be to fall into the hands of perhaps a worse party than the one which had already stripped me. During this time, Mr. Pilley was contending with a party in another part of the garden, by whom, I believe, he was worse treated than I had been, owing, perhaps, to his resisting force by force as well as he could. I was told by him afterwards, that the natives finding that they could not get his clothes from him, threw him down and stamped upon him. One struck him with the butt end of his musket, and threatened to shoot him. Another struck him under the ear with his fist, the mark of which I afterwards saw. He was certainly treated more roughly than I, and though he would, as he said afterwards, have freely given them his clothes to let him alone, they would not accept his terms, but continued to pull him about, none wishing to lose his share in the prize; nor did they release him until the Rotorua tribe, rallying, drove them from the station. He therefore escaped those horrid sights to which I was exposed for about two hours in the enemy's camp, which I will briefly describe. Having consented to walk with my deliverer, under God, we left the station. We had not proceeded far through the fern when I suddenly stepped by the side of a man just killed: he lay weltering in his gore. I walked on almost petrified and passed bodies which here and there strewed the ground, until I came to a place where a number of bodies were laid out, previously to their being cut up for the oven. I turned away in disgust and sick at heart, but whichever way I looked some sight of horror saluted me. I walked to a short distance, but had not been there long when a body, apparently

* This remarkable edifice was built by Puatia, the late chief of Otauhao Pa, to commemorate the taking of Maketu, on the East Coast. It stands amidst ruin and decay, the only remaining building of any importance that the hand of time has yet spared within the limits of this once populous pa. Like all similar carved and painted houses belonging to the New Zealanders, Maketu House is constructed of wood and thatched with raupo. The interior rafters are beautifully painted with spiral arabesque work, and the carving bestowed upon the figures that so profusely adorn this war temple exhibits a wonderful degree of labour and skill. The two principal figures, with protruding tongues, that are placed on each side of the verandah entrance, are intended to represent Hikarea, a chief of Tauranga, killed at Te Tuma, when three hundred of the enemy fell; and Tarea, another chief and a friend of Puatia, who was killed at Tauranga. The lower figure, supporting the centre pole, is Taipau, a chief of Tauranga and now a convert to Christianity. He was one of the principal warriors at the taking of Maketu. The two carved spaces further up the pole are also designed to represent warriors. The upper one is for Tara, who was slain at Taranaki. The figure ornamenting the centre of the gable represents Puke, killed at Rotorua, and the one surmounting the top Wakatau, who fell at Maketu. Pokana, the present chief of Matamata, then so actively engaged in the war, has his image under the rafters, looking down from the ridge pole, with a pipe in his mouth. The figures surrounding the exterior of the house represent various parties connected with the war, and possess significant meanings. This building is tapu since the death of Puatia, by whom it was erected. Puatia during his last illness embraced Christianity.—*Angas*.

that moment killed, was dragged into the camp before me; his head was cut off almost before I could look round. This did not satisfy the wretches; his breast was opened and his heart, etc., steaming with warmth, was pulled out and carried off. I did not see such another scene as this, though during the whole time of my being in the camp I was exposed to the most revolting scenes. Halves of bodies, quarters, legs, heads, etc., were being carried away, some of which were thrust purposely in my face.

"When the fighting ceased, by order of Waharoa I was allowed to return to my station. He accompanied me part of the way. I did not remain long at the place. Alas! it was no longer a station—it was a scene of ruin. Hearing that Mr. Pilley was at the pa, I hastened thither. I need not say that we were rejoiced to meet after the trials of the morning. About sunset, on looking towards our now deserted station, we saw smoke ascending from the roof of the dwelling house and had scarcely noticed it when the flames burst out from every part of it, and I may say that in twenty minutes it was reduced to ashes. Every building in the station shared the same fate, not even excepting the fencing round the garden. It was a melancholy sight to see our beautiful station in flames. Thus ended a station which had not been in existence twelve months. The tribes of Rotorua burnt it down, in order, as they say, to prevent Waharoa from occupying it as a pa, as he threatened to do."

From the taking of the Tumu, the stations at Matamata, Tauranga, and Rotorua were each and all in expectation of being visited by the enemies of their particular people, each tribe sitting at its respective pa, apparently desirous to go forth and attack their enemies, but withheld by the expectation of being themselves attacked.

Later in the year, Messrs. Morgan and Knight thus describe the plunder of the mission property at Matamata: "14th September, 1836.—About 3 p.m., a young chief who rescued Mr. Knight at Rotorua from the hands of the party who had partially stripped him, came to inform us that a party of natives had gone down to Waiharakeke to plunder our property. At first we scarcely gave credit to the report, but Tarapipipi, the son of Waharoa, came directly after and confirmed the truth of what we had previously heard. Mr. Morgan set out with Tarapipipi with the hope of saving some part of the property, but he had not proceeded far from

the settlement, when he met his boy, Taupoki, followed by the American sent down from the Bay of Islands in charge of the goods, who gave us the melancholy intelligence that every package, with the exception of one, had been broken open before his departure. We felt ourselves in a peculiarly distressing and perplexing situation. The principal chiefs being absent we were left upon our own resources, while the threats of the taua, that when they had taken away the property from Waiharakeke they would come and strip the house, increased our perplexity.

"Having made inquiries as to whom the persons were that had committed the robbery we learned that the leader of the party was named Marupo. The party were the worst men in the pa. They appear to have gone with the determination to plunder in spite of opposition, nearly all being naked, everyone having his face blackened with charcoal, and being armed with axes or muskets. The attack on the property was briefly as follows. As the American was sitting in the tent he saw two men with blackened faces coming down the hill over against the tent. They entered it and said they were going to fetch potatoes from an adjoining plantation. They had scarcely said this, when lifting up his eyes again he saw about forty men with their countenances similarly disguised to the first two coming also over the hill. He had scarcely time to think that something bad was about to take place, before they made a general rush toward the tent, entered it, and broke open every package except one hair-trunk belonging to the Rev. A. N. Brown, upon which a woman took her seat and preserved it from destruction for the time. She afterwards broke it open and robbed it, and on being questioned as to what her reasons were for preserving the box from destruction, she replied, 'I saved it for myself.' Immediately, books, shirts, and various articles of wearing apparel were strewn about in all directions. The American, seeing that it would be in vain to remonstrate with them, brought us the heavy tidings."

Mr. Brown, after his loss, quitted Matamata, and arrived at Puriri on the 27th of October, where his family had preceded him some ten weeks, having left the disturbed district about the middle of August. On the 9th of November he left with the Rev. Henry Williams and Messrs. Chapman and Wilson, for Tauranga, with a view to ascertain what were the chances of peace being established. Eventually, Mrs. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson and family, set sail in the Columbine for the Bay of Islands.

Mr. Brown, however, took charge temporarily of Te Papa, a place contiguous to his former station, but he appears to have left it about the 6th of February, 1837, as on the 24th of the month he proceeded from the Tamaki in the Columbine, and arrived at Paihia on Sunday, the 26th.

Mr. James Preece writes, in October, 1837: "The committee having sanctioned the removal of our station from Puriri to Hauraki, I commenced by erecting the frame of a house, weather-boarding and shingling the same. The average attendance of the schools for the half year ending October, 1837, has been—boys, 24; girls, 12; Sundays, 50."

On the same date, Mr. Fairburn states: "On Wednesday, 5th July, I embarked with my family to proceed to Maretai, which place we reached on Sunday, the 9th. Since our arrival here my time has been much occupied with my natives putting up fences, burning lime, building a chimney, etc. The girls' school is held in our house; the boys' is suspended for the present, for want of accommodation. Attendance on Sundays, about sixty-five."

Of Manukau, the Rev. Robert Maunsell says, on the 2nd August, 1836 (the Manukau station was first occupied by the Rev. R. Maunsell, who came from the Thames with supplies and stores, and a month after was joined by Mr. Hamlin and family, from Mangapouri): "Since our arrival our hands have been burdened by the multiplicity of secular and spiritual duties connected with our new settlement. The district which we consider as being under our peculiar charge is bounded on the south by the mouth of the Waikato River, and on the north by the entrance of the Manukau Harbour. The southern side of this entrance, to which the larger body of natives have hitherto resorted, has been visited with considerable regularity on the Saturday, and Lord's Day services held with the various tribes. As the tide of emigration has only flowed lately into this district, our people are characterised by more restlessness than ordinary. Roaming up and down the coast, they are engaged in establishing their claims to their various possessions. The schools, therefore, and the sphere of labour for the missionaries have been very fluctuating. The girls' week day school has been conducted by Mrs. Maunsell and Mrs. Hamlin alternately. Average attendance: boys' week school, 25; Sunday school, 36; week day girls' school, 36; Sunday school, 40."

Of Tauranga, in October, 1837, the Rev. A. N.

Brown observes: "The hope expressed in my last report relative to the continuance of the Matamata station has not been realised. That place was abandoned in October last (1836) by order of the committee, and my scene of labour changed to Tauranga. Scarcely, however, had this appointment taken place when the committee found it necessary to resolve that the duties of that station should be suspended until peace should be established between the contending tribes. By arrangement with the brethren, I spent the month of January at Tauranga, and throughout the month of June was engaged with the Rev. S. Marsden in a visit to the southward in H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*."

Mr. Wilson wrote of the early part of 1837 as follows:—"During the month of March, which I spent at Tauranga, the natives were in considerable excitement, daily, and often hourly, expecting the tribes of Rotorua to show themselves. Our settlement, therefore, as a matter of course, abode in solitude; and though the natives occasionally pass through from pa to pa, yet scarcely anyone was to be seen after sunset. At the most excitable period of this month we deemed it advisable to keep a boat anchored off the old pa during the night, having on board a change of clothing. Thus in part we were provided, in case our dwelling should be assaulted by night; not knowing but that we might be treated with as little ceremony as the missionaries had been at Rotorua before us. On the 31st March we left Tauranga, and arrived at the Bay of Islands on 8th April."

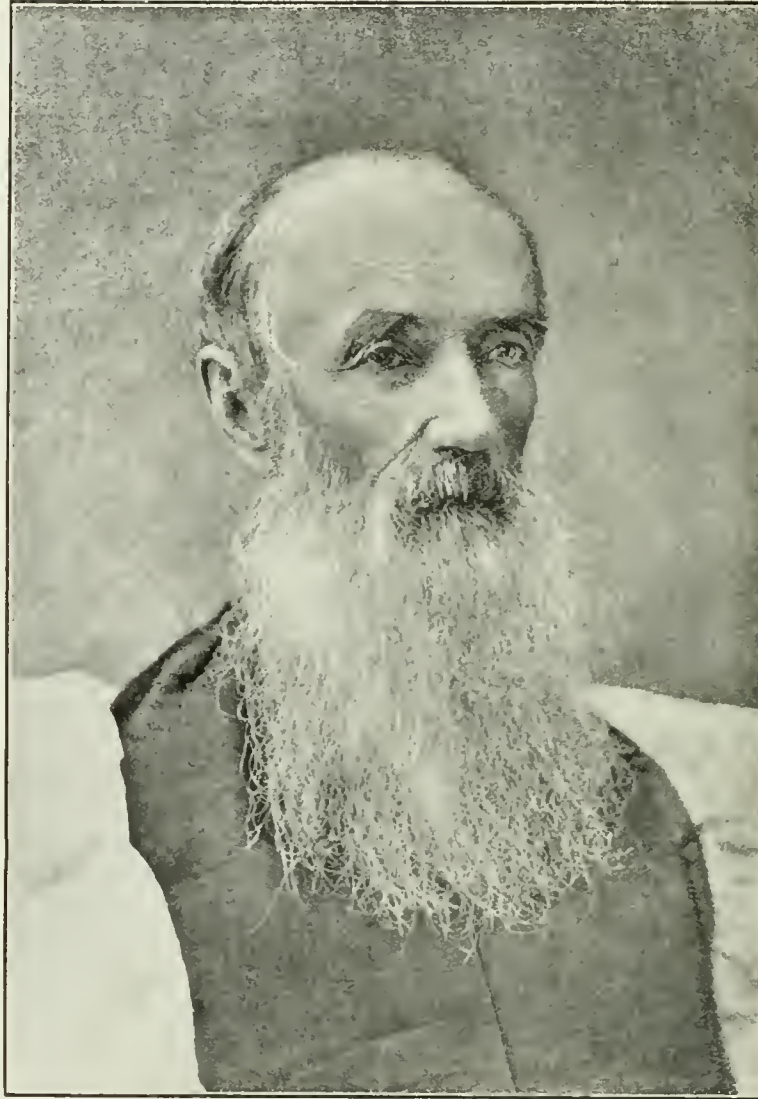
Major-General Sir Richard Bourke succeeded General Darling. A contemporary writes: "His administration as Governor of New South Wales forms the brightest page in the annals of the colony. He considered himself responsible for the good government of the people. He was a relative of Edmund Burke, though the branches of the family spell their name differently, but the older form of the name was Bourke." Thierry says: "Had the king surveyed the whole distinguished roll of his general officers with a view of selecting a person in whom the gifts of nature were mellowed and improved by a long and successful experience in colonial as well as in military service, he could not have found one more eminently qualified for the task of administering the Government of New South Wales."

At Buenos Ayres, in 1809, his skilful conduct as Adjutant-General of the forces redeemed the British arms from the disgraceful desertion

of his duty by General Whitelock. It was mainly on Colonel Bourke's evidence that by the sentence of court-martial General Whitelock was ignominiously cashiered from the army. And at a later period he rendered signal service during the Peninsular campaign. He had succeeded Lord Charles Somerset at the Cape of Good Hope, where he speedily re-established good order and contentment. Under his direction, by granting £10 squattling licenses, the domain of the Crown in Australia was thrown open to pastoral enterprise. He disposed of lands at public auction at the upset price of five shillings an acre. He severed the connection of the Government with the colonial press, and confined the official portion thereof strictly to the publication of official notices. He gave up the patronage which accrued from the assignment of convicts, which was a powerful means for obtaining support and punishing those who were ill-disposed to his administration, and caused convict labour to be distributed by a Board of Commissioners, "agreeably to established regulations,

according to priority of application, and the ascertained requirements of the applicants." The Governor's ears were always open to the petition of the bond as well as of the free. It was under Sir R. Bourke's regime that the district of Port Phillip—now Victoria—was established, and he acted with a decision and promptitude that afforded an example to his successor and Governor Hobson to found the Colony of New Zealand. How he did this Terry thus relates:

"Whilst Batman, the first settler at Port Phillip, and an association formed of gentlemen principally from the neighbouring colony of Tasmania were meditating the occupation of this noble domain of the Crown for their exclusive benefit, Sir R. Bourke was no idle spectator of their movements. This Association, like the New Zealand Land Com-



Rev. O. Hadfield. (Afterwards Bishop of Wellington.)

pany, had so far prosecuted their design as to purchase under a verbose formal treaty the whole of the country from the self-styled chiefs, or rather so styled by the purchasers, for fifty pairs of blankets, fifty pairs of scissors, fifty tomahawks, twenty suits of slop clothing, and other rubbishing articles, the refuse of

some unsaleable Birmingham goods. Sir Richard Bourke astonished the Association in the midst of their rejoicings and boastings of their good bargain by issuing a proclamation on the 25th of April, 1835, declaring 'all such sales and bargains under the pretence of a treaty with the natives to be void.' In this proclamation he 'claimed the land for the Crown, and notified to the Association and others that they would be considered as trespassers, and liable to be dealt with as intruders on the vacant lands of the Crown within the colony.'"

Lord Glenelg termed him a "model Governor," and living until 1855 he was enabled to catch an early glimpse of the opulence of the country he had saved from the hands of speculators by proclamation. He amended, improved, and consolidated the law relating to convicts. He sought to make the prisoners perform an adequate amount of work, and to induce them to aid in their progressive improvement. He "defined the law which beforetime was multiple; abolished the administration of justice in the private houses of magistrates; established petty sessions whose proceedings were open to public observation; encouraged the convict to an amended course of life, and restricted the excessive use of the lash."

On Sir Richard Bourke's retirement it was resolved to erect a monument of him in a conspicuous place in the city of Sydney, standing on a pedestal of Scotch granite at the entrance of the Government Domain, facing Sydney Heads. It represented Sir R. Bourke in the costume of an English general with a military mantle thrown over his shoulders. On one side of the pedestal was inscribed in letters of gold the following eulogium, briefly recording the principal acts of his important administration:—

THIS STATUE

OF

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR RICH. BOURKE,
K.C.B., IS ERECTED BY THE PEOPLE OF
NEW SOUTH WALES, TO RECORD HIS ABLE,
HONEST, AND BENEVOLENT ADMINISTRATION
FROM 1831 TO 1837.

Selected for the Government at a period of singular difficulty, his judgment, urbanity, and firmness justified the choice. Comprehending at once the vast resources peculiar to this colony, he applied them, for the first time, systematically to its benefit. He voluntarily divested himself of the prodigious influence arising from the assignment of penal labour, and enacted just and salutary laws

for the amelioration of penal discipline. He was the first Governor who published satisfactory accounts of the public receipts and expenditure. Without oppression or detriment to any interest, he raised the revenue to a vast amount, and from its surplus realised extensive plans of immigration. He established religious equality on a just and firm basis, and sought to provide for all, without distinction of sect, a sound and adequate system of national education. He constructed various public works of permanent utility. He founded the flourishing settlement of Port Phillip, and threw open the unlimited wilds of Australia to pastoral enterprise. He established savings banks, and was the patron of the first Mechanics' Institute. He created an equitable tribunal for determining upon claims to grants of land. He was the warm friend of the liberty of the press. He extended trial by jury after its almost total suspension for many years. By these and numerous other measures for the moral, religious, and general improvement of all classes, he raised the colony to unexampled prosperity, and retired amid the revered and affectionate regret of the people, having won their confidence by his integrity, their gratitude by his services, their admiration by his public talents, and their esteem by his private worth.

Sir Richard reposes in the family vault in the cemetery attached to the parish church of Castle Connell in the county of Limerick, close to his favourite home of Thornfield. The following inscription is placed on the tombstone erected to his memory:—

IN MEMORY OF
GENERAL SIR RICHARD BOURKE, K.C.B.,
OF THORNFIELD, IN THIS PARISH,
COLONEL OF HER MAJESTY'S 64TH REGIMENT,
SOME TIME LIEUT.-GOVERNOR OF THE CAPE OF
GOOD HOPE,
AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE
BRITISH COLONIES IN AUSTRALIA.
A MAN WHOSE JUSTICE, ABILITY, AND WISDOM IN THE
DISCHARGE OF HIS HIGH PUBLIC DUTIES,
WHOSE SIGNAL COURTESY, GENTLENESS, AND CHARITY
IN EVERY RELATION OF PRIVATE LIFE
ARE REFLECTED IN THE LAWS OF THE DOMINIONS WHICH HE
GOVERNED, AND ARE WRITTEN IN THE HEARTS
OF ALL CONNECTED WITH HIM
BY THE TIES OF DEPENDENCE, OF FRIENDSHIP, OR OF
KINDRED.

HE WAS BORN ON THE 4TH OF MAY, 1778.
HE WAS SUDDENLY CALLED IN THIS HOUSE OF PRAYER,
AND FELL ASLEEP IN THE LORD
ON THE 12TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1855.

Mr. Octavius Hadfield embarked at Gravesend on board the John, Captain Smith, on the 12th February, 1838, arriving in Sydney on the 1st July following. He remained in New South Wales some time, waiting for

deacon's orders, after which he accompanied the Bishop of Australia to New Zealand in H.M.S. *Polaris*, leaving Sydney on the 13th December, and arriving at Paihia on the 22nd following.

During the stay of the Bishop, on Sunday, the 23rd, he preached in the morning at Paihia, and at Kororareka in the afternoon. On the 4th January he consecrated the burial ground at Paihia and that at Kororareka. On the 5th he held a confirmation, confirming forty-four native adults, and twenty whites, mostly missionaries' children; and on the 6th he admitted the Rev. O. Hadfield to priest's orders. He sailed for the Thames on the 7th, where on the 11th he confirmed three of Mr. Fairburn's children and baptized two natives.

Previous to his departure, which took place on the 12th January from the Thames, he received a respectful and affectionate address from the missionaries and catechists, expressing their sense of the favour conferred upon them by his visit, and their hope of its renewal. In the reply the Bishop assured them of the interest he took in their important work, and of his satisfaction at the progress of their labours. An address was also presented to His Lordship by the British residents.

In his letter to the secretary of the Church Mission Society, His Lordship makes the following remarks about the diminution of the native race: "The great problem at present, I think, is how they may be preserved to form a Christian nation; for such, if they be preserved, they assuredly should become. But in mournful sincerity of heart I express my own opinion that their numbers have diminished in a fearful ratio since our first connection with them; and that unless preventive measures can be suggested, the race is wearing out, and will at no very remote period altogether disappear. The missionaries refer to instances throughout the country where the number of natives are less by one-third, or even one-half, than they were on the first establishment of Europeans being formed.

"It presented itself to me as a most remarkable circumstance, that wherever we went the children were few, very few indeed, compared with the number of adults, and compared also with the proportion of children among the missionaries themselves who have generally large families. To what causes this disparity could be attributed I was diligent in endeavouring to ascertain; but came away without receiving satisfaction. The effect of wars is spoken of as accounting for the diminution of the population. But

anyone who reflects for a moment must be sensible that the wars of the present generation are mere bloodless skirmishes compared with the combats of their forefathers. The introduction of firearms has done much to abate the effusion of blood. Formerly the hostile bands marched front to front, and with their native weapons almost every man slew or wounded his opponent; so that the slaughter was quite tremendous. But now they are, generally speaking, content with firing from a distance without doing one another much harm. I was amused indeed by an eye-witness of some of the latest conflicts in the Bay of Islands that he had known many thousand shots to be fired, and, as the result of all this no more than five or six on each side to be wounded. It seems indeed very clear that the population was greater when wars were more sanguinary, and is declining more rapidly where wars are nearly extinct."

On the 12th May, 1838, died the Rev. Samuel Marsden. He was a great and a good man. He had but a few hours' illness, and his last words were in keeping with his life. With an inward prayer for the Maoris he whispered *NEW ZEALAND*. He sleeps in his own churchyard at Parramatta among his kindred, and no more fitting eulogy can canonize him than the words placed by his parishioners on the tablet in St. John's chancel—

"THE MEMORY OF THE JUST IS BLESSED."

The reports of the five stations in the Northern district were made up to June, 1838, and from them such details are quoted as are pertinent to our purpose.

At Te Puna Mr. King says: "In the midst of thick gloom and darkness, coldness and carelessness, one after another are coming forward to tell what the Lord has done for their souls, and declaring themselves to be on the Lord's side, which affords encouragement in the work, and is a further confirmation of the power of the gospel."

Mr. King was alone and his reports are neither full nor lengthy.

"*Kerikeri*. — The duties of the Kerikeri station have been regularly attended to on Sundays, and on Tuesday and Thursday evenings the congregations occasionally vary; parties resident on the banks of the river have attended. The state of the natives has not been so encouraging as we could have wished. The Native Men's School has of late been making a little advancement. The hours are from six to eight in the morning. The school commences with singing, reading a portion of

Scripture, and prayer. Mr. Edmons catechises the second class and Mr. H. T. Kemp attends to the first class in reading the Scriptures. The Native Girls' and Infants' School have been chiefly under the care of Mrs. Kemp.

"Matauri and Wainui have occasionally been visited, but there are at present but few attendants, and those chiefly at Matauri, at which place the chief, who is well disposed to religion, has built a very nice little chapel.

"*Paihia*.—We have felt it necessary that an alteration should take place in the arrangement of the services of the Lord's Day in the settlement for the convenience of strangers from the shipping, who do not understand the native language. Some of the families around the bay attend service regularly. The native service commences at eight in the morning, the English service at eleven and three in the afternoon, and native service again at six in the evening. During the week a lecture has been given every Tuesday and Thursday evening. The natives are also assembled every morning and evening at the chapel to attend prayers.

"At Kororareka there have been as usual two services. The attendance has been very irregular. Considerable opposition is shown by many who feel that their craft is endangered by the preaching of the Gospel.

"The French Roman Catholic Bishop from Hokianga has paid two visits to this place. He has baptized some European children, and it is proposed to erect a chapel for him at Kororareka.

"At the Kawakawa the congregation consists of about one hundred and fifty, who are regular in their attendance. In the English girls' school there are twelve under instruction. The Paihia native schools have made some advance this year. The average attendance during the year has been: males, 34; females, 26; infants, 10; total, 70. The schools at the Kawakawa have been conducted with tolerable regularity by the Christian natives.

"We are thankful to observe that catechisms are generally known, and that numbers of persons are able to read and write in many places where schools have not been formed."

Writing from Paihia on the 24th March, 1838, Colenso says, concerning the New Zealand Testament: "Five thousand copies have been struck off, and I am now engaged in binding some for the natives; but am getting on but slowly, from having no assistance and from having a multitude of other things to attend to. I have only six copies

bound, four of which I send you. The Prayer-book has been revised and corrected, and is ready to be given into my hands for press when I am prepared to receive it, which will be, I trust, in about a month or six weeks. For Prayer-books and hymns there is a very great demand. A grammar, English and New Zealand, has been commenced, and the first half sheet demy 12mo. is now ready for press."

"*Waimate*.—The number of baptisms during the year has been 50 adults and 38 children. The average number of native communicants has been about 115.

"The boys' school at Waimate has made some little progress, but the average number has not exceeded 25. The girls' school of the settlement, under the charge of Mrs. Williams, has had an average attendance of 18; and the infant school, under the instruction of Mrs. Bedgood, is also proceeding.

"The English boys' school continues under the charge of Rev. Mr. Williams, assisted by Mr. Wade. The number of pupils is 30. Two of the elder boys have left, and their places have been filled by two others. Some of the boys have made steady progress in their Greek and Latin studies.

"Preparations have been made towards the erection of a church on the station agreeably to the direction of the parent committee, for which 70,000 feet of timber have been sawn. A substantial bridge over the river Waitangi, on the road to Kerikeri, has been erected.

"At Kaitaia, on 24th April, 38 adults and 11 infants were baptized. Thirty of those previously baptized were allowed to become communicants. A permanent bridge over the Kaitaia river had been completed at the cost of immense labour owing to the scarcity of suitable timber in its vicinity. The mortality among the natives had been great."

Davis, who was there in July following, remarks: "The country once having possessed a wild appearance, is now peaceful and social in its character. Much credit is due to those who have charge of the mission, on account of the manner in which they have carried on their temporal concerns. They have each built, with the assistance of the natives, a comfortable dwelling-house with all the necessary out-buildings, to render their settlement convenient. The bridge which they have built over the river was a great undertaking. They are now preparing material for their new church; by next fall they hope to have it fit

for use. This settlement congregation is increasing. On Sundays it is supposed to consist of nearly 600 people."

From Rotorua in March, 1838, Mr. Chapman writes: "The natives at Rotorua have again occupied Rotorua, from whence they were driven by Waharoa at the commencement of the war. We are threatened with a renewal of past proceedings. On hearing that Waharoa had already prepared for war I hastened hither to make such arrangements as could be made preparatory to the appearance of his taua. Indeed Mr. Morgan and myself and our families had hardly arrived at Rotorua before these unpleasant circumstances arose.

trading place, and where their flax grows, and this is what the wily old general knows."

On the 20th July he adds: "At the period at which I am writing peace seems to be established between Waikato, Rotorua, and Tauranga; but it is only a few days since a party from the Thames made an unexpected and treacherous attack upon Matamata, and although they succeeded in killing only one woman, yet we have reason to fear that matters will not end here."

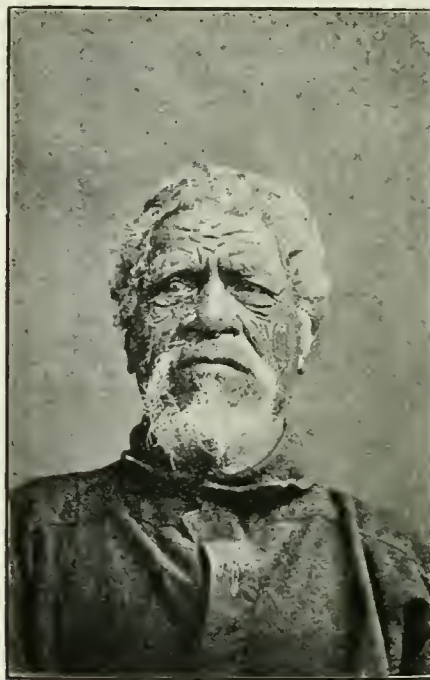
To the same effect Mr. J. Morgan writes from Rotorua: "We know not when or where these things will end, or what will happen on the morrow. I suppose that at least 600 men,



Kawana Paipai.*

It is much to our comfort that my new house is built upon the island in the middle of the lake where no enemy can come near as long as our people can maintain their positions. Our people desire to sit in peace, but they say, 'Waharoa would prevent our occupying Maketu and scraping flax until we had neither guns nor powder, and then he would come upon us and destroy us.' Maketu is their

* Leading chief in the settlement where the Wanganui mission was established. When the Rev. R. Taylor took charge, Kawana Paipai was suffering from what was believed to be cancer in the tongue. Mr. Taylor put a seton in his neck, and the tongue completely healed.



Aperahama Ruke.*

women, and children fell during the late war, and many were carried into slavery. Wives lost their husbands, and husbands their wives; parents lost their children, and children their parents. Some were slain on the field of battle, and others were cruelly eaten and murdered; and all this in consequence of one murder. The murderer escapes and is now living near our station, while many innocent perish for his guilt."

Mr. and Mrs. John Mason embarked at

* The Rev. R. Taylor's head teacher at Wanganui, who took charge during the missionary's absence. He died at the age of 90.

Gravesend on board the *Red Rover*, Captain Smith, on 9th March, 1839, but the vessel was wrecked on the 24th April in the Bay of St. Jago, but all on board and part of the luggage were saved. Mr. and Mrs. Mason, however, proceeded thence on board the *Ferguson*, then in the bay, bound for Sydney, where they arrived on the 25th July. Mr. Mason was a catechist, but up to 1840 he does not appear to have been assigned to any station.

The Rev. Richard Taylor, after a protracted stay in New South Wales, landed at Paihia on the 10th March, 1839.

The Rev. Robert Burrows and his wife sailed from Gravesend on the 21st July, and arrived in Sydney on the 8th December, and in New Zealand on the 18th March, 1840.

The mission stations were thus filled:—*Te Puna*: John King, catechist. *Kerikeri and Whangaroa*: J. Kemp, J. Shepherd, catechists, and one native teacher. *Paihia*: Henry Williams, missionary; C. Baker, catechist; M. Williams, teacher; and eleven native teachers. *Waimate*: R. Taylor, missionary; G. Clark and R. Davis, catechists; W. R. Wade, superintendent of the press; William Colenso, printer; W. King, assistant; Serena Davis, female teacher; John Bedgood, wheelwright; James Davis, storekeeper; nine native teachers and schoolmasters and two native schoolmistresses. *Kaitia*: William Puckey, Joseph Matthews, Richard Matthews, catechists. *Enty Island*: Octavius Hadfield, missionary. *Powerty Bay*: William Williams, missionary; twenty native teachers. *Rotorua*: T. Chapman, J. Morgan, catechists. *Tauranga*: Alfred N. Brown, missionary; James Stack, J. A. Wilson, catechists. *Hauraki*: W. T. Fairburn, J. Preece, catechists; *Manukau*: Robert Maunsell, missionary; J. Hamlin, B. Y. Ashwell, catechists; S. H. Ford, surgeon; Philip King, catechist.

The following is the official list made up to the 5th May, 1840, taken from the Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society:—"The North Island was now divided into districts, of which the northern consisted of six stations—Tepuna, Kerikeri, Whangaroa, Paihia, Waimate, and Kaitia. The reports for the northern districts are made up to the end of the year 1839. The gist of each sectional report is found in the following summary:—

"Of Te Puna Mr. King says: 'The natives now more generally make a profession, and attend to the means of grace: many come forward to declare themselves on the Lord's side. Waikato (who went to England with Hongi) and his family have made a profession

of Christianity. He attends divine service, and encourages his neighbours to do the same. (His brother Wherepoaka, lately dead, had belonged to the church.) Our place of worship is generally filled at Sunday morning service. The candidates come twice a week to hear and read the Scriptures, and to receive instruction in the truths of the Gospel. An evident alteration has taken place for the better.'

"Mr. Kemp reports of Kerikeri: 'On Sundays I have attended to the religious instruction of the natives at Kerikeri, Toheranui and Ti; the average attendance at each place is from 50 to 60 natives. There seems to be an increasing desire among the natives in connection with the station for spiritual instruction.'

"Of Whangaroa, Mr. J. Shepherd says: 'I have, when not prevented by rain, paid monthly visits to the natives on the coast as far as Matauri, and have received repeated visits from them to obtain instruction, books and slates. The natives and Europeans in the district of Whangaroa I have also visited, and have received visits of a pleasing nature from the natives. Our congregations on Sundays, including some from the Pupuke, from Kaero and other places on the river, average from 150 to 200. We have had school with the natives in and about the settlement, and though we have not had regular schools at the different villages connected with the station from want of teachers, yet, I am happy to say that many are learning to read and write. I trust it is not too much to say that the great work is advancing.'

"Mr. Baker, of Paihia, says: 'The attendance on the means of grace has been regular and more general of late. There has also been a great desire manifested for Christian instruction and many books have been widely distributed.'

"The Rev. W. Williams, of Waimate, reports as follows: 'The past year has been signalised by a gradual progress of the great work; and it is manifest that the hand of God is with us. The farm under the charge of Mr. Davis continues to yield a good return. Forty acres of wheat were reaped in January, and twelve acres were laid down to grass, making a hundred acres of grass land, of which eighty are fenced into paddocks. Twenty-five acres of wheat have been sown for the next season. The flock of sheep has been increased to 183. The mill has been attended to principally by Mr. Davis, and has yielded a supply of 48,000lbs. of flour. A considerable quantity

of wheat has also been ground for the natives, the produce of their little farms. The erection of the church has proceeded steadily, and the building will soon be roofed in.'

"The Rev. William Williams had been absent from his station for a considerable period, engaged on important tours to the East Cape and its vicinity, with a view to the extension of the mission. 'This part of the island,' he writes, 'was first visited in the year 1834 by myself, and subsequently by my brother in 1838. At the latter visit arrangements were first made for the location of native teachers, who were conducted thither towards the close of the same year, three being placed at Waiapu, and four at Turanga, *i.e.*, Poverty Bay. Another visit was paid in 1839, and in January, 1840, I removed to Turanga with my family, to form a permanent station, a temporary house having been erected by the natives for our accommodation.'

"Mr. J. Matthews, of Kaitaia says: 'I have visited the natives in the districts of Wangape, Oruru, Parapara, Parakerake, and Mount Carmel, and have found much to encourage me in my labours among the people of these places. We have been much encouraged during the last half year by the admission of the principal chiefs of Waro to the visible Church of Christ.'

"The southern district contained the Hauraki, Manukau, and Waikato, the Tauranga and Rotorua stations. Their reports come down to the end of March, 1840. Of the Hauraki station Mr. W. F. Fairburn, who lived at Maretai, says: 'In taking a retrospect of the last twelve months we find that we have much cause for gratitude, humility, and thankfulness. The Word of God is now read more or less in every tribe in the Thames, and the only cause of regret is that we have so few books to distribute among them. Schools have been established, conducted by native teachers, on both sides of the Thames, through which means the spread of the gospel has been considerably advanced. The female and children's schools at the native villages are conducted by female native teachers. Forty-six have been baptized during the last year, *viz.*, 27 men, 14 women, and 5 children. Many more are coming forward as candidates.'

"Of Manukau and Waikato, the Rev. R. Maunsell writes: 'On the commencement of the year we were engaged in establishing ourselves—Mr. Hamlin at Manukau Heads, and Messrs. Maunsell and Ashwell at the mouth of the Waikato. These two sites of our present labours, we are thankful to report,

have answered our expectations; at each place the congregations are considerably larger, and our connections with the adjoining district better maintained than they were at the old station. At Manukau, a place about twenty-five miles from Waikato Heads, and where Mr. Hamlin continues to labour alone, the same encouraging features are presented as we have hitherto had to report. Knowledge increases, the meetings are well attended, the baptized with few exceptions maintain a constant walk, and a very great desire prevails for the possession of the Scriptures.

"At Waikato Heads also, which is comparatively a new station, there is much for which we desire to be thankful. That place and the adjoining district was attended to by us from Moetoa as far as our circumstances would admit. It was not till June, however, that we were able to form a station there and to pay it the attention which it justly required.

"Our annual examination of schools has just taken place, and was concluded by the baptism of 100 and by 101 communicants from all parts of the district. The answering of the classes gave us all satisfaction. The first class, consisting of thirty-eight, was examined by Mr. Hamlin, who had kindly come to assist us, in reading, and some very good answers were made to his questions. They then were examined in writing, ciphering, scripture, and history, and after all a recitation class stood up and repeated fluently and accurately two chapters from the Epistles. Four classes, amounting with the first to 300, were then examined on the same subjects, while Mr. Hamlin, in the meantime, examined in the open air a class of 450 in the catechisms.

"Then came the feast usual on such occasions—not, indeed, so neat or varied as you may see in England, but attended with no less ceremony, and highly interesting to the Europeans we had invited to be present. Twelve whole pigs cooked in one hangi and borne on sticks were laid in the middle of the company; on either side were piled a hundred baskets of potatoes, corn and kumara. A blessing was asked and the attendants with the master of ceremonies hastened with hatchets and knives to cut up the pigs into halves and quarters, and having shared out the baskets of kumara, etc., into parcels proportioned to the respective tribes, crowned them with a quarter, or a half, or a whole pig, as either the number or rank of the parties required. All being ready, the distributor came forward with his blanket wound tightly around his waist,

and another bearing a slate read over the names of the chief men of the several families, while the distributor, with a large stick, struck the respective heaps, and in a few minutes the whole vanished as if by magic. About 1500 had assembled. All was animation and cheerfulness, and even those who had come four and five days' distance seemed to forget their fatigue in the general excitement.'

"Of Tauranga, the Rev. A. N. Brown writes: 'The southern war has proved at times a barrier to the free progress of the Gospel, but fewer have fallen victims than during any preceding year, and we still cling to the hope that ere long a cessation of hostilities will be forced upon the contending tribes, from the inability of their leaders to raise so large a force as they were in the habit of raising. Our returns show an increase under the heads of "congregations" and "schools" of more than double the number who attended last year, and the same observation will apply to those natives in our schools who are capable of reading the Testament. The number of baptisms during the year has been 65, viz., 40 adults and 25 children. Sixteen of the Christian natives are employed at our different outposts as regular teachers, and fifteen others have been engaged for three months in a missionary tour to Taupo and Cook Strait. The avidity with which the New Testament is purchased by the natives, and their attendance on the classes formed for reading and explaining the Scriptures, may be remarked among our encouragements.'

"Mr. Williams gives a highly interesting account of a Sunday he spent in Tauranga, in January, 1840: 'Many strangers came last night to spend the Lord's Day here, and we had a congregation of at least 1,000. Our chapel was the open air, but the weather was favourable, and the extreme attention of this large body was a grateful commencement of our missionary labours among this people. On the conclusion of native service, we had one in English in our dwelling, at which ten Europeans who are settlers in the neighbourhood attended. At noon the natives were again assembled for school, when I counted two classes of men with 70 in each, one of 50, one of 110, and one of 12. The women were in two classes, one of 150 and one of 12. The last, with one of the men's classes of 70, read in the Scriptures; the next merely repeated the catechism, the whole class repeating the answer together. There is no order in these classes, but the object has in part been obtained—that of teaching the natives to

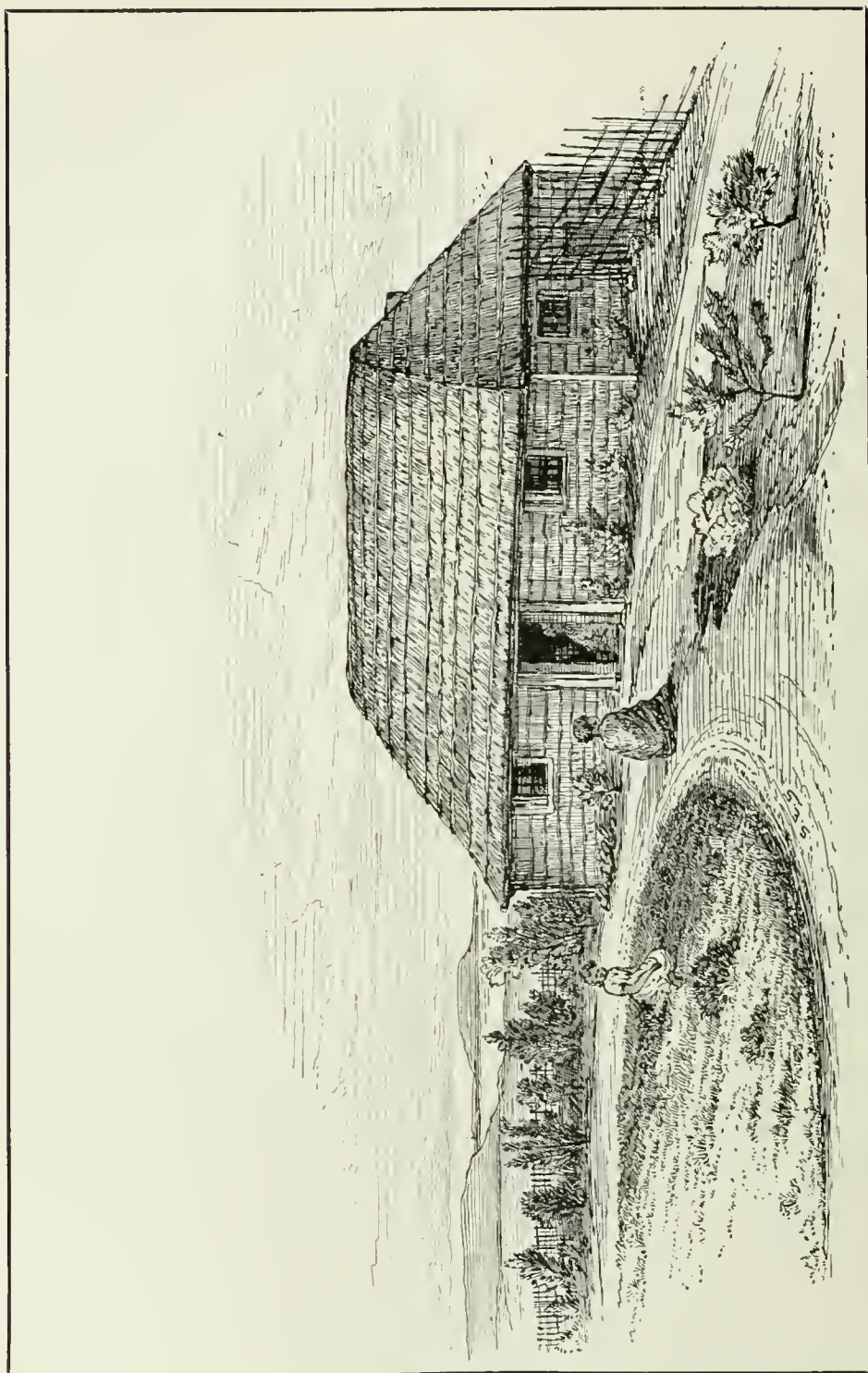
repeat the catechism from which knowledge must be derived. The evening congregation was nearly as numerous as that in the morning.'

Rauparaha, who had established himself at Kapiti about the year 1830, sent a letter to the Rev. H. Williams asking for a missionary, but it was not then found possible to grant his request. The Rev. W. Williams thus fills up the story. He says there was a slave at the Bay of Islands whose master had been killed in a quarrel, and his headless body was carried by Tohitapu to be buried near Paihia. The slave Riphau was then at large, and went to live at the mission station, where he received the regular instruction of the place. It was at the time when the tribes of the Bay of Islands were fighting those of Tauranga. After the war had continued some time, Riphau requested permission to accompany a fighting party, in order that he might go and see his relatives, who were living partly at Rotorua and partly in Cook Strait with Rauparaha.

Nothing more was heard of him for two years, when at length a letter reached Mr. Chapman at Rotorua, in which Riphau applied for some books, saying that he was living in Cook Strait, and that there numbers of people were wishing for instruction. The letter was forwarded to Paihia, and not long afterwards it was followed by a deputation consisting of the son and nephew of Rauparaha, who had taken passage in a trading vessel from Kapiti, and had come for the sole object of obtaining a missionary to live with them. The question was asked: What was to be done? and the Rev. O. Hadfield, who had lately arrived in the country, and having taken priest's orders, volunteered on the service.

Accompanied by the Rev. H. Williams, he left the Bay of Islands 21st October, 1839, and arrived at Kapiti during the month following, the voyage having taken about a month. It was arranged that Mr. Hadfield should have a house at Waikanae and another at Otaki, and that his time should be equally divided between the two places. The congregations assembling at this time from the instruction of Riphau were numerous, and there was a general willingness among the natives to receive instruction. The Rev. H. Williams returned to the Bay of Islands overland by way of Wanganui and Taupo, at which places the natives were anxious for missionary instruction.

Mr. W. Colenso reports at the end of the



Rev. A. N. Brown's House at Te Papa, Tauranga.

year 1839: "During the last six months I have been engaged as follows:—*Printing Office*: Compositing small Prayer-books, second edition, 36 pp. demy 12mo, and printing off 20,000 copies; printing off 6,000 copies of sig. A to E of large Prayer-book; compositing prospectus, circular and placard for Victoria Institute and printing 300 copies; compositing Primer (Pukapuka Wakaako), 24 pp. demy 12mo, and printing 10,000 copies; compositing Bishop's Address Pukapuka Kauwau o te Pihopa, 4 pp. demy 12mo, and printing 4,000 copies; compositing Scripture Questions (Kupu ni), 8 pp. demy 12mo, and printing 3,000 copies."

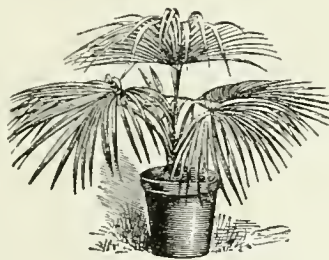
Mr. Colenso also furnished the following information:—

RETURN OF BOOKS PRINTED AT THE MISSION PRESS
FROM JANUARY, 1835, TO JANUARY, 1840.

TITLES, ETC.	No. Printed.
Epistles to the Ephesians and Philippians, post 8vo. 16 pp. in each ...	2,000

Tables, post sizes, 1 p. each ...	500
Gospel of St. Luke, demy 12mo, 68 pp. in each ...	1,000
New Testament, demy 8vo, 356 pp. in each ...	5,000
Confirmation Service, post 8vo, 4 pp. in each ...	200
Service for Consecration of Burial Grounds, post 8vo, 4 pp. in each ...	100
Grammars, demy 12mo, 12 pp. in each ...	500
Bishop's Address, demy 12mo, 4 pp. in each ...	4,000
Prayer-books (small), demy 12mo, 36 pp. in each ...	27,000
Prayer-books (large), demy 12mo, 24 pp. in each ...	6,000
Primers, demy 12mo, 24 pp. in each ...	10,000
"Kupuru," demy 12mo, 8 pp. in each ...	3,000
Lessons Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, demy 4to, 4 pp. in each ...	2,000
Catechisms, demy 12mo and post 8vo, 12 pp. in each ...	10,000
Reports of Temperance Society, foolscap 8vo, 8 pp. in each ...	300
Pukapuka Aroha, demy 12mo, 24 pp. in each ...	3,000

At the conclusion of the fortieth report the statistics of the New Zealand mission were thus given:—Stations, 12; communicants, 233; attendants on public worship, 8,760; schools, 72; scholars: boys, 163; girls, 159; sexes not distinguished, 1,245; youths and adults, 229; total, 1,796.





THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION.

Appointment of the Rev. J. B. F. Pompallier as Vicar Apostolic—Departure of the Bishop, four priests, and three lay brothers—Arrival at Valparaiso and embarkation for the Pacific Islands—Visit to Tonga—Departure for Wallis and Fortuna Islands, and establishment of missions there—Visit to Sydney and departure for Hokianga—Commencement of the mission—Conflict with the Wesleyans—The natives threaten to expel the new-comers—A protest by Baron De Thierry—The Bishop's first missionary excursion—European Catholics ask the Bishop to leave the country—Visit of the French warship Heroine—Pastoral visit to Kaipara—The mission crippled through lack of funds—Arrival of reinforcements—Mission station established at Kororareka—Extending the sphere of operations—The Bishop's success.



THE vicariate of Western Oceania embracing all the islands of Oceania from the north to as far south as there was habitable land within the longitudes on the eastern limit of the Society Islands, and the western limits to the islands of

Western Polynesia, was erected by a brief of Gregory XVI., during the octave of Pentecost, 1835. The congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, following the desires of His Holiness, sought among the clergy of France for priests to undertake the charge of the new mission, and finally decided to appoint the Rev. John Baptist Francis Pompallier, a priest of the diocese of Lyons, first Vicar Apostolic. Dr. Pompallier was born in December, 1802, and exercising the duties of the sacred ministry in the archdiocese of Lyons, he had associated with him some other priests of the same diocese, and in the neighbouring one of Bellay, with the view of

establishing some religious community having for its special objects the education of youth, the fostering of vocations for the priesthood, and especially work among the heathen. This was the beginning of the Marist congregation, as yet only consisting of a few secular priests, without any established rule of life, having no superior, and lacking development. As yet they were subject to their respective Bishops in all things. The consecration of Dr. Pompallier as Bishop of Marone and Vicar Apostolic of Western Oceania, on the 30th June, 1836, brought the infant society into notice at Rome, and he obtained a brief authorising the erection of the new society to be called after the "Virgin," the Society of Mary, having for its especial object the evangelization of the islands of Western Oceania.

Towards the end of July the Right. Rev. Bishop Pompallier returned to Lyons on his way to Paris from whence he hoped to find means to reach his vicariate. At Lyons he received four priests of the new society, the Rev. Fathers Servant and Bataillon, of the diocese of Lyons, and the Rev. Fathers Chancel and Bret, of the diocese of Bellay, and three lay brethren. They formed the first contingent for the mission of Oceania. From

Paris they passed to Havre, and after waiting some weeks to gain a favourable wind they embarked on board the *Delphine* on 24th December, 1836, bound for Valparaiso, at which place it was thought to be easy to find a ship for the islands of Oceania. After a long and tedious voyage, during which the Rev. Father Bret was taken ill and died, the Bishop and his companions landed at Valparaiso towards the end of June, 1837, where they were compelled to remain two months until they found an American sailing vessel, the *Europa*, going to the Sandwich Island, touching on the way at Gambier and Tahiti.

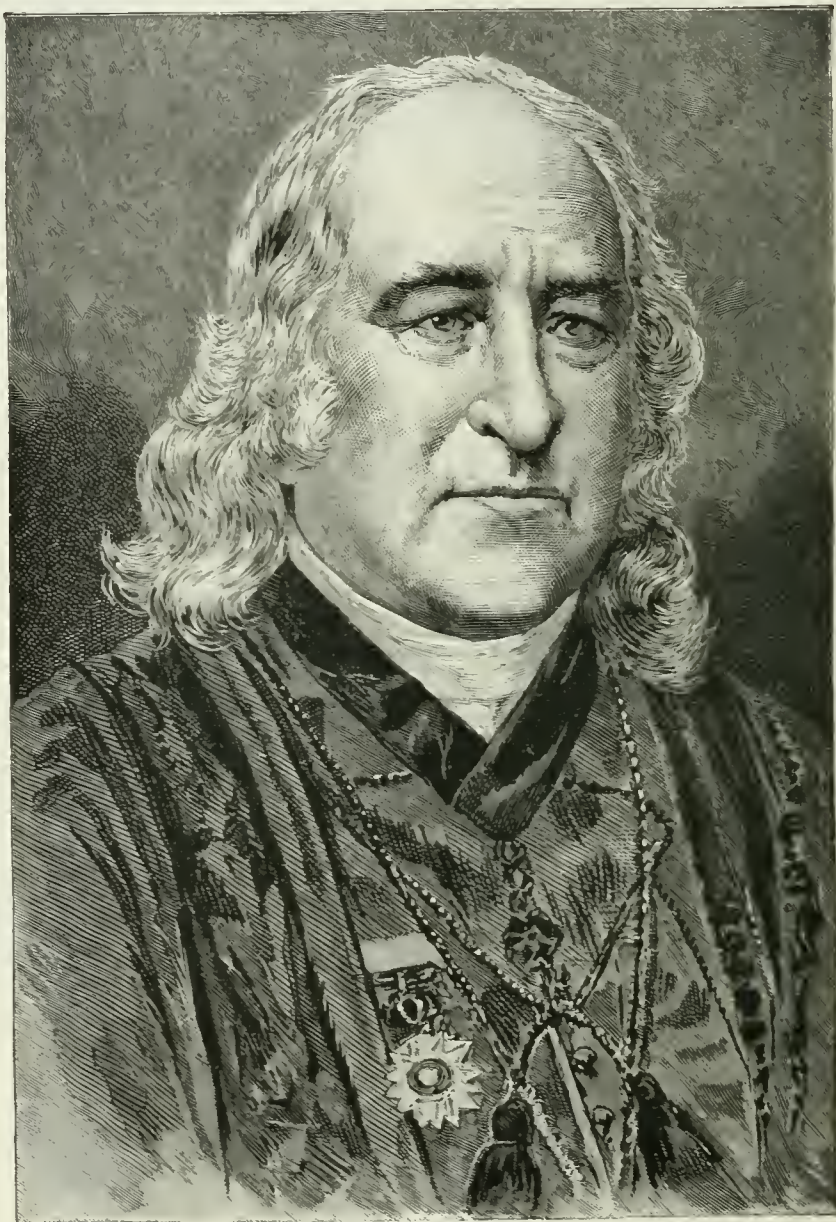
Although the Bishop had no previous intention of going so far north as the Sandwich Islands, yet he decided to do so, as affording the means most easy to get to his vicariate. He therefore left Valparaiso towards the end of August in the *Europa*, bound first for Gambier. Besides his own party, he had with him two other priests and a lay catechist of the Society of the Sacred Heart. After a stay of two days at Gambier they arrived at Tahiti about the 20th September, 1837, where the Protestant missionaries opposed their landing in vain, during the stay of the *Europa*, which needed a sojourn of some days to transact business with the inhabitants. Two years previously two priests of the Society of the Sacred Heart had been outraged by the natives and expelled the country by its Queen. It was therefore a time of great apprehension to the Bishop, who, however, visited Her Majesty and obtained her permission for his priests to walk about the island during the stay of the *Europa*. It should have been stated that the Society of the Sacred Heart had charge of the Vicariate of Eastern Oceania, which, erected in 1833, included all the islands east of Mangaia, as well as the Sandwich Islands. The priests, too, obtained much help from the American Consul, a Protestant, and the only Consul in the island. He was named Mouernhout. At his house the Bishop celebrated mass, and there, too, he baptized a child, a New Zealander, whose European father, a sailor, was at that time on the island. Thus at Tahiti the Bishop obtained the first fruits of his mission. The American Consul also placed at the service of the Bishop a small schooner of some 60 tons burthen, at a nominal charge, so that the long voyage to the Sandwich Islands and the delay there could be avoided. The schooner was called the *Raiatea*, and left Tahiti on the 4th October, 1837. By this arrangement the voyaging of the Bishop

and party was shortened, made less expensive, while a greater freedom of action was afforded to His Lordship and his party.

Some twenty days after leaving Tahiti, the *Raiatea* came in sight of Vavau, the first of the Friendly Islands encountered coming from the east. The Bishop landed there on the 24th October, but found the natives all Protestant. King George received him kindly, but it was thought advisable to leave the group for the present, and the schooner proceeded to Wallis Island, where it arrived on the 1st November, 1837. Here the natives were pagan, though the other mission societies had sought to gain their confidence. The Bishop, however, was kindly received, and after some negotiation the chiefs and the people wanted to embrace the Christian religion, when it was decided to leave on the island a priest and a catechist to instruct them. Father Bataillon was selected to remain there, having as his companion Brother Joseph, who had already gained the goodwill of the people. From Wallis the Bishop proceeded to Futuna Island, where he also obtained a hearty welcome. One of the principal chiefs, who had been engaged some five or six years on board a Dutch whaler, came on board to visit him, and was importunate the Bishop should remain. Bishop Pompallier therefore left Father Chanel (who was afterwards killed by the inhabitants, the first martyr of the island), together with the catechist, Marie Nisier, behind him.

The schooner sailed on the 12th November for Rotuma, where, however, it was impossible to leave another missionary, although the natives greatly desired it. Father Servant and one lay catechist were all that the Bishop had, and with these he left Rotuma—the natives making him gifts and entreating him to return—for Sydney on the 15th November, 1837, where the schooner arrived on the 9th December. The morning following Dr. Pompallier said mass in the Church of Monseigneur, at the request of Bishop Polding, who was in charge of the vicariate of New Holland, and remained, together with Father Servant, the guest of His Grace during his stay in Sydney.

Christmas of 1837 was passed in Sydney, and it was not till the end of December the *Raiatea* once more set sail. A journey of twelve days from Sydney brought them to the mouth of the river Hokianga, and the schooner having been piloted up the river, the party disembarked on Wednesday, 10th January, 1838. Thus, after a journey of more than a year's duration, Bishop Pompallier reached



Bishop Pompallier.

the chief island of his mission with but two members, a priest (Father Servant) and a lay brother, of the little community of seven he had with him when leaving Havre le Grace. No sooner had Dr. Pompallier landed at Hokianga than he hastened to restore the schooner to its owner at Tahiti, giving a high character to the captain of the vessel, whom he found most desirous in every way of helping, to the best of his ability, the purpose of the mission.

An Irish Catholic of the name of Poynton received the Bishop and his companions, and until they could get a house built for their occupation he gave them one of his own to reside in. While Mr. Poynton, who was engaged in the timber trade, was building a house for the Bishop, the missionaries fixed their temporary residence in a wooden house in which the largest room was made to do duty as a chapel. There, on Saturday, the 13th January, after their arrival, the Bishop celebrated mass, possibly the first celebration in New Zealand. His Lordship evidently so considered the event. He says: "I confided this mission to the protecting care of the Ever Blessed Virgin. All the vicariate was placed (under her protection) by the title of our Lady of the Immaculate Conception."

The house that Mr. Poynton had lent the Bishop was situated on the banks of the river Hokianga, at a place called Totara, and there Dr. Pompallier, with Father Servant, immediately set to work to study the Maori language, and to improve their knowledge of English. The Bishop says that he soon found out that Hokianga was the headquarters of the Wesleyan mission, from which it appears that he had obtained no clear idea of New Zealand or its condition before his arrival.

As may have been expected, the Methodists regarded the "intrusion" of the Catholic mission with more than covert hostility. They had with the Anglican Church Mission divided the North Island of New Zealand between them, and viewed with scant favour the irruption of the Bishop and his followers. At the time of which we are writing it was customary among the bulk of the English-speaking people to regard a Catholic priest somewhat as an apostle of the evil one; the Wesleyans regarded a Papist with as much horror as a Mussulman would a Methodist; nor did the Catholic bishop fail by his utterances to widen the breach, which generations had hardened. On the Saturday after his arrival, which happened to be the Octave of the Epiphany, after the celebration

of mass, he gave a short address to the Mangamuka natives, who, according to their custom, were on their way to the Mangungu Wesleyan Mission Station to spend the Sunday. The Rev. Mr. Turner thus relates the scene:—

"On the Saturday after the Bishop's arrival, as the Mangamuka natives were travelling towards Mangungu they were met by Poynton opposite to his house and introduced to his new acquaintances. The missionary prelate upon this occasion began his public labours and astonished the natives. Dressed in gaudy vestments, and surrounded by his priests, he stood solemnly in the still air of the morning, mysteriously lifting up a large crucifix and an image of a woman and infant child. Poynton acted the interpreter, and the Maori wonder increased as the Bishop addressed them. In open view was a large tree with spreading branches. He pointed to its grand old trunk, and said it represented the Church of Rome, which had withstood so many storms. The large arms were the Church of England, and the small decaying boughs, the Wesleyan Church. With unmingled wonder and anger at what they had heard the natives sought their religious teachers."

Turner says the first impulse of the chiefs was to have the new arrivals expelled from the land. On Monday, the 22nd January, the Bishop appears to have been made aware of the intention, as before daylight the natives passing his place of abode on their return from Mangungu mission station, interviewed him. We quote his version of what took place:—"It was early in the morning that they assembled before the house. The lay brother on opening the door found them all sitting in a half circle, and thinking they had come to pay the Bishop a visit of civility, he went to the Bishop's room and told him. His Lordship without delay came and greeted them with smiles and signs of welcome. The natives, however, remained sullen and cold, many regarding the Bishop with hatred and defiance. An interpreter was sent for, when one chief after another addressed the Bishop, when it appeared their intentions were to break the image, the crucifix, a statue of the Virgin, and to destroy the other ornaments of piety which were placed in the principal room of the house, to take the Bishop and Father Servant from the house, and lead them to their boats, and in all probability throw them into the river. They gave as the reason of their enterprise the counsel of the missionaries." After some ex-

planations had taken place, they departed for their homes without anger, but avowed regret for their hostile intentions.

That the Bishop's apprehensions had common rumour for their support appears from the following proclamation issued by the Baron De Thierry :

(CIRCULAR.)

Hokianga, February 6th, 1838.

Information having been brought to the Baron de Thierry that an attempt is to be made by residents in the Bay of Islands and others at this river to drive the Right Rev. F. Pompallier, Bishop of Maronée, and Vicar Apostolic for the Western Islands of the Pacific, and his clergy from this island, he is induced to appeal to their sense of justice and humanity, to their best feelings as Christian men, to pause before they hurry into acts which must inevitably be productive of much bloodshed, and which will as undoubtedly bring down the most severe penalties on the native population, who can never be believed to assist in such measures but at the instigation of the whites. The Baron de Thierry is urged to this appeal by a persuasion that all men, and men of all nations have a right to worship God in their own way. New Zealand is not a British land, and no British subject has a right to persecute the subjects of other countries in any manner whatever, so long as they live within the received usages of civilised society. The right of the Baron in this case to interfere would be sufficiently established on principles of common humanity, but a more immediate inducement has been offered by the receipt of an official letter to himself from Paris, in which the Bishop is particularly recommended to his best services. A due feeling of respect for the King and Government of France demands of the Baron de Thierry the strongest protest against the offer of any violence to the persons of French citizens; and the welfare of a people to whom he intends devoting his remaining years requires the publication of the annexed letter, which will sufficiently prove that should the projected expulsion of the Bishop take place, it will call down that stern visitation which insulted national honour demands. The Baron de Thierry is by religion anti-Catholic, and it is far from his object to plead for any particular faith; he pleads *for all faiths and for all classes and conditions of men*, and more especially does he entreat the white residents to pause and consider the great responsibility which they assume by leading the New Zealanders into acts which they are taught to believe they may commit with impunity as an independent people, but which will end in conflicts which every honest man must deplore. As all men have a right to worship God after their own forms, they have an equal right to have their respective ministers, and it is not to be supposed that the increasing number of Her Majesty's Catholic subjects who are settling in this country will tamely tolerate the banishment of their priests from their altars, and be forced into the adoption of any other religion than their own.

The following is a copy of the letter from France, to which reference is made in De Thierry's circular letter :—

Paris, September 24th, 1836.

Minister of the Navy, Colonies, etc.

SIR,—This letter will be handed to you by His Lordship Francis Pompallier, Bishop of Maronée, Vicar Apostolic for the Western Islands of the Pacific, who in the course

of his august mission may often perhaps require the support and good services of the ship of state.

I request you to receive this prelate with the honours and the attentions due to his office and his person, and I most particularly desire you to seize every opportunity of giving him the assistance which his situation may require, and which yours will enable you to afford.

You will give similar instructions to the commanders of ships under your orders.

I shall witness with pleasure all that they and yourself may do to be useful to His Lordship the Bishop of Maronée.

Receive, Sir, the assurances of my high consideration.

The Vice Admiral,

Minister of the Navy and the Colonies,

ROSAMEL.

To the Commander of the French Naval Squadron, stationed in the Southern Ocean, Valparaiso.

In 1838 the Wesleyan mission occupied sixteen preaching stations on the Hokianga district, which were thus named and approximately situated: One some seven miles from the mouth of the river, on its western side, at Whangape; one on the east at Kaihu; three nearer the bar, on the same side of the river as One Tree Point: three on the river Waima; three on the Waihou and Otukura streams; three on the Mangamuka; and one, the main station, at Mangungu. There were, it will be observed, no stations on the Whirinaki River, where Maning and others were located. The natives there had not been accessible to mission influence, and with these Bishop Pompallier determined to make an essay at conversion. Accordingly we read that on the 23rd January the Bishop, accompanied by Father Servant and some European Catholics, "made his first pastoral visit." He wished, we are told, to visit some Pagan tribe who had not yet embraced Protestantism, and chose the tribe of Whirinaki, a powerful and fierce people of about 400 souls, for the purpose. "These men had resisted all the solicitations of the ministers of Protestantism," and were known among the whites as the wicked and evil tribe. The people of Whirinaki, however, were plastic under the Episcopal influence, and the Bishop only got away the following day after many solicitations for him to remain. His reasons for departure were pressing. He had two languages to learn, English and Maori, before his capacity for evangelising could be developed. The Europeans around Totara, and some natives, came regularly to mass on Sundays and holy days. "The English Catholics did not delay to approach the sacrament, and all their children received holy baptism. A chief of a neighbouring tribe named Tiro, and several native women, soli-

cited instruction, and after two months they were baptized."

The hostility of the Wesleyan missionaries continued active, the manifesto of Baron De Thierry notwithstanding. The cry was raised that the French had designs on the country, and so sustained was the hostility that the European Catholics came to the Bishop and asked him to leave the country, so heated had become the atmosphere of intolerance. Instead, however, of complying with the wishes of some of his people, he gave orders for the erection of a house at Hokianga for a temporary residence, as well as for a mission station. About this time Captain Cecille, of the *Heroine*, paid a visit to the Bay of Islands, he having to make inquiries relative to the loss of the *Jean Bart* at the Chatham Islands. Bishop Pompallier went to Kororareka where the captain waited upon him and took him back with him to the frigate, where the Vicar Apostolic was treated with all honour, salutes being fired on his arrival and departure from the ship. Mass was celebrated on board on the Sunday, and Captain Cecille having notified that on that day his ship was open to visitors, some three hundred Europeans and natives were present. The visit of the French commander did something to allay the open hostility the rivalry in religion had engendered.

About the month of June the house that Poynton was building for the Bishop was ready for occupation. On his taking possession, which was marked by a salute of musketry, mass was celebrated in the principal room, which was fitted up as a chapel. After the Gospel, we are told, the Bishop gave an address for the first time in Maori to so numerous a gathering that the house could not contain them. "Thereafter every Sunday and often during the week instructions in Maori were given." The record tells us how Father Servant was placed in charge of the station while the Bishop travelled among the neighbouring tribes to instruct them. "He translated," we are told, "the Pater, Ave and Creeds, and composed a canticle on the existence, perfections and goodness of God." It is a matter for regret that none of these works have survived. The Bishop's house, it should have been said, was named or located at Papakauwau.

In October, 1838, the Bishop visited Kaipara, leaving the station at Hokianga to the care of Father Servant. He was accompanied by many natives and three Europeans. At Mangakaia he stayed in the house of an Irish

carpenter who had been living there some time, having connected himself with a daughter of one of the chiefs, by whom he had three children. After instruction the woman and her sister, with the three children, were baptized, after which the carpenter was married. The Bishop remained at Mangakaia several days, and departed to Hokianga with an escort of the inhabitants, who were earnest in their desire for him to remain or to send them instructors.

The establishments at Wallis and Futuna Islands had crippled the usefulness of the Bishop, who, soon after his residence in Hokianga, wrote: "We wanted everything; our long sea voyage, the works we had commenced in Oceania, had absorbed all our funds. After six months of residence we were in the greatest need. No communications had been established with Europe. We had no signs of life on the part of the benefactors of the mission." The Bishop was, in fact, a prisoner for want of means and facilities for travel, and this condition continued with him until June, 1839, when on the sixteenth of the month arrived the schooner *The Queen of Peace*, which brought aid and reinforcements. The schooner had called at Wallis and Futuna Islands on her way, and found the missionaries there well and in good spirits. She brought three priests to strengthen the mission—the Rev. Fathers Baty, Epalle, and Petit—and three catechists of the Society of Mary. The new missionaries landed at the Bay of Islands, and immediately set to work to learn the Maori language.

By the arrival of the schooner the Bishop was enabled to open a mission-station at the Bay of Islands, and selected for that purpose a house and some land at Kororareka. The new station was placed under the protection of SS. Peter and Paul, the Bishop making it his residence and the head of the Vicariate. Among the white population there was but one Catholic, and the natives were what European intercourse had made them. There was much sorrow among his followers at Hokianga at the Bishop's change of residence. There were, we are told, fifteen hundred catechumens and some sixty persons baptized as the result of the Bishop's and Father Servant's labours. Father Baty was sent to aid Father Servant at the Hokianga station.

In September, 1839, the Bishop went by the schooner *Queen of Peace*, to make a pastoral visit among the people at Whangaroa and Mangonui. The people at the last-mentioned place had sent to ask the Bishop to visit them

some eight months previously, but he could find no earlier opportunity. So well was he received that he promised to send a priest to instruct them.

While living at the Bay of Islands the Bishop and his clergy were frequent visitors at Te Rawhiti, the people from that bay attending the religious services at Kororareka.

On the 11th December four more priests arrived at the Bay of Islands, and a catechist. They were the Rev. Fathers Petit Jean, Viard, Comte, and Chevron. After their arrival the Bishop availed himself of the opportunity of a boat going to Fiji to send the Rev. Father Chevron, with the catechist lately arrived, to the stations established at Wallis and Futuna Islands. Father Comte at the same time was sent to Hokianga.

In January, 1840, the Bishop, accompanied by Father Epalle, made a second visit to Whangaroa in order that he might make definite plans for founding a mission-station among the natives there. He received a warm welcome. Land was given as sites for the house of a priest, for the church, and for the cemetery. An Italian Catholic offered him a temporary home for the residence of the priest, an offer which the Bishop accepted.

On the return of the Bishop to the Bay of Islands Father Epalle made arrangements for his departure to Whangaroa to establish a station there, and the Bishop sent Father Petit Jean and a catechist to aid him in so doing.

There are many evidences that Bishop Pompallier was more successful in his mission during the two years it had been established than the bare record of his actions would indicate. He grew in favour, as his absence of self-seeking became known. The outspoken enmity of the Protestant societies helped to advertise him. Captain Hobson when he came to the Bay of Islands, and for several days afterwards, believed "that the Roman Catholics carried the sway among the Maori." His circumstances were such as would not command respect among a mercantile people such as those who inhabited New Zealand, and the esteem he soon acquired was evidently that arising from character. A series of successful and fortunate cures of ailments among some chiefs of note—called miracles by the clerics—added to his repute and popularity. What he succeeded in doing when he had money and men at his command belongs to a later period of New Zealand history.





THE GROWTH OF BRITISH AUTHORITY.

Mr. Busby appointed British Resident—His reception at the Bay of Islands—Proclamation from the King—Mr. Busby's address—Instructions from Sir Richard Bourke—The natives endowed with a national flag—Attempt on Mr. Busby's life—Resident traders ask for protection—H.M.S. Alligator sent to rescue some sailors shipwrecked in the Hauriri near Cape Egmont—Account of the wreck—Extraordinary reprisals by H.M.S. Alligator—A number of natives shot and their villages burned.



It had been determined by Governor Darling, when he became aware of the Stewart atrocity, to appoint a British Resident in New Zealand, and it was his intention to employ Captain Sturt—of subsequent exploration fame—in that capacity, but hearing of the gazet-
 ting of his successor, Sir Richard Bourke, he did not venture to proceed with the arrangement. A Mr. James Busby, a civil engineer in Sydney, had, however, paid some attention to the interests of the dependency, and had, moreover, written one or more pamphlets on the affairs of New Zealand, and was consequently selected for the agency, he having about this time gone to England. He does not appear to have been adapted for the position, as Bourke soon discovered. Polack, who as a trader was early brought into contact with him, writes: "Mr. Busby was gratified with a salary of £500 per annum which sum was taxed on the colony

of New South Wales, and an additional sum of £200 per annum to be expended in presents for the native chiefs. These presents would have enabled the donor, not only to command the respect and affection of those uncivilized sons, but they would have formed a body around him ready to act on the command of a Resident of the British Government; but the contrary was the case. Unversed in the language, customs, or habits of the people—retiring within himself, avoiding the respectable class of Europeans, and choosing a locality distant from the natives and traders, the character of Mr. Busby as a British Consul was early lost, and the native tribes, on whose lands he took up his residence, treated him with indifference and, at a later period, with insults."

His position, however, was a very difficult one; so difficult, in fact, that the instructions given him by Sir Richard Bourke are as hard for the general reader to understand as they probably were to the agent himself. Mr. Rusden says, "Busby was not to blame for doing nothing after having been officially told that there was nothing he could do."

On Sunday, the 5th of May, 1833, after a rather boisterous passage from Sydney, H.M.S. Imogene, commanded by Captain Price Blackwood, with Mr. Busby on board, anchored at the Bay of Islands. A continuance of bad weather prevented the meeting of the

chiefs who had been called for a conference until Friday, the 17th of May, when the weather clearing, the necessary preparations were made under the direction of the missionaries. The materials for the inevitable feast were two tons of potatoes, one bullock, seven hundredweight of flour, and one hundredweight of sugar. On the Friday before-mentioned Mr. Busby proceeded on shore in the ship's cutter accompanied by the first lieutenant and some other officers, under a salute of seven guns. Immediately after the firing of the salute Captain Blackwood and the officers of the ship followed the cutter on shore in the pinnace and the gig, and all were received by the missionaries and Tohitapu, the chief of the particular spot where the landing was made, who claimed Mr. Busby as his Englishman.

The party then proceeded to the missionary village, a short distance from the beach, and when near to it were received by three white headed chiefs, who, rising in succession, welcomed them in a short speech delivered after the native manner

causing the European chronicler to say that the delivery resembled a dance. The main body of the chiefs and warriors then advanced with great noise and clamour; they were then arranged in a dense but regular body, when they danced their war dance, after which they seated themselves, when six or eight chiefs delivered in succession short speeches of welcome. The speakers, making a way, the party advanced through the troops, preceded by one of the wives of Tohitapu in a kind of dance, and as soon as the natives had passed they commenced firing

their muskets and making a great shouting. Amid the smoke and noise the party made their way to an enclosure in front of the chapel which was situated about the centre of the mission village, where a table and benches had been placed for the use of the Europeans. Captain Blackwood was seated on Mr. Busby's right hand and there was a space for Mr. Williams on his left hand, but he preferred standing. In the meantime the crowd of natives came pouring in and Mr. Williams and the other missionaries were employed in

arranging them in a semicircle in front of the table with their chiefs before them. When the chiefs had taken their places Mr. Busby rose and produced the following letter from the King, which he read, and a translation of which Mr. Williams also read in the New Zealand language:—

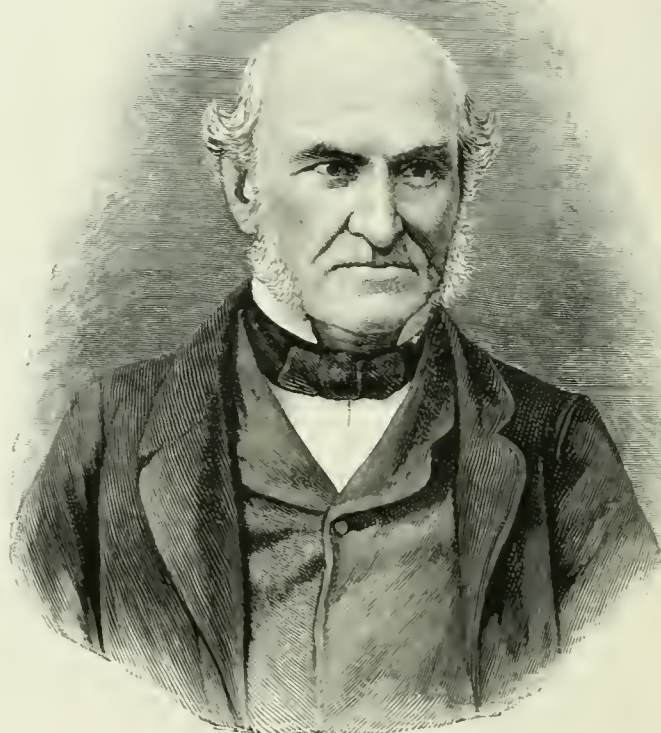
Lord Viscount Gode-
rich, one of the
principal Secre-
taries of State to
His Majesty the
King of Great
Britain.

To the Chiefs of New
Zealand.

FRIENDS, — I am
commanded by the
King to acknowledge
the receipt of the let-
ter which you address-
ed to His Majesty,
and which you en-
trusted to Mr. William
Yate to forward to
England.

The King is much gratified to find that the cause for alarm which appears to have existed at the time when your letter was written, has entirely passed away, and he trusts that no circumstance may occur in future to interrupt the tranquillity of New Zealand, which is so necessary to the maintenance of a close commercial intercourse between its inhabitants and those of Great Britain.

The King is sorry for the injuries which you inform him that the people of New Zealand have suffered from some of his subjects. But he will do all in his power to prevent the recurrence of such outrages, and to punish the perpetrators of them according to the laws of their country whenever they can be apprehended and brought to trial, and the King hopes that mutual goodwill and confidence will exist between the people of both countries,



Mr. Busby, British Resident.

in order to afford better protection to all classes, both natives of the islands of New Zealand and British subjects who may proceed, or be already established there, for purposes of trade.

The King has sent the bearer of this letter, James Busby, Esquire, to reside among you as His Majesty's Resident, whose duties will be to investigate all complaints which may be made to him. It will also be his endeavour to prevent the arrival among you of men who have been guilty of crimes in their own country, and who may effect their escape from the place to which they have been banished, as likewise to apprehend such persons of this description as may be found at present at large.

In return for the anxious desires which will be manifested by the British Resident to afford his protection to the inhabitants of New Zealand against any acts of outrage which may be attempted against them by British subjects, it is confidently expected by His Majesty that on your parts you will render to the Resident that assistance and support which is calculated to promote the object of his appointment and to extend to your country all the benefits which it is capable of receiving from its friendship and alliance with Great Britain.

I am, your friend,

(L.S.)

(Signed)

GODERICH.

Colonial Office, Downing-street,
14th June, 1832.

After this address Mr. Busby read the following address to the natives, which Mr. Williams translated:—

MY FRIENDS,—You will perceive by the letter which I have been honoured with the commands of the King of Great Britain to deliver to you, that it is His Majesty's most anxious wish that the most friendly feeling should subsist between his subjects and yourselves, and how much he regrets that you should have cause to complain of the conduct of any of his subjects. To foster and maintain this friendly feeling, to prevent as much as possible the recurrence of those misunderstandings and quarrels which have unfortunately taken place, and to give a greater assurance of safety and just dealing both to his own subjects and the people of New Zealand in their commercial transactions with each other; these are the purposes for which His Majesty has sent me to reside amongst you. And I hope and trust when any opportunities of doing a service to the people of this country shall arise, I shall be able to prove to you how much it is my own desire to be the friend of those among whom I am come to reside. It is the custom of His Majesty the King of Great Britain to send one or more of his servants to reside as his representatives in all those countries of Europe and America with which he is in terms of friendship, and in sending one of his servants to reside among the chiefs of New Zealand, they ought to be sensible not only of the advantages which will result to the people of New Zealand by extending their commercial intercourse with the people of England, but of the honour the King of a great and powerful nation like Great Britain has done their country in adopting it into the number of those countries with which he is in friendship and alliance. I am, however, commanded to inform you that in every country to which His Majesty sends his servants to reside as his representatives, their persons and their families, and all that belongs to them are considered sacred. Their duty is the cultivation of peace and friendship and goodwill, and not only the King of Great Britain, but the whole civilised world would resent any violence which his representative

might suffer in any of the countries to which they are sent to reside in his name. I have heard that the chiefs and people of New Zealand have proved the faithful friends of those who have come among them to do them good, and I therefore trust myself to their protection and friendship with confidence. All good Englishmen are desirous that the New Zealanders should be a rich and happy people, and it is my wish when I shall have erected my house that all the chiefs will come and visit me, and become my friends. We will then consult together by what means they can make their country a flourishing country and their people a rich and a wise people like the people of Great Britain. At one time Great Britain differed little from what New Zealand is now. The people had no large houses, nor good clothing, nor good food. They painted their bodies and clothed themselves with the skins of wild beasts; every chief went to war with his neighbour, and the people perished in the wars of their chiefs, even as the people of New Zealand do now. But after God sent His Son into the world to teach mankind that all the tribes of the earth are brethren and that they ought not to hate and destroy, but to love and do good to one another, and when the people of England learned His words of wisdom, they ceased to go to war against each other, and all the tribes became one people. The peaceful inhabitants of the country began to build large houses, because there was no enemy to pull them down. They cultivated their land and had abundance of bread, because no hostile tribe entered into their fields to destroy the fruit of their labours. They increased the numbers of their cattle because no one came to drive them away. They also became industrious and rich, and had all good things they desired. Do you then, O chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, desire to become like the people of England? Listen first to the Word of God, which He has put into the hearts of His servants the missionaries to come here to teach you. Learn that it is the will of God that you should all love each other as brethren, and when wars shall cease among you, then shall your country flourish; instead of the roots of the fern you shall eat bread, because the land shall be tilled without fear, and its fruits shall be eaten in peace. When there is abundance of bread men shall labour to preserve flax, and timber, and provisions for the ships which come to trade, and the ships which come to trade shall bring clothing and all other things which you desire. Thus you become rich, for there are no riches without labour, and men will not labour unless there is peace, that they may enjoy the fruits of their labour.

JAMES BUSBY.

Bay of Islands, 17th May, 1832.

While His Majesty's letter was being read all the Europeans rose up and took off their hats, and remained standing and uncovered until it was finished. After this about fifteen of the chiefs delivered their sentiments in succession. A blanket and several pounds of tobacco were then delivered to each of the twenty-two chiefs who were present.

After the assembly broke up, the Europeans adjourned to the house of Mr. H. Williams, where fifty persons were entertained with a cold collation, and in the meantime the native kitchens began to pour forth their contents. The strangers were seated round the plot in front of Mr. Williams' house, and the natives

belonging to the missionary establishment, to the number of thirty or forty, began to bring in the viands. The potatoes were brought in in small baskets made for the occasion, and which are never used a second time. The joints of beef were carried in the hand, and the procession moved forward, every one singing or shouting, and holding his or her portion as high as possible. The stranger natives were quiet spectators of the scene. They went and came in this order five or six times, and no sooner delivered their burdens than each tried to outstrip his neighbours and to obtain a fresh one. After all the potatoes, beef, flour, and stirabout had been brought in in this manner, the leading natives of the missionaries divided them into portions according to the number in the tribes. None of the strangers, however, moved from their seats till one of the stewards went round with a long rod and pointed to each tribe the portion allotted to it. Most of the beef and potatoes they carried to their canoes; and out of six hundred who partook in a very short time the greater part departed to their several homes. The mission account adds: "Our visitors were a good deal surprised at the order and expedition with which this assemblage of New Zealand rank was supplied."

The following were Mr. Busby's instructions:—

INSTRUCTIONS

From Sir Richard Bourke, K.C.B., to James Busby, Esq., British Resident, New Zealand.

New South Wales, Government House,
13th April, 1833.

SIR,—Having received His Majesty's commands to furnish you with instructions for your conduct and guidance in the discharge of your duties as British Resident at New Zealand (to which place I propose you should immediately proceed), I have to request your attention to the following particulars:—

You are probably aware that the creation of the appointment which you hold has originated in the representations made at different times by this Government, touching the acts of violence and inhumanity perpetrated on the natives of New Zealand by the crews of British vessels frequenting those islands. The extent to which these atrocities have been carried may be estimated by the perusal of the accompanying papers relating to the conduct of the master of the *Elizabeth*, a vessel lately trading between this colony and New Zealand. The facts of this dreadful case made it at once apparent that it was no less a sacred duty than a measure of necessary policy to endeavour by every possible method to rescue the natives of those extensive islands from the evils to which their intercourse with Europeans had exposed them, and, at the same time, to avert from the well-disposed of His Majesty's subjects, settled in New Zealand, the fatal effects which would sooner or later flow from the continuance of such acts of unprincipled rapacity and sanguinary violence by exciting the natives to revenge their injuries by an

indiscriminate slaughter of every British subject within their reach.

To check as much as possible the enormities complained of, and to give encouragement and protection to the well-disposed settlers and traders from Great Britain and this colony, it has been thought proper to appoint a British subject to reside at New Zealand in an accredited character, whose principal and most important duty it will be to conciliate the good-will of the native chiefs, and establish upon a permanent basis that good understanding and confidence which it is important to the interests of Great Britain and of this colony to perpetuate. It may not be easy to lay down any certain rules by which this desirable object is to be accomplished, but it is expected that by the skilful use of those powers which educated man possesses over the wild or half-civilised savage, an influence may be gained by which the authority and strength of the New Zealand chiefs will be arrayed on the side of the Resident for the maintenance of tranquillity throughout the islands. An address to His Majesty, lately forwarded from several of the chiefs of New Zealand, requesting the King's interference for the punishment of evil-doers, and claiming His Majesty's protection for their country, sufficiently shows the favourable point of view in which the power and justice of Great Britain are regarded by them. The reply which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to make to that address is calculated to augment this feeling. I have the honour to transmit this reply in original, and to request you will take an early opportunity, after your arrival at the Bay of Islands, of delivering it, with as much formality as circumstances may permit, to as many of the chiefs who subscribed the address as can be conveniently assembled for the purpose. You will also please to take that opportunity for delivering the presents which have been selected for them. It will be fitting at the same time that you explain to the chiefs the object of your mission, and the anxious desire of His Majesty to suppress, by your means, the recurrence of those disorders of which they complain. You will also announce your intention of remaining among them, and will claim the protection and privileges which you will tell them are accorded in Europe and America to British subjects holding in foreign states situations similar to yours. You will find it convenient to manage this conference by means of the missionaries, to whom you will be furnished with credentials, and with whom you are recommended to communicate freely upon the objects of your appointment, and the measures you should adopt in treating with the chiefs. The knowledge which the missionaries have obtained of the language, manners, and customs of the natives may thus become of the greatest service to you.

You will proceed to New Zealand in His Majesty's ship *Imogene*, commanded by Captain Blackwood, who has been requested to afford you not only protection in any case of any untoward event, but the countenance and support which the presence of one of His Majesty's ships of war is calculated to afford, as well upon your first arrival in the country, as during your conference with the chiefs. I may here inform you that the Lords of the Admiralty have instructed Vice-Admiral Sir John Gore, commanding His Majesty's ships and vessels in India, to direct a vessel from his squadron to put in at the principal harbours of New Zealand as frequently as possible.

If your proposal to reside, in an accredited character, in New Zealand, shall be received by the chiefs with that satisfaction which, from the tenor of their address to His Majesty there is little reason to doubt, you will then confer with them as to the most convenient place for establishing your residence, and will claim protection for

the persons and property of yourself, family and servants, either by the establishment of one or other of the principal chiefs at or near your dwelling, or by placing a native guard over it by any other means which, upon conferring with the missionaries, you shall think it expedient to require. If you should find it necessary to offer such chief or guard, either annually or at shorter periods, any presents of inconsiderable value, they shall be furnished on your application. You should, however, take care in distributing these or any other presents, not to create a jealousy on the part of those whom it may not be necessary to conciliate, and upon whom, consequently, such presents need not be bestowed.

If, contrary to all expectations, your reception at New Zealand by the chiefs should not be such as to afford you a well-grounded assurance of perfect security for yourself and family, and the chance of being able to accomplish some, at least, of the objects of your mission, you will consider yourself at liberty, after all hope of succeeding by negotiation shall have failed, to re-embark on board the *Imogene* and return to this colony.

Assuming, however, that your reception will be as favourable as has been anticipated, I will endeavour to explain to you the manner of proceeding by which, I am of opinion, you may best succeed in effecting the objects of your mission.

You will, at the same time, understand that the information I have been able to obtain respecting New Zealand is too imperfect to allow of my presenting you with anything more than a general outline for your guidance; leaving it to your discretion to take such further measures as shall at any time seem needful. You are aware that you cannot be clothed with any legal power or jurisdiction by virtue of which you might be enabled to arrest British subjects offending against British or colonial law in New Zealand. It was proposed to supply this want of power, and to provide for the enforcement of the criminal law, as it exists among ourselves, and further to adapt it to the new and peculiar exigencies of the country to which you are going, by means of a Colonial Act of Council grafted on a Statute of the Imperial Parliament. Circumstances which I am not at present competent to explain, have prevented the enactment of the Statute in question. You can, therefore, rely but little on the force of law, and must lay the foundation of your measures upon the influence which you shall obtain over the native chiefs. Something, however, may be effected under the law as it stands at present. By the 9th Geo. IV., cap. 83, sec. 4, the Supreme Courts in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land have power to inquire of, hear, and determine, all offences committed in New Zealand by the master and crew of any British ship or vessel, or by any British subject living there; and persons convicted of such offences may be punished as if the offence had been committed in England. The law having thus given the Court the power to hear and determine offences, it would seem to follow, as a necessary incident, that it has the power of bringing before it any person against whom any indictment should be found, or information filed for any offence within its jurisdiction. If, therefore, you should at any time have the means of sending to this colony any one or more persons capable of lodging an information before the proper authorities here, of an offence committed in New Zealand, you will, if you think the case of sufficient magnitude and importance, send a detailed report of the transaction to the Colonial Secretary by such persons, who will be required to depose to facts sufficient to support an information upon which a bench warrant may be obtained from the Supreme Court for the apprehension of the offender, and transmitted to you for execution. You will perceive at once that this process which is at

best but a prolix and inconvenient operation, and may incur some considerable expense, will be totally useless unless you should have some well-founded expectation of securing the offender upon or after the arrival of the warrant, and of being able to effect his conveyance here for trial, and that you have provided the necessary evidence to ensure his conviction.

In cases, however, where a person proceeding from New Zealand to this colony on his own affairs, can give evidence of any offence committed by a British subject in New Zealand, it will be right to apprise the Colonial Secretary in order that a sworn information may be obtained from him, upon which the offender may, if he should arrive in this colony, be immediately apprehended.

Having stated in the foregoing paragraph that the warrant of the Court might be transmitted to you for execution, I would here observe that I can propose no other means by which you may secure the offender, than the procuring his apprehension and delivery on board some British ship for conveyance to this country, by means of the native chiefs, with whom you shall be in communication.

It is well-known that amongst those Europeans who are leading a wandering and irregular life at New Zealand are to be found transported felons and offenders escaped from this colony and Van Diemen's Land. It is desirable that opportunities for the apprehension and transmission of those convicts to either colony should be promptly embraced. The chiefs, it is said, are well acquainted with the descriptions of the different Europeans residing in their country, and will be found able and willing to point out and secure, at a convenient time, those whom they know to be fugitives from the Australian colonies.

You will be furnished, from the office of the principal superintendent of convicts in Sydney, with the names and descriptions of those convicts from New South Wales who are known or suspected to be concealed in the islands of New Zealand, and you will use your discretion as to the fittest time for causing the apprehension and removal of such as may be within your reach, or are guilty of any offence against the peace and tranquillity of the country.

You will, of course, take every precaution to avoid the apprehension of a free person in mistake for a convict, as an action for damages would probably follow the commission of such an error. This Government will indeed be disposed to save you harmless in all such cases where becoming circumspection has been used; but it would be manifestly imprudent to incur any considerable risk for a trifling advantage.

When any of His Majesty's ships of war are off the coast, you will request the commander to receive the convicts or other prisoners arrested by your means for conveyance to this place, but as such opportunities cannot be frequent, arrangements will be made by this Government for the conveyance of all such persons as you shall put on board the merchant vessels engaged in constant trade between this colony and New Zealand. I would further observe that by means of the information which you are likely to receive from the chiefs you may become acquainted with the criminal projects of Europeans before their execution, and by a timely interference you may be able altogether to prevent their mischievous designs, or render them abortive. In the character which you hold, you will be justified in addressing any British subject to warn him of the danger to which he may be exposed by embarking or persevering in any undertaking of a criminal or doubtful character.

You will be pleased to keep this Government fully informed of every circumstance of importance occurring in New Zealand which in any way relates to the objects

of your mission, or is brought under notice in these instructions. The vessels trading between Sydney and the Bay of Islands will offer the means of forwarding your communications.

In the manner I have now described, and by proceedings of a similar character, it may perhaps be possible to repress the enormities which have heretofore been perpetrated by British subjects in New Zealand. It may also happen that this salutary control will not affect British subjects only, but that the knowledge of there being a functionary stationed in New Zealand, through whom offences committed by the subjects of any other state against the people of that country will be made known to the British Government, and through that Government to the other European and American powers, may induce the subjects of those powers to adopt a less licentious conduct towards the New Zealanders and other inhabitants of the South Sea Islands.

There is still another form in which the influence which it is hoped the British Resident may obtain over the minds of the New Zealand chiefs may be more beneficially exhibited. It is possible that by your official mediation the evils of intestine war between rival chiefs or hostile tribes may be avoided and their differences peaceably and permanently composed. It is also possible that at your suggestion and by the aid of your counsels, some approach may be made by the natives towards a settled form of government, and that by the establishment of some system of jurisprudence among them, their courts may be made to claim the cognizance of all crimes committed within their territory; and thus may the offending subjects, of whatever state, be brought to justice, by a less circuitous and more efficient process than any which I have been able to point out. If, in addition to the benefits which the British missionaries are conferring on those islanders, by imparting the inestimable blessing of Christian knowledge, and a pure system of morals, the New Zealanders should obtain through the means of a British functionary, the institution of courts of justice, established upon a simple and comprehensive basis, some sufficient compensation would seem to be rendered for the injuries heretofore inflicted by our delinquent countrymen.

Having thus explained to you, generally, the course of proceeding by which I think your residence in New Zealand may be made conducive to the suppression of the enormities which British subjects, and those of other states, have been in the habit of committing in those islands, I have only further to observe, that it will be your duty to assist by every means in your power, the commercial relations of Great Britain and her colonies with New Zealand. It would, indeed, be desirable that you became the medium of all communications between the New Zealand chiefs and the masters of British or Colonial vessels frequenting the coasts, and the merchants and settlers established in the islands. This arrangement will probably grow out of your residence in the country, and you should keep it in view as an important object. You will please to forward, by every opportunity, a shipping report, setting forth the names, masters, number of crew, tonnage, and countries of vessels arriving at the Bay of Islands, or other ports of New Zealand, from whence you can obtain correct accounts; with the cargoes of such vessels, their object in touching at New Zealand, and any other particulars concerning them that may be worthy of notice.

You will please to furnish this Government with occasional reports upon the agriculture, commerce, and general statistics of those islands. Under the first of these divisions you will not fail to mention the quantity of flax you may conjecture to be cut annually, and how disposed of. Under the second I beg to call your atten-

tion to the strange and barbarous traffic in human heads, which certainly did exist to some extent, but which I am given to understand is now nearly abandoned. Should it be found to continue, or revive, some legislative enactment may be necessary to prohibit, in this colony, the crime and disgrace of participating in so brutalizing a commerce.

Having already mentioned the assistance which I anticipate you will receive from the missionaries, I have only now to impress upon you the duty of a cordial co-operation with them in the great objects of their solicitude, the extension of Christian knowledge throughout the islands, and the consequent improvement in the habits and morals of the people. I have, &c.,

(Signed) RICHARD BOURKE.

JAMES BUSBY, Esq.,
British Resident at New Zealand.

Mr. Busby fixed his residence on the northern bank of the Waitangi stream, a little more than a mile distant from the Pahi mission-station. Henry Williams would afford all facilities to the establishment of the agency, and under the mission roof Mr. Busby and his wife found a home for many months when he had no home of his own, and to their exertions, Marshall states, the speedy completion of his residence was chiefly owing, while in the mission families he had been obliged to seek for society from the coldness and jealousy, not to say rudeness, with which he was received from the beginning by most of the resident traders.

Carleton says that while the Resident was received by the natives with acclamation he was not suffered to remain long in ignorance of their temper. He had to sustain his position with no greater force than that of moral influence, a plant of slow growth. He was "a man of war without guns," and some of the evil-disposed were not long in finding that out.

Difficulties having arisen respecting the registration of the ships that had been built in the Hokianga river, Mr. Busby proposed to the Governor of New South Wales that New Zealand should have a national flag, and the Governor ordered H.M.S. Alligator to the Bay of Islands with three pattern flags for the chiefs to select one from. The day of selection was fixed for the 20th of March, 1834, when a considerable body of natives met at the house of Mr. Busby. Marshall tells us how the chiefs were assembled in a large oblong square tent canopied by different flags. Mr. Busby read a speech to the people assembled explanatory of the object in view in offering them a flag and the advantages accruing therefrom, when the three pattern flags were displayed and votes were taken as to the choice.

Marshall says: "My friend Hau came to

me to consult as to which he should vote for, and having discovered how my taste lay, paid me the compliment of adopting it and canvassed others for their votes also. It was the one finally chosen, a white flag with a St. George's cross and in the upper corner on the left hand a blue field with a red cross and four white stars, twelve votes having been obtained for it, ten for the next, and six only for the third. The election over, the rejected flags were close furled and the future ensign of New Zealand flashed forth to float upon the breeze, when it was received with a royal salute from the Alligator and with nine cheers from the Europeans, one hundred and twenty in number, around the flagstaff. After the ceremony a cold collation was provided for the Europeans at the house of the Resident, while the chiefs and their attendants were regaled outside on pigs, potatoes and lillipee."

On the 1st of May Mr. Williams has the following entry in his diary: "A little after midnight was awoken by a messenger—an Englishman—from Mr. Busby's to say that the natives had broken into the windows of his house and that his master and all the household were in a state of alarm. Mr. Busby had received a slight wound in the cheek, but by what we could not tell."

Mr. Williams roused up the settlement and got a party of Europeans made up from the ships and residents in the bay to trace the depredators who, it was discovered, had fired two balls which were found in the boards of the house, one of these had been aimed at Mr. Busby when standing in the doorway, the splinters of which had struck him in the face; while the second had been directed at two Europeans while passing the end of the house and lodged in the weather-boarding. The culprits not being discovered and some uneasiness being displayed by the Europeans for their own safety, a meeting of the masters of the ships in port and the resident traders was held to move an address to the Governor of New South Wales, that more power should be given to Mr. Busby to repress disorder and to support the dignity of his office. The conference was held at Mr. Busby's, and was, Mr. Williams says, upon the whole satisfactory. Several native chiefs attended the meeting, but as the malefactors were unknown no proceedings could be instituted.

Out of the conference, however, the following manifesto appears to have come:—

Bay of Islands, May 6, 1834.

To J. S. BUSBY, Esq., British Resident.

SIR,—We, whose signatures are hereto subscribed,

being resident traders in the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, feel ourselves called upon, for the future safety of our families and our properties, and the property of others entrusted to our care, as well as for the support of the office you came here to fill, to call upon you to take advantage of the present opportunity to bring the natives of this country to a proper sense of the treatment to be observed to the representative of the British Government in a foreign country, domiciled for the protection of British lives and properties from violent or unjustifiable oppression, and by so doing to show them the necessity of paying a proper regard to the alliance or protection sought by them, as well as to afford that protection to those persons who have come to reside among them.

And we feel called to express our opinion that that desirable end cannot be obtained without, in this early stage of the connection between the aborigines and our Government, firmly demanding satisfaction for the affront offered to the Government, and the fulfilment of a punishment justly due to the crime committed. We cannot help stating that the repeated attacks made upon individual residents appear to us to increase, and should this last attempt upon your premises be suffered to pass without the fullest determination being manifested to enforce satisfaction, that the persons and properties of persons residing in this country will be left to the arbitrary caprice of every savage horde.

For these reasons we call upon you to support the character of your office, and if you deem it also necessary to call the aid of every respectable resident, by their personal attendance to a meeting, to be made acquainted with every particular, and to express their several opinions as to the best mode of redress, as well as to concert such measures as may be deemed proper for future protection from outrage. And we further beg to state it as our opinion that you will be deceiving both us and the body of natives you have congregated in meetings, and declining from the character of the station you have occupied, should you be either unwilling or neglect to insist upon redress, and draw into your support the countenance of the residents for the same end, and that you will cause us to doubt the intention of our Government in appointing you, as stated in your address, for the protection of British subjects as well as natives.

We have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient servants,

W. POWDITCH.	J. R. CLENDON.
JOHN RICHIE.	ROBERT ROGERS.
R. O'CONNOR.	GEORGE GREENWAY.
GILBERT MAIR.	J. S. POLACK.
SAMUEL STEVENSON.	JOHN WRIGHT.

To this somewhat important letter the British Resident replied as follows:—

British Residency, Bay of Islands,

9th May, 1834.

GENTLEMEN,—The extraordinary character of your letter of the 6th instant, which has just been delivered to me, renders it impossible for me to take any further notice of it than to observe, in justice to the chiefs of the surrounding districts, that on the present occasion they have shown no want of a proper sense of the treatment to be observed to the "representative of the British Government" domiciled in their country, but have hastened, almost with one accord, to express to me their abhorrence of the late attack upon my house and attempt upon my life, and to assure me that they would use every



(Maori or Native) Swing.

A favourite amusement amongst the natives of the interior is the swing, consisting of a number of flax cords fastened from the top of a pole which is usually fixed into the ground on the sloping side of a bank. The natives, when swinging, take hold of the cords and running down the bank strike out into the air and swing back again to the bank. Occasionally they run round in a circle as in the gymnastic pole of Europe. This amusement is rarely to be seen on the coasts; the only places where I observed it was the villages about Taupo.—*Angas*.

means to search out and bring to punishment the guilty parties.

I am, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES BUSBY,
British Resident.

To (names as above),

Resident traders at the Bay of Islands, New Zealand.

It was not, however, until the latter end of October that the culprit who fired at Mr. Busby was discovered. On the 27th of the month Heke brought from Reti of Puketona a mat of peculiar make, which had been stolen from the Resident the night of the attack. A domestic quarrel between Reti and his wife led to the discovery. He had beaten her and she upbraided him with having a stolen mat in his possession, which proved to have belonged to Mr. Busby, and thus led to saddling the blame on the right shoulders. After much consideration and conference it was proposed by Mr. H. Williams that the proper way to punish the offence was to confiscate to the use of either the British Government or Mr. Busby the land belonging to Reti at Puketona, and that he should be required to leave the district. At a native meeting the plan proposed by the missionaries was adopted, and Mr. Henry Williams says the natives appeared happy at the prospect of settling the affair in so quiet a manner.

THE FIRST EUROPEAN FIGHTING AT TARANAKI.

The Alligator left New Zealand on the 31st March, 1834, but returned again early in September the same year. The cause of her second visit was in consequence of an application, dated 23rd August, from the Governor in Council, to Captain Lambert requesting him to proceed with his vessel to obtain the restoration of certain British subjects then in the hands of Ngatiruanui—nine sailors, one woman, and two children—who had formed part of the crew and passengers of the barque Harriet, shipwrecked near Cape Egmont on the 29th April, 1834. On the 31st August the Alligator, having on board Lieutenant Gunton and a detachment of the 50th Regiment, made sail from Port Jackson, in company with the Isabella, colonial schooner, on board of which Captain Johnson of the same regiment and another detachment of soldiers were embarked to co-operate with Captain Lambert.

The circumstances attending this melancholy affair have been carefully collated by Mr. W. Colenso, and as it formed the first European fighting and killing at Taranaki, which

unhappily has since been the scene of so much that is painful in New Zealand history, it may be set out at length.

Mr. Colenso says: "Perhaps I should in the first place briefly state how I happened to know so much about it, that old affair, viz., the loss of the Harriet barque at Te Waimate, south of Cape Egmont, and the bitter revenge which so quickly followed. I was at Sydney, New South Wales, at the time, waiting for a vessel to bring me to New Zealand. While there I had made the acquaintance of Dr. Marshall, the surgeon on board H.M.S. Alligator, on her return thither from that expedition, and had received from him the whole sad account while fresh. Besides, I have it now as fully written (daily journal fashion) by Dr. Marshall, who was a truly Christian gentleman. I have also Guard's statement, official documents, made before the Executive Council at Sydney. And lastly, on my subsequently coming to New Zealand Guard himself was a fellow-passenger, and a most unpleasant one, during a long voyage in our wretched, little, and badly-formed craft.

"My tale I shall divide into two parts, the first being the relation by Captain Guard of his shipwreck, abstracted from his depositions before the Executive Council at Sydney, etc., this being necessary to understand what followed; the second being extracts from Dr. Marshall's clear and circumstantial account of all matters attending the subsequent rescue of the captives. The whole is very interesting, and would form a book of a hundred pages.

"Extract from the examinations of Mr. John Guard, master of the barque Harriet, before the Executive Council, Sydney, New South Wales:—

"In proceeding from Port Jackson to Cloudy Bay, New Zealand, the Harriet was wrecked on the 29th of April last, near Cape Egmont, on the Northern Island. The crew, consisting of 28 men, all escaped on shore, as also one woman and two children. About 30 or 40 natives came the third day after we were wrecked. We had made tents on shore of our sails. The crew were at that time armed with ten muskets saved from the wreck. The natives began plundering the wreck, and also what we brought on shore. They showed no violence at this time, the principal number not having yet appeared. We endeavoured to prevent their taking our things by shoving them from the tents, but offered no violence to them. They must have seen our muskets.

"On the 7th May about 200 more natives came down, and they told us directly they

came that they had come purposely to kill us. They did nothing that day, but on the following day they came all naked, and at least 150 with muskets, and the rest with tomahawks and spears. They did not attack us until the 10th. About eight o'clock on the morning of the 10th they again made their appearance in a body under arms, and they struck one of the crew on the head with a tomahawk, and then cut him right in two. Another, named Thomas White, they cut down. We immediately then opened fire, which they returned. We engaged them nearly an hour, and we took altogether twelve men. We understood there were twenty or thirty of the New Zealanders shot, but some say there were less. The New Zealanders latterly dug holes in the ground, and fired from behind them, leaving only their heads exposed. They closed upon us, and we were obliged to retreat. They got possession of my wife and two children. They cut her down twice with a tomahawk, and she only was saved by her comb. We were making our retreat to a place named Materoa [Moturoa], about forty miles to the northward, firing as we went. We met another tribe consisting of about one hundred coming up to the wreck. They stopped us, and stripped us of our clothing. We gave ourselves up, having expended all our ammunition. They kept us on the spot for three or four hours, and then permitted us to proceed to Materoa, sending a guide with us. They put us into a fenced place, which they call a pa, a sort of stockade. There they kept us three days, naked as we were. They gave us some potatoes. The party on the third and fourth days returned from the wreck, and in the morning they took us out from the pa, each man who had taken off our clothes claiming the man he had stripped as his slave. We went to our several masters, and some of them gave back a shirt, and some a pair of trousers. About a fortnight after, they told us that one boat remained at the place where the Harriet was wrecked, the others had been burnt with the dead. I proposed to them to allow us to go in the boat, promising to return with a cask of powder in payment for it. They went for the boat to the wreck, and brought it to Materoa. They consented to allow me and five more men to go away in the boat, but detained my brother and eight men as hostages. We repaired the boat as well as we could, and departed, accompanied by three native chiefs, and another of the crew who escaped to us. We were two days and two nights at sea, and

fetched into Blind Bay in Cook Straits. We were eight days making Cloudy Bay; we found Captain Sinclair of the barque Mary Anne there, who lent me a boat. I procured some things from Captain Sinclair with the view of returning to Materoa to ransom my family and the other prisoners. In Port Nicholson we met in with the schooner Joseph Weller, and the master (Morris) took us on board, agreeing to call at Materoa on his way to Port Jackson, to land at the former place the three chiefs and the ransom, and take away the prisoners. The wind would not allow us to make Materoa, and we were obliged to bear up for Sydney, whither we brought the three chiefs, having arrived here on Tuesday last. The chiefs did not object to being brought to Port Jackson, but they would, I think, have preferred being landed at Materoa.

"It is my opinion that the object of attack of the natives was to obtain plunder, and to devour those whom they might kill. I think that the nine men would easily be obtained from Materoa, but that the woman and children could only be obtained by paying a ransom, which could be done through the Materoa tribe. The name of the other tribe is "Hatteranui" (Ngatiruanui). I believe if a ship of war were to go there, and a few soldiers landed, they could be got without ransom. The woman is about forty miles south of Materoa. With a northerly wind a ship might go nearer than that. A blanket, a canister of powder, some fish-hooks, and other trifling articles, would be sufficient ransom for each man; but more would be required for the woman and children. I think that by keeping the three chiefs on board until the whole of the prisoners were returned would be the means of getting them back, but not without a ransom.

"There are only about 100 natives in all at Materoa. The tribes could not raise above 300 men in the whole, and about 200 muskets. If a ship of war were to go down and threaten to destroy their huts, I think they might be induced to give up their prisoners. Their pas could be easily destroyed by fire. I have been trading with the New Zealanders since 1823, and have lived a great deal amongst them. I am the only person of those who were wrecked who came to Sydney; the rest remained at Cloudy Bay.

"Before we were attacked by the natives two of the crew deserted to them, taking with them some slop clothing and five canisters of gunpowder. I am positive they supplied the

natives with the powder with which they attacked us, but I do not think that they instigated them to the attack. These two men accompanied the tribe on their return to Materoa from the wreck, and were allotted out as slaves in the same way as ourselves. They remained there when we left, and formed part of the nine that I mentioned as detained there.'

"The Governor of New South Wales, Sir Richard Bourke, lost no time in communicating with Captain Lambert, the captain of H.M.S. Alligator, requesting him to proceed in that ship to obtain the restoration of the British subjects then in the hands of the New Zealanders. In his official letter to him his Excellency says:—'Considering the existing relations of Great Britain and this colony with New Zealand, and the number of British residents on the northern part of the North Island, the Council are of opinion that it will be advisable to abstain from any act of retaliation against the guilty tribe at Cape Egmont, lest it should excite a spirit of revenge or hostility in those tribes situated to the northward, among whom the British residents being placed, their lives and property are in a great degree at the mercy of the natives. It will therefore be proper to endeavour to obtain the restoration of the captives by amicable means, and to represent to the tribe concerned in these outrages, that a recurrence of such conduct will lead to the destruction of all their vessels, houses, and settlements near the coast.

"'If the restoration of the prisoners should not be accomplished by amicable means, the Council recommend that force should be employed to effect it; and if it shall appear to you desirable, I will direct a military party to embark on board the Alligator, to assist you in this proceeding.'

"Captain Lambert lost no time in carrying out this new service. In a few days the Alligator, having on board Lieutenant Gunter and a detachment of the 50th or Queen's Own Regiment, weighed and made sail from Port Jackson in company with the Isabella, colonial schooner, on board which Captain Johnson, of the same regiment, and another detachment of soldiers were embarked to co-operate with Captain Lambert.

"Mr. Guard, late master of the Harriet, Mr. Battersby, appointed to act as interpreter, and a pilot named Miller, accompanied the expedition. The two last were landed under a pa called the Namu, belonging to the Ngati-ruanui tribe, and instructed to acquaint the

natives with the object of the visit paid them by His Majesty's ships, and the anxious desire of Captain Lambert to avoid hostilities; also to express his determination not to give any ransom for the prisoners, and his readiness to employ force for their recovery should force be required to effect that end.

"Dr. Marshall's account of the expedition now proceeds:—

"'It being deemed necessary that the interpreter should proceed by land from the Namu to the Waimate, a pa belonging to the Taranaki tribe which held the women and children in captivity, the Alligator and Isabella worked along shore until abreast of that and another pa, the Rangituapeka. Here the anchor was let go and an unsuccessful attempt made to negotiate the business amicably, Guard professing to interpret between the officers and the natives on the beach, although grossly ignorant of the New Zealand language.

"'The following day weighed and shaped a course for Admiralty Bay, in Middle Island, but came to in an open bay to the north-west of Port Jackson. Eight days after we made sail back to Cape Egmont, and at six p.m. on the following day the preconcerted signal of two fires on the cliff having already apprised us of the interpreters' safety, a boat was sent ashore for them at the Namu. On their coming on board they looked worn and woe-begone, and gave the following account of themselves:—The night on which they landed they were frightened almost out of their wits, expecting to be put to death by the natives, and under the influence of panic eloped from the pa as secretly and with as much despatch as possible, and set off for Waimate, but failed to reach it in consequence of meeting, when within a few miles thereof, with a party of natives, who aggravated their fears by the information that the Taranaki people were looking out for and intended to kill and eat them. This induced them to retrace their steps, but being afraid to return to the Namu until the ship hove in sight, they took to the bush for shelter by day, and only ventured abroad under the cover of night, being content in the meanwhile to feed upon bread and water. Fear, hunger, and fatigue at last overcame them, and when they again joined the savages they delivered another version of the message they were entrusted to carry, deeming themselves excusable in altering it from necessity,—equally the plea of tyranny and cowardice,—and consequently at liberty to deceive the unsuspecting savages with promises of trade,

barter, and a ransom, which they knew well would never be fulfilled. One of these promises was, that on the delivery of the prisoners the natives were to receive a barrel of gunpowder, etc., by way of ransom. And another unworthy deception was that the two ships of war stood in need of large quantities of whalebone, and that the natives would find a ready sale for all they could collect. [On the way back to Port Jackson, one of these men, relating how they had dealt with the natives, described himself as hardly able to contain his laughter at the way his companion "bounced" or lied to the New Zealanders on this occasion.] By such means, less disgraceful to the men who employed them than to those by whom such men were themselves employed on such a mission at all, it was finally arranged that "the woman" should be brought down to the *Namu*, in readiness to be given up at the next visit.

"The next day the ship was piloted by Guard to a second harbour on the west side of Admiralty Bay, and the anchor let go there in fifteen fathoms. The parties destined to act against the natives were landed here to exercise in firing at a target, etc.

"Two days after we again weighed, and made sail from Port Hardy, so called for the first time out of respect to the gallant Sir Thomas Hardy, Nelson's flag captain at Trafalgar. The following day we arrived at Moturoa, the Sugar Loaf Islands of Captain Cook, by which the northern extremity of Cape Egmont is terminated. Here four New Zealanders who had been provided with a passage from Sydney were put on shore, heavily laden with rusty muskets, flints, powder, ball, etc., the boat in which they landed bringing off eight seamen who had belonged to the crew of the *Harriet*, and formed a majority of the captives whom the *Alligator* was despatched to rescue. They looked exceedingly haggard and poverty-stricken, having been but thinly clad and only scantily fed for the four previous months; but, notwithstanding, bore favourable testimony to the treatment experienced by them at the hands of the barbarians, who, so long as they were content to minister to the necessities of their own bodies, exacted neither labour nor toil from them, but shared with them whatever they themselves had to eat. Captain Lambert very kindly proposed to clothe these men from the purser's slop-room at his own cost, upon which a subscription was entered into by the officers and the captain, and the naked were speedily clothed. But they were a base and

selfish set of men, altogether unworthy such an act of private beneficence, as was some time afterwards seen in their refusal to take part in working the *Isabella*, where they were furnished with accommodation and food on their way home, *unless paid for doing so*!

"Of the natives who were now landed I had been a vigilant observer during their stay on board, and am led to believe that they were harmless, inoffensive, and, in three instances out of the four, good tempered. They would not taste any salted meat, and accordingly came but poorly off for provisions, save on those days when flour was served out. The bread which was generally served out, especially among the junior officers and seamen, was abominable; worse, far worse than is supplied to the convicts of New South Wales—and the purser's steward had put those poor fellows off with the mere bread-dust—yet they seemed very contented with their fare and never complained but once, and then on very sufficient grounds.

"I inquired of the above natives whether they would welcome a missionary if one should be sent to them. The answer was: "Yes, but he must stay with *us*, or the other tribes might kill him." Mr. Guard, who was standing by when the above inquiry was made, at once scouted the idea of New Zealanders becoming Christians. I asked him how he would propose to effect their civilisation in the absence of Christianity. The reply, made in serious earnestness and a tone of energy and determination, at once unmasked the man, and made one's heart sick at the thought that, upon his uncorroborated testimony, an expedition was fitted out against New Zealand likely to be fraught with disastrous consequences. "How would I civilise them? Shoot them, to be sure! A musket ball for every New Zealander is the only way of civilising their country!"

"When Guard quitted Moteroa, he left behind him the promise of returning for his companions, and of bringing with him a cask of powder in payment for the boat in which the Ngatiawa tribe assisted him to escape, and accordingly they demanded the fulfilment of this pledge, but were refused it, as also everything in the shape of ransom for their prisoners. Was this treachery, or was it not? If it was, on whose side does it lie? Not on the side of the New Zealander, for *he* fed, lodged, and protected those who had confided themselves to his keeping, but on that of his civilised neighbours, who violated their pledge and betrayed the truth reposed in them by the savage.

“Pending the long negotiations respecting the sailors, the Alligator's best bower anchor had been let go on a rocky bottom and could not be again weighed when the business was concluded; it had therefore to be left behind, and was, with from twenty to thirty fathoms of chain cable, lost. The value of these far exceeded the price it would have cost to redeem the enslaved, and had that price been forth coming there would have been no necessity for negotiation, no time need have been lost, the anchor might still have hung from the bows, and the chain reposed quietly in its tier.

“Two days after this the landing party were collected together on board of the *Isabella* for the greater facility of disembarking. But Captain Johnson and the senior lieutenant of the Alligator, Mr. Thomas, having gone in the whaleboat to reconnoitre, the former considered the surf impassable and the landing was consequently postponed. Mr. Battersby, who had gone on shore, brought off information of the female captive and one of her children being at the pa, in readiness to be delivered up by their captors on payment of their promised ransom. A native of a highly intelligent countenance and very pleasing manners, took a passage in the boat from the shore, being desirous to visit the ship. The seamen and marines returned on board of the Alligator from the schooner, leaving all the soldiers and Guard's sailors there. These latter had so heightened, by their respective accounts of the savages, the general excitement which before prevailed, that the utmost impatience was manifested by all parties at the successive hindrances as they arose to our landing.

“However, it was four days after this before the wind came round to the north-west, and with the change of wind the surf greatly subsided, thereby enabling detachments of seamen, soldiers and marines to disembark, which they did on a beautiful beach, in face of a high cliff; when we had occasion to witness the vast superiority for a mixed service, “by sea and land,” of that valuable corps, the Royal Marines, over their comrades, the mere soldiers. While the one took their muskets in their hands and descended the ship's side with agility, and stepped out of the boats as light almost as the sailors themselves, the unfortunate landmen had to encounter a dozen mishaps between the ship's gangway and the boat's gunwale, a dozen stumbles and falls before they could be quietly seated in the boats at all, and at least as many

risks of being completely soused before they could obtain a safe footing on shore.

“While the military were falling in, two of the natives came along the sands, advancing, unarmed and unattended, to meet us; the heights above being crowded with others of their tribe, passive spectators of what might happen below, very few carrying muskets. One of the pair, on coming up to us, announced himself as the proprietor (or chief in charge, of the woman and her child, and was recognised to be so by Guard, with whom the unsuspicious chief rubbed noses in token of amity, at the same time expressing his readiness to give up his prisoners on receiving the “payment” guaranteed him by his veracious—or, rather, lest my meaning should be mistaken, by his mendacious—friends, our very honest and competent interpreters! In reply, he was instantly seized upon as a prisoner of war himself, dragged into the whaleboat, and despatched on board the Alligator in custody of John Guard and his sailors.

“On his brief passage to the boat insult followed insult, one fellow twisting his ear by means of a small swivel which hung from it, and another pulling his long hair with spiteful violence; a third pricking him with the point of a bayonet. Thrown to the bottom of the boat, she was shoved off before he recovered himself, which he had no sooner succeeded in doing than he jumped overboard and attempted to swim on shore, to prevent which he was repeatedly fired upon from the boat, but not until he had been shot in the calf of the leg was he again made a prisoner of. Having been a second time secured, he was lashed to a thwart, and stabbed and struck so repeatedly that on reaching the Alligator he was only able to gain the deck by a strong effort, and there, after staggering a few paces aft, fainted and fell down at the foot of the captain in a gore of blood. When I dressed his wounds on a subsequent occasion I found ten inflicted by the point and edge of the bayonet over his head and face, one in his left breast which it was at first feared would prove, what it was evidently intended to have proved, a mortal thrust, and another in the leg.

“Was this treachery, blood-thirstiness, and cruelty, or was it not? If it was, on whose side lies the guilt thereof? Assuredly not on the part of the New Zealander, who, with one only companion and without arms or weapons of war, ventured among us with a firm step and friendly face, fearing nothing because suspecting nothing. And, as assuredly on the part of the British, who met his confidence

with arrest, and not only not according to law, either human or divine, but contrary to all law, both divine and human, made war upon one man, we being armed and he unarmed, and seized, and smote, and wounded, and well-nigh murdered that unprotected solitary man, when in the very attitude of a pacificator, and in the act itself of friendly negociation.

“In the meanwhile the other native was

the earliest opportunity of making his escape likewise, which he was the better enabled to do, from the blind impetuosity with which the landing party pushed on for the Namu pa.

“That pa was found deserted of all its inhabitants, except a solitary pig. But the heated ovens in every direction in which their ample dinner of potatoes was preparing, supplied abundant evidence of their having been taken by surprise; while the abandon-



Carved image of Rauparaha.
(On one of his canoes at Kapiti or Entry Island.)

joined by two more, who came without apprehension of personal danger, to trade with their treacherous invaders; one bringing a bunch of onions in his hand, the other a bundle of fishing lines, and both, like their predecessors, unarmed. One of these also was seized and detained as our prisoner, the others fled on perceiving the boat's crew fire upon their chief, and our second captive took

ment of their fortress, whence, had they but continued in it, they might have shot every individual of our party before we could have reached the foot of it, seemed to imply that they had no idea of our landing being otherwise meant than in friendship.

“All hands immediately divided into two parties, and commenced a chase in pursuit of the fugitives, when the double alarm was

raised that a body of armed natives had been seen in the swamp below, and that an attack had been made upon the boats. Both were true. The midshipman who had been left, with a few men, in charge of the boats, reported that he and the boat-keepers had been fired upon from the cliff, while a strong body of New Zealanders made a rush to get possession of the boats, which they ransacked and succeeded in emptying of every transportable article, including clothes, haversacks, etc., while he, deeming resistance useless, and being unwilling to cause needless bloodshed, drew off the men and made good a retreat, leaving the boats in quiet possession of the savages, who, could they have known that these were all we had save one, might very effectually have cut us off from even the possibility of escape. The party of natives having the woman and child in custody had escaped past us as we entered their pa. They were instantly pursued by Lieutenant Thomas, but in vain, and on his coming up with Captain Johnson on the height which overlooks the beach where the boats had been plundered no trace of a single native remained. A strong picquet was planted here to guard against future mischief, and the rest of the party returned to the pa, where every individual curiosity found full occupation in examining the neat and curious huts of the poor outcast inhabitants.

“There were only two entrances to the Namu pa, and they might have been defended by a dozen resolute individuals against a company of soldiers. One of these entrances being hardly perceptible from the outside, while the ascent to the other was facilitated by a notched stake of wood, which rested upon a perpendicular cliff facing the beautiful running stream, whereby the triangular rock on which this pa was built is separated from the mainland to the southward. [Here follows a long and particular description of the pa, which I omit.] The chief's house was readily distinguished by its size, ornaments, and situation. It was twice as large as any other; five grotesque figures, rudely but elaborately carved, adorned its front, which, being mistaken by the soldiery for native gods, were torn down and appropriated for fuel during the night.

“In expectation of overtaking the party of natives who quitted the pa at one end as we entered at the other, Mr. McMurdo, senior mate of the Alligator, had been despatched in charge of a few men. He returned in about two hours' time with the intelligence that he had come up with and nearly surprised a body

of fugitives, but was discovered by them before he could secure any. The instant they perceived his approach they fled with the utmost precipitation, throwing away in their flight potatoes, fishing-tackle, and other articles with which they had originally attempted to make off, but of which they now sought to disencumber themselves in order to facilitate their escape.

“The afternoon proved wet and comfortless, and the absence of everything like employment left the men at liberty to explore their new territory, and provide themselves with lodgings for the night, every half-dozen persons choosing for themselves a separate habitation, of which there were plenty.

“At daybreak on the following morning, in consequence of a report made by John Guard that he had fallen in with several huts at a little distance, and his conjecture that any natives who might be lingering in the neighbourhood would have sought to them for shelter from the inclemency of the weather during the night that was past, four of the officers, Lieutenant Thomas, Alex. Gunton, Dyke, and myself, set off with a party of blue-jackets and marines to reconnoitre. The morning was mild and the day-dawn beautiful. After more than an hour's march from the pa, we halted upon learning that a further march of at least ten miles lay between us and any of the native huts, and it was determined therefore to return. Retracing their steps, our party re-entered the pa, just as the morning picquet returned, the officer of which announced that the natives had been seen in considerable numbers to the southward, and Captain Johnson determined upon trying to obtain an interview with them; and accordingly, after partaking of a standing breakfast, we set off for that purpose, escorted by the interpreter and four seamen, who were selected in preference to soldiers, lest the natives should be intimidated by the red coats of the latter.

“The native foot track led across a small rivulet of delicious water; but no appearance of the natives was visible until we came to a grove of trees, on rounding which, several stragglers hove in sight, to disarm whom of their fears, if any, the sailors were ordered under cover, and Captain Johnson, the interpreter, and myself advanced towards them. In a little while Mr. Battersby was sent forward to confer with a group of natives, after talking to whom for some minutes he was seen running back towards us and away from them. Upon which I advanced and met the runaway, fearing lest he should be cut off by a little body

of men who were at this time hastening after him. Having joined him I found he was flying from his own fears, being alarmed at the approach of other natives besides those with whom he was conversing, and we returned together to resume the conference with the savages, several of whom, with their muskets in their hands, occupied a small pass through a second grove of trees, to the possession of which, from its earthen breastworks, they seemed to attach considerable importance.

“The arms we had with us were a brace of pistols and a sword, and we were met by two New Zealanders, who advanced with their firelocks in their hands, on seeing which Mr. Battersby pointed his pistol at them and gave them to understand that they must lay down their muskets before he could suffer them to come nearer his person. In reply, they called to him to look at the pistol in my belt, and signified that I ought to lay down that weapon of mine if they were to dispose of theirs, and, of course, upon being made acquainted with so reasonable a verdict, hoping by confidence to beget confidence, I deposited the dreaded pistol in the grass at my feet, and stepped forward with open hand to salute them. At first, it was not a little diverting to see the timidity with which they were seized, but in a minute or two we were excellent friends, shaking hands together much more heartily than there was any need to do, and shortly entered upon the subject matter of debate between us, when they informed us that “the woman” had been removed to Te Waimate pa; laughed at the idea of our attacking that place as preposterous; accused us of deceiving and betraying them, and said we had behaved “badly, with exceeding badness, to Whiti,” their wounded and captive chief, who, they declared, had been murdered by us, and was now, they doubted not, quite dead, for the night before they had seen his spirit pass over their heads in a falling star, etc. Encouraged by the sight of their companions’ safety, other natives now drew near and joined in the conversation. Failing to convince them that Whiti was yet alive, they could not be persuaded that his freedom might at any time be purchased by an exchange of prisoners, and finding this impediment in the way of an amicable adjustment of differences, we were compelled to bring our conference to a close; but in doing so my companion again exhibited his moral unfitness for the responsible office to which he had been appointed by the Sydney Government of interpreter. Turning

round to me, he asked, with the most perfect simplicity of manner, “Shall I *bounce* them?” “Bounce them,” I replied; “what do you mean by that?” “Shall I tell them a lie?” “Certainly not; but pray what lie do you propose to tell them?” “Why, that if they don’t promise to deliver up the women and children, we shall set fire to the Namu pa.” Alas! alas! that would have been no lie, as it afterwards proved, for upon that measure the mind of him who commanded our party was already made up.

“For the office of an interpreter between parties who are or are likely to become belligerent, moral honesty and personal and moral courage are equally indispensable, for where these are wanting each party is liable to misunderstand and to be misunderstood; the disagreements between both are likely to be multiplied, and the previous breach to be widened beyond the limits of forbearance. The absence of all three in the person chosen to accompany us was abundantly certified by the little incident now related, when coupled with what took place between him and the natives on a former occasion, and his consequent incapacity for the office which he filled placed beyond the possibility of doubt or question.

“Having furnished Captain Johnson with an account of our interview, that officer proceeded again to Namu, for the purpose of burning it to the ground. And accordingly, immediately on his arrival there, fires were kindled in every dwelling, and all the stockades pulled down, and with other combustible materials added to the flames. In less than an hour after nothing was discernible of the poor New Zealanders’ town but blazing ruins and burning embers, the officers and men concerned in this work of destruction returning on board as soon as it was accomplished, where we found the captive chief in a cot, suffering far less from his many wounds than had at first been anticipated, and highly gratified with the attentions he had received, as well as satisfied that all the Alligator’s “rangatira,” or officers, wholly disapproved of the brutal outrage perpetrated upon him by the master and crew of the whaleboat.

“In the afternoon the ship was found to be drifting towards the shore, which, and there not being a breath of wind, rendered it necessary that she should anchor, when the anchor was let go in fourteen fathoms. It was again weighed at sunset, but only to be dropped again in less than twenty minutes after; and it was past midnight before she was fairly at

sea, and entirely safe from the peril of shipwreck on a coast which, if not naturally inhospitable, would in all likelihood have proved so to us, from the character of our recent intercourse with its inhabitants. Was not the merciful interposition of Divine Providence on our behalf designed to reprove our own unmercifulness towards others in the transactions of the two previous days, and ought it not to have engaged our mercy on behalf of the New Zealanders in any subsequent dealings we might have with them?

“‘Next morning we were running along shore for Te Waimate, in from seven to ten fathoms of water; the appearance of the coast was such as sailors call ironbound. At noon the mountain bore N. by W., and we were distant about five miles from Te Waimate Pa, off which the water shoals suddenly from five to four and three fathoms, with an uneven rocky bottom. At 2 p.m., out boats for the purpose of negotiating with the natives, who were seen in crowds upon the neighbouring heights, and swarming like bees upon the two pas and along the sea-shore. Mrs. Guard and her child were brought down to the beach by her keepers, and was very distinctly seen from the boats waving her hands to warn her deliverers off, the policy of the savages being, at this juncture, to seduce our men to land and then to repay treachery with treachery.

“‘At 3 p.m. the boats returned, having landed the native who first visited us from the Namu, and had remained on board as fearless as at the beginning throughout the melancholy transactions at that place, and whose quiet demeanour, apparent intelligence, and interesting manners during his stay, had engaged the goodwill of both officers and men. In landing him thus freely, it was due to the confidence he had reposed in us, while the policy of the measure was obvious, inasmuch as he would be able to testify to the humane treatment finally experienced by Whiti, and might also persuade his tribesmen that we possessed the means of spreading destruction along the coast, and of razing to the ground all their defences.

“‘At 6 p.m. another boat was sent in to endeavour to learn the result of his liberation, but the dashing of the surf and the roar of the breakers between the boat and the beach allowed not of any audible interchange of words between them. It was evident, notwithstanding, that some question was still under discussion, for large numbers of natives were assembled in circles, seated on the sand,

and apparently listening with attention to a succession of orators.

“‘The next morning at ten, two boats were again despatched to confer with the natives. In one of these was Whiti, whose anxiety to be released lent him strength for the occasion, while his wounds, sufficient to have killed outright any man with a European constitution, appeared to occasion him comparatively little inconvenience, beyond the weakness incidental to excessive hemorrhage. This may be accounted for by two facts in the character of the natives of New Zealand, who have not been contaminated by intercourse with Europeans—their temperance in eating, and their almost abstinence in drinking.

“‘Whiti, when the boat came within hearing of his tribe on the beach, stood upon one of the thwarts and harangued them for a few minutes, whereupon they all set up a shout of gratulation, and several waded through the surf up to their mouths in water, hoping to get near to the boat in which he was, but failing to do so, deposited their female prisoner and her infant in a canoe, launched it from the shore, and brought them off alongside the Alligator's gig. In a few minutes more they were safe on board that ship, and under the protection of His Majesty's pennant. She was dressed in native costume, being completely enveloped from head to foot in two superb mats, the largest and finest of the kind I have ever seen. They were the parting present of the tribe among whom she had been sojourning. She was, however, barefooted, and awakened, very naturally, universal sympathy by her appearance. From her own lips I gathered the following particulars of what had befallen her in the interval between her removal from the Namu Pa and her release at Te Waimate:—

“‘When the parties from the ship landed at Te Namu, she was, as had been stated by Whiti, at that place, and in custody of one man alone, Waiariari, the principal chief of the tribe, who, on seeing the firing from the boat and the rapid advance of the English, forced her out of the pa, rolled her down the cliff, and then with the assistance of another native who had lurked outside dragged her along the northern bank of the river at a very hurried pace until the evening, when they reached a cluster of huts and halted there for the night. The following morning early they all set off for Te Rangituapeka Pa, and arrived there about 5 p.m. Under the impression that the chief Whiti had been killed, one of her companions snapped his

musket at her, but very providentially it missed fire; he then cocked it a second time, and was about to fire, when she was endued with presence of mind enough to lay her hand upon the barrel and turn it aside, while she rushed to Waiariari and clung to him, till his repeated command not to kill the woman extorted a reluctant obedience from his more implacable subaltern, and the present danger was accordingly averted. At one time it appeared to herself a certainty that if Whiti were really dead her life would be forfeited in retaliation; and the native female to whose care her infant was committed declared that in such a case, the infant, being left without a mother, would be given up "for one of the rivers to drink," that is, would be drowned. With the exception of these threats, however, they treated her as before, and of the treatment she had all along experienced at their hands her report was extremely favourable.

"In Te Namu Pa, for instance, the lodging allotted to her was discovered at once by the size of the door, the addition of a small window, on the ledge of which was the soap she had that day used, and inside her child's frocks and her own stays. The door had been enlarged purposely for her accommodation, the window had been made in compliance with her request, and a singular proof of considerate kindness and deference to her supposed delicacy of feeling was furnished in the owner having caused the entrance and window both to be secluded by a close paling set up in front of the house which effectually screened her from observation from without.

"The safe return from the ship of the native whom we had the day before landed, with intelligence of Whiti's safety and the assurance that he would be given up instantly upon her release, was welcomed with loud and long-continued acclamations, and a very general cry of—"Let the woman go! let the woman go!" was preliminary to those three rounds of applause which had been heard from the ship the evening before, but not understood.

"The night before that, however, had been spent in wailings and lamentations, reproachful and recriminatory speeches. "What fools we were not to cut up their boats!" was the cry of one party; while the complaint of the second was—"What fools we were not to shoot them all as they stepped on shore!" and had either of those measures been resorted to, doubtless we should have been seriously inconvenienced, even if we had not been altogether cut off from every way of escape. There were not less than six boats

drawn up on the beach at one time, all of which might have been broken to pieces as readily as they were plundered, for all the opposition that would have been offered by the boat-keepers; while, had the New Zealanders fired upon us before we commenced marching towards Te Namu pa, it would scarcely have been possible for the whole of our party to reach it alive. Surely there was a gracious and merciful Providence keeping watch over us on that occasion, to whose mercy and goodness alone it is owing that we are now among the living, either to praise Him who preserved us, or to continue unmindful of His benefits, unthankful and unholy.

"They passed the night of their tribesman's arrival in a far happier mood. Forming themselves into widening circles, circle within circle, and placing him in the centre, they made him repeat again and again his tale of marvel, drinking in greedily all he had to say, while describing and expatiating on the many wonders of the "war ship"—her five decks and five hundred men, the daily sword and gun exercise, with many other matters, all equally exaggerated either by his fears or his fancy, and not allowing him the respite of a single lengthened pause without interrupting his silence by loud vociferations of "*Tena korero, tena korero*" (Go on, go on; talk away, talk away).

"Captain Lambert had promised Whiti that he was to be set at liberty upon the receipt of this woman; and notwithstanding that another prisoner (the little boy) yet remained to be delivered up, he judged (as I think any honest man, and much more any man of honour, would have judged) that the promise was binding upon him, and very properly allowed the captive to go free. Yet that was looked upon by some as an act of uncalled-for leniency, and by others set down as a piece of mawkish refinement, alike inexpedient and impolitic. Such men would do well to reflect upon the noblest eulogy pronounced upon that prince of modern orators and statesmen, Edmund Burke, if, indeed, such men possess minds capable of understanding the excellence of any man who is, with him, "too fond of the right to think of the expedient." The right, in short, is always the expedient, and, were it not that all men have not faith, that would never be deemed expedient to be done which, in the abstract, it would not be right to do.

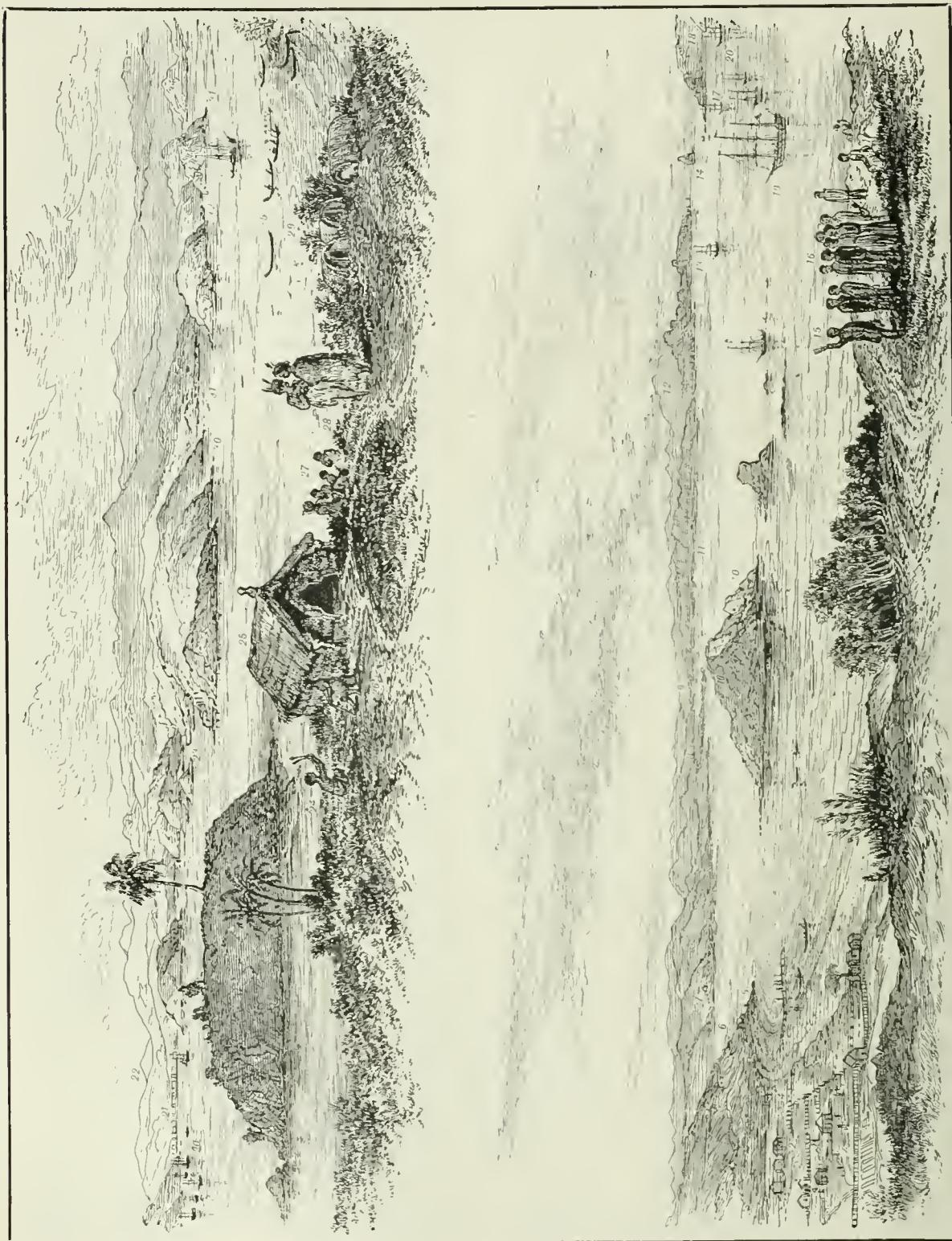
"Accordingly, Whiti had his wounds carefully dressed for the last time, received a supply of trifling articles as farewell gifts, and was

rowed to the back of the surf, where a canoe waited to carry him through it, into which he stepped, and was straightway paddled by willing hands on shore. Before quitting us he had appparelled himself in some of his various presents, putting on first a blanket; over that forcing on a shirt, and through both contriving to humour his arms into a jacket, this latter being so worn as to button behind instead of before; and having finished his toilet, and completed his disguise by a Scot's cap drawn over his eyes, escaped from our custody as proud of his new plumage as any beau just released from the more gentle hands of some fashionable tailor. His friends were impatient to greet him, and before he had time to be landed they waded up to their necks in water, surrounding the canoe, to meet and rub noses with him, after which both parties wept aloud, then sang and danced for joy.

"While the boats lay upon their oars, several natives came through the surf with trifling articles for barter, and gladly exchanged as much line as in Sydney would have cost from four to five shillings for a fig of tobacco (then scarcely worth a penny!), and at the same rate brought out their potatoes for sale, in baskets weighing about twenty pounds. This harmless traffic had no sooner commenced than it was prohibited by the officer commanding the boats, very unwisely, it being one of the most evident means of conciliating the natives, and thereby inducing them to resign in peace their only remaining prisoner. A little while after Mr. Battersby cautioned Lieutenant Thomas to beware of treachery, as he saw, or fancied he saw, movements among the crowd on shore indicative of hostility, upon which warning both boats returned on board, leaving a little boy still captive among the Taranaki tribe, who hesitated to give him up, because, as they alleged, his more immediate owner was at a distance; promising, however, to convey a message to him with our demand, and appointing the afternoon for us to receive his answer.

"At 1 p.m. the senior lieutenant again approached the shore, but the boat in which he was, had not lain long on her oars before a ball whizzed over his head, discharged from the musket of some one in the Waimate pa, and he came back to the ship to report the circumstance, which, with the war dance that accompanied it, was deemed a signal of defiance, and worthy of being summarily avenged. The drum now beat to quarters, both vessels edged towards the shore till they

touched bottom, and a furious cannonading took place from both, the direful effects of which it is impossible to estimate, seeing that it continued for nearly three hours, and that most of the shots told with fearful precision upon the canoes floating in the river on one side of the pa, or drawn up in the fosse on the other, and upon the roofs of the houses in the pa itself. When the firing began the natives hoisted a white flag, but after some minutes had elapsed lowered it again, and then after a second pause re-hoisted it. Was that symbol spread out as a flag of truce? Could it be that those unhappy wretches meant by displaying it to deprecate our further wrath? None of us knew, few cared, and fewer still were at the pains to inquire. It seemed as though a signal, sufficient when used in the warfare of civilized nations to command instant respect, and an immediate cessation, however temporary, of hostilities, was powerless when shown by a savage people, though to civilized enemies; or as if when a civilized power condescends to make war upon savages, it is at liberty to throw off the restraints imposed by civilized society upon nations as well as individuals, even at seasons of greatest license, and may become as utterly and deplorably savage in its conduct as its most savage neighbour. At one time a tall, athletic native got upon a house top and held up to our view with one hand the little captive boy, while with the other he repeatedly waved the white flag over his head. In vain! the work which was commenced in anger was continued in sport, and it was deemed too excellent a joke to demolish their canoes and houses by firing at them as at a mark for aught to be suffered to interrupt the cruel play of men who, on this occasion, proved themselves to be but children of a larger growth in both size and wickedness. Throughout this ostentatious and melancholy parade of the power we possessed to do mischief the unfortunate New Zealanders displayed the utmost fearlessness, evincing no apprehension of danger beyond that of sending away their women and children; but, on the contrary, tracking with apparent eagerness the flight of the shot, and having marked where they fell, running to and fro upon the beach, exposed all the while to our fire, to pick up the balls, thinking, perhaps, to melt them down into bullets for their own muskets, which, as if in mockery of our attempts to dislodge them from their rocky abode, they would occasionally fire at us in their turn; but we were very far out of reach of any power



Panoramic View of the Bay of Islands in 1837.*

possessed by them to render us back evil for evil,—and having crushed all their canoes that were in sight, wearied ourselves with shooting at a rock, and wasted a large quantity of ammunition with no beneficial result, stood out to sea once more.

“The fatal bullet which had caused all the above firing, in vindication of our insulted flag, was very probably, according to New Zealand custom, no indication of hostility at all, but contrariwise, of friendship. It is their usage to discharge their muskets in the air when approaching as friends, and to reserve their fire when advancing as enemies. Had we not been strangers to this usage, or had we any one on board who really understood their customs, we should have judged differently of the deed we were so hasty in avenging, and might have acted differently in reference to it. How superior the conduct of the New Zealand savages to that of the British Christians—if I may be allowed, for the sake of the antithesis, to desecrate that sacred title by yielding it as a name, not characteristic but recognised and claimed by those of whom I am speaking. The former beheld their chief kidnapped, stabbed, struck, fired upon, carried into captivity, and for aught they knew to the contrary, murdered; but they murdered not the innocent woman and her two children in revenge; nay! they did not even ill-treat her for the injury done by her countrymen, on her behalf! We—oh! that I could spread the blush of burning shame that crimsoned upon my own cheek over the cheeks of all that read this narration, at the dishonour done my

* The illustration on the opposite page, showing a panoramic view of the Bay of Islands in 1837, was taken at the time of the Rev. S. Marsden's last visit to New Zealand, and of H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*, Captain Hobson. The figures given herewith correspond with those marked on the view:—

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|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Marsden Vale | 19. H.M.S. <i>Rattlesnake</i> |
| 2. Mission Church | 20. South Sea Whalers |
| 3. Rev. H. Williams' Residence | 21. Kororareka |
| 4. Rev. C. Baker's Residence | 22. Cape Brett |
| 5. Mouth of Orotu River | 23. Malowe (?) |
| 6. Waitangi River | 24. Preparing Fern Root |
| 7. Jas. Busby's Residence | 25. Native Huts |
| 8. Wreck of the Bampton | 26. Woman Weaving Mats |
| 9. Kerikeri | 27. Tattooing |
| 10. Bay of Islands | 28. Warriors |
| 11. Moturoa | 29. Huts of Slaves |
| 12. Te Puna & Rangehoua | 30. Mr. Mair's Residence |
| 13. Point Pocock | 31. Shore called Wycadde |
| 14. Ninepin Rock | 32. Capt. Wright's Residence |
| 15. Rev. S. Marsden | 33. Ship Taking in Spars |
| 16. Groups of Natives | 34. Capt. Clendon's Residence |
| 17. Tapeka Point | 35. War Canoes. |
| 18. Paroa Bay | |

country by her children! We heard, but felt it not; saw, but were struck not by it, as a solitary musket ball whizzed over our heads, and in the pride of our indignation poured down in reply a thunder-storm of shot—round, grape, and canister—upon a town which, for aught we knew, or felt, or cared, might have contained scores, nay, hundreds, of women and children. Oh! shame, shame, shame!

“The three following days we were at anchor in Port Hardy, of which Lieutenant Wood had now time to complete the survey. The next day we weighed and made sail again for Te Waimate pa, and at 11 a.m. on the day after the gig was sent in to demand the child, and the officers who went in her were invited by the natives to land, but declined doing so, and came back as they went. At 2 p.m. another unsuccessful demand was made for the child, a look-out being kept in the meanwhile for an easy landing-place, of which the New Zealanders seemed fully aware, as they brought the youngster down to the beach opposite the pa, offering to give him up if the boat would pull towards that place, but refusing to do so after they had succeeded in drawing her away from the spot at which alone a safe landing could be effected in such boats at the Alligator's.

“The next morning the boats were again sent in at an early hour, but with no better result than before. A message, however, came off to the ship in one of them to the effect that the holder of the child wanted to come on board with him himself, and would do so if any one of the officers would go on shore in his stead, and remain there to await his safe return. One of the natives also visited us, unarmed and alone, professing to belong to the Kapiti tribe, and after receiving a present of some tobacco and other trifling articles, was allowed to go back unmolested. But Captain Lambert declined granting the request of one of his officers to go on shore as the chief had desired, thinking that such an undertaking would be extremely perilous, and fearing, as he said, to incur the responsibility of allowing the individual in question to expose himself to what Captain Lambert thought would be certain and instant destruction.

“Nothing further occurred for several hours, when upon an alarm of “treachery!” raised by the interpreter, the boats pulled on board again, and the ship proceeded to sea, the men in a state of excitement almost bordering on madness, and everything appearing as if the further prosecution of the enterprise was to be abandoned. Towards the

evening, however, we again bore up for Te Waimate, and the following day six officers and one hundred and twelve men, including sailors, soldiers, and marines, were landed without opposition on a sandy beach, about two miles to the south-east of Te Waimate Pa, under a bold and lofty cliff. A small six-pounder carronade, two boxes of ammunition, and a quantity of round shot were taken charge of by the sailors under the command of Mr. McMurdo, and the first gig, carrying a flag of truce, was sent to lie off the pa, to *amuse* the natives while our men were landing, if not to prevail upon them to launch from their shore the little captive who was endangering their very existence as a tribe; Lieutenant Clarke, R.M., marching off the marines and some of the military to the right, where, at the distance of about a hundred yards the cliff terminates abruptly. It was escalated with comparative ease, the ascent being aided by a contrivance of the natives for facilitating their own passage up and down its almost perpendicular face, consisting of two plaited ropes suspended from strong stakes, driven into crevices of the rock, and capable of bearing the weight of several persons at the same time. The gun and ammunition followed the soldiers up this height, but had not all reached the top, when some of the natives advanced to confer with us. These, to prevent embarrassment during the landing of the few remaining troops, were ordered to retire, on peril of being fired at if they refused, but they succeeded in making known, before obeying the command, their desire to settle the affair quietly, and to resign their prisoner forthwith, in consequence of which intimation all hands halted, the soldiers, etc., occupying two heights, which rose like terraces one over the other, and the sailors, with an officer and interpreter, being very indiscreetly left below to await the arrival of the promised prize.

“In a little time one New Zealander after another seemed anxious to approach us, and drew nearer and nearer by degrees, but always at a stealthy pace. To meet such I went on in front of our men, and succeeded in getting near enough to communicate with them. One, a fine fellow, six feet high and upwards, consented to accompany me back; he had no musket in his hand, but, like several more of his countrymen, had a cartouche box slung across his shoulder and concealed under his mat. Subsequent events render it not improbable that his firelock was at hand, concealed, perhaps, behind some flax bush, in readiness for use when needed, and it was remarkable

that at the several stages of his advance towards me he stooped lower than the ordinary stooping gait at which he and his fellows came on, as if to lay something down out of their hands. His tale corresponded with that of his fellows below on the beach and contained an assurance that the child would be presently forthcoming, wherefore he forbade our fighting, alleging as a reason—and was it not a sufficient reason?—that his tribe had no wish at all to fight us. While thus conversing with him, through the medium of the pilot (who very reluctantly interpreted his sentences, when he found them altogether conciliatory, at the same time that he expressed the most ferocious hatred himself to the whole race of New Zealanders), other natives acquired sufficient confidence to join us, and all appeared anxiously solicitous to avert hostilities, corroborating the statement that the child would soon arrive, and at the same time signifying, by a variety of gestures, that the occurrent delay was occasioned by the preparations necessary for his transfer being made decently and in order.

“Suddenly the cry rose upon our ears that the child was coming, upon which my New Zealand friend drew me to the edge of the cliff, whither all feet were now bending their steps, and directed my notice to a procession of about half-a-dozen armed natives, headed by a very stately personage, who wore a white feather in his head and a large and handsome mat across his back, while the captive boy appeared perfectly at his ease, seated astride the chief's shoulders. Somewhat in the rear followed our former prisoner, Whiti, apparelled in the dress he had taken with him from the ship, and near him our two voluntary visitants. The native who was with me hailed Whiti, who looked up, and recognising me stopped to “palaver,” and was proceeding to do so with considerable volubility, and in apparently very high glee. But, impatient to have a nearer view of the young object of all this pomp and circumstance, I quitted the spot and was hurrying along the cliff in order to descend it, when I beheld the youngster in one of the seamen's arms, and he running away with him towards the turning of the rock, as fast as his legs would carry him. In the twinkling of an eye move, a firing commenced among the sailors on the beach, and the sound and sight thereof being eagerly caught by their companions in arms above, in another moment it was succeeded by a fire from the soldiers on the heights, which ran like electricity along the ranks from man

to man, and in utter breach of all faith, for *our* flag of truce was flying at the time, and in as utter despite of all discipline, volley after volley was poured down on the too credulous and too confiding people below, who fled along the beach with the utmost precipitation, one every now and then falling to the ground, wounded or slain, while others crouched down and sheltered themselves behind the massive blocks of stone, which, happily for them, lay scattered along that portion of the beach by which alone they could hope to escape from the fire of their enemies.

“While this cruel and bloody tragedy was performing, Ensign Wright, of His Majesty’s 50th, or Queen’s Own Regiment, an amiable young man and humane officer, hurried along the line, breathless with haste, and crying to the men at the top of his voice to cease firing. For some time he was entirely disregarded, and not only generally disobeyed, but in some instances laughed at; nor, until several dead bodies were seen stretched upon the sands, could the united efforts of himself and the other officers put a stop to the frightful tide of slaughter.

“Shortly after Captain Johnson joined us, evidently suffering intense anguish of mind. The firing from below had begun not only without, but contrary to and in direct disobedience of his express and positive orders that the natives were to pass unmolested if they gave up the child. Their prisoner they had already given up. The parties to whom he was consigned were effectually covered by nearly a hundred soldiers above them. The natives who brought him down were a scanty and impotent few; their muskets, as will be hereafter seen, in all probability unloaded. Nothing on the spot had occurred to provoke this sanguinary outrage. Not one jot or tittle of our demands, whether righteous or unrighteous, remained to be ceded. Nothing can justify so foul a deed of blood. And may God of His infinite mercy and goodness to the souls of the perpetrators grant that hereafter something else may be found to account for it besides an insatiate thirst for the lives of others. And may we all lay it to heart, while we shudder to look upon this affair in the light of that law of love which says, “Thou shalt do no murder;” and while we exceedingly fear for our fellow men, lest bloodguiltiness be chargeable against them, may we all—I, whose painful task it is with unflinching fidelity to record these events, and my Christian readers, upon whom I am obliged to inflict the pain of perusing them—may we all lay it

to heart, that the guilt of the men is our guilt, their sin our sin. “Whoso hateth his brother is a murderer,” and all mankind are brethren; and remembering this, “Let him that is without sin cast the first stone.”

“A cessation of firing at length took place, and it was proposed to fall back on some spot whence we might as speedily as possible re-embark. But every circumstance only militated against the unhappy natives, one of whom, either mistaking the pause in our fire, or willing to avenge himself upon the invaders of his country, discharged the contents of his musket with so deliberate an aim that the ball fell at our feet, whereupon every thought of allowing the business to end without more mischief was dismissed from the mind, and an order to “advance” immediately given, and obeyed with only too much alacrity, the natives on the same height, whom we drove before us, maintaining an irregular fire as they retreated. In this skirmish some more of the natives were wounded, and carried off the field by their friends. A young woman was also killed by a shot from one of the advanced guard. Her corpse was tracked into the bush, and found the following day by one of the soldiers.

“Heavy rain falling, and being drifted into our faces by a strong northerly wind, while the overcast sky threatened a coming storm, it was agreed to halt for the present in a romantic glen, where there was a running stream of water. The question was mooted, whether to advance upon the pa, or fall back upon some spot where the men might quietly bivouac for the night, and be in readiness to proceed in the morning. A majority of the officers carried it in favour of the advance, and having abided the pelting of the storm, the whole party prolonged their march without meeting any further obstructions until they arrived at the edge of a deep and seemingly impassable ravine, which yawned from beneath as if to devour them, and embedded a river at the bottom, whose waters flowing with great rapidity, and forcing their impetuous way between large masses of rock, occasioned several waterfalls, and added not a little to the apparent difficulty of the pass, over which it became necessary to transport, not only the troops, but also the piece of ordnance and the boxes of ammunition. Captain Johnson, when he came to the brink and looked into the gulf before him, paused in despair of being able to effect a passage, and a last and final halt would have taken place, but for the determination and energy of

Mr. McMurdo, through whose exertions the task was finally accomplished, and in less than an hour the whole company stood upon the opposite height, where the natives had once formed an artificial ditch by cutting through the earth and rock beneath diagonally across to the edge of the cliff fronting the sea, so as to insulate a large triangular space, formerly the site of a pa, though nothing now remains to indicate its previous existence except a number of empty pits and a breastwork of earth thrown up on both sides of the ditch to impede the progress of an enemy. The native name of this place is Perakanui, and had the natives made a stand against us here, and chosen the time for doing so when the carronade was at the bottom of the ravine, they might have disputed our transit with success; or, if finally compelled to give way before men better armed, accoutred, and disciplined than themselves, they, in all probability, would have been enabled to exact blood for blood, and life for life.

“From Perakanui the distance to the remaining pas did not exceed an English mile. On the way to them we passed over patches of cultivations, but neither railed nor fenced in. Arrived opposite the two pas, Te Waimate and Rangituapeka, a circumstance occurred strikingly illustrative of the thoughtlessness which characterises the mere soldier, and the facility with which thoughtless minds may be diverted from a tragic into a comic mood. Having reached a part of the native foot track whence both the above pas are commanded, preparations were making for the carronade to commence operations, when to the general surprise of the officers, the men ran away in a variety of directions, shouting, laughing, and hallooing, and firing as if at random, to the great danger of one another. Upon inquiry it turned out that one of them had started a pig, and that in the eagerness of their desire to hunt down the unoffending beast, they were forgetting everything besides—gun, pas, New Zealanders, and their own safety, as well as the duty in which they were engaged. It did not, however, require much exertion to restore them to order. Meanwhile I had gone forward to join Lieutenant Gunton, who headed the advanced picquet, and upon whom a firing had just opened from the farthest pa, supported with considerable spirit by a body of natives concealed in the brushwood below, or thinly scattered among the flax, which in some places grew to upwards of six feet high. In the hurry of returning their fire

one of the soldiers exploded a small quantity of gunpowder and injured the palm of his hand. The picture from this spot was beautiful in the extreme. We stood upon the higher of two terraces, having the sea on our left hand and Mount Egmont on the right; in front of us a deep fosse surrounding the Waimate Rock, on the top of which the thickly-built town lay fully exposed to our view; beyond this a deep ravine, covered with umbrageous woods, yielded a channel for the flowing waters of a small but lovely river to wend their way to the sea-side, widening as they went, and flowing at last between the two pas; the Rangituapeka rising above the further bank of that river like some proud tower or citadel, and frowning “defiance proud and lofty scorn” upon our approach; its summit sloping towards Te Waimate, which it also overlooks, afforded us a complete insight into the arrangement of the village which occupied it, a village so picturesque as a whole, and so beautiful in all its particulars, that one wish arose in almost every mind at the same time, and that wish was to have spared it from the impending destruction.

“The last person to abdicate that pa was one whose gallant bearing elicited commendation even from those who were most loth to bestow praise in aught pertaining either to the country or people of New Zealand. This man first fired at the strangers from the top of the pa, then although a dozen balls fell close to him almost immediately after, he began stately and slowly to descend along its many terraces, facing his antagonists the while, then stooped down, loaded his gun, and fired again. A second attempt to dislodge the single opponent of a hundred foes was made by nearly all hands; but the smoke of their fire had no sooner blown past than he was seen continuing his seemingly reluctant descent to another point, where he a third time stopped to reload, and slightly bending his body to the task, repeated his fire; then, amid a third volley from his numerous assailants, and while grape shot and canister from the carronade rained upon his path like hail and knocked up the very dust of his home about his heel, pursued his downward path as if advancing to meet and brave his opponents, and, nothing daunted, fired again, and again, and again, and each time so nicely calculating his distance from us that his every shot passed through the midst of our little band.

“The chief of Rangituapeka Pa was identical with the chief of Te Namu, both those

pas belonging to the Ngatiruanui tribe. Now Waiariari was the last to leave the latter place, as our hero, whose tale I have just told, was the last to leave the former. Was this man himself the chief now mentioned? and, if so, does it pertain to the condition of chieftainship to be the last in fight? Or was the noble conduct related above ascribable only to individual heroism and loftiness of character in the person merely of the dauntless Waiariari, with whose departure (and I rejoice in being able to add that he effected his escape in safety, walking over the hill at the same steady pace as he had come down from the top of his rock, and finally disappearing altogether, the last of his tribe and noblest of his race), it became evident that no one remained behind to dispute with us the possession of either place, and, accordingly, the seamen crossed the fosse and escalading the southern side of Te Waimate, hoisted the English ensign there in token to the ship of the complete success of the undertaking. The signal was soon made out by those on board and answered with a salute of two guns, which compliment was returned by double that number from the shore. And in a few minutes after the neighbouring pa was entered by Gunton and his party.

"In quiet possession of both places, ample leisure was afforded us to examine them thoroughly, and so far as that examination afforded us with materials for reflection, to reflect upon the character and pursuits of the previous inhabitants as indicated thereby. Te Waimate itself was built upon an insular rock, not unlike Te Namu in its general form, but larger, loftier, and more difficult of access. It was excessively crowded with huts, these being generally disposed in squares, but occasionally so ranged as to form long narrow streets. Of these huts there were nearly two hundred standing when we entered the pa, varying however in their form, as it was evident they varied in their uses. In the samples they afforded of the domestic architecture of the New Zealanders, there was little remarkable when contrasted with the similar edifices of the northern tribes, except that they appeared to have been constructed with more nicety and carefulness, and with great attention to beauty of appearance. The interior of many of these houses was beautifully and even elegantly fitted, the walls, as it were, wainscotted with a row of cane running round the whole room, and divided horizontally into square compartments by ligatures of carefully twisted and plaited grass, crossing at regular distances four smoothed and polished stanchions; these

again sustaining a frame-work, from which four arches sprang, to support the ridge-pole at the top, it being upheld also by three pillars, in the shape of which the first dawning of architectural embellishment is seen, they being handsomely formed and decorated with comparatively chaste carving. Rows of cane, ranged in parallel lengths, filled up the interstices between those arches. A carpet, or perhaps I ought rather to say a bed, of dried fern leaf was carefully spread over every floor. And a small hollow, scooped out of the ground midway between the door and the centre pillar of the room, and carefully walled in and bottomed with smooth oval stones, served for a fire-place, the fuel for which hung from one of the beams or rafters, carefully tabooed by the owner of the house for his own peculiar use.'

"Dr. Marshall then goes on to describe minutely the other kinds of houses, and their varied contents—food, weapons, garments, utensils, husbandry implements, etc., etc.—taking up several pages, which, though interesting and valuable as a record of what those people *were*, I omit.

"'Horrid at best is the art and practice of war, from its beginning to its close, and destructive alike of the property, interests, happiness, and lives of those whose feet are entangled therein; while, if sorrow may have place in the habitations of the blessed, if the angels in heaven know what it is to weep, the sight and hearing of what passes in the camp of even a civilized people would cause sorrow to find an entrance even there, and draw forth rivers of tears even from them. "More dreadful," said Captain Johnson to me, in the course of a conversation between us at this time, "more dreadful is the condition of that country which is the seat of war than would be the case of a land devastated by plague, pestilence or famine." A testimony not the less remarkable, because voluntarily borne by an officer who had served many years in the Peninsula, viz., in Spain and Portugal under Wellington and against Napoleon, and shared in most of the battles fought there during the last war. Nor the less valuable, because confirmatory, without designing to be so, of the wisdom of David's choice in preferring to fall into the hands of Jehovah, and to have the kingdom plagued with three days of pestilence, or even exhausted by seven years of famine, rather than flee three months before the face of his enemies, while they pursued after him. May the choice of David be that of every one whose trust is in God, and whose hope the

Lord is. "Let us fall into the hands of the Lord, for His mercies are many, and let me not fall into the hands of man!"

"Extremes, as it has been proverbially expressed, meet. And in the art of war, and the military ardour to which military glory gives birth, we have the proverb wofully illustrated. The two extremes of society, its savage and its civilized states, meet at this one point—the military profession is the most honoured, and military success best rewarded in both.

"For in those days *might* only shall be admired,
And valour and heroic virtue call'd.
To overcome in battle, and subdue
Nations, and bring home spoils, with infinite
Manslaughter, shall be held the highest pitch
Of human glory; and for glory done
Of triumph, to be styled great conquerors,
Patrons of mankind, gods, and sons of gods!
Destroyers rightlier call'd, and plagues of men.
Thus fame shall be achieved, renown on earth;
And what most merits fame, in silence hid." *Milton.*

"To return. Before the evening had closed we were visited by Lieutenant Thomas and Mr. Dayman, midshipman, but the place chosen by them to land at was such that in doing so the boat stove, and they and the crew had to remain on shore. Several fires were lighted in different quarters of the pa for cooking, to the no small risk of all our lives; and accordingly, while the officers were conversing together in one of the huts, an alarm of fire was heard, and on looking out flames were seen issuing from more than one of the houses, and soon upwards of a dozen caught the blaze and threatened speedy destruction to all adjoining. Providentially, most providentially, the wind blew from the quarter most favourable for the preservation of the greater number of houses. An occasional explosion told of the destruction of small quantities of gunpowder, but the arms and ammunition generally were saved from the devouring elements, of whose ravages we all stood in fearful anticipation for some hours: nor was it without cause that we thus feared. Had the wind varied never so little the flames must have fed upon the houses of reeds to windward, and in that case the escape of every one now in the pa would have been but little short of a miracle. The whole ground being strewed with combustibles would have become heated like the bed of a furnace, and being everywhere undermined by a countless number of pits must have given way beneath our feet, and might have buried us in the hot ashes of the burning town. Or to avoid this peril we must have withdrawn from the pa, but how

was a retreat to be effected? A great gulf yawned on every side; two only paths offered by which to descend the precipice, on either hand one; these led along a narrow ledge of rock with a smooth perpendicular crag several feet high above and below; a false step in descending either must have led to the fall of him whose foot so erred, to be inevitably dashed to pieces upon the rocky bottom at the base of the pa. As it was, however, the mischief spread not beyond the destruction of a few huts, while no accident occurred to ourselves besides the loss of a couple of firelocks and a few boxes of cartridges. Thus mercifully did our gracious God preserve us from destruction by fire, even at the very moment when the orders which had come ashore in the gig to burn both pas was the subject of conversation, as if to entreat us, in the stead of hundreds of our fellow-creatures—including men, women and children, young and old, aged and infirm—to spare them a lodging, and not devote them to utter ruin and starvation by the consumption of all their stores of provisions, etc. But the lesson was read to us in vain, and the danger once over, our deliverance, though manifest, might almost seem to have passed unheeded, for the song of merriment mingled again with the execrations of folly and the filthy conversation of the wicked. The night passed over and the morning dawned with hardly a perceptible change in the current of men's thoughts. "O my soul, come not thou into their secret! Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel."

"The next morning many an anxious eye was turned to the sea, but the surf along the shore was too high to admit of the troops being embarked. And here again we saw the peculiar advantage possessed by the corps of marines over any other body of troops, in the possession of a pair of sea legs, by which expression any sailor will understand me to mean legs accustomed to stand equally sure upon the rocking sea as upon the solid land. The blue-jackets and marines of our party would have seen no difficulty in the breaking billows outside but what might easily be surmounted. The soldiers, on the other hand, would have fallen, arms and all, into the sea, in their clumsy attempts to gain the boats, and nothing, therefore, remained for us but to wait the ocean's leisure before we could look to depart in peace from a shore on which we had landed only to make war.

"Having retired from the crowd to commune with my own heart, I seated myself

on the brow of a rock overhanging the sea. There, while wrapt in meditation, I could see the Alligator miss stays on the very edge of a shoal, which runs out to a considerable distance, and for some minutes feared lest she had run aground, but she wore off and so a second time escaped being wrecked on this coast. As she again stood off to sea, I descended from my observatory, and visited the Rangituapeka Pa, in which Gunton and his detachment had passed the night.

“This pa was the strongest of the three that had fallen into our hands, being built at the extremity of a peninsula commanding Te Waimate and all the neighbouring country; but, on account of its great inclination towards the point at which it terminates, commanded in its turn by both. Like its fellows, it occupies a high, rocky, and triangular-shaped position, having a perpendicular face to the sea, and two very precipitous land faces. It appeared to be of more recent date than the others, and was certainly far more beautiful. If its fortifications were not so elaborately constructed as those at Te Namu, the advantages it derived from natural causes were much greater. The space occupied by it was detached from the high land adjoining by the manual labour of the natives, who had hewed off the solid rock at a part where it was narrowest to the depth of several feet, and scarped it away on the land side to a still greater depth, and smoothed and edged the ridge at top so as to form a saddle between the country and the town which none but a madman would attempt to cross. The slope from the top of the pa to where it faces Te Waimate is considerable, but this only served to call forth the ingenuity of the natives, whose several enclosures, divided from one another by various kinds of fence, occupy as many terraces, the effect of which from without was singularly pleasing; and a visitor to the interior could not fail of deriving gratification from the freshness of the objects surrounding him and the ingenuity they betokened on the part of the inhabitants.

“In the afternoon the preserved (mummified) head of some ill-fated European was found in the trench at the back of Te Waimate, where it was supposed to have been thrown by the natives in their flight. The complexion was changed, but the features and hair remained unaltered. But, strange to say, neither Guard nor his wife nor any of his crew could recognise the face as that of one of their former companions. The sight of this head again stirred up their worst passions in some of the soldiers, and in the

course of the day one of them who had straggled without leave and against orders, brought in the head of a New Zealander, which he had detached from the trunk to which it belonged, being that of a chief whose corpse had been left on the beach where he was shot, boasting at the same time of the manner in which he had mangled what remained of the lifeless carcase. One of the marines buried this head, but it was dug up again by others, kicked to and fro like a football, and finally precipitated over a cliff among the rocks below, whence Lieutenants Clarke and Gunton and myself removed it to another place, when we buried it under a large rock, and heaped over it a cairn of stones. The dead warrior had been found stretched across the beach, with his head to the rocks, his feet to the sea, his back to the ground, and his face to the sky; a musket that was neither loaded nor had been fired, clenched so firmly in his hand, that the ruffian mentioned above had to cut off the thumb of that hand before he could release the firelock from its grasp. From a little bag hung round his neck a brooch was taken, which, it is feared, identified him with the chief by whom the child had been adopted and treated with every imaginable kindness in his limited power to bestow! In this case which was the traitor, and which the betrayed?’

“Here follows an elegy of twenty-five verses composed by Dr. Marshall on this mournful occasion, in which he represents the dying chief as giving vent to his feelings and comforting himself with the thoughts of what would assuredly happen in years to come. ‘Vengeance is mine, I will repay,’ saith the great Judge of all. The poetry of the piece is of no mean standard, but I omit it as it is too long.

“The next day we were detained on shore still by the surf. Having strolled along the beach for the purpose of sketching the ravine where we had passed in from the fall below, I found reason when there to be thankful that so few lives (comparatively) had been sacrificed. For the path from the beach at this spot had attracted the notice of an officer while disembarking, who pointed it out as a likely road to the native towns; but this suggestion was unheeded at the time, and hence the subsequently slow and often impeded progress of the whole party. Had we turned to the left instead of the right and made for this pass instead of for the cliff much time and no little labour would have been saved, but many more lives might, and in all probability would

have been lost. For it is scarcely to be supposed that, within the span which might have sufficed to conduct us to the height commanding both pas (Waimate and Rangituapeka), they would have been so entirely deserted as they afterwards were. Six persons are thought to have been slain outright here, as it did happen; six score might have fallen in the case thus mercifully prevented.

“The next morning the signal was at last made to the Alligator that the boats might approach the shore with safety, and they were accordingly sent in to convey the party off to their respective vessels; but before quitting the shore the flames were kindled in both pas, and every house having been separately fired, the whole were speedily consumed. The embarkation took up some time, but was effected, happily without an accident. A party of marines, occupying the height above the beach, covered the boats, and except a solitary straggler, visible here and there in the distance, none of the natives came in sight to witness our departure. Three seamen, having loitered behind to fetch away some baskets of potatoes from the foot of the Waimate Pa, surprised a like number of the New Zealanders, who, deeming their enemy gone, had returned to survey the blazing ruins of their former home. One of the sailors fired at them, which so terrified the wretched creatures that they leaped from a height of nearly twenty feet into the neighbouring ditch and made their escape.

“Having yesterday received every one on board, sail was made upon the ship and a course steered for Entry Island, where we came to an anchor at nine this morning in fifteen fathoms. A low tongue of land runs out a considerable way, forming a natural pier. On this a native village has been built, and hauled up on the beach were numerous large canoes. The opposite shore was literally covered with canoes and huts, thereby warranting the belief that the tribe to which it belongs must be exceedingly numerous. Several of the natives came off to the vessel, and among others, Ropera Te Rauparaha, the principal chief, who expressed himself well pleased when told of what we had done to the natives elsewhere; but at the same time disappointed that the number of killed was so small. He took care, likewise, to inquire why none of the dead bodies had been brought down for him to eat, and announced his intention to pay the Taranaki tribe a speedy visit for the purpose of fighting them. His appearance, conduct and

character were altogether those of a complete savage; but his treatment of Europeans is described as uniformly good, and such as to encourage the resort of shipping to his place of abode. An Englishman has resided on the island for several years past as the agent of a mercantile house in Sydney and his report of the usage received by him at the hands of Ropera is satisfactory. Covetousness appears to be that chief's besetting sin, and the indulgence of it his aim in all he does. If anyone accosted him while on board he immediately made a demand for muskets, blankets, pipes, and if denied all these, tobacco. He is said to be both a warrior and a conqueror, and to have made repeated and successful attacks upon the inhabitants of the Middle Island, multitudes of whom he has subjected to his yoke. Some of the natives here wore convict clothing, such as is used at the penal settlement at Norfolk Island, whence, on various occasions, the felons confined there have managed to escape in boats. Have these men escaped hither, and if so, what has become of them?

“We only remained a few hours at Entry Island. On leaving it we ran through Cook Strait, passing several places named by him, and experiencing variable winds and unsettled weather during our run of twelve days, we arrived in the Bay of Islands and came to off Kororareka, all hands on board glad to see the well-known place again. Every nook and corner, bay and islet, rock and promontory of this vast harbour seemed to welcome us with a smile, and were truly welcomed by us. But the pleasure of being once more at anchor at a place fondly familiar to us all, after a most weary cruise, was not a little embittered by the uncertainty attending the Isabella's fate, that schooner having parted company from us in a gale of wind two nights since, when both vessels were on a lee-shore, and only darkness brooded over the deep. We had not, however, very long to wait and watch, for near midnight on the second night after our arrival the bright glare of a burning blue-light from some vessel entering the inner harbour told us of the Isabella's arrival, which was immediately responded to by a gun from the Alligator.

“We remained here at anchor six days, when the order for sailing was unexpectedly given. One reason assigned for sailing so hurriedly was the existence of mutiny among the soldiers of the 50th Regiment, who had procured a quantity of spirits from the dealers at Kororareka, where one of them knocked down a midshipman of the Alligator who was on

duty. Some of the men were afterwards brought to a court martial at Sydney, but the result had not transpired before we sailed thence. The men who formed that detachment were certainly as ill-disciplined a body as I had ever done duty with, but much may be said in extenuation of this. Most of them had arrived in small separate parties within the current year from England, and only a few had been any time in the army, fewer still with their regiment at home. The whole company had hardly been completed at Sydney when ordered on the expedition to Cape Egmont, and were just landed there when summoned to re-embark. On board the schooner it would have required talents for command of the first order to subject them to strict discipline, and after two months at sea, during which they were subject to many privations, it can be no matter of surprise, however much of regret, that they fell before the temptation, and, under the maddening effects of strong drink, forgot they were *soldiers*, having previously forgotten that they were *men*.

“In the preceding narrative I have endeavoured to relate events in the exact order of their occurrence, leaving facts to speak for themselves, and principally solicitous of putting true facts on record, for all facts are not true, seeing that some things are said to be facts that never had any existence at all, except in the imagination of the narrator, or in the credulity of the retailer. And some facts are so stated, as to be what Dr. Cullen calls false facts, either by the omission of something that happened, which, if added, would alter their character, or by the addition of something that never happened, which from being added to that which did happen, changes truth into falsehood; the one producing the effect of wrong perspective, the other of faulty colouring or distortive caricature. To the truth of the facts as stated in my narration, so far as they fell under my own observation, the publicity which I now give to them pledges me both as an officer and a gentleman, and much more as a Christian. For the correctness of any opinions interwoven with those facts I do not pledge myself; my readers will be competent to detect any fallacies in my reasoning, and need not yield themselves to my judgment, although they will in justice and courtesy rely upon my testimony until it be contradicted.

“In reviewing the whole affair, it is impossible, however, to close one's eye upon the errors of judgment which attended our

expedition, any more than upon the complete success by which its operations were rewarded.

“The first question which obtrudes itself is obviously this: Why was His Majesty's ship *Alligator*, assisted by a detachment of soldiers, sent to New Zealand to act at all against the natives, without reference to, or the counsel of, His Majesty's accredited representative in that country? And this, too, in the teeth of the Secretary of State's recent official letter to the chiefs, introducing Mr. Busby, concerning whom Lord Goderich writes thus to them: “In order to afford better protection to all classes, both natives of the Islands of New Zealand and British subjects who may proceed thither, or be already established there for purposes of trade, the King has sent the bearer of this letter, James Busby, Esq., to reside amongst you as His Majesty's Resident, whose duties will be to investigate all complaints which may be made to him, etc.”

“Again, it cannot fail to be matter of deep surprise, as it ought ever to be a subject of sincere regret, that the expedition when sent was so inadequately provided with interpreters. Mr. Battersby's only knowledge of the tongue in which he was appointed to communicate on a question of life and death had been acquired on Kororareka Beach [now Russell, Bay of Islands]. While his qualifications for the delicate office of an interpreter, both moral and literary, had been obtained while filling the somewhat different situation of a retail spirit seller and marker of billiards at the same place.

“Thirdly, having a Resident in their country, having provided the people with a flag, having paid national honours to that flag as the standard of an independent nation, albeit a nation of savages, ought we not, in our national capacity, to have had respect to the laws and usages of the New Zealanders, and prior to making a peremptory demand for the release of their, it might be, lawful prisoners, and that too without the ransom they affirmed themselves entitled to (a demand becoming well our power, but of very doubtful propriety if taken in connection with our right to make it, and to make it, too, at the point of the bayonet), ought not some negotiation to have been entered into, some inquiry to have been made as to the right of those natives, agreeably to their own laws, to demand such ransom even when too weak to enforce its payment?

“O, it is excellent
To have a giant's strength, but it is tyrannous
To use it like a giant.”—*Shakespeare*.

“The British Resident ought to have been applied to to become the organ of communication between the Government of New South Wales and the New Zealanders at Cape Egmont. A competent interpreter of unimpeachable veracity might have been obtained either from the Church Mission, in Mr. Busby's own immediate neighbourhood, Paihia, or from the settlement of the Wesleyan Mission at Hokianga; and, if not for the ungracious, undutiful, and hardly loyal purpose of acting under the King's authority in direct contradiction of the King's word pledged to the chiefs of New Zealand, a purpose which I am far from attributing to the Colonial Government of New South Wales, it is difficult to understand why there was nothing like inquiry or preliminary negotiation—unless the *ex parte* statement of John Guard be inquiry—respecting the particulars attending the loss of the Harriet, seeing that such inquiry might have elicited some truth necessary to be known, and that such negotiation might have placed any ulterior proceedings, however severe, upon the sure basis of justice and moderation.

“Of the errors committed in the execution of the affair I have occasionally made mention in the course of my narrative. They consisted mainly in exacting too much from the natives, and yielding too little; in acting rather according to momentary impulses than upon a set of fixed principles; in treating the New Zealanders as savages, and forgetting that they were, notwithstanding, men; in inflicting wrong upon them, and making no reparation; while suffering neither actual nor imaginary wrong from them, without inflicting summary vengeance. In hazarding which opinion I put out of the question altogether the private and unofficial, though grievous injuries done to Whiti at Te Namu, to the natives when the firing first commenced, and to the dead body of the chief whose head was so inhumanly converted into a tennis ball for the sport of private soldiers, and refer only to the public acts of public men, acting in a public capacity, which are and ought always to be public property. Looking to those acts it is impossible not to censure the breach of faith at Moturoa, the refusing to give the natives what they had been promised for a very essential benefit conferred; to the forcible seizure of Whiti, and the imprudence of committing him to the custody of bitter personal enemies; to the savage cannonading of two villages, crowded with a mixed multitude of men, women, and children; and to the gratuitous and crowning

cruelty of burning the habitations, destroying the defences, and consuming the provisions and fuel laid by in store for many coming months, of upwards of a thousand miserable wretches; and that, in the case of the last two towns that were burnt, after resistance had ceased, and, forsooth! *because* merely resistance had been offered at all by an independent people to an unwarranted attack upon their lives and properties; and, moreover, after every object proposed by the expedition in the New South Wales Council itself had been fully accomplished, and without injury of any sort to us, and almost without accident of any kind.

“What effect the operations previously detailed may have upon the subsequent relations of the two tribes so severely punished, or upon the future intercourse of Europeans with the coast on which we made such hostile descents; whether the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui people will come down upon them in their crippled and houseless condition, war with, and enslave, or destroy them altogether; or whether they may be able to strengthen their weakness by a defensive alliance with some of their neighbours, time alone can discover, and time will certainly tell. It is greatly to be feared that the former will be the case, for they possess powerful and hitherto implacable enemies in the Kapiti (Entry Island) and Waikato tribes, whose aggressions in times past they have hardly been able to repel, and by whom they are in present peril of being cut off, unless, indeed, they should find time, before the return of their ancient foes, to reconstruct their overthrown fortresses and rebuild their demolished towns, when it is thought they may be able to recruit their numbers by a junction with the Ngatiawa tribe who have recently sustained an assault from the Waikato natives. As regards their future visitors from the Australian colonies, woe to the crew of any vessel hereafter to be shipwrecked on their coast. Even fools are taught by experience, and however ignorant the New Zealanders may be, they are certainly no fools. The experience they have acquired by our recent visit may teach them that if Europeans fall into their hands it is not consistent with their own safety that any should escape alive to complain of ill-usage, and bring down upon them an armed force, compounded of naval and military men, from New South Wales. It remains to be seen whether they will be content to wait till the winds and waves

convey victims to their shore for slaughter, or whether they will not rather choose to wreak speedy vengeance upon the crew of the first vessel that may venture near to trade with them.”

Mr. Colenso continues :—

“Thus far Dr. Marshall, whose own words, without addition or alteration, I have uniformly quoted, although I have (in a few places) omitted largely, as already mentioned. As may easily be supposed, Dr. Marshall, writing too at a time when so little of a reliable nature was known of the New Zealanders, gives very much of other information respecting them that is both truthful and interesting, which he also supplements with many sound and useful remarks; but such are far too extensive for introduction here. Nevertheless, from his concluding remarks I make the following extracts, (1) because they are so truthful, and so faithfully and eloquently written; (2) because I myself, after a long experience in New Zealand, fully agree with Dr. Marshall in them, and therefore add my testimony to them; and (3) because those words—written more than fifty years ago—were but the prologue, as it were, to the sad and thrilling tragedy which has ever since been daily acting here in New Zealand.

“Dr. Marshall says: ‘Navigation, commerce, and trade brought their influences early into operation in this savage country, and were thus trying an experiment upon the minds of the New Zealanders. To the astonishment of those who were for civilisation to be the forerunner of evangelisation, navigation did no more for New Zealand than it had done for all the world beside, namely, make known its situation and extent to the civilised nations of the earth, and open the way for commerce to improve upon the discovery. Commerce was not slow to follow in the way thus opened to her, and the spacious harbours of New Zealand enabled her shipping to prosecute the pursuit of wealth with a widening prospect of success, by enabling them to make more strenuous efforts, and to continue them longer, in seas so remote from Europe. But, beyond thinning the forests of its stately inhabitants, and propagating among the natives a filthy and terrible disease, commerce, while returning enriched herself from the ports of New Zealand, left the country unimproved by her visitations, and its aboriginal tenantry not a little injured by her importations.

“‘If navigation only ascertained for these islands their geographical positions, the utmost that commerce can be said to have

done, is the discovery of their value, and the partial development of their resources, with a display of which to invite trade to add to her inventory the productions of the soil of New Zealand. Trade, never indolent when wealth was the sure reward of industry, landed with her wares among a people of savages; she brought them muskets and gunpowder because they delighted in war; she sold them tobacco and gin because from the use made of these articles by their visitors, they esteemed them luxuries, and partook of them till they became necessities. For the former she received in exchange the heads of murdered men; for the latter she obtained lands and forests, and flax, the last an article of considerable value everywhere but in New Zealand. But trade was too busily employed in taking care of herself to care for the natives by whose property she flourished and on whose vitals she fed; her footsteps in the land left indeed their stamp behind them, but for that stamp her presence might be unsuspected—a thinning of the tribes, the almost depopulated shores of New Zealand, leave room enough for the most cursory observation to detect the impressions of her feet. Misery, disease, and death remain where she trafficked. I say not that the natives were not previously subject to these accidents of our human nature, for they are evils to which all flesh is heir, but facts, undeniable facts, bear me out in affirming that misery unheard of before, diseases unknown before, and deaths made fearfully more numerous than, and of a kind unthought of before, have been introduced with the introduction of trade among a people who owe no debt of gratitude whatever to trade, however she may have increased in value and in bulk the contents of her warehouses and the sales in her markets by the productions of a foreign soil, sometimes forcibly, and at other times fraudulently and by surreptitious means obtained from the rightful owner; although I am free also and glad to confess frequently procured by fair and equitable dealings. Trade and commerce and navigation have succeeded and combined with one another upon New Zealand ground. They have improved by the adventure and benefited themselves and their promoters, *but New Zealand they have neither directly benefited nor improved.*’

“Here, then, I end my pleasing yet mournful task of bringing forward the words of my dear deceased friend, Dr. Marshall. Of them—of him—I think I may truly say, ‘he being dead, yet speaketh.’ Very likely in

days yet to come much more will be thought of his own words than at present.

"Before, however, that I entirely quit my subject, I would offer a few remarks of my own upon portions of what I have written. And, first, I would briefly quote from Dr. Dieffenbach's work on New Zealand, who was himself a visitor in New Zealand, and a sojourner for some considerable time in those very places on the west coast of the North Island within six years after Dr. Marshall's visit thither in the Alligator. I knew Dr. Dieffenbach well, and I have no reason to suppose that he knew anything of Dr. Marshall, or of what he had written. Dr. Dieffenbach, however, mentions very feelingly the series of sufferings and losses and deaths which those poor unhappy tribes of New Zealanders who dwelt on that coast subsequently suffered, year after year, from their numerous and powerful and deadly foes. And he also says: 'There are still natives at Te Waimate, which is known as the place where, on the shipwreck of the barque Harriet, a

fierce struggle ensued between the natives and Europeans, in which several men were killed on both sides. *Although this conflict*, according to all the accounts I could collect, *was caused by the Europeans*, His Majesty's vessel Alligator afterwards inflicted a severe and summary punishment on the natives.' I should also state that with Dr. Dieffenbach on this occasion were some of those very resident Europeans whom John Guard knew and referred to.

"Second, I would observe that it was a national custom—indeed, a *law*—of the New Zealanders to appropriate all salvage from wrecks, even when of their own tribe; and such, being a law among themselves, and universally carried out and always expected, was never resisted or found fault with. To this *we* may rightly enough demur; but let us just look at home among the good *Christians* of Britain in the nineteenth century, and note the heavy, excessive, unjust demand almost invariably made for salvage, and consequently brought into the law courts."





BARON DE THIERRY. THE KORORAREKA ASSOCIATION.

Lieutenant McDonnell, R.N., appointed additional British Resident for New Zealand—Baron De Thierry lays claim to sovereignty in New Zealand—Proclamation by the British Resident—History of Baron De Thierry—The deed purchasing land on his behalf—Thirty-five hereditary chiefs sign a proclamation declaring their rights—Visit of Mr. Darwin in the Beagle—A fatal land dispute—Petition of the settlers to the King asking for protection—A quarrel between Bay of Islands tribes—Visit of Captain Hobson in the Rattlesnake—A daring robbery—Arrival of Baron De Thierry at Sydney—His departure for New Zealand—The natives repudiate the sale of land—Baron De Thierry's own account of the circumstances attending his arrival in New Zealand—Formation of the New Zealand Association—Their proposals—Bill introduced into the House of Commons—Its rejection—Kororareka Association formed for mutual protection—Its curious regulations—A case of tarring and feathering.



and are as follows:—

Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney,
29th June, 1835.

SIR,—I am directed by the Governor to inform you that he has received a despatch from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies communicating the representation made by you of the advantages that would result to you personally, as well as to other Europeans who have settled in the district in which you reside, by your being invested with an appointment corresponding to that lately conferred upon Mr. Jas. Busby—the extreme distance of that gentleman from the quarter in which you

N 1835, Lieutenant Thomas McDonnell, R.N., obtained the office of Additional British Resident for New Zealand. The reasons of the appointment were clearly set forth in the despatch of the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales to Lieut. McDonnell,

and other European settlers reside preventing him from rendering that assistance which he might otherwise be expected to afford—and I am accordingly commanded by Sir Richard Bourke to acquaint you that, in pursuance of the authority thus conveyed, his Excellency has been pleased to nominate you to be an additional British Resident in New Zealand.

Then follows a description of the causes which led to Mr. Busby's appointment—"a desire of checking the atrocities and irregularities committed in New Zealand by Europeans, and of giving encouragement and protection to the well-disposed traders," and a copy of Mr. Busby's instructions, which Lieutenant McDonnell was to regard as his rule of conduct. The importance of obtaining the moral influence of the chiefs over the natives was impressed on the mind of the new Agent, whose "particular study" it should be "not only to act in concert" with Mr. Busby, but to "maintain with him that good understanding which is necessary to give effect to your appointment and to preserve the influence of both."

The British Resident had been requested to "make known" the appointment "to masters of vessels" and others, and the despatch concluded by the statement that no

pay would be attached to the office, the Secretary of State having stated that all desire of emolument in soliciting the appointment "had been disclaimed."

Though McDonnell appears to have been in Sydney at the date of the despatch, it was addressed to Thomas McDonnell, Esq., Additional British Resident at Hokianga, in New Zealand.

On 10th October, 1835, Mr. Busby addressed a letter to his countrymen, stating that Baron De Thierry laid claim to the sovereignty of New Zealand, and proposed erecting a kingdom there. The address tells the story of the claimant and the feeling of the Resident. Polack, it may be added, says that the address was the first document ever printed in the English language in New Zealand. The text is as follows:—

The British Resident at New Zealand to His Britannic Majesty's subjects who are residing or trading in New Zealand.

The British Resident announces to his countrymen that he has received from a person who styles himself "Charles, Baron de Thierry, Sovereign Chief of New Zealand, and King of Nukuhava," one of the Marquesas Islands, a formal declaration of his intention to establish in his own person an independent sovereignty in this country, which intention, he states, he has declared to their Majesties the Kings of Great Britain and France, and to the President of the United States; and that he is now waiting at Otaheite the arrival of an armed ship from Pa nama to enable him to proceed to the Bay of Islands with strength to maintain his assumed sovereignty.

His intention is founded upon an alleged invitation given to him in England by Hongi and other chiefs, none of whom as individuals had any right to the sovereignty of the country, and consequently possessed no authority to convey a right of sovereignty to another; also upon an alleged purchase made for him in 1822, by Mr. Kendall, of three districts on the Hokianga River, from three chiefs who had only a partial property in these districts, parts of which are now settled by British subjects, by virtue of purchase from the rightful proprietors.

The British Resident has also seen an elaborate exposition of his views, which this person has addressed to the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, in which he makes the most ample promises to all persons, whether white or natives, who will accept his invitation to live under his government, and in which he offers a stipulated salary to each individual missionary in order to induce them to act as his magistrates. It is also supposed that he may have made similar communications to other persons or classes of His Majesty's subjects, who are hereby invited to make such communications, or any information on this subject they may possess, known to the British Resident, or to the additional British Resident at Hokianga.

The British Resident has too much confidence in the loyalty and good sense of his countrymen to think it necessary to caution them against turning a favourable ear to such insidious promises. He firmly believes that the paternal protection of the British Government, which has never failed any of His Majesty's subjects, however remote, will not be withheld from them, should it be necessary to prevent their lives, liberties, or property from being subjected to the caprice of any adventurer who may choose to make this country, in which British subjects have now by the most lawful means acquired so large a stake, the theatre of his ambitious projects; nor in the British Resident's opinion will His Majesty, after having acknowledged the sovereignty of the chiefs of New Zealand in their collective capacity by the recognition of their flag, permit his humble and confiding allies to be deprived of their independence upon such pretensions.



Baron De Thierry.

But, although the British Resident is of opinion that such an attempt as is now announced must ultimately fail, he, nevertheless, conceives that if such a person were once allowed to obtain a footing in the colony he might acquire such an influence over the simple-minded native as would produce effects which could not be too much deprecated or too anxiously provided against, and he has therefore considered it his duty to request the British settlers of all classes to use all the influence they possess with the natives of every rank in order to counteract the efforts of any emissaries which may have arrived or may arrive amongst them; and to inspire both chiefs and people with a spirit of the most determined resistance to the landing of a person on their shores who comes with the avowed intention of usurping a sovereignty over them.

The British Resident will take immediate steps for

calling together the native chiefs, in order to inform them of this proposed attempt upon their independence, and to advise them of what is due to themselves and to their country, and of the protection which British subjects are entitled to at their hands." And he has no doubt that such a manifestation will be exhibited of the characteristic spirit, courage, and independence of the New Zealanders as will stop at the outset such an attempt upon their liberties by demonstrating its utter hopelessness.

JAMES BUSBY,
British Resident.

British Residency at New Zealand,
Bay of Islands, October 10th, 1835.

De Thierry, it will be remembered, was at Cambridge when Hongi, Waikato, and Kendall were there, and Kendall agreed to purchase land in New Zealand on De Thierry's behalf. Captain Herd, who was employed as the agent of the New Zealand Land Company of 1825, was a witness to the deed of sale. The conveyance appears to have been drawn in Sydney, probably when Mr. Kendall returned from England, the date of the sale not being specified in the body of the document. The purchase was, however, made on the 7th August, 1822, and the deed was forwarded to England by the hands of Mr. F. Hall, and to its owner through the Church Mission House in London in 1823.

Rusden, who appears to have examined the papers left by De Thierry with some care, says he was the son of French parents, and had been partly educated in London. He had been in the Portuguese diplomatic service and an officer in an English cavalry regiment. On the receipt of his deed he applied to the English authorities for recognition, but was told in December, 1823, that New Zealand was not a possession of the Crown. "He applied to the French Government without success. He endeavoured to 'assemble a colony' in London. He failed. He rushed to France to plead his rights in person. He found his countrymen offended because he had in the first instance applied to England. In 1826 he opened an office in London, and received applications from intending colonists."

He was at Guadaloupe in 1834, and going from thence to Panama found a conveyance to Tahiti in 1835. In the communication of the Baron, through his Sydney agent or representative, who signed himself Colonel —, in the *Sydney Herald* of November 2, 1835, he says, or is made to say, in the announcement of his intentions to form a government in New Zealand, *inter alia* :—"It is not the least remarkable feature of this long-promised expedition (first projected in compliance with the repeated entreaties of the principal native

chiefs) that the baron has negotiated with the Government of New Granada for leave to cut a navigable canal through the Isthmus of Darien, to unite the waters of the Pacific and Atlantic, thus bringing New Zealand within eighty days sail from England. He has also proposed to establish a regular line of packets to sail twice a month from Panama to New Zealand (and New Zealand to Panama) in communication with the British Colonies, to convey the mails from Europe and the United States by the way of the Isthmus."

The deed of sale runs as follows, the spelling remaining unaltered :—

Agreement between the Baron Charles Philip Hippolytus de Thierry, of Bathampton, in the County of Somerset, England, and of Queen's College, Cambridge, and Mudi Wai, Patuone, and Nene, native residents on the banks of the river Yokianga in the islands of New Zealand. We, the above-named chiefs and natives of New Zealand, for and in consideration of thirty-six axes to us now given, for us, our heirs and successors, by free will and common consent, have sold and granted unto the said Baron Charles Philip Hippolytus de Thierry, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns for ever, all the land, woods, and waters situated in the following boundaries or limits hereinafter specified, viz., the district called Te Troone, at the source or rise of the river Yokianga; the district of Wai Hue adjoining the aforesaid district; also the district called Te Papa, adjoining the aforesaid district called the Wai Hue; also the district called Huta Kura, adjoining the aforesaid district called Te Papa, all of which districts are situated at the source, and on the eastern and western banks of the river Yokianga, and contain by estimation forty thousand acres, be the same more or less; and all lands, woods, and waters, and whatever may be contained and situated within the aforesaid limits and boundaries do from this day and shall remain for ever the sole property of the said Baron Charles Philip Hippolytus de Thierry, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns; and no person or persons whoever shall on any pretence unlawfully seize, take, give, make over, distribute, molest, injure, or in any manner damage and injure the said lands, woods, and waters, and whatever may belong thereto or be contained therein and upon: and we the aforementioned chiefs and natives do solemnly engage to defend the said property to the best of our power against any unlawful seizure or injury. We further declare having received full payment and satisfaction for the said lands, woods, and waters, and everything belonging thereto. In testimony of which we do sign this our hand and deed in the year of Christ, 1822, on board the ship Providence now in New Zealand.

The mark of x MUDI WAI.

The mark of x PATU ONE.

The mark of x NENE.

Signed in presence of James Herd, Master of the Providence; Thomas Kendall, missionary; and William Edward Green, first officer of the Providence.

P.S.—Attested copies of the above deed are deposited at the Foreign Office, London, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris.

The result of Mr. Busby's address was a meeting of chiefs convened at Waitangi on 28th October, 1835, when a declaration of

independence was adopted and signed. The text of the resolutions agreed upon is as follows:—

1. We, the hereditary chiefs and heads of the tribes of the northern parts of New Zealand, being assembled at Waitangi, in the Bay of Islands, on this 28th day of October, 1835, declare the independence of our country, which is hereby constituted and declared to be an independent state under the designation of the "United Tribes of New Zealand."

2. All sovereign power and authority within the territories of the United Tribes of New Zealand is hereby declared to reside entirely and exclusively in the hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes in their collective capacity, who also declare that they will not allow any legislative authority separate from themselves in their collective capacity to exist, nor any function of government to be exercised within the said territories unless by persons appointed by them, and acting under the authority of laws regularly enacted by them in congress assembled.

3. The hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes agree to meet in congress at Waitangi in the autumn of each year for the purpose of framing laws for the dispensation of justice, the preservation of peace and good order, and the regulation of trade; and they cordially invite the southern tribes to lay aside their private animosities and to consult the safety and welfare of our common country by joining the confederation of the united tribes.

4. They also agree to send a copy of this declaration to His Majesty the King of England, to thank him for his acknowledgment of their flag, and, in return for the friendship and protection they have shown and are prepared to show to such of his subjects as have settled in their country or resorted to its shores for the purposes of trade, they intreat that he will continue to be the parent of their infant state, and that he will become its protector from all attempts upon its independence.

Agreed to unanimously on this 28th day of October, 1835, in the presence of His Britannic Majesty's Resident.

Here follow the signatures or marks of thirty-five hereditary chiefs or heads of tribes who held authority from the North Cape to the River Thames.

English witnesses:—

HENRY WILLIAMS, Missionary, C.M.S.

GEORGE CLARKE, C.M.S.

JAMES C. CLENDON, Merchant.

GILBERT MAIR, Merchant.

I certify that the above is a correct copy of the declaration of the chiefs according to the translation of missionaries who have resided ten years and upwards in the country, and it is transmitted to His Most Gracious Majesty the King of England at the unanimous request of the chiefs.

JAMES BUSBY,

British Resident at New Zealand.

It was proposed that a provisional government should be established, presided over by the British Resident, one-half of the council being natives and the other half Europeans. English and native laws were to be amalgamated, and their administration was to be vested in men chosen from the two races.

An ecclesiastical establishment was to be supported from funds derived from the sale of lands. Financial arrangements were to be vested in congress, but a money advance was to be obtained from the British Government. A military force of Europeans and natives was to be maintained for protection and obedience. Lands not occupied by natives or sold to Europeans were to be declared by a resolution of congress public property. New Zealand was to be divided into districts, to be presided over by a chief and European high sheriff. Towns with a thousand inhabitants were to have charters. The country was to be divided into counties, with charters to be managed by councils composed of Europeans and natives elected by the people. This provisional government was to continue in force twenty-one years: afterwards, each incorporated county and town was to send deputies to form a House of Assembly to make laws for the future government of New Zealand.

In December, 1835, Captain Fitzroy, in command of the *Beagle*, paid a visit to the Bay of Islands. He was accompanied by Mr. Charles Darwin, the naturalist. His stay was limited to ten days, during which time he, however, visited some of the mission stations, and passed a high eulogium on missionary work and influence in New Zealand.

At the beginning of the year a dispute, attended with loss of life, occurred at the house of the British Resident, which Mr. Henry Williams thus describes:—

"January 12th, 1836.—At Mr. Busby's request I attended a meeting at his house, which was convened for the purpose of deciding a difference respecting the ownership of a tract of land lying in dispute between the natives of Rangihoua and Kauakaua. The meeting promised to be one of much interest. A large party was present from the Kauakaua, at least 150 men and many of their wives and children; of the Rangihoua natives there were about 40. Of the former many are Christians, and nearly all are regular attendants on the means of grace. They came in a peaceable manner, without any hostile weapons; while the Rangihoua natives, as we afterwards learnt, were armed, and having loaded their muskets at a retired spot where they landed, they hid them under some bushes near Mr. Busby's fence, before the other party made their appearance. The speeches had scarcely commenced, when the Rangihoua natives began to express themselves in a most outrageous manner, and, upon an expression of indignation from the other party, they rushed

to their arms and fired several shots among the peaceable natives of the Kauakaua. The result was that two natives were killed and two severely wounded. They then decamped as speedily as possible, before the rest had any means of retaliation. Mr. Busby has since communicated with the Kauakaua chiefs, who express their determination not to retaliate, though by their numbers they could easily overpower their opponents."

In March, 1837, the following petition was sent to the King:—

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

SIRE,—May it please your Majesty to allow your faithful, obedient and loyal subjects, at present residing in New Zealand, to approach the throne and crave your condescending attention to their petition which is called forth by their peculiar situation. The present crisis of the threatened usurpation of power over New Zealand by Baron Charles de Thierry, the particulars of which have been forwarded to your Majesty's Government by Charles Busby, Esq., the British Resident, strongly urges us to make known our fears and apprehensions for ourselves and families and the people amongst whom we dwell. Your humble petitioners would advert to the serious evils and perplexing grievances which surround and await them, arising for the most part, if not entirely, from some of your Majesty's subjects who fearlessly commit all kinds of depredations upon other of your Majesty's subjects who are peacefully disposed. British property, in vessels as well as on shore, is exposed without any redress to every imaginable risk and plunder, which may be traced to the want of power in the land to check and control evils and preserve order amongst your Majesty's subjects.

Your petitioners are aware that it is not the desire of your Majesty to extend the colonies of Great Britain, but they would call your Majesty's attention to the circumstance of several of your Majesty's subjects having resided in New Zealand for more than twenty years, since which their numbers have accumulated to more than five hundred north of the River Thames alone, many of whom are heads of families. The frequent arrival of persons from England and the adjacent colonies is a fruitful source of further augmentation. Your petitioners would therefore humbly call your Majesty's attention to the fact that there is at present a considerable body of your Majesty's subjects established in this island, and that owing to the salubrity of the climate there is every reason to anticipate a rapidly rising colony of British subjects. Should this colony continue to advance, no doubt means would be devised whereby many of its internal expenses would be met, as in other new countries. There are numbers of land holders, and the kauri forests have become, for the most part, the private property of your Majesty's subjects. Your humble petitioners would also entreat your Majesty's attention to the important circumstance that the Bay of Islands has long been the resort of ships employed in the South Sea fishery and the merchant service, and is in itself a most noble anchorage for all classes of vessels, and is further highly important in affording supplies and refreshments to shipping. There are also several other harbours and anchorages of material importance to the shipping interest, in situations where British subjects have possessions and property to a large amount. The number of arrivals of vessels in the Bay of Islands during the last three years has been considerably on the increase. At one period thirty-six

were at anchor, and in the course of the six months ending June, 1836, no less than one hundred and one vessels visited the Bay. Your petitioners would further state that since the increase of the European population, several evils have been growing upon them. The crews of vessels have frequently been decoyed on shore, to the greatest detriment of trade, and numberless robberies have been committed on shipboard and on shore by a lawless band of Europeans, who have not even scrupled to use firearms to support them in their depredations. Your humble petitioners seriously lament that when complaints have been made to the British Resident of these acts of outrage, he has expressed his deep regret that he has not yet been furnished with authority and power to act, not even the authority of a civil magistrate to administer an affidavit. Your humble petitioners express, with much concern, their conviction that unless your Majesty's fostering care be extended towards them, they can only anticipate that both your Majesty's subjects and also the aborigines of this land will be liable, in an increased degree, to murders, robberies, and every kind of evil. Your petitioners would observe that it has been considered that the confederate tribes of New Zealand were competent to enact laws for the proper government of this land, whereby protection would be afforded in all cases of necessity, but experience evidently shows that, in the infant state of the country, this cannot be accomplished or expected. It is acknowledged by the chiefs themselves to be impracticable. Your petitioners, therefore, feel persuaded that considerable time must elapse before the chiefs of this land can be capable of exercising the duties of an independent government. Your humble petitioners would, therefore, pray that your Majesty may graciously regard the peculiarity of their situation, and afford that relief which may appear most expedient to your Majesty. Relying upon your Majesty's wisdom and clemency, we shall ever pray Almighty God to hold with favour and preserve our gracious Sovereign, and beg humbly to subscribe ourselves, etc., etc.

Richard Holtom	his
John MacDairmid	John X Dinny
Hugh McLever	mark
his	Wm. Greene
Benj. X Turner	H. Boyle
mark	George Hull
James R. Clendon	Wm. Dodson
Jas. W. Bayman	W. F. Brown
Jas. Hawkins	John Coune
Thos. Butler, son of the	John Fogarty
Rev. Mr. Butler, late	Wm. Davies, son of Church
Church Missionary	Missionary Catechist
Gilbert Mair	John Bedgood
Robert Davis	James Davies, son of
H. Shirley	Church Missionary Ca-
J. Chapman, Church Mis-	techist
sionary Catechist	G. Clarke, son of Secre-
J. Morgan, Church Mis-	tary of Church Mission-
sionary Catechist	ary Committee
W. T. Fairburn, Church	Jas. Kemp, jun., son of
Missionary Catechist	Church Missionary Ca-
Sam. M. Knight, Church	techist
Missionary Catechist	James Stack, Church Mis-
Rev. Alfred N. Brown,	sionary Catechist
Church Missionary	John Skelton
J. A. Wilson, Church Mis-	John Bennir
sionary Catechist	Hy. Davies
James Preece, Church	Thos. Cooper
Missionary Catechist	Robt. Lawson
Ed. Clementson	W. H. Curtis
Saml. Jones	A. J. Ross, M.D.

James Farrow	his	Geo. Hawkes	W. Smith
R. Parry	Chas. X Smith	his	Henry Hadder
J. A. Maccloud	mark	John X James	James Shepherd, Church
P. Tapsell	B. Ashwell, Church Mis-	mark	Missionary Catechist
Thos. D. Grenville	sionary Catechist	James Buller	John Edmonds, Church
his	J. S. Polack	John Wright	Missionary Catechist
W. X Mullins	Philip H. King, son of	Jos. W. Wright	Benjamin Nesbitt
mark	Church Missionary Ca-	Robert Hunt	James N. Shepherd, son
his	techist	Jas. Ræve	of Church Missionary
Thos. X Phillips	John Fowler	Thos. Itelly	Catechist
mark	George Norman	Dennis B. Cochrane	George Clarke, son of
his	Wm. Young	R. W. Nickell	Church Missionary Ca-
Thos. X Burgess	Wm. Pepplewell	G. F. Russell	techist
mark	W. Oakes	H. Chapman	Peleg Wood
Rev. Nathaniel Turner,	Thos. J. Bennington	his	his
Wesleyan Missionary	Chas. Davies	Hy. X Harrison	Thomas X Ryan
Rev. Wm. Woon, Wes-	S. M. D. Monro	mark	mark
leyan Missionary	H. Monro	F. R. Lomerston	Henry Sonsheil
Rev. James Wallis, Wes-	W. Monro	James Honey	his
leyan Missionary	his	George Paton	John X Fox
Rev. John Whiteley, Wes-	Hugh X Marshall	Andrew Reading	mark
leyan Missionary	mark	Thos. Jones	Alexander Stephen
R. H. Smith	Michael Harvey	Charles Darey	Charles Bawn
E. Meurant	Thos. Hardman	his	Philip P. Perry
Wm. Alexander	his	John X Baker	George Greenway
David Robertson	Wm. X Smith	mark	James Greenway, jun.
Thos. Spicer	mark	J. W. Cleland	John Egerly
W. T. Green	his	Richd. Mariner	Roger K. Bullen
Rev. Henry Williams,	Benj. X Baker	M. O. Brien	Charles John Cook
Chairman of Church	mark	Francis Bowyer	Jack Monk
Missionary Committee	Peter Lynch	George Haggey	James Lowden
John Wright	Ed. Sullivan	Robt. Augur	Peter Toohey
A. L. W. Lewinton	Thos. McDonnell, Lieut.	Jno. Mawman	Thomas Turner, son of
Wm. Saunders	R.N.	his	Rev. N. Turner, Wes-
his	Thos. Gales	Wm. X Waters	leyan Missionary
George X Gage	W. Taylor	mark	James Johnson
mark	Nelson Gravatt	his	William Walker
John Fell	his	Robt. X Campbell	Peter Greenhill
John Henry Lewis	Jas. X Howland	mark	George Coker
H. M. Pilley, Church Mis-	mark	Alex. Grey	Henry Benderson
sionary Catechist	Jas. G. Brane	W. Cook	William Potter
John Flatt, Church Mis-	Richd. Fairburn, son of	Wm. Gardiner	
sionary Catechist	Church Missionary Ca-		
Saml. Williams, son of	techist		
Rev. H. Williams, Chair-	Thos. Johnston		
man of Church Mission-	John Best		
ary Committee	Jno. J. Montefiore		
Rev. Wm. Williams, bro-	Thos. Florance		
ther of Chairman of	his		
Church Missionary	Thos. X Wheatland		
Committee	mark		
Richard Davis, Church	Jno. King, Church Mis-		
Missionary Catechist	sionary Catechist		
Jas. Kemp, Church Mis-	Wm. Spence King, son		
sionary Catechist	of Church Missionary		
Henry Williams, son of	Catechist		
Chairman of Church	Samuel Eggart		
Missionary Committee	H. R. Oakes		
Charles Baker, Catechist	Matthew Marriner		
Wm. Rich. Wade, Church	John Grant		
Missionary Catechist	Henry Button		
John Fairburn, son of	W. Smith		
Church Missionary Ca-	B. McGurdy		
techist	Robert Day		
Wm. Powditch	John Shearer		
Henry P. Dunnam	George Gardner		
Dominick Terari	Thomas Wing		
Wm. Curtis	Thos. Russell		
his	James McNamara		
Hy. X Beasley	John Fagan		
mark	Thomas Graham		

In March of the same year the tribes of the Bay of Islands were fighting among themselves, but as the cause of the quarrel was purely of native origin, and the casualties were among the native race alone, the incidents of the warfare are outside the limits of our inquiry. The hostilities lasted several months, during which time the discharge of powder was very large and the loss of life considerable. On 28th May H.M.S. Rattlesnake, Captain Hobson, came into the Bay of Islands, and reported to Governor Bourke on the 8th August: "The quarrel between the Bay of Islands tribes is supposed by the best informed to be in a fair train for adjustment. When we sailed the loss sustained by the conflicting parties was nearly on a par." "Reverting to the position," Captain Hobson says, "in which our countrymen stand in regard to these factions, it is a remarkable fact, and worthy of imitation by more civilized powers, that the hostile forces have repeatedly passed through the very inclosures of the missionaries at

Pahia, on their way to and from the field of battle, without molesting a single article belonging to the whites; and in one instance the two parties by mutual consent removed the scene of action to a greater distance from our settlements lest a white man should by accident be injured. How long this feeling may continue it is impossible to say. I only know that those who have everything at stake—their lives, their families, and their properties—entertain not the slightest apprehension of any change.”

He suggested the establishment of factions at the Bay of Islands, Hokianga, Cloudy Bay, and other places, by the means of which “a sufficient restraint could be constitutionally imposed on the licentious whites without exciting the jealousy of the New Zealanders or any other power.” And a recommendation was further added in his communication in the following words, which was adopted: “A treaty should be concluded with the New Zealand chiefs for the recognition of the British factions and the protection of British subjects and property.”

With the Rattlesnake there were the following among other passengers. The Rev. S. Marsden, who had made his seventh and last visit to New Zealand. There were Misses Marsden and Williams, Mr. Charles Baker, a catechist of the Church Mission; Mr. John Wright, a storekeeper, and two prisoners named Edward Doyle and James Goulding, under restraint on a charge of felony. It appeared from the evidence of Wright, who kept a store at Kororareka, that on the 25th of June, 1837, about 9 o'clock in the evening, three men were found outside his house, having come, as they stated, for tobacco. This, however, was only a pretext, as before Wright had time to reply Doyle presented a pistol at him. A struggle took place for its possession when Doyle and Wright fell together to the ground, the pistol in the struggle going off. A Miss Featherston, a relation of Mrs. Wright, hearing the report of a pistol, screamed out. During the time the struggling was going on two other men appeared on the scene and on Miss Featherston raising the alarm one of the two threw her to the ground and was dragging her by the hair of her head when Wright was struck a blow on the forehead with a piece of firewood and fell senseless to the ground. Mrs. Wright then came on the battlefield when one of the fellows made a blow at her, and failing in his first endeavour struck her in the face with his fist. Wright having recovered from his blow had gone on the

verandah of his house when he was again knocked down. Doyle then presented another pistol at Wright, but while he was priming it Wright managed to get inside the house. One of the party then kept watch at the door of the store while the others plundered it of tobacco and other goods of the value of £100. They then got a cask of gundowder and tried to blow up the house and store, when seventy or eighty pounds of gunpowder were given them in consequence of their threats. The third man's name was Fell. The British Resident having sent Doyle and Goulding to Sydney for punishment, on being examined before the Magistrate, Doyle was committed for trial while Goulding was dismissed.

The case came on before the Supreme Court on the 1st August, when Doyle pleaded not guilty, and elected to be tried by a civil jury, but applied to have his trial adjourned, as his witnesses, whom he could call to prove an *alibi*, were in New Zealand. The Crown Solicitor informed the Court that Doyle had handed him a list of four witnesses, all resident in New Zealand, but there were no means of compelling their attendance; but Doyle said he had no doubt of their attendance if they were subpoenaed, and the case was then postponed to the next session of the Court.

On 1st November Doyle was again arraigned and pleaded that he was a native of New Bedford in America. Wright, Miss Featherston, and the Rev. H. Williams gave evidence. The Judge, in charging the jury, told them the first thing they had to determine was whether Doyle was a British subject or not, for if he was he was bound to tell them that by the Act for the administration of justice in New South Wales the Court had jurisdiction over all offences committed by British subjects in any of the islands of the Pacific Ocean. After five minutes' consultation the jury returned a verdict of guilty. Sentence of death was passed on the prisoner on the 18th November, who was duly executed a few days afterwards. The Acting Chief Justice, who with Mr. Justices Barton and Willis comprised the Court, said that those in authority in this case would have failed in their duty had they spared any trouble or expense to bring the case home to the prisoner. The Court had reason to know that the expenses of the trial had been immense, but expense was not a matter in a case where punishment was so necessary. The prisoner need not hope that he would escape.

On the 30th July, 1837, the Baron De Thierry arrived in Sydney from the Society Islands. He came in the American brig

Draco, Captain Lincoln, having left the islands on 7th June. He does not appear in the *Gazette* notice as having a suite, the passenger list only including Baron de Thierry, wife, and family, Mr. William Wentworth, and Mr. Edward Harding, master mariners. He appears, however, to have assumed functions of some importance, and more pretension in the land he came from than were awarded to him either in the colony or its New Zealand dependency. He was in the habit of giving away offices which, however small may have been their emolument, were high sounding in pretension and phraseology.

The following is an exact copy of one of His Majesty's commissions:—

We, Charles, Baron de Thierry, Sovereign Chief of New Zealand and King of the Island of Nukahava, hereby name and appoint Mr. James Burnett to be a lieutenant in our Royal Navy and harbour master of Port Charles (Port Anna Maria), in this island, in which latter capacity it will be his duty to visit all ships and other vessels coming to this port, and to keep a register of arrivals and departures with the dates thereof, authorising him to demand from each and every merchant vessel and whaler, whether belonging to us or to foreign nations (vessels belonging to the island excepted) the sum of eight dollars as retribution for pilotage and attendance on vessels coming to and going only, and likewise the sum of two dollars (or a fair equivalent) for the benefit of the kings or head chiefs of this island, which sum shall be distributed among them in the proportion of three parts to a king and two parts to a head chief, in lieu of port charges. It will be the duty of Lieutenant Burnett to protect the safety, interest, and welfare of the natives in their trade, and to guard to the best of his power against any violence or ill-conduct on the part of the natives against vessels or equipage in this port. Vessels of all friendly nations to be treated on the same footing. We authorise Lieutenant James Burnett to desire of any captain in our service visiting this port, to furnish him for his own use with goods to the amount of fifty pounds sterling per quarter upon proper receipt for delivery of the same. Given at Port Charles (Anna Maria) in the island of Nukahava this 22nd day of July, 1835.

(Seal) CHARLES BARON DE THIERRY.

By the King, Edward Fergus, Colonel and Aide-de-Camp.

On his arrival in Sydney, Rusden says, he offered to lay down his sovereign title if Bourke would guarantee protection to him, which Bourke however declined doing. Asking the Governor if he would like to see him protected under the French or American flags, he was told certainly not. The Governor wrote to the Colonial Office in September, 1837: "I have not considered it my duty to interpose any obstacle to his proceeding to New Zealand, of which country he claims to be a chief by right of purchase. He denies all intention of prejudicing the interests of Great Britain, and professes a reliance upon moral influence alone for the authority he expects to acquire."

The Baron, however, issued a long address from Sydney, on the 20th September, to the white residents of New Zealand less pretentious in tone than his proclamation. A paragraph will suffice to show its purport. He says: "Believe me, residents of Hokianga, that I have not been unmindful of your necessities. I go to govern within the bounds of my own territory, it is true, but I go neither as an invader or a despot. You will find in me a brother and a friend who will feel proud of your co-operation and advice in legislative measures, and who, without claiming an unwilling service from you, will preside over you as the guardian of your safety and prosperity."

De Thierry landed at Hokianga on the 4th November, 1837, with ninety-three followers. The majority were persons picked up in Sydney, and as they came without provisions for any time more than for two or three weeks, it became a matter of serious concern how the mixed multitude were to be provided for. They came over in a vessel chartered by Lieutenant McDonnell, who at that time had a contract with the English Government for the supply of spars to the dockyard. Many of De Thierry's people found employment with the charterer of the ship. The natives repudiated the sale of the land. Muriwai was dead, Patuone at the Thames, and Tamati Waka Nene, the third party to the sale, gave the Baron a piece of land, where he subsequently lived in a quiet way.

The feelings of rancour which were aroused in connection with this episode in New Zealand history have long subsided, and the chief actors have passed from the scene. It is a fortunate circumstance that Baron De Thierry before his death had placed on record his version of the circumstances which attended his advent in New Zealand. This account, written in 1848, was found among his papers, and is now published for the first time:—

"I have been eleven years in New Zealand. There was a time when I was much spoken of in connection with this country—when I was pulled to pieces with very little ceremony by some, defended by others, and let alone by the majority who looked upon New Zealand but as a land of cannibals not worth thinking of, and perhaps on myself as an amateur of their favourite dainty—a man of silly pretensions who had chosen this savage land as the theatre of insane exploits, and who would run out his unprofitable career and end his life in obscurity—unthought of, uncared for, if unnoticed.

"Disputes in matters of opinion are very

foolish things, and knowing them to be so I have never replied to any of the accusations so freely indulged in against me; but now that I sit down to encounter fresh dangers, to lay myself still more open to assault by doing so rash a thing as to write a book, I owe it to those who may know but little of my early connection with this country to say something on the subject—little, because much would be both tedious and unnecessary.

“Before I proceed it is proper to observe that I have a mass of valuable official documents by me which of themselves would fill several large volumes, but of which I shall make no use save by occasional extracts should they be absolutely required. Indeed, of many of these important papers I am precluded from making use, because they were forwarded to me from time to time by friends having access to official documents in England and France, and many of them of so confidential a nature as to induce me, as a point of honour, to withhold them, although in so doing I deprive myself of a strong arm and of a most effectual mode of proving that I did not act foolishly in so seriously thinking of this country, and that I had the best of reasons for all I did and attempted to do.

“One of the most valued friends of my early youth was a gentleman of mature age who had been the intimate friend of the immortal Cook. How often we dwelt upon the islands of the Pacific, and how often New Zealand, savage as it then was, was spoken of, would be to attempt much more than I am able to remember; certain it is that I received at that time the strong impressions upon which I afterwards acted. But my almost dormant sympathies were not effectually roused until one of the earliest missionaries to New Zealand, Mr. Thomas Kendall, arrived at Cambridge in 1820. I was then a member of Queen’s College. Mr. Kendall brought with him the celebrated chief Shunghie (whose history has filled such a bloody page in the annals of his country), and Waikato, one of his friends. Mr. Kendall’s avowed object was to get the amiable and learned Professor Lee to assist him in reducing the New Zealand language to grammatical rules. During the many months thus employed the two chiefs spent much of their time with me. Mr. Kendall was ordained by the Bishop of Ely, and previous to his leaving the university I had, by his earnest entreaties joined to those of the native chiefs, agreed to purchase land in New Zealand for the purpose of establishing a colony there, and promised that I should

proceed there myself at a future period. The property which I gave the two chiefs with that which I entrusted to the two chiefs for furtherance of that object amounted to about £1,100. They left London and proceeded to their destination. In the commencement of 1823, I received a letter from the Rev. Thos. Kendall, and a deed of grant for 40,000 acres on the Hokianga. In subsequent letters he expressed, as he did in the first, his regret that, owing to the wars of the natives and other unavoidable causes, he had not been able to do better for me, but he gave me the most encouraging prospects, and Shunghie and Waikato sent me numerous presents as tokens of affection.

“Repeatedly thwarted in my attempts to raise a colony for New Zealand, year after year passed away, and it was not till the year 1835 that I reached Tahiti (Otaheite) with a few followers, having crossed the Isthmus of Darien from Chagris to Panama, and made a short stay at Nukahiva, one of the Marquesas Islands. At Tahiti I learned for the first time that a British Resident had been appointed at the Bay of Islands, and this gentleman took upon himself the most important task of assembling the chiefs, and of representing the audacity of a foreigner who was coming to invade their country. So effectually had this opposition been got up that for twenty-two months I was unable to prevail upon any captain to take me to New Zealand, the British Resident having by triplicate warned me in the names of the assembled chiefs not to dare to put my foot in the country, as it could not be done without bloodshed. He cleverly availed himself of this opportunity to advise the chiefs, ‘in congress assembled,’ as the manifesto goes, to petition His Majesty the King of Great Britain to take these islands under His Majesty’s protection.

“Having had several opportunities of communicating with officers commanding British ships of war, which from time to time came to Tahiti, I took the liberty of forming my own estimate of the value and importance of the British Resident’s communication, and having at length obtained passage for myself and family, arrived in Sydney, and lost no time in seeking an audience of the Governor. Of His Excellency, General Sir Richard Bourke, I can speak but in terms of the highest praise. He received me with courtesy, disacknowledged the proceedings of the British Resident at the Bay of Islands, and admitted that in what I was doing for New Zealand there was nothing that he could object to. I was in repeated communication with the collector

and controller of customs up to the hour of my departure for New Zealand, and arrived at Hokianga on the 4th of November, 1837, with a preliminary (as I had every reason to think) body of colonists, all British subjects, amounting, together with my family, to ninety-six souls.

"At Sydney I learnt that the Rev. Thos. Kendall, whose representations had brought me hither, had played me false. I learnt, too, that he had been dismissed from the Society, and was drowned about a fortnight before my arrival in Sydney bringing up a schooner cargo of cedar from the Woollangong, his hat and wig being all that was found of him. I found in Sydney that Shunghie had applied the proceeds of the portion of the money allotted to him by the ex-missionary, in the purchase of arms and ammunition wherewith to carry on the exterminating war which he so long waged, and which yielded him so many hundreds of human beings to feast upon. Still had I every reason to believe that the deed conveying 40,000 acres for and in consideration of thirty-six axes, was quite valid, and that I should find no difficulty in locating any people upon the property.

"We arrived, as I have said, at our long looked-for destination. To me it was the accomplishment of sanguine hopes of many years' standing, and the attainment of an object which had incessantly occupied my attention. I had no sooner arrived than I sent for Nene (Tamati Waka) whose name appeared second on my title, and here, to my utter astonishment, I found that the chiefs acknowledged having signed the deed, on the Providence when in New Zealand, but, in lieu of the thirty-six English axes, they got from Mr. Kendall twenty-four axes which he had made in New Zealand by a blacksmith who had settled there three or four years before my arrival. Instead of falling upon my settlers and killing my family, as the declaration of the British Resident would have led me to expect, the natives behaved very kindly to us, rendered us every assistance in their power, and conveyed my property up the river where Nene gave me a portion of land, amounting to about five thousand acres, in consideration of the twenty-four axes which he and his people had received, but squabbles and quibbles crept in by degrees, and the whole affair ended by my obtaining a title to about one thousand acres.

"Forty thousand acres for thirty-six axes appeared, I own, a one-sided bargain, but that impression is removed when we consider

that long after the date of the deed (1822) eighteen large hogs, each weighing upwards of 200lb., were given for an old musket, and four and five equally large hogs for an axe. To a New Zealander a good axe was a great treasure, little thought of now, but of great price in those days, for with an axe used in felling and squaring timber, the native could obtain blankets, gunpowder, firearms, tobacco, and all that then constituted the chief wealth of a New Zealander. Indeed to quarrel with the rate of exchanges would be to find fault with all that Cook and other naval commanders had before done, as it is often related by early navigators that they provisioned their ships with paltry beads and scraps of hoop iron.

"Were I to relate how it was that my immigrants were induced away from me at the instigation of others—were I to relate how my confidence was betrayed by unworthy members of the Church, how villainously I have been used, I would enter upon a subject altogether foreign to my purpose. I am not writing my own history, though I may sometimes have to mention myself. In as few lines as possible I have accounted for my coming to New Zealand, and will take this passing opportunity of stating, that as I explained my views to the satisfaction of the Colonial Government of New South Wales, so had I always kept the British Government informed of my proceedings before and after my leaving England. Never was an obstacle placed in my way by Government, nor did Captain Hobson, with whom I became acquainted at Sydney, endeavour in the least to damp my prospects. He stated to me that he was going to make a report which might, perhaps, induce Government to stir relatively to New Zealand, but that it was not in consequence of my proceedings, for he could see nothing objectionable in them. In 1840 he became Governor of New Zealand, and we were friends till the time of his death. It is from the moment of his arrival that New Zealand comes under the head of a British Colony."

During the year 1837 the New Zealand Association was formed, for the purpose of establishing British settlements in New Zealand. The promoters dignified their intention by calling it the British Colonisation of New Zealand, thereby seeking to ignore all that had already been accomplished in that direction by other British subjects at one time resident in New South Wales. The Association consisted of people desirous of emigrating to New Zealand and the promoters

of the enterprise. The latter were called the Committee of the New Zealand Association, and consisted of the following persons: The Hon. Francis Baring, M.P. (Chairman), Right Hon. the Earl of Durham, Right Hon. Lord Petrie, Hon. W. B. Baring, M.P., Walter F. Campbell, Esq., M.P., Charles Enderby, Esq., Robert Ferguson, Esq., M.P., the Rev. Samuel Hinds, D.D., Benjamin Hawes, Esq., M.P., Philip Howard, Esq., M.P., William Hutt, Esq., Thomas Mackenzie, Esq., M.P., Sir W. Molesworth, Bart., M.P., Sir George Sinclair, Bart., M.P., Captain Sir William Symonds, R.N., Henry George Ward, Esq., M.P., and W. Wolryche Whitmore, Esq., with power to add to their number.

After numerous meetings of the committee and other members of the Association, and a correspondence with the Government, a bill was prepared to pass through Parliament to give effect to the promoters' proposals. The death of William the Fourth, however, delayed their proceedings, and when it became certain that the bill could not be passed during the year the committee passed the following resolutions:—

"1. That this committee are satisfied with the progress that has been made in negotiating for the consent of Her Majesty's Government to the introduction of a bill for giving effect to the views of the Association, and that they use their best endeavours to procure an Act for the purpose during the next session of Parliament.

"2. That it is expedient to strengthen the Association by laying their views before the public, and adding to their numbers."

The first step that was proposed to be taken was to obtain from tribes who were disposed to part with their land and their "sovereign rights," certain tracts of territory which would become part of the Queen's foreign possessions. This land was to be open to purchase in unlimited quantities at an uniform price, save such portions as should be reserved for Maori maintenance. The land thus thrown open to purchase the authority charged with the power of disposal should be at liberty to sell the same in England and to give receipts for the purchase money which should entitle the holders or their agents to select land in the settlements as though it had been purchased there. The bulk of the money thus acquired was to be devoted to the cost of the emigration of labourers from Great Britain to New Zealand, "with provisions in detail for enabling buyers of land to nominate labourers for a free passage to the settlement in which the land had been purchased." The cost of

purchasing tracts of land, whether paid for in money or goods, of making roads and building of school-houses, defraying the ordinary public expenditure of the settlement, and all the charges of emigration, were to be paid for from loan which was secured on the land which was sought to be acquired. Thus it will be seen that if the first part of the plan miscarried the whole fabric collapsed. The one thing to do was to purchase native land, to borrow money to do so, and to trust to the chapter of accidents for the purchase turning out well.

The plan was not, however, stated in such open terms as these. The Government stipulated for a certain amount of paid up capital to be shown before it received the Government approval. This was the stumbling-block of the Association. In modern parlance, a company was sought to be formed with the property of other people, without their consent or authority. All the respectability of the names of the promoters could not hide this ugly feature of the proposal. Then the ground the Association had taken up was shifted. The Association wished, it said, neither to run any pecuniary risk nor reap any pecuniary advantage.

The negotiations were abandoned, but the Government was asked if it would oppose the introduction of a bill to secure the objects of the Association. Lord Glenelg said they would not, but they desired it to be distinctly understood that they would not in any degree pledge themselves to the support of the measure, but would hold themselves at liberty to take any course which they might think fit with regard to it in any of its subsequent stages.

An application was also made to the Church Missionary Society for its co-operation and aid. Mr. Coates, who received the deputation, frankly stated that though he had no doubt of the respectability and the purity of the motives of the promoters, he was opposed to the proceedings of the company, and was determined to thwart them by all the means in his power.

In June, 1838, a bill was introduced into the House of Commons called "A Bill for the Provisional Government of British Settlements in New Zealand." It encountered a great deal of opposition, and the London *Times* called it a bill for robbing Her Majesty of a portion of her prerogatives and the New Zealanders of their independence, for seizing under pretence of purchase and cession the sovereignty of the islands known by the name

of New Zealand, and conferring it on a board of commissioners not appointed by the Crown, not removable by the Crown, but named in the bill and removable only by a majority of their own body with the approbation of the Crown, a board in which all vacancies are to be supplied by the board itself with the like approbation. After a review of its provisions it says the appropriate designation of the commissioners it proposes to erect would be "*Commissioners for executing the office of high autocrats of the British settlements in New Zealand.*" The article thus continues: "We could scarcely have believed, had we not seen the bill with our own eyes, that a proposition so monstrous could have been made to the British Parliament in the nineteenth century. But our surprise is abated when we recollect that Liberalism and tyranny are inseparably connected, and that the Radicals love arbitrary power provided it be only committed in their own hands." The bill introduced by Mr. Francis Baring was carried by seventy-four votes against twenty-three, the Government not opposing it.

Mr. Rusden narrates the subsequent fate of this measure thus:—

"On the 20th June, Sir George Grey, on behalf of the Government, resisted the second reading; Sir Robert Inglis congratulated him; Mr. Hawes, a

member of the Association, considered the opposition of the Government ill-timed. Mr. Gladstone threw his weight into the scale. The House ought to be cautious. There was no exception to the unvarying and melancholy

story of colonization. Mr. H. G. Wade retorted that interference ought not to be delayed. The European visitors of New Zealand had entailed on it all the curses of civilization without its benefits. The last persons who ought to

oppose the bill were the members of the Administration. During the whole of his experience in public life he had never known so much uncertainty, vacillation, or change of purpose displayed by the Ministry towards those connected with the undertaking, whom he himself, relying on the faith of the Government, had been a party to deluding. Viscount Howick disclaimed having given the Association any encouragement. The moment he heard that a loan was proposed his answer was that the Government could not think of giving encouragement to a bill which gave no security against inveiglement of Her Majesty's subjects nor for observance of justice towards the aborigines." The bill was rejected by ninety-two votes to thirty-two.

On the 23rd May, 1838, was formed what was called the Kororareka Association. The execution of Doyle failed to act as a salutary warning to malefactors on the beach, and the householders and traders banded

themselves together to protect their families and properties. Turner, a resident for a long period at the Bay of Islands, says the chief cause of

the association being formed was the instigation of the British Resident; but after he had seen the resolutions the settlers had agreed upon for their guidance, he refused to give the least assistance towards their being carried



From a picture by Anas.

Tamati Waka Nene.

out. It was hardly to be expected that he otherwise could have felt or acted. The association was governed by a president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, with an elected committee of management. Its limits were thus defined:—From Matarei, Blind Bay, in a straight line across the land to Oneroa, or the long, sandy beach, and all the land bounded by the coast from the beach to the bay. The resolutions of the settlers were fifteen in number, and are thus worded:—

1. That in the event of any act of aggression being committed on the persons or property of the members of this society, by natives of New Zealand, or others, the individuals of this association shall consider themselves bound to assemble together, armed if necessary, on being called upon to do so, at the dwelling of the person attacked, and if any person shall refuse, he shall be fined £5 sterling, but if the person attacked be in fault he shall be fined £5 sterling.

2. That no mariner shall be entitled to run away or to leave any vessel for the purpose of being secreted, nor shall known runaways be received or harboured by any member, and if any member shall commit such an offence, he shall pay for each mariner so enticed away, received, secreted, or harboured, a fine of £10 sterling.

3. That if any mariner shall absent himself from the vessel to which he belongs contrary to the Act of William IV. for merchant seamen, and the captain of the vessel or his officers make no application to this association for the space of four clear days after the said mariner has left his vessel, then such persons shall not be considered runaways.

4. That every member shall consider himself bound to aid any commander of a vessel who may apply for the recovery of runaway sailors who may be at Kororareka, or in its vicinity, within the prescribed time mentioned in the third resolution, and if any member shall refuse to give aid, he shall pay a fine of £5 sterling.

5. That if any person be reported to have committed a robbery on any of the inhabitants of Kororareka, or in its vicinity, he shall be obliged to appear before at least seven members of this association, one of whom shall preside over the proceedings, and they shall examine witnesses in proof of the person's guilt or innocence; and if the evidence goes to prove the guilt of the person so accused, then it shall be necessary for the seven members to agree unanimously before the guilty person shall be forwarded to the British Resident to be dealt with as he may think fit, but if the British Resident refuses to act, then the guilty person shall be punished according to the local laws which necessity may compel us to frame.

6. That if any member or any other person residing in Kororareka or its vicinity shall receive any property, knowing it to be stolen, and not make a report thereof to this association, he shall be dealt with as a thief would be according to the foregoing resolutions.

7. That if any boat be landed at Kororareka for the purpose of business, or that brings sailors who are on liberty to the house of any of the members of this society, and the oars and boat be given in charge of the said member, and such oars and boat be stolen, then all the members called upon shall exert themselves to the utmost of their power for the recovery of the stolen property, and in case of refusing to do so each shall be fined £10 sterling.

8. That if any inhabitant of Kororareka or its vicinity refuses to conform to the foregoing resolutions, he not

being a member of this society, each member shall unite to oblige such persons to abide by the laws, and if any member refuses he shall be fined £10 sterling.

9. That the householders and landholders who may have a house or houses, or land to let, shall hereafter be obliged to enter into an agreement with the tenant or tenants to conform to the foregoing resolutions, and if necessary to call in any member of the association to enforce the laws, and in the event of such landlord neglecting or refusing to do so, he shall be fined £20 sterling; and if any member shall refuse to give all the help in his power to the landlord for the purpose above named he shall be fined £10 sterling.

10. That if any tenant or tenants shall refuse to pay the rent of the premises he occupies, or who will not quit in case of non-payment, it shall be considered right to call in at least five members to arbitrate the matter, and the aforesaid landlord and tenant or tenants shall be bound to abide by their decision.

11. That the association shall meet once a month in the house of one of the members, and the chairman, deputy-chairman, and other persons then chosen shall be the four officers for the ensuing month, to take cognizance of any matter coming under the foregoing resolutions, and that no officer shall receive any emolument for his services.

12. Should any of the four officers for the ensuing month be obliged to absent himself or themselves, and give a satisfactory reason to the chairman, another member or members shall be chosen in his or their room for the month, and on the absent member or members returning, he or they shall be obliged to serve the time he or they have been absent, in relief of the member or members taking his or their place; or if either of the four absent himself on the day of meeting, three shall form a quorum, of which the chairman or the deputy-chairman shall be one.

13. That every member of the association shall, as soon as possible, provide himself with a good musket and bayonet, a brace of pistols, a cutlass, and at least thirty rounds of ball cartridge, and that the said arms shall be inspected at any time by an officer appointed for that purpose.

14. That to form a fund to defray the expenses of this association each member shall pay at the next general meeting ten shillings and two shillings a month afterwards.

15. That no person shall be allowed to become a member of this association who may reside out of the limits as before defined, until all the resolutions have been made and carried, and then any person so described wishing to join the society, shall, on application, be proposed at the first general meeting afterwards, and be balloted for at the next meeting, or be elected or rejected by a show of hands.

The resolutions do not convey any idea of punishment other than fines which many persons would refuse or evade the payment of. But any person refusing to pay a just debt, the creditor was allowed to give the debtor a horsewhipping every time he chanced to meet with him—that was if he were able—until the debt was paid. “For more serious offences,” Turner says, “we had no other way of punishing offenders than by tarring and feathering with three coats and drumming them off the beach. I think three or four cases were all that were thus punished.”

Thomson tells us a story of one feathering. He says: "The culprit, a white man, already nearly suffocated from being secured all night in a sea-chest, was first denuded of his garments, then smeared thickly over with tar and covered with the white feathery flowers of the raupo plant, for want of true feathers. He was then marched along the beach, preceded by a fife and drum playing the Rogue's March, and accompanied by drunken white men and astonished natives to its termination. Then the criminal was put into a canoe with the musicians, and landed on the opposite side of the bay, beyond the Association's jurisdiction, with an assurance that his re-appearance in the settlement would be followed by another tarring and feathering."

The British Government became alarmed at the "complexion" of the Kororareka Association, and in December, 1838, Lord Glenelg suggested that a British Consul should be appointed for New Zealand.

Mr. Jameson, who came to South Australia in 1838 as surgeon-superintendent of the Surrey, remained in the colonies of Austroasia for some time, and was in New Zealand before the arrival of Governor Hobson at the Bay of Islands. He describes Kororareka and its population in the following manner:—

"Kororareka in the beginning of 1840 contained about three hundred European inhabitants of all ages and sexes, exclusive of the numerous sailors, whose nightly revels constituted the only interruption to the peace and harmony which generally prevailed. These gentry resorted also in great numbers to the village of Pomare, in the inner anchorage, near the new township of Russell, where Pomare himself carried on the lucrative trade of grog selling, besides another of a still more discreditable kind, for the convenience of his reckless customers—French, English,

and American. Here might be seen the curious spectacle of a still savage chief enriching himself at the expense of individuals, who, although belonging to the most civilized and powerful nations of the world, were reduced to a lower degree of barbarism by the influence of their unbridled licentiousness.

"Hitherto no legal restraint upon crime or violence had existed in New Zealand. The authority of Busby, the British Resident, was merely nominal. That gentleman lived on the opposite shore of the bay, at the distance of five miles, and his visits to Kororareka were few and far between. The natives respected him as the representative of the British Government, and among the Europeans he was rendered popular by his courteous and conciliatory deportment. His appointment, however, led in no wise to the maintenance of order, or the prevention of crime, and his interferences in the affairs of individuals, without the power of enforcing his decisions, could have produced no satisfactory results.

"Yet crimes, misdemeanours and larcenies were remarkably rare occurrences, and in no part of the world were the persons or the property of individuals more secure than in this little settlement within whose precincts no lawyer had ever yet shown his face. The stores were full of merchandise to the value of between twenty and thirty thousand pounds. The merchants and grog-sellers were known to have in their possession large quantities of specie; nevertheless the crimes of robbery and housebreaking were almost unknown and unheard. Moreover, commercial bills were in circulation which in every case were duly honoured. In a word, no statements could be more widely at variance with the truth than those which represented the Bay of Islands to be a nest of outlaws and criminals."

CHAPTER XII.

THE NEW ZEALAND LAND COMPANY.

*Formation of the New Zealand Company with a capital of £400,000—Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield the founder and managing director—Purchase of various land claims and sales of land—Hostility of the English Government—Despatch of the *Tory* under direction of Colonel Wakefield to acquire lands—Arrival at Port Nicholson—The chiefs *Epuni* and *Whareponu* offer to sell the land—The bargain concluded and payment made—Visit to *Wairau* and *Cloudy Bay*—Fighting over the goods paid for the land at *Port Nicholson*—Negotiation with *Rauparaha*—Purchase of the *Ngatitua* and *Ngatiatua* lands—Claim to an extensive area of country—Visit to *Hokianga*—A million acres for fifty pounds worth of trade—Area claimed on behalf of the Company and price paid—The *Tory* ashore at *Kaipara*—Arrival and landing of the first immigrants in the *Aurora* and *Cuba*—Visit of *Captain Symonds* to establish the *Manukau Company*—A good story of *Captain Symonds*—Action of the English Government to extend its jurisdiction over New Zealand—Despatch of *Captain Hobson*—Instructed to make a friendly arrangement with the chiefs—His arrival at *Sydney* and interview with land claimants—Missionary influence enlisted on the side of annexation—Attitude of Her Majesty's Government towards the natives and land claims—*Captain Hobson's* powers and instructions—Arrival of the *Lieut.-Governor* at the *Bay of Islands* and proclamation of his office.*



EARLY in the year 1839 was formed the New Zealand Land Company, subsequently called the New Zealand Company, of which Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield was, to use his own language, "the principal founder and

the principal managing director from the time of its foundation until the summer of 1846." The prospectus of the company declared its capital to be £400,000 in 4,000 shares of £100 each with a deposit of £10 per share. It had as Governor the Earl of Durham, and as Deputy-Governor, Joseph Somes, Esq. The directory contained the names of men of means and of repute, among whom were several

members of Parliament, some of those who had been directors or shareholders in the Company of 1825, and of the New Zealand Association of 1837. Captain Herd, of the *Providence*, had obtained some agreements or alleged agreements with the chiefs of some of the places he visited, for the purchase of lands in 1826, which were described in the prospectus as "extensive tracts of most fertile land in situations highly favourable both for agricultural and commercial settlements." Such had been "purchased and secured," and, on the faith of the declaration, as Rusden observes, "a capital of £100,000 was paid up, and a hundred thousand acres of land in New Zealand were sold in London before a title to one had been acquired. Those who paid money drew lots for sections unknown of land which the Company was about to seek." The New Zealand Company of 1825 had expended some £20,000 in their expedition, all of which, Gibbon Wakefield says, "was lost," and formed, as it were, a first charge on the assets of the New Zealand Land Company. The early company had, however, obtained from

the Crown the promise of a charter of incorporation, and when the New Zealand Land Company of 1839 was being formed the company of 1825 stood in the way with its prior claim. About the time of its formation the New Zealand Land Company acquired from Lieutenant McDonnell, of Hokianga,

Blenkinsopp, in Cook Strait, and shares in the New Zealand Land Company were not only at par value but inquired for.

The English Government was as hostile to the Company as it had been to the Association, Lord Normanby declaring that it was impossible that his Lordship, as representing



Edward Gibbon Wakefield.

certain properties which he claimed at Kaipara; but investigation in December of the same year proved only that the Company could not obtain possession or title to these lands. Land claims had also been obtained from the heirs of a Captain

the Colonial Office, should do any act which could be construed into a direct or indirect sanction of the proceedings of the Company. No Government could view with complacency a body of its own subjects proceeding to a foreign country to purchase large tracts of

land, and to establish a system of government there independent of its own authority. When the hostility of the Colonial Office became known the promoters threw down the gauntlet and despatched a fine vessel of 400 tons, called the *Tory*, under the direction of an agent, Colonel William Wakefield, who was instructed to adopt the usual method of acquiring land from the natives, but if possible upon a far greater scale than was necessary for the purposes of cultivation, or even of speculation by individuals. The author of "*Adventure in New Zealand*," from whom we quote, says: "The new company were thus forced into the adoption of what has been termed land sharking, as far as acquiring lands by assignment from savages."

The *Tory* was armed with eight guns, and small arms for all the ship's company, filled with the necessary stores, provisions, and goods for barter, and manned with a strong and picked crew.

The *Tory* sailed from Plymouth on 12th May, 1839, under the command of Mr. Edmund Mein Chaffers, R.N., who had been acting master of H.M.S. *Beagle* during the surveying voyage performed by Captain Fitzroy between the years 1830 and 1836. The passengers were Colonel William Wakefield, Mr. Edward Jerningham Wakefield, the son of the principal founder of the Company; Doctor Ernest Dieffenbach, appointed naturalist to the Company; Mr. Charles Heaphy, the Company's draughtsman; Mr. John Dorset who had been promised the appointment of colonial surgeon; Neti, a slave from Cook Strait who had been a resident in Mr. Wakefield's house for some two years and who was to act as interpreter; a Mr. Richard Lowry was the chief mate, and Mr. George F. Robinson the surgeon of the ship.

In the steerage were Robert Doddrey, who had been trading on the coast of New Zealand, engaged as storekeeper and additional interpreter; the second and third mates, Colonel Wakefield's servant, the steward and his cabin boys. "Petty officers," Mr. E. J. Wakefield, to whom we are indebted for the details, says, "and foremost hands, among whom were a New Zealander and a native of the Marquesas Islands made up our muster roll to thirty-five souls."

The *Tory* proved a good sailor, the land on the western coast of the Middle Island of New Zealand, in the vicinity of Cape Farewell, being sighted on the 16th August, thus marking a passage of ninety-six days. On the eighteenth of the month the *Tory* had

anchored in Ship Cove, and on the day following commenced relitting and filling her water casks. The natives evinced their usual kindness and hospitality to the strangers, who explored some of the inlets of the strait, visiting whaling stations until the end of the month, when Barrett, a whaler at Te Awaitei, who had been many years among the natives, was engaged as an interpreter, none of those on board being even partially efficient to explain the views of the Company to the people.

On the 20th September the *Tory* crossed the Strait, and proceeded to Port Nicholson, which appears to have been little known from the time of Captain Cook to the naming of the port by the captain of a Sydney trading vessel, after his patron and friend, the harbour-master of Port Jackson. Wakefield, it is said, had been told, prior to his departure from the Marlborough side of the strait, that the Rev. H. Williams was expected from the Bay of Islands, his business being to warn the natives against alienating their lands. The two chiefs, Epuni and Wharepori, were not long in finding their way on board the *Tory*, passing the night with the strangers, and offering to sell the harbour and the land adjoining. On the next morning, we are told, they renewed the conversation about the land, and desired Colonel Wakefield to go and look at it, and see how he liked it. A chief was selected to take him up the river Hutt, and Colonel Wakefield started with Barrett and some natives in a small canoe. Colonel Wakefield returned on board the same evening, well satisfied with his voyage of inspection, and concluded to effect the purchase of the district. Two or three days were consumed by the natives in debating the expediency and conditions of the sale, when, on the morning of the 25th September, the goods Colonel Wakefield intended to give the natives for their land were got on deck in the presence of about one hundred of the residents of the district. All the owners present were not, however, unanimous in the desire to sell, and one chief, Puakawa, deprecated the sale so pertinaciously that the debate continued until sunset of the 26th, when, on the day following, Wakefield promising an addition of twenty muskets to the goods offered, the deed was signed. One hundred and thirty-five stand of arms, twenty-one kegs of gunpowder, one cask of ball cartridges, night-caps, pipes, a gross of Jews' harps, twelve hundred fishing-hooks, and twelve sticks of sealing-wax formed part of the consideration of the purchase.

On the 30th September Colonel Wakefield

ordered the New Zealand flag to be hoisted at the flagstaff on the shore, and the same was done at the main of the *Tory*, which saluted it with twenty-one guns, to the great delight of the natives at the noise and smoke.

On the 1st October, Colonel Wakefield writes: "It remained for me now only to leave a person to watch the interests of the Company and to make preparations for the arrival of the settlers, and I had brought with me from Queen's Charlotte Sound a trustworthy man well qualified by his knowledge of the language and habits of the people for the purpose." On the fourth of the month Wakefield was at Cloudy Bay, and states that the Wairau, of which district "much has been said, was bought by a Mr. Blenkinsopp some years ago for an old six-pounder gun." After remaining for nearly a fortnight about Cloudy Bay, he proceeded to Kapiti where he found the tribes on the adjoining mainland engaged in hostilities over the proceeds of the sale of land at Port Nicholson. On the seventeenth he writes: "This morning our three surgeons went to Waikanae, where they found plenty of work. The Ngatiawa people had fifty wounded in yesterday's engagement. Their opponents carried off as many on their side." While the party was on shore, he writes: "I received on board Rauparaha and the other chiefs of the Kawhia tribe with a salute to the New Zealand flag. They all came prejudiced against the sale of any land in consequence of the English from Cloudy Bay having told them that the white people intended to drive the natives away from any settlements they might form, and they also betrayed great jealousy respecting the purchase of Port Nicholson. After much discussion they appeared to be convinced of the sincerity of my assurances, that the English settlers were coming among them as friends, and would better their condition by employing and paying them; and ended by letting me look at their lands, and if I found them good to take them." On the 21st, Wakefield proposed to buy all the possessions of the people assembled, viz., of Ngatitaoa, their rights and claims, on both sides of the strait, which he writes, "after they had seen a great portion of the goods I intended to give in payment, was accepted by all." On Wednesday, the 23rd, an important conversation or conference took place, ending in the full cession to the Company of what rights the ceders may have had to convey, but it was not until the following day that the deed was executed, and Colonel Wakefield could write:

"I have thus acquired possessions for the Company extending from the 38th to the 43rd degree of latitude on the western coast, and from the 41st to the 43rd on the eastern. He, however, states that "to complete the rights of the Company to all the land unsold to foreigners in the above extensive district it remains for me to secure the cession of their rights in it from the Ngatiawa, and in a proportionally small trade from the Ngatiraukawa and Wanganui people."

On the 27th of October he had an interview with Ngatiawa, at Waikanae, when some of the elder chiefs addressed the meeting and "coincided in granting all their lands upon condition of receiving arms and ammunition." On the 8th of November a conference was arranged to take place on the *Tory*, and soon after daylight, Wakefield says, the "natives began to come on board, and by 12 o'clock more than two hundred had assembled on the deck, including all the chiefs of the sound." He produced a deed which purported to convey to him, in trust for the Company, "lands bounded on the south by the parallel of the 43rd degree of south latitude, and on the west, north and east by the sea with all islands, and also comprising all those lands, islands, tenements, etc., situate on the northern shore of Cook Strait, which are bounded on the north-east by a direct line drawn from the southern head of the river or harbour of Mokau, situate on the west coast in latitude of about 38° south, to Tikukahore, situate on the east coast in the latitude of about 41° south, and on the east, south and west by the sea, excepting always the island of Kapiti, and the small islands adjacent thereto and the island of Maua, but including Tehukahore, Wairarapa, Port Nicholson, Otaki, Manawatu, Rangitiki, Wanganui, Waitotara, Patea, Ngatiruanui, Taranaki, Moturoa, and the several Sugar-loaf Islands, and the river or harbour of Mokau."

On Saturday, the 9th of November, he says: "I landed this morning and took possession of the land in the name of the Company. I send copies of the two deeds which make the title to all the late possessions and claims of the Kawhia and Ngatiawa tribes with a chart of the district. To distinguish the possessions of the Company which so greatly predominate in this extensive territory, I have called it North and South Durham."

Leaving Kapiti on the 18th of November the *Tory* proceeded to the northward along the West Coast intending to land at Wanganui, which, Wakefield considered "a place of great importance," but the weather prevented the

landing and the morning of the 22nd found the party within sight of Mount Egmont, some fifty miles distant; but it was not until the 27th of November that the vessel anchored off Taranaki.

On the next day he says: "It being impossible to collect the chiefs whose consent is requisite for the transfer of the land from Manawatu to Mokau under at least a week, and having been detained so much by baffling winds, I determined to remain no longer here but to leave Mr. Barrett to conduct the business of negotiation, promising to return in a month's time to make the payment for the different districts and receive the written assent of the chiefs to the sale."

On the 2nd December Hokianga was reached, and on the day following Baron de Thierry came on board. Herd's purchase was found to be limited in area, and though the point given him and named Herd's Point was good in quality, it offered no inducement to form a township; neither did the opposite land, when examined, present a much more flattering appearance. On Friday, the 13th, Wakefield says: "I have purchased of Mrs. Blenkinsopp, the widow of Captain Blenkinsopp — a Maori woman — whom I have mentioned as having bought the Wairau and other property in Cloudy Bay, all her rights and claims to the same. This completes the Company's title to that part of the southern island, and is of importance as the finest district thereabouts, and connected with Kaikora, or the Todkerson, which has been represented as a harbour." How successful Wakefield had been in his apparent purchases was evident from his boast to De Thierry: "We got upwards of a million acres at the south for less than £50 in trade."

The lands comprised in the reputed purchases of the Company, to recapitulate, extended from Aotea Harbour to the river Hokitika on the west coast of the island, and from Whareama on the east coast of the North Island to the river Hurunui in the Middle Island. The deeds of purchase were three in number, in the first of which only the tenths were reserved for the natives.

The goods paid by the Company's agent for their lands were valued at £8,983, and comprised the following articles: 300 red blankets, 200 muskets, 16 single-barrelled guns, 8 double-barrelled guns, 2 tierces tobacco, 15 cwt. tobacco, 148 iron pots, 6 cases soap, 15 fowling pieces, 81 kegs gunpowder, 2 casks ball cartridges, 4 kegs lead slates, 200 cartouche boxes, 60 tomahawks, 2 cases pipes,

10 gross pipes, 72 spades, 100 steel axes, 20 axes, 46 adzes, 3,200 fish-hooks, 24 bullet moulds, 1,500 flints, 276 shirts, 92 jackets, 92 trousers, 60 red nightcaps, 300 yards cotton duck, 200 yards calico, 300 yards check, 200 yards print, 480 pocket handkerchiefs, 72 writing slates, 600 pencils, 204 looking-glasses, 276 pocket knives, 204 pairs scissors, 12 pairs shoes, 12 hats, 6 lbs. beads, 12 hair umbrellas, 100 yards ribbons, 144 Jews' harps, 36 razors, 180 dressing combs, 72 hoes, 2 suits superfine clothes, 36 shaving boxes, 12 shaving brushes, 12 sticks sealing-wax, 11 quires cartridge paper, 12 flushing coats, 24 combs.

On the 16th December, the Tory left Hokianga for Kaipara, and on the evening of the 18th anchored in ten fathoms of water "on the tail of one of the extensive banks which lie outside the entrance of the harbour." On the 19th the vessel got aground. The spot where the vessel struck was two or three miles from the sea, and on examination, after she had "forged over the bank into deep water," was found so much injured as to require heaving down and to take out her cargo and ballast.

Before leaving England Colonel Wakefield, not knowing where the Company's settlement would be placed, had arranged for the emigrants who were to sail in August from England for New Zealand, a rendezvous at Port Hardy in Cook Strait, for 10th January, 1840. As the Tory would not be again fit for service for a month or more, he determined to proceed overland to the Bay of Islands to charter a small vessel to take him to Port Hardy, and on the 26th December started on his way up the Wairoa river. He reached Port Hardy on the 11th January without finding any vessel from England, and no answer was returned to a fire lighted by him on the top of one of the highest hills whither he clambered to look out.

In the strait, however, near a place called Oterawa, a whaler named Maclaren lived during the summer, and he agreed to look out for the emigrant vessels and pilot them to Port Nicholson, where Colonel Wakefield camped on the 17th January. On the 20th a sail was reported outside, and Wakefield boarded the *Aurora* at the heads, which proved to be the first of the vessels the New Zealand Company had despatched. The surveying vessel, the *Cuba*, Captain Newcombe, had left England on the 31st August, eighteen days before the sailing of the *Aurora*, and had arrived in Port Nicholson on the 3rd January. Captain Smith, the Company's

surveyor, we are told, was anxious to commence the survey of the town. The *Cuba* had eight male cabin and twenty-two steerage passengers. She was anchored at the north of *Somes' Island*, and may be regarded as the second of the New Zealand Company's fleet.

The *Aurora*, which was sighted at the Port Nicholson Heads on the 20th January, anchored at the entrance of the harbour until the 22nd, when Colonel Wakefield left a pilot on board and returned to the *Cuba*. Commanded by Captain Heale, she had left Gravesend on the 18th September, having on board 146 passengers, 21 in the cabin, and 125 in the steerage. During the next week, Wakefield says, the work of disembarking had been going on. A small jetty was run out by the surveying men. Locations were allotted near the beach for the pitching of tents and temporary huts, in the erection of which the natives assisted; and some wooden houses in frame, sent out by the Company for the reception of the labouring emigrants, were also set up. At this time Mr. Buller, a Wesleyan Missionary, visited the place and performed divine service on board the *Aurora*, on Sunday, the 26th January, 1840.

Colonel Wakefield having hired the *Guide* brig at Kororareka to convey him to Cook Strait on the 14th of January dispatched her to Kaipara to help and afford aid if necessary to the *Tory*, that he had left disabled at the Kaipara. Dr. Dorset was in charge of some goods on board the *Guide* in order to complete the purchase at Taranaki, and was instructed to direct Barrett and Dr. Diefenbach to proceed to Port Nicholson. The brig was an old whaler belonging to Sydney, teak built, with a nondescript crew and swarming with cockroaches. The captain, Wakefield says, was a lazy, indolent old man, fond of grog and of sleep, and of a good charter by the month. The *Guide* arrived at Kaipara and having taken Mr. E. T. Wakefield and Doddrey, the storekeeper, on board with the necessary quantity of goods, left the Kaipara Heads for Taranaki on the same day that Governor Hobson arrived at the Bay of Islands.

When the *Tory* was hove down on a sandbank in the Kaipara, Mr. Wakefield notes a visit from Mr. W. C. Symonds, a son of Sir William Symonds, whom he had known in London, and who had come out as the agent for the Manukau Company. He was accompanied by only one white man, and had endured considerable hardships and privations from the natives. He had come to New Zealand from Sydney. Thomson says the

Manukau Company was an offshoot of the New Zealand Association, and owed its origin to the following circumstance:—"At a dinner given by Lord Durham to the New Zealand Association, when most of the arrangements for sending out emigrants were complete, His Lordship proposed the health of Major Campbell as the Governor of their first settlement. Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who was present, and secretly anxious to obtain this office, objected to Major Campbell's appointment, not directly, but in that cunning way so peculiarly characteristic of himself. A meeting of the influential members was in a few days convened, at which circumstances occurred that led to the breaking-up of the Association. Mr. Wakefield's party then formed the New Zealand Land Company, and Major Campbell attempted to found a settlement in the Manakau." The land of the Company—some 10,000 acres were claimed—was purchased by a Mr. C. Mitchell from Apihai te Kawau and Te Rewiti in 1836 for the sum of £160, paid either in money or goods, or in both. It was resold in 1839 by Mitchell's trustees for the sum of £500 to Major Campbell, Mr. Roy, and Captain Symonds. In an account furnished by Major Campbell to Lord Stanley, on behalf of the Company, it was urged that the Company, purchased in 1837 after the independence of the New Zealanders had been officially declared, and that in 1839 they sent out a respectable agent to inspect and take possession.

A story of their agent seems worth repeating, Mr. Walter Brodie being the story-teller. He says: "Captain Symonds had on one occasion to cross a river with some goods; when he came to the river, the Kaipara, he wanted to get his goods across, but the native chief who was with him, a man of the name of Dairs, demanded as much from him for taking the goods across as all the goods were worth. Captain Symonds refused to give it to him, and pitched his tent for the night and cooked his dinner on the bank. The chief came into his tent; Captain Symonds told him to go out; he said he would not. 'This land,' he said, 'is mine, I believe.' Captain Symonds said, 'Yes, but you have let me put my tent upon it, and this,' he said, 'is my house, and I require you to go out of it.' He would not and Captain Symonds kicked him out. There were four or five hundred natives present while Captain Symonds had but one European servant, and both himself and the servant supposed they were going to be murdered.

The next morning, however, the thing was cleared up and the chief offered to take the goods over for nothing."

After the despatch of the *Tory* to New Zealand, the first action of the English Government was, on the 15th June, to extend the boundaries of New South Wales, by proclamation under the great seal, to include portions of New Zealand. On the 13th July Captain Hobson was made Lieutenant-Governor "of any territory which is or may be acquired in sovereignty by Her Majesty" in New Zealand. Two days before the *Tory* arrived in Cook Strait, Captain Hobson obtained his instructions from Lord Normanby. It will be remembered he had suggested that New Zealand should be annexed to Great Britain, and his proposal was adopted as most in consonance with the honour of a great nation. Lord Normanby directed him to endeavour to persuade the chiefs of New Zealand to unite themselves to Great Britain. Such a voluntary union, if it could be effected, was the simplest and safest mode of procedure. The race Captain Hobson was sent to conciliate was jealous of external authority and careful of prerogative. That they were impatient of authority and control was evinced by their migration in the South Seas, and their after arrival in New Zealand. How ready they were to avenge insults was shown by the story of the Boyd and others; how highly they regarded their ancestral laws was habitually seen in their intercourse with traders. Greedy of gain, cruel, bloodthirsty, they bartered their unmarried females for European arms or other objects of desire, and shed the blood of slaves without compunction. Their regard for Europeans was to be found in the value they attached to what they brought with them. The tribes were separated by mutual jealousies and ancient feuds, and were

divided into many hapu or subdivisions of families. Family quarrels were frequent. A member of a tribe could involve all his kinsmen in war by some murderous act, for however much the tribe as a body might be displeased and show their displeasure by rough treatment, they would defend him against the tribe he had outraged.

Captain Hobson's instructions may be thus summarized:—To establish a settled form of civil government, with the free and intelligent consent of the natives expressed according to their established usages; to treat for the recognition of Her Majesty's sovereign authority over the whole or any part of the islands; to induce the chiefs to contract that no lands should in future be sold except to the Crown; to announce by proclamation that no valid title to land acquired from natives of New Zealand would be recognised unless confirmed by a Crown grant; to arrange for the appointment of a commission to determine what lands held by British subjects and others had been lawfully acquired; to select and appoint a protector of aborigines.

Captain Hobson sailed from England in *H.M.S. Druid*, "three months after Colonel Wakefield's departure," and ar-

rived in Port Jackson on the 24th December, 1839. With the hope of learning the nature of his instructions and his intentions a public meeting was called by the Sydney land claimants of New Zealand, and a deputation was appointed to wait upon him. With the replies given to their various questions the deputation appeared satisfied, and a congratulatory address was presented to him.

Before the new Governor had been long in Sydney, the Bishop of Australia thus wrote to the Rev. H. Williams in reference to his arrival:—"Upon the fullest consideration my judgment inclines me very strongly to



Edward Jerrold Wakefield.

recommend you, and through you all other members of the mission, that your influence should be exercised among the chiefs attached to you to induce you to make the desired surrender of sovereignty to Her Majesty."

Such wise conduct could only have been expected. The New Zealand Land Company sought not only to form colonies or settlements in the country, but to establish a government. They framed a constitution and appointed magistrates. They proposed to levy taxes, and to raise and drill a militia. They arrogated to themselves the power to purchase and sell lands, and to grant titles to those who bought. They proposed to make the laws they hoped to administer. Captain Hobson was sent to New Zealand to exercise in a lawful manner those functions of government that were about to be usurped.

Captain Hobson took, on the 14th January, the usual oaths of office as Lieutenant-Governor. On the 15th, Rusden says, Sir G. Gipps, who had received a commission extending his authority to any territory of which the sovereignty has been or may be acquired in New Zealand, communicated a copy of his own commission to Hobson, together with Hobson's commission as Lieutenant-Governor. On the same day that Hobson took the oaths of office, Sir G. Gipps signed three proclamations: the first extending his government to any territory which then was or might be acquired in sovereignty by Her Majesty within that group of islands in the Pacific Ocean commonly called New Zealand; the second appointing Captain Hobson Lieutenant-Governor of any new territory that might be acquired by Her Majesty in New Zealand; and the third containing the warning, "that Her Majesty will not acknowledge as valid any title to land which either has been or shall be hereafter acquired in that country, which is not either derived from or confirmed by a grant to be made in Her Majesty's name and on her behalf."

Captain Hobson left Sydney for the Bay of Islands on the 19th January, in the H.M.S. Herald, and immediately on his departure the Governor-General issued the three proclamations. Sir G. Gipps gave him a letter of instructions, in which the following portions are important:—

The Treasury of New Zealand, though it is to be supplied in the first place from this colony, will also be kept distinct from that of New South Wales. It is the circumstance I have just alluded to, namely, the supply from this colony of the funds required for the first establishment of government in New Zealand, which principally

renders it necessary that some control over the government should be exercised by myself. My responsibility for the due expenditure of the public money of this colony is one of which I cannot divest myself, and where responsibility is there also must be control.

With respect to certain powers or prerogatives of the Crown, with which Governors of colonies are usually entrusted, it is necessary for me to point out to you that though I am myself authorized by Her Majesty to exercise them in her name and on her behalf, I have no power to delegate the exercise of them to another. From this, which is an inherent maxim in law, it will, I believe, follow: 1st. That you will not have the power to pardon offences, or to remit sentences pronounced on offenders in due course of law. 2nd. That you will not be authorised to suspend officers holding appointments direct from Her Majesty, though you may recommend to me the suspension of them. With respect to persons holding appointments from me you will have the power of suspension, and over such as hold appointments from yourself a power of dismissal, unless they may have been previously recommended by you for confirmation in their respective offices, in which case your power will extend only to suspension. 3rd. You will not have the power of appointing magistrates, though of course you will recommend to me such persons as you may think fit to be appointed. 4th. In the event of the enrolment of a militia, the same will hold good respecting the appointment of officers. Lastly. As it is necessary to provide for the government of Her Majesty's territories in New Zealand in the possible event of your death or unavoidable absence, I enclose herewith a commission, under the public seal of this colony, empowering the Colonial Secretary of Her Majesty's possessions in New Zealand, or the person who may immediately previous to your death or absence have been acting as such, to administer the government during the period which may intervene between the occurrence of such death or absence and the time when any other person may enter on the government by virtue of a special appointment from myself or my successor.

Captain Hobson was accompanied by the following persons appointed by the Governor of New South Wales: George Cooper, Esq., Collector of Customs and Treasurer, salary £600 a year; Felton Matthew, Esq., Acting Survey-General, salary £400 a year; Willoughby Shortland, Esq., Police Magistrate, salary £300 a year; Mr. James S. Freeman, second class clerk; Mr. Samuel Edward Grimstone, third class clerk; a sergeant and four troopers of the mounted police of New South Wales.

H.M.S. Herald, Captain Nias, arrived at the Bay of Islands on Wednesday, the 29th of January, 1840, and "immediately," Captain Hobson says, "on my arrival I issued an invitation to all British subjects to meet me at the church at Kororareka on the following day, there to hear read Her Majesty's commission under the great seal extending the limits of the Colony of New South Wales, and Her Majesty's commission under the royal signet and sign-manual appointing me Lieutenant-Governor of such part of the colony as may be acquired in sovereignty in New Zealand."

On the day appointed, 30th January, 1840, the ceremony of reading the above-mentioned commissions was performed in the presence of a concourse of persons, forty of whom subscribed a copy of the annexed document:—

Be it remembered that on the 30th day of January in the year of our Lord, 1840, William Hobson, Esq.,

embrace and comprehend the islands of New Zealand in the South Seas, and the other, dated the 30th day of July, 1838, by which Her Majesty, by Her Royal signet and sign-manual, did nominate, constitute, and appoint the aforesaid William Hobson, Esq., captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy, to be Lieutenant-Governor over such parts of the islands of New Zealand aforesaid as either have been or shall hereafter be ceded to Her Majesty in sovereignty. In witness whereof, the



Captain William Hobson, R.N., First Governor of New Zealand.

captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy, being commissioned thereto by Her Most Gracious Majesty, did proceed to the settlement or township of Kororareka in the Bay of Islands, in the island of New Zealand, and did then and there publicly read and publish two commissions, namely, one under the great seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, dated the 15th day of June, 1839, by which the boundaries of New South Wales were enlarged and extended so as to

undermentioned inhabitants have hereunto subscribed their names the day and year first above written.

(Sd.) James Busby	Thomas Spicer
John Mason Clerk	Edward Waterton
James R. Clendon	G. T. Clayton
Charles Baker	Geo. Greenaway
Robert Edney	John Weasell
Benjamin E. Turner	Moko
George Russell	David Fitzpatrick

John Kelly
John Scott
William Baker
James Cosgrove
William Wilton
Alexander M'Gregor
E. M'Lennan
John Carwood
J. A. Wood
W. Scott Buckham
William Turner
M. Bowey
Alexander Black
G. T. Robinson

Adam Keir
P. M. Moody
Andrew O'Brien
Jeremiah M'Crohen
Robert Evans
Edmond Powell
Charles John Cook
William Motion
Alexander M'Guier
Alexander Marshall
Donald Mackay
William Doods
John M'Leod.

PROCLAMATION

By His Excellency William Hobson, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor of the British Settlements in progress in New Zealand, etc., etc.

Whereas Her Majesty Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, has been graciously pleased to direct that measures shall be taken for the establishment of a settled form of civil government over those of Her Majesty's subjects who are already settled in New Zealand, or who may hereafter resort hither; and whereas Her Majesty has also been graciously pleased to direct letters patent to be issued under the great seal of the said United Kingdom, bearing date the 15th day of June in the year 1839, by which the former boundaries of the colony of New South Wales are so extended as to comprehend any part of New Zealand that is or may be acquired in sovereignty by Her Majesty, her heirs, or successors; and whereas Her Majesty has been further pleased by a commission under Her Royal signet and sign-manual, bearing date the 30th day of July, 1839, to appoint me, William Hobson, Esq., captain in Her Majesty's Navy, to be Lieutenant-Governor in and over any territory which is or may be acquired in sovereignty by Her Majesty, her heirs, or successors, within that group of islands in the Pacific Ocean commonly called New Zealand, and lying between the latitude 34 degrees 30 minutes and 47 degrees 10 minutes south, and 166 degrees 5 minutes and 179 degrees east longitude, from the meridian of Greenwich. Now, therefore, I, the said William Hobson, do hereby declare and proclaim that I did, on the 14th day of January instant, before His Excellency Sir George Gipps, Knight, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the territory of New South Wales and its dependencies, and the Executive Council thereof, take the accustomed oaths of office as Lieutenant-Governor as aforesaid. And I do hereby further proclaim and declare that I have this day opened and published the two commissions aforesaid, that is to say, the commission under the great seal extending the boundaries of the government of New South Wales, and the commission under the Royal sign-manual appointing me Lieutenant-Governor as aforesaid. And I do hereby further proclaim and declare that I have this day entered on the duties of my said office as Lieutenant-Governor as aforesaid, and I do call upon all Her Majesty's subjects to be aiding and assisting me in the execution thereof.

Given under my hand and seal, at Kororareka, this 30th day of January, 1840, and in the third year of Her Majesty's reign.

(Signed) WILLIAM HOBSON,
Lieutenant-Governor.

By His Excellency's command.

(Signed) GEORGE COOPER.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

(True copy.) (Signed) E. DEAS THOMSON.

PROCLAMATION

By His Excellency William Hobson, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor of the British Settlements in progress in New Zealand.

Whereas Her Majesty Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, has been graciously pleased, by instructions under the hand of the Most Noble the Marquis of Normanby, one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, bearing date the 14th day of August, 1839, to command that it shall be notified to all Her Majesty's subjects, settled in or resorting to the islands of New Zealand, that Her Majesty, taking into consideration the present as well as future interests of her said subjects, and also the interests and rights of the chiefs and native tribes of the said islands, does not deem it expedient to recognise as valid any titles to land in New Zealand which are not derived from or confirmed by Her Majesty. Now, therefore, I, William Hobson, Esq., Captain in Her Majesty's Navy, and Lieutenant-Governor in and over such parts of New Zealand as have been or may be acquired in sovereignty by Her said Majesty, do hereby proclaim and declare to all Her Majesty's subjects that Her Majesty does not deem it expedient to recognise any titles to land in New Zealand which are not derived from or confirmed by Her Majesty as aforesaid; but, in order to dispel any apprehension that it is intended to dispossess the owners of any land acquired on equitable conditions, and not in extent or otherwise prejudicial to the present or prospective interests of the community, I do hereby further proclaim and declare that Her Majesty has been pleased to direct that a commission shall be appointed, with certain powers to be derived from the Governor and Legislative Council of New South Wales, to inquire into and report on all claims to such lands, and that all persons having any such claims will be required to prove the same before the said commission when appointed. And I do further proclaim and declare that all purchases of land in any part of New Zealand, which may be made from any of the chiefs or native tribes thereof after the date of these presents, will be considered as absolutely null and void, and will not be confirmed or in any way recognised by Her Majesty.

Given under my hand and seal, at Kororareka, this 30th day of January, 1840, and in the third year of Her Majesty's reign.

(Signed) WILLIAM HOBSON,
Lieutenant-Governor.

By His Excellency's command,

(Signed) GEORGE COOPER.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

(True copy.) (Signed) E. DEAS THOMSON.

The question is frequently mooted as to whether the anniversary of the colony should date from Governor Hobson's proclamation or from the date of the arrival of the early emigrants. The New Zealand Company's settlers, naturally enough, claimed that as the pioneer ship *Aurora*, despatched by the Company, arrived at Port Nicholson on the 22nd of January, the honour of inaugurating direct colonization was due to the New Zealand Company's enterprise, and the true anniversary of the colony is therefore the 22nd of January, and that is the day that should be nationally held in remembrance. Many years before the

date named, however, as the pages of our history have recorded, a settlement existed at the Bay of Islands which at that early date possessed its hotels, churches, theatres and other accessories of civilization. If the anniversary of the colony is to date from isolated or concentrated efforts at settlement, there is no end to the difficulties that would

and sensible that the anniversary should date from that day when Governor Hobson proclaimed that henceforth New Zealand would become an integral portion of the British Empire.

It will, however, be interesting to read the views advocated by the opposing party, and the following, from the pen of the late Captain



Major Charles Heaphy.

arise in ultimately fixing the correct date. The first proclamation by Cook, the advent of the missionaries, the true pioneers of Anglo-Saxon dominion, the first appointment of a British Resident, and other important events in the progressive development of the colony, would each have its claim to consideration. It seems, therefore, most reasonable

Theophilus Heale, who commanded the *Aurora*, states very clearly about all that can be said on the subject: "It must be remembered that the colonization of New Zealand was not determined on by the Government of Great Britain, but was forced on by the New Zealand Company, independent of, and indeed in opposition to, the Government of the day;

and it was only after the departure of the Company's first expedition had compelled some action to be taken that Captain Hobson was sent out to obtain from the natives the cession of the sovereignty over the islands. Captain Hobson's arrival at the Bay of Islands was therefore in no sense the foundation of the colony. He was unaccompanied by a single immigrant, and he came out not as Governor of a colony but as Consul-General accredited to the sovereign chiefs of New Zealand. It was not till some months later, and long after a strong settlement had been established in Port Nicholson, that the assent of the natives having been obtained to the Treaty of Waitangi, Captain Hobson read his first commission as Lieutenant-Governor under Sir George Gipps, but still, as there was no Government immigration and none followed until the Jane Gifford and the Duchess of Argyle arrived long after, that circumstance cannot reasonably be noted as indicating the foundation of the colony, though it may be taken as the birthday of its regular government. But while the Government was fiddling with colonization in this rather pitiful fashion the New Zealand Company had pursued its task in real earnest. Five ships sailed from England in 1839, four from Gravesend on the same day, and one from Glasgow, carrying some 1,500 emigrants of the very pick of the land, comprising men of all classes, many of them possessing considerable capital, and carrying with them everything needful for bush life amongst the then formidable cannibals of New Zealand. This daring band (I may fairly admire them for though with them I was not of them) set out strong in hand and heart to 'found a colony,' the very situation of their settlement unknown when they left England, without any protection or the hope of assistance save their own courage and self-reliance, their only bond of union a voluntary engagement for mutual support in their common purpose. If it is the colonists who make the colony it is surely the arrival of these rather than a few officials at the Bay of Islands at a later date, which makes the birth of a nation. And when it is recollected that this first immigration included Featherston, Bell, Evans, Fitzherbert, Petre,

Molesworth, Mantell, Baker, Sinclair, and many more, some of whose names are still prominent ones in the altered colony of to-day, it is hard to dispute their pre-eminent claims to have been its founders. When the *Aurora*, after calling at Port Hardy, to learn the place of settlement, sailed into Port Nicholson on the 22nd of January, 1840, the only habitation visible was one raupo whare in which Colonel Wakefield was living amongst the stores. One small barque, the *Cuba*, which brought the surveyors and stores, was lying off it. The forest reached the water's edge, and no other sign of human life was seen. We landed our immigrants, the flag was hoisted, and we saluted it and the settlement; and that surely was the moment when the colony of New Zealand was born."

And now we turn down the last page in the story of Old New Zealand. The ancient reign of the native chieftains is over. A more powerful race has entered into possession of the land. It had come, as though by inspiration to Hongi, when leaving Sydney harbour with the Rev. Samuel Marsden, that he was opening the portals of his dominions to a people who would supplant the children of the soil. Since that time barely a quarter of a century had elapsed, and already the mystic mummeries of the once powerful Maori *tohunga* had lost their influence, and the multitudes had turned from the gods of their forefathers to the God of the stranger. Still they had maintained their political independence and played the part of patrons and protectors to the *pakeha*. Now all this was to be changed. The chiefs, whose power of life and death in the "good old times" none durst dispute, were to bow down under strange laws, their ancient customs to be overridden, their sacred things trampled under foot. They must either rise to the level of a higher civilization or sink beneath its resistless waters. Which was it to be? This is the problem to be solved in the history of the coming years, a story even more sadly marred by misunderstandings between the two races who had now joined hands. than in the bygone days, whose lights and shadows have been reflected in these pages.

THE HISTORY
OF
NEW ZEALAND.

By J. H. WALLACE.

FOUNDING THE EARLY BRITISH SETTLEMENTS

(1840 A.D.—1845 A.D.).



From a Portrait by S. Stuart, Auckland.

Tamati Waka Nene, Chief of Ngapuhi.



THE TREATY OF WAITANGI.

Governor Hobson's position—Assembly of Natives convened—Reading the Treaty of Waitangi—The reception—The first signatures—The Treaty—Hobson's visit to Hokianga—Steps taken to obtain signatures throughout New Zealand—Reports from agents employed—Her Majesty proclaimed sovereign over the Islands of New Zealand.



CAPTAIN HOBSON, who arrived at the Bay of Islands on the 29th of January, 1840, with a commission as Lieutenant-Governor of a country that was yet to be acquired, had to perform a duty which has fallen to the lot of few British Governors. This responsibility weighed upon him very heavily during the dreary solitude of his voyage to the Antipodes, and when he contemplated the hordes of armed warriors in the neighbourhood of Kororareka and thought of his own defenceless position, he saw that the purpose of his mission could not be successfully accomplished without the almost unanimous consent of the people. But how to obtain this without exciting their suspicion was a delicate and dangerous matter.

As the work brooked no delay, an assembly of natives was convened four days after his arrival for the purpose of laying the question before them. The spot chosen for the conference was where the Waitangi River falls into the sea.

Here, on the 5th of February, a great number of chiefs with their followers were gathered together. The day was singularly beautiful, even for the Bay of Islands, and the place of

assembly equally so. But superstitious men augured evil from the conference because "Waitangi" signifies "weeping water." A spacious marquee purposely decorated with flags had been erected, and at noon Captain Hobson entered the tent accompanied by Mr. Busby, the late Resident, the principal European inhabitants, the heads of the English and French missions, the Government officers, and the officers of H.M.S. Herald.

Governor Hobson, in a despatch to Sir George Gipps, written on board Her Majesty's ship Herald the same day, gives the following circumstantial account of the proceedings, which he describes as a most imposing spectacle: "The business of the meeting commenced by my announcing to the chiefs the object of my mission, and the reasons that had induced Her Majesty to appoint me. I explained to them in the fullest manner the effect that might be hoped to result from the measure, and I assured them in the most fervent manner that they might rely implicitly on the good faith of Her Majesty's Government in the transaction. I then read the treaty, and in doing so dwelt on each article, and offered a few remarks explanatory of such passages as they might be supposed not to understand. Mr. H. Williams, of the Church Missionary Society, did me the favour to interpret, and repeated in the native tongue sentence by sentence all I said.

"When I had finished reading the treaty, I invited the chiefs to ask explanations on any point they did not comprehend, and to make

any observations or remarks on it they pleased. Twenty or thirty chiefs addressed the meeting, five or six of whom opposed me with great violence, and at one period with such effect and so cleverly, that I began to apprehend an unfavourable impression would be produced. At this crisis the Hokianga chiefs, under Nene [Tamati Waka Nene, whose portrait appears as the frontispiece to this section of our History] and Patuone, made their appearance, and nothing could have been more seasonable. It was evident, from the nature of the opposition, that some underhand influence had been at work. The chiefs Rewa and Thakara, who are followers of the Catholic Bishop, were the principal opposers, and the arguments were such as convinced me they had been prompted. Rewa, while addressing me, turned to the chiefs and said: 'Send the man away; do not sign the paper. If you do you will be reduced to the condition of slaves, and be obliged to break stones for the roads. Your land will be taken from you and your dignity as chiefs will be destroyed.' At the first pause Nene came forward and spoke with a degree of natural eloquence that surprised all the Europeans, and evidently turned aside the temporary feeling that had been created. He first addressed himself to his own countrymen, desiring them to reflect on their own condition, to recollect how much the character of New Zealand had been exalted by their intercourse with Europeans, and how impossible it was for them to govern themselves without frequent wars and bloodshed, and he concluded his harangue by strenuously advising them to receive us, and to place confidence in our promises. He then turned to me, and said, 'You must be our father! You must not allow us to become slaves! You must preserve our customs, and never permit our lands to be wrested from us!' One or two other chiefs who were favourable, followed in the same strain, and one reproached a noisy fellow named Kitiki, of the adverse party, with having spoken rudely to me. Kitiki, stung by the remark, sprang forward and shook me violently by the hand, and I received the salute apparently with equal ardour. This occasioned among the natives a general expression of applause, and a loud cheer from the Europeans, in which the natives joined, and thus the business of the meeting closed, further consideration of the question being adjourned to Friday, at eleven o'clock, leaving, as I said, one clear day to reflect on my proposal."

On the following day, the 6th, Governor

Hobson thus continued his despatch: "At ten o'clock this morning it was announced to me that, the chiefs being impatient of further delay, and perfectly satisfied with the proposals I had made them, were desirous at once to sign the treaty, that they might return to their homes. To have refused this request would probably have rendered nugatory the whole proceedings, by the dispersion of the tribes before they had attested their consent, by their signatures. I therefore assembled the officers of the Government, and with Mr. Busby and the gentlemen of the missionary body, I proceeded to the tent where the treaty was signed in due form by forty-six head chiefs, in the presence of at least five hundred of inferior degree.

"As the acquiescence of these chiefs, twenty-six of whom had signed the declaration of independence, must be deemed a full and clear recognition of the sovereign rights of Her Majesty over the northern parts of this Island, it will be announced by a salute of twenty-one guns, which I have arranged with Captain Nias shall be fired from the ship to-morrow."

The celebrated Treaty of Waitangi, in its original manuscript form, shows by the alterations, additions and amendments made on it, that a good deal of anxious care was displayed in its preparation, but after all the treaty as signed by the chiefs differed slightly from the terms of the draft.

THE TREATY OF WAITANGI.

As finally adopted and signed by five hundred and twelve principal chiefs, the Treaty of Waitangi appeared in the following form:—

Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, regarding with her royal favour the native chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and anxious to protect their just rights and property, and to secure to them the enjoyment of peace and good order, has deemed it necessary, in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's subjects who have already settled in New Zealand, and the rapid extension of emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress, to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorised to treat with the aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's sovereign authorities over the whole or any part of those islands: Her Majesty therefore being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary laws and institutions alike to the native population and to her subjects, has been graciously pleased to empower and to authorise me, William Hobson, a captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy, Consul and Lieutenant-Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be, or hereafter shall be, ceded to Her Majesty, to invite the confederated and independent chiefs of New Zealand, to concur in the following articles and conditions:—

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

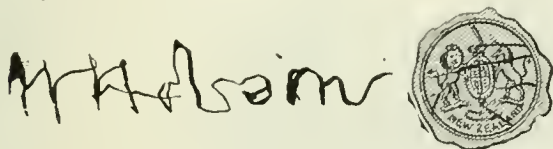
The chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand, and the separate and independent chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation, cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely and without reservation, all the rights and powers of sovereignty which the said Confederation or individual chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective territories as the sole sovereigns thereof.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive and undisputed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate, at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

ARTICLE THE THIRD.

In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the natives of New Zealand her royal protection, and imparts to them all the rights and privileges of British subjects.



Lieutenant-Governor.

Now therefore, we, the Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand, being assembled in Congress at Victoria, in Waitangi, and we, the separate and independent chiefs of New Zealand claiming authority over the tribes and territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the provisions of the foregoing treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof. In witness of which we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and the dates respectively specified.

Done at Waitangi, this sixth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty.

The following week Governor Hobson proceeded to Hokianga. The proceedings which there took place will be best gathered from the despatch forwarded by him to Sir George Gipps, detailing the events which took place.

H.M.S. Herald, Bay of Islands,
17th February, 1840.

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency that, in accordance with the intention I expressed in my letter of the 5th instant, I proceeded to Hokianga on the eleventh, accompanied by Captain Nias, the officer of Government, and the Rev. Mr. Taylor and Mr. Clarke, of the Church Missionary Society.

On arriving at Waihou, a place on the river about seven miles above the mission station, I was received by the members of the Wesleyan Mission, and all the

principal European settlers of the neighbourhood. From these gentlemen I received every assurance of fidelity to Her Majesty and the most hearty congratulations to myself.

At the conclusion of the ceremonial I proceeded down the river in boats that were provided for me, attended by the British inhabitants in eight other boats, all displaying the British flag. On passing the Hauraki a salute of thirteen guns was fired, and on my arrival at the mission station I was again visited by the resident gentlemen, to whom I addressed a few words, expressive of the high sense I entertained of this earnest of loyal zeal in forwarding the views of Her Majesty's Government, and of the honour they had done me by their very flattering attention. I at the same time signified my intention to hold a meeting of the chiefs on the following day, to which I invited all the Europeans of every class and nation.

Having previously intimated to the chiefs my wish to meet them on the 12th, not less than 3,000 natives had collected at the mission station, between 400 and 500 of whom were chiefs of different degrees. At the appointed time of meeting I was mortified to observe a great disinclination on the part of the chiefs to assemble. After some delay, however, they began to collect, and at last the different tribes marched up in procession and took their seats somewhat in the same order as was preserved at Waitangi. Still I could not fail to observe that an unfavourable spirit prevailed amongst them.

The business of the day commenced nearly in the same manner as it had done on a former occasion, the Rev. Mr. Hobbs, of the Wesleyan Mission, interpreting. After a short address to the Europeans, I entered into a full explanation to the chiefs of the views and motives of Her Majesty in proposing to extend to New Zealand her powerful protection. I then, as before, read the Treaty, expounded its provisions, invited discussion, and offered elucidation. This undisguised manner of proceeding defeated much of the opposition, but did not, to the extent of my wish or expectation, remove the pre-determination to oppose me that had already been manifested.

The New Zealanders are passionately fond of declamation, and they possess considerable ingenuity in exciting the passions of the people. On this occasion all their best orators were against me, and every argument they could devise was used to defeat my object. But many of their remarks were evidently not of native origin, and it was clear that a powerful counter-influence had been employed. Towards the close of the day, one of the chiefs, Papa Haika, made some observations that were so distinctly of English origin that I called on him to speak his own sentiments like a man, and not to allow others who were self-interested to prompt him, upon which he fairly admitted the fact, and called for the European who had advised him, to come forward and tell the Governor what he had told him. This call was reiterated by me, when a person named — presented himself. I asked his motive in endeavouring to defeat the benevolent object of Her Majesty, whose desire it is to secure to these people their just rights, and to the European settlers, peace and civil government. He replied that he conscientiously believed the natives would be degraded under our influence, and that therefore he had advised them to resist, admitting at the same time that the laws of England were requisite to restrain and protect British subjects, but to British subjects alone should they be applicable. I asked him if he was aware that English laws could only be exercised on English soil. He replied: "I am not aware: I am not a lawyer," upon which I begged him to resume his seat, and told the chiefs that he had given them advice in utter

ignorance of this most important fact; adding, "If you listen to such counsel and oppose me, you will be stripped of all your land by a worthless class of British subjects, who will consult no interest but their own, and who care not how much they trample on your rights. I am sent here to control such people, and to ask from you the authority to do so." This little address was responded to by a song of applause. Several chiefs who agreed with

writer then alludes to the native feast at Hauraki, Lieutenant McDonnell's station, on the following day, as also to the character of the opposition party; and concludes thus:—] Against such people I shall have to contend in every quarter, but I do not despair of arranging matters hereafter with comparative ease. The two points at which I have already met the natives were the strongholds of our most violent opponents, and, notwithstanding



Lieutenant Willoughby Shortland.

me sprang up in my support, and the whole spirit of the meeting changed. Apologies were offered by the opposing party, and the most prominent of them came forward and signed the treaty. When the example had once been shown, it was with difficulty that I could restrain those who were disenthralled by their rank from inserting their names. Upwards of fifty-six signatures were given, and at twelve o'clock at night the business closed. [The

the most untiring efforts of the Bishop (Catholic) and the convicts, I have obtained the almost unanimous consent of the chiefs. On the whole of the Hokianga but two head chiefs refused their consent, and even from their tribes many chiefs have added their names to the treaty.

I considered that on the conclusion of the Treaty of Waitangi the sovereignty of Her Majesty over the northern district was complete. I can now only add that

the adherence of the Hokianga chiefs renders the question beyond dispute. I therefore propose to issue a proclamation announcing that Her Majesty's dominions in New Zealand extend from the North Cape to the 30th degree of latitude. As I proceed southward and obtain the consent of the chiefs, I will extend these limits by proclamation, until I can include the whole of the islands.

I have, etc.,

W. HOBSON.

His Excellency Sir GEORGE GIFFS.

Governor Hobson then took active steps to obtain signatures to the treaty throughout the whole of the colony. Being himself stricken down with paralysis, and unable personally to see to the obtaining of more signatures, he commissioned Captain William Symonds of the British Army, and the Rev. Henry Williams, the Rev. Mr. Brown, the Rev. R. Maunsell, and the Rev. William Williams to secure the signatures to the treaty from the respective chiefs in each of their districts. Major Bunbury, of H.M. 80th Regiment, was despatched in H.M.S. *Herald*, also commissioned to visit Stewart's Island, the Middle Island, and such parts of the Northern Island as had not yet been ceded to the Queen, to obtain signatures to the Treaty, and establish Her Majesty's authority throughout the Islands. Every care was taken for the extensive promulgation of the treaty, and great success attended the efforts of all the agents employed.

The Rev. Robert Maunsell (now Archdeacon) reports, on April 14th, from the Waikato: "You will, I trust, receive with this the document lately forwarded to me to have the signatures of the principal men in Waikato attached to it. I am happy to inform you that the signatures obtained comprise those of the leading men, except perhaps two. Those we hope soon to obtain, and I have already forwarded on to Messrs. Wallis and Whiteley the document left me by Captain Symonds, in order that they may obtain as many more names as they deem expedient."

Mr. Shortland, the Colonial Secretary, reports on the 6th May that he had called a public meeting at Kaitia, and that the treaty was then read, and the debate was conducted much in the same manner as at Waitangi, with the exception that there was but very little opposition. They stated that they had been informed by the pakehas that "your Excellency would take away their lands, and make them slaves; that you would place their provisions in stores, and distribute only such quantities as you might think proper. They also stated that they had been solicited by some of the Ngapuhis and Hokianga chiefs to

join in a conspiracy to cut off the pakehas, but that they had declined doing so; and concluded by expressing their hearty concurrence with your Excellency's views, and their earnest wish to become subjects of Her Majesty. The treaty was then signed by sixty of the principal chiefs, and the meeting concluded with a war dance and a general discharge of musketry."

On the 8th May, writing from Poverty Bay, the Rev. W. Williams (subsequently Bishop of Waiapu) reported: "I am happy to inform you that the leading men in this bay have signed the treaty, and there is no doubt that all the rest will follow their example. In about a week I expect to proceed to the East Cape, but it will be the latter end of July or August before I shall again see the natives of Wairoa, which is to the south of Table Cape. Supposing that it is of importance to obtain the general approval of the natives, I shall not transmit the paper until it is complete, but you may in the meantime rely upon prompt attention being paid to it."

On the 12th May Captain W. C. Symonds held a meeting of the chiefs at Manukau, but there was great opposition and no results were obtained. "At a second meeting, however," he says, "where many of the Waikato and some of the Tauranga and Taupo chiefs also attended (having come from the southward in the interval between the two meetings), I obtained some signatures, and the promise of others from some of the most influential chiefs, who yet had to overcome a feeling of pique at their having been left among the last whose concurrence in the treaty had been demanded, and among these Te Wherowhero, who is the leading chief or king of Waikato."

The success of the Rev. Henry Williams in the southern districts is thus reported to the Governor on the 11th June: "I have much pleasure in forwarding to your Excellency the treaty committed to my care for the signatures of the chiefs in Cook Straits. On my arrival at Port Nicholson, I experienced some opposition from the influence of Europeans at that place; and it was not until after the expiration of ten days that the chiefs were disposed to come forward, when they unanimously signed the treaty. The chiefs of Queen Charlotte Sound, and Rangitoto, in the neighbourhood of Port Hardy, on the south side of the straits, with whom I communicated, as far as Wanganui, signed the treaty with much satisfaction, and appeared much satisfied that a check was put to the importunities of the Europeans to the purchase of their lands, and

that protection was now afforded them in common with Her Majesty's subjects. It had been my intention to have proceeded to Cloudy Bay, Banks Peninsula and Otako, whereby the signatures of the whole of the tribes of the Southern Island would have been obtained; but upon my return from Wanganui to Kapiti, I received intelligence that H.M.S. Herald had left the Bay of Islands for the Southern Island, and that an officer had been appointed to proceed with a copy of the treaty. I therefore concluded to return to the Bay of Islands."

Major Bunbury met with similar success in the Middle Island, as the following extracts from a letter written by him to Mr. H. Parker, Secretary to Sir George Gipps, abundantly proves. He thus writes: "Russell, 4th July, 1840. You will oblige me by acquainting His Excellency the Governor with my return from the mission I had undertaken at the request of Captain Hobson, R.N., Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand, to the native chiefs and tribes on the Eastern Coast. Captain Hobson being absent at present on a tour of duty, I feel a delicacy in entering into the details of the circumstances attending my visits officially. It may, however, interest Sir George to know that I visited the harbours of Coromandel, Mercury Bay, Tauranga, Hawke's Bay, Akaroa, Cloudy Bay, Port Nicholson, Ruapuke Island (Foveaux Straits), the islands of Kapiti and Nana, Otago, and Southern Port Stewart Island). From all these places I obtained the necessary signatures, excepting in one or two places where my mission had been anticipated by other gentlemen sent by Captain Hobson. At Southern Port (Stewart Island, and at Cloudy Bay (Middle Island), Captain Nias and myself, judging it would be for the best interests of the natives as well as European settlers that further delay should not take place, we proclaimed the Queen's authority with the usual ceremonies at the former place on the 5th of June, where we did not meet with the natives, by the right of discovery; and at the latter, on the 7th of June, from the sovereignty having been ceded by the principal native chiefs. At Port Nicholson I learnt that Captain Hobson had also taken a similar view of the subject by proclaiming the Queen's authority."

The signatures in the Bay of Plenty, as far as Opotiki and Te Kaha, were taken by the Rev. James Stack, C.M.S., and Mr. J. W. Fedarb, the supercargo of a small schooner running on the coast. Most of the Tauranga chiefs signed the treaty after due discussion and explanation, but that celebrated old

chieftain, Tupaea, would not sign it, either then or afterwards when he paid a visit to the Manukau. Like the famous and aristocratic Te Heuheu, of Taupo, he was a "law to himself," asserting his own *rangatiratanga* as sufficiently strong for the rule of his own people, and desiring no foreign assistance. Te Wherowhero, of Waikato, was probably actuated very much by the same motive, and hence also his name does not appear amongst the subscribers to this political compact.

In the life of Henry Williams, by Hugh Carleton, the following reminiscence is related by the former gentleman, and is given here as showing the growing ill-feeling between the New Zealand Land Company and the newly-formed government. He says: "As soon as a vessel could be procured, I was commissioned by Governor Hobson to convey a copy of the Treaty to Turanga, Poverty Bay, for the approbation of the chiefs of that district. This was left in the charge of the Rev. William Williams. I passed on to Port Nicholson, and was opposed by Colonel Wakefield and his party, who had appointed themselves a colonial government consisting of a council and magistrates, placed on the commission by the authority of the chiefs. Colonel Wakefield, the first time I met him, was very insolent, but afterwards retracted what he had said, and withdrew his objections to the treaty being signed. It was accordingly signed by the chiefs, about twenty. I passed on to Queen Charlotte Sound, and saw all who were to be seen. We crossed over to Kapiti, Waikanae, and Otaki, the stations of the Rev. Octavius Hadfield. The treaty was explained at all those places and signed. On this visit I saw in the bank at Wellington a map of New Zealand, about six feet in length, and was told by the authorities of the New Zealand Company that the coloured portion was the property of the New Zealand Company, from the 38th degree to the 42nd degree parallel of latitude. At this time there was no one in connection with their commission who knew anything of the language. A man named Barrett could speak a few words in the most ordinary form. This man alone was the medium of communication between the Company and the Maoris in all their affairs, and the deeds of purchase were drawn up in English, not one word of which was understood by the natives. Nor had communication been held with the places included in this pretended purchase, except at Port Nicholson, Kapiti, and Taranaki, neither party understanding the other."

Writing to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the 25th May, 1840, Governor Hobson fully explains all that he has done, and concludes his despatch as follows: "On the 16th I received a report from Major Bunbury, dated on board the *Herald*, 4th May, in Coromandel Harbour, in which he informs me that the principal chiefs of that place had signed a copy of the treaty, and I assembled here, on the 15th instant, the chiefs of Kaitia, who gave their signatures without hesitation. Availing myself of the universal adherence of the native chiefs to the treaty of Waitangi, as testified by their signatures to the original document in my presence, or to copies signed by me in the hands of those gentlemen who were commissioned and authorised to treat with them, I yielded to the emergency of the case arising out of the events at Port Nicholson, and without waiting for Major Bunbury's report, proclaimed the sovereignty of Her Majesty over the North Island. Actuated by similar motives and a perfect knowledge of the uncivilized state of the natives, and supported by the advice of Sir George Gipps previously given, I also proclaimed the sovereignty of Her Majesty over the Southern Islands on the ground of discovery."

In reply, the Right Hon. Lord John Russell sent him the following communication bearing date "Downing-street, 10th November, 1840." "I have received your despatch of the 25th May last reporting your proceedings up to that date and enclosing copies of three proclamations which you have issued—the first two for asserting the sovereignty of the Queen over the Islands of New Zealand, and the third for the purpose of checking the illegal proceedings of parties who were endeavouring to establish a separate authority. I have given due publicity to the first two proclamations by insertion in the *London Gazette*. As far as it has been possible to form a judgment your proceedings appear to have entitled you to the entire approbation of Her Majesty's Government.

"I shall soon be able to transmit to you letters under the great seal constituting New Zealand a separate government, together with your commission as first Governor, and the royal instructions for your guidance in administering the affairs of your government.

"I trust that your health will continue to improve and will enable you to remain in the discharge of the important duties which are entrusted to you."

All difficulties were now removed, and the Queen of England could assert her sovereignty

over New Zealand to the satisfaction of State lawyers. Her sovereignty was proclaimed over the North Island on May 21st, 1840, by virtue of the Treaty of Waitangi, and over the Middle Island and Stewart Island on the same day, by virtue of the right of discovery. But in order to remove any doubts regarding the legality of the last act, Major Bunbury proclaimed the Queen's authority over the Middle Island on the 17th June, in virtue of the Waitangi Treaty. The sovereignty of Stewart Island still rests on the right of discovery.

Few natives rightly comprehended the full force of the nature of the Treaty of Waitangi. Nopera, an intelligent chief, said: "The shadow of the land goes to Queen Victoria, but the substance remains with us." All who signed the treaty knew their lands were guaranteed to them. None were aware that it exposed them to the danger of being hung for killing slaves, or to imprisonment for acts of the criminality of which they were ignorant. A conspiracy was hatched at the Bay of Islands, in consequence of the dread produced by the treaty, to murder every white settler and appropriate their wives; but the missionary natives loudly opposed, and were the means of preventing this diabolical deed. Chiefs who refused to sign the treaty taunted those who had done so with slavery. Te Heuheu, the great Taupo chief, when addressing some natives who had signed the Waitangi Treaty, said: "You are all slaves now, and your dignity and power are gone, but mine is not. Just as there is one man in Europe, King George, so do I stand alone in New Zealand, the chief over all others, the only free man left; look at me, for I do not hide when I say I am Te Heuheu."

The Treaty of Waitangi has formed the foundation of all laws dealing with the aboriginal inhabitants of New Zealand, and is still regarded by them as their Magna Charta. The wisdom of the act which recognised the native title to the freehold of all the land in the country, only a very small area of which had ever been cultivated or otherwise beneficially occupied, has often been questioned, but there can be no doubt that, without this concession, colonisation could never have proceeded, unless supported by a large military force, and preceded by destructive wars. The Maoris were always tenacious of their rights as owners of the soil, and it was doubtless cheaper, as well as more humane, to acquire their lands by purchase than obtain them by conquest, although the latter would have been in strict accordance with Maori usage.



From a Picture by S. C. Brees, Engineer to the N.Z. Co.

Hutt Road, taken at the Gorge, overlooking Port Nicholson.

Mr. Parnell, immediately on arrival, was employed by Mr. Hunter, sen. (Willis and Co.), to superintend the erection of a large store. This brought him into contact with the labour market, and Mr. Parnell established the eight hours a day system, which soon spread to the neighbouring colonies, and is the system at the present day. At this time skilled labour was 5s. per day of eight hours. Mr. Hunter, sen., who came out in the same vessel with Mr. Parnell, when arranging as to the hours of labour, said, "Mr. Parnell, you know the proper time in London was six in the morning (Mr. Hunter and Mr. Parnell had only left London a few months before), when the bell was rung, and any man not to his work at that hour lost a quarter of a day." The English system was, however, altered, mainly through Mr. Parnell's influence, backed by the numerous mechanics imported in the ships that were daily arriving with the pioneer settlers.

On the 10th of February, 1840, in the midst of the bustle attendant on the disembarkation from these three vessels, some alarm was produced among the new-comers by the report of a native attack. A smart firing of muskets was heard in the evening on the ridge of hills east of the valley, near the native village at the mouth of the Hutt, occupied by Puakawa and his people. Colonel Wakefield started along the beach for the scene of action. He gave a vivid description of the confusion caused among both natives and white men. Both came running to him, with arms in their hands, seeking from him guidance and assistance, and the women and children screamed in chorus.

On arriving at Waiwetu, or Star River, as the village is named, after the stream which flows under the eastern hills, he heard that the firing proceeded from our own natives, who had been up among the hills in search of Puakawa. This chief had shown himself as eager in his friendship for the white people, as he had been violent in his first opposition to the sale, and had gained the respect and esteem of the settlers in the few days during which they had known him. The captain of the *Oriental* had received him very hospitably on board his ship, and Puakawa had gone out to his gardens that morning, in order to dig up a small present of potatoes for his newly-made friend. He had been accompanied only by a woman and a slave boy. His protracted absence at night had raised the fears of his sons, who, upon searching for him, had found only a pool of blood. They had returned for

the other men of the pa, and these, firing their muskets at random in their usual way when excited, as they went up the hill, had caused the alarm. Colonel Wakefield returned to the store at Petone, issued forty stand of arms to the men on the beach, and appointed a rendezvous in case of need.

Late in the evening armed boats landed from the ships ready to assist and anxious to hear the news. At daylight Colonel Wakefield returned to Waiwetu with Epuni and Warepori, and a large party of natives started up the hill to renew the search. About a mile from the pa Puakawa's body was found in the potato-ground. His head had been cut off and his heart taken out. The woman and boy were not to be seen and were supposed to be captives. They wrapped the mutilated corpse in his red blanket and bore it, lashed to a tree, in procession to the village, where the usual tangi took place, after it had been deposited in the wahi tapu, or sacred ground. Colonel Wakefield "tried to console the widow and children and then returned to Petone with the chiefs. They seemed inclined to believe that the murderers were natives from the neighbourhood of Kapiti. It was found out afterwards that the murder had been committed by a foraging party of the Ngatikahuhunu, or original inhabitants."

The pioneer settlers had not arrived at Port Nicholson three weeks before they were called upon to perform military duty as described. Though the affair of poor Puakawa's death was not looked upon by some as an affair indicating any immediate danger to the settlement a large number of the settlers would gladly have re-embarked on board the vessels from which they had recently been landed and returned home. They were not prepared to encounter hostile savages. Colonel Wakefield had a difficult task to perform to keep the settlers in good humour.

Just about this period a few wanderers from South Australia, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land had arrived and settled. They at once commenced to utilise the new colony to their own advantage, by means of their colonial experience. One had established a grog-shop half way along the beach, where a disorderly assemblage of sailors, stray whalers, and other bad characters from the different stations had become accustomed to assemble, and caused some annoyance to the quiet settlers. As there was no law to prevent these disturbances, and Colonel Wakefield's remonstrances having been treated with some contempt, he explained his views to Warepori

and Epuni, and they, with several other chiefs of authority, accompanied him, with their arms and mats of state, to the den in question, and gave the keeper a warning that had as good an effect as a caution from a bench of magistrates.

On the 2nd of March, 1840, the first meeting of the Committee or Council of Colonists took place, under the Provincial Constitution which was drawn up in England for the maintenance of law and order among the young community after they landed in New Zealand. An agreement had been entered into between the New Zealand Company's emigrants and the Committee appointed under this constitution, which was ratified by the native chiefs. Governor Hobson, in his despatch to the Secretary of State of the Colonies, characterises these proceedings as "acts of high treason."

The Secretary to the Provincial Government, in an address, published in the second number of the *New Zealand Gazette*, issued in London, April 19, 1840, very carefully details the causes that had led up to the action taken by the New Zealand Land Company with respect to this matter. He says:—"The first and most important duty of the Council was to take measures for the preservation of order, and the maintenance of law. It was needful to devise and give effect to measures which, by means of the combined powers of the community, might overcome the obstacles to civilisation, arising out of the very circumstances of an infant colony; to provide for the construction of roads and other public works useful to the whole community, and therefore to be constructed by general contributions; to frame regulations adapted to unforeseen or temporary exigencies; in short, to give to the colonists laws and institutions suited to their new position. The Council, therefore proceeded to consider the situation of the colonists in relation to the question of sovereignty." It appeared to the Council that although it admitted the right of England to claim the sovereignty of New Zealand whenever it should please her to do so, yet that under recent proclamations the English Government had formally disclaimed the existence of any right of sovereignty, and had in the amplest manner recognised the independent sovereignty of the native chiefs of the island. A constitution was, therefore, drawn up and submitted to the sovereign chiefs of New Zealand, who ratified and endorsed it. The constitution was as follows:—

THE PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION.

We, the undersigned, intending to inhabit the New

Zealand Land Company's first and principal settlement, with the view to provide for the peace and order thereof, do hereby agree amongst ourselves, and pledge our honour to submit ourselves to the following regulations, and to enforce them, that is to say:—

1st. That all the persons parties to this agreement shall submit themselves to be mustered and drilled under the directions of persons to be appointed as hereinafter mentioned.

2nd. That in case any person shall commit any offence against the law of England, he shall be liable to be punished in the same manner as if the offence had been committed in England.

3rd. That in case any dispute shall arise, such dispute shall be decided in the manner hereinafter mentioned.

4th. That a committee shall be formed of the following persons: Colonel William Wakefield, the Company's principal Agent, George Samuel Evans, Esq., Barrister at Law, Hon. Henry William Petre, Dudley Sinclair, Esq., Francis Alexander Molesworth, Esq., Captain Edward Daniel, Lieutenant William Mein Smith, the Company's Surveyor-General, Richard David Hanson, Esq., Edward Betts Hopper, Esq., George Duppa, Esq., George Hunter, Esq., Henry Moreing, Esq., Henry Saint Hill, Esq., Thomas Mitchell Partridge, Esq., Major David Starkie Durie. That Colonel William Wakefield shall be the President thereof. That in all cases the Company's principal officer shall be the President. That the Company shall have the power to appoint five additional members. That the Committee shall have the power to add five additional members. That the number of members shall not exceed twenty-five. That five members shall be a quorum for all purposes. That Samuel Revans, Esq., shall be the first Secretary to the Committee.

5th. That the Committee shall have the power to make rules for their meetings, and to appoint the necessary officers; and that a meeting of the Committee shall take place within three days after five members shall have arrived in the settlement.

6th. That the Committee shall have power to appoint a person who shall be called an Umpire; and that George Samuel Evans, Esq., Barrister at Law, shall be the first Umpire. That the Umpire shall preside in all criminal proceedings, and assisted by seven Assessors, shall decide on the guilt or innocence of the party accused.

7th. That if the party be declared guilty, the Umpire shall state the punishment to be inflicted. Provided, that without the special approval of the Committee, no imprisonment to be stated by the Umpire shall exceed three months, and no fine to be so stated shall exceed £10.

8th. That in all civil proceedings the Umpire shall preside. That each party may choose an Arbitrator, who shall sit with the Umpire, and the award of the majority shall bind the parties; and the Umpire shall have all necessary powers of compelling the attendance of witnesses, and the production of books and papers, and of examining the witnesses.

9th. That the Committee shall have power to appoint five of their members, who shall be called a Committee of Appeal; and to such Committee an appeal may be made in all cases, civil and criminal, and the decision of such Committee shall be final.

10th. That the Committee and the Umpire shall be authorised to make such rules and orders for their government, in the execution of their duties, as they shall think fit.

11th. That the Committee may direct in what manner the Assessors shall be chosen.

12th. That the Committee shall direct the calling out of the armed inhabitants, and shall make rules and regulations for the government of the same.

13th. That the Company's principal Agent shall have the highest authority in directing the armed inhabitants, when called out; and that the Committee shall have the power to appoint such other persons as they think fit to assist in such direction.

14th. That the Committee shall have the power to make regulations for preserving the peace of the settlement; and shall have power to levy such rates and duties as they shall think necessary to defray all expenses attending the management of the affairs of the colony, and the administration of justice.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands this fourteenth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine.

RATIFICATION AND EXTENSION OF THE ABOVE CONTRACT BY THE SOVEREIGN CHIEFS OF PORT NICHOLSON.

We, the Sovereign Chiefs of the district of Wanganui-atera, or Port Nicholson, being moved thereto by the representations of Col. Wakefield, President of the Council of the white people, who have settled in the aforesaid district, and by a consideration of the interests of all the inhabitants of the said district, as well Native as otherwise, do hereby ratify and confirm the within agreement, and do declare that the same shall have the force of law within our territories, and shall be binding upon all parties residing within the same, subject, nevertheless, to the modification and stipulation hereafter mentioned.

1st. That the Council within named shall continue in office for the space of one year from the first of January, one thousand eight hundred and forty; and that at the expiration of that period a fresh Council shall be elected for the space of one year, by the votes of the majority of the male inhabitants of the colony, not legally disqualified, and who have resided in the colony for the space of three months, and that on the first day of each succeeding year a similar election shall take place; the manner and time of holding the first and all subsequent elections to be determined by the said Council.

2nd. That the President of the said Council shall remain in office for the space of five years from the said first of January, one thousand eight hundred and forty. That at the expiration of that period, a President shall be elected by an electoral body equal in number to the Council for the time being, to be chosen on that principle by the majority of the votes of the male inhabitants of the colony, not legally disqualified. That the President shall have a veto upon all resolutions of the Council, but that any such resolution, if adopted by a succeeding Council, shall have the force of law.

3rd. That the Council within named, and all succeeding Councils to be elected as aforesaid, shall possess and exercise all such powers of legislation, and by means of their President, shall perform all acts not being repugnant to the law of England, which we as such Sovereign Chiefs might exercise and perform, we hereby ratifying and confirming whatsoever they shall do or cause to be done, in the lawful exercise of the powers so conferred upon them.

4th. That we will not levy any taxes, nor impose any duties, nor do any other act which may affect the interests of the colony, or the right conferred by the within agreement, or this our ratification thereof, without the advice and consent of the said Council.

5th. That all the Native inhabitants of the district aforesaid shall possess a perfect equality of rights with the colonists, except that they shall not for the first five years vote at the election of the Council, nor serve as Assessors, except in cases in which the rights or interests

of a Native are concerned; and that in any such case, at least three of the Assessors shall be Natives.

6th. That for the first five years, no law shall be made affecting the rights of the Native population, without our consent specially obtained thereto.

Te buka-buka na te Pakeha juropi koa tuhia ki tenei buka-buka tapu koa korero kia tatou ki te korero mauri. Koa rongo ia matou. Ia matou korero mo te mahi. Te Kuina Ingarani korero ia matou te nga kingi tenei wenui; ia tatou katoa homai ki te rangatira Pakeha te kaha ki te mea katoa koa tuhi-tuhi ki tenei buka-buka tapu.

(By order)

SAMUEL REVANS,
Secretary.

The constitution was signed by the whole of the emigrants on board the ships before their departure from the Thames, and it was then forwarded to Colonel Wakefield. The first meeting of the Committee took place in a wooden frame house belonging to Captain Smith, which was then situated in the sand hummocks, about half-a-mile east of Petone, on the 2nd of March, 1840; but nothing was done beyond preparatory measures for obtaining the sanction of the chiefs, many members of the Committee being yet absent.

After the ratification by the chiefs of Port Nicholson had been obtained the Council proceeded to prepare measures for the carrying out of public works, the appointment of officers, the regulation of finances, and the establishment of various public institutions. The officers of the settlement were as follows:

Officers of the Company.—Colonel William Wakefield, Principal Agent; Captain William Mein Smith, R.A., Surveyor-General; William Carrington, Esq., First Assistant Surveyor; R. Stokes, Esq., and R. Park, Esq., Assistant Surveyors; Captain Edward Main Chalmers, Harbour Master; J. P. Fitzgerald, M.D., Consulting Physician to the Infirmary; John Dorset, Esq., Surgeon to the Infirmary; George Hunter, Esq., Storekeeper-General; Mr. John Nelson Burcham, Assistant Storekeeper; Daniel Riddiford, Esq., Agent for Emigrants; Mr. G. Dodery, Superintendent of Company's Works; Mr. Rd. Barrett, Agent for Natives, and Interpreter; James Heberley, Pilot.

Officers of the Colony.—George Samuel Evans, Esq., D.C.L., Umpire; Samuel Revans, Esq., Secretary; Major Richard Baker, Magistrate; Mr. Henry Cole and Mr. James Smith, District Constables.

On April 14th, Captain Pearson, of the brig Integrity, was arrested under a warrant issued for illegal conduct towards his charterer, Mr. Wade, of Hobart, and was brought before the district magistrate, Major Baker. The prisoner refused to recognise the court, and was committed. The following day Captain Pearson escaped, and an escape warrant was issued against him. Full particulars of this arrest, and the consequences accruing from it, are given in Mr. Crawford's narrative in another chapter.

The view taken by Governor Hobson of the proceedings of Colonel Wakefield and the settlers at Port Nicholson is set forth in the following extract from an official despatch forwarded by him to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The despatch is dated "Government House, Russell, Bay of Islands, May 25th, 1840," and states:—"I had the honour to report to your lordship, by my letters of the 16th and 17th of February last, Nos. 1 and 2, my proceedings to that date. I now avail myself of a vessel proceeding direct to England, to inform your lordship of events that have since occurred.

"On the 21st of February I proceeded, in Her Majesty's ship *Herald*, to the river Waitemata, situated in the Thames, for the twofold purpose of treating with the native chiefs, and of selecting a site for a township. The latter object was not accomplished; but the former was effected by obtaining the adherence of the principal chiefs of the neighbourhood.

"Unfortunately, on the first of March I was attacked by violent illness, occasioned by harassing duties and by long exposure to wet, which partially paralysed my right arm and leg. This circumstance, combined with a want of provisions on board the *Herald*, induced me to return to the Bay of Islands, and obliged Captain Nias to proceed to Sydney for supplies.

"A body of troops, consisting of 80 men of the 80th Regiment, commanded by Major Bunbury, disembarked here from the *Buffalo*, on the 16th of April, and on the 20th their presence had the effect of restraining a large concourse of natives who attempted to interrupt the bench of magistrates at Kororareka, while investigating a charge of murder against a native; and I have the satisfaction to add that the natives generally, and especially those who were concerned at Kororareka, have since become perfectly sensible of the justice of our proceedings, and of their own folly in opposing us.

"At various periods subsequent to the sailing of the *Herald*, I received from Captain Symonds, Mr. Maunsell, and lastly from the Revs. Messrs. Williams, reports of the entire success of their respective missions. Coincident with the report of the Messrs. Williams, dated Port Nicholson, I learned, not only from the *New Zealand Gazette*, but from other authentic sources, that the settlers who had located there, under the New Zealand Association, had formed themselves into a government, had elected a council, appointed Colonel Wakefield president, and had proceeded to

enact laws and to appoint magistrates. This intelligence demanded my immediate attention, and I trust the course I have adopted in this exigency will meet your lordship's approval.

"Without one hour's delay, I called on the commanding officer of the troops to detach thirty men to Port Nicholson, and appointed the Acting Colonial Secretary, Mr. Shortland, J.P., in whose firmness and discretion I have the utmost reliance, supported by Lieutenant Smart, J.P., of the 28th Regiment, commanding the mounted police, with five of his men, who are constables, to proceed with the detachment, for the conveyance of which I have chartered the barque *Integrity*.

"Availing myself of the universal adherence of the native chiefs to the Treaty of Waitangi, as testified by their signatures to the original document in my presence, or to copies signed by me, in the hands of those gentlemen who were commissioned and authorised to treat with them, I yielded to the emergency of the case arising out of the events at Port Nicholson; and without waiting for Major Bunbury's report, proclaimed the sovereignty of Her Majesty over the Northern Island. Actuated by similar motives, and a perfect knowledge of the uncivilised state of the natives, and supported by the advice of Sir George Gipps, previously given, I also proclaimed the authority of Her Majesty over the Southern Island, on the ground of discovery. I have the honour to enclose printed copies of these two proclamations, together with the copy in manuscript of another proclamation that I thought necessary to address to those who had illegally assumed authority to form a government at Port Nicholson.

"According to my opinion, unaided by legal advice, the proceedings of the Association at Port Nicholson amount to high treason. They have usurped the power of Her Majesty in establishing a constitution and in appointing magistrates. Taxes are said to have been levied, and most unjust, as well as illegal, exercise of magisterial authority has been practised.

"I do not mean to take immediate cognizance of these acts. I have instructed Mr. Shortland to publish the proclamations immediately on his arrival, and at once to displace all persons holding office under the authority of the usurped government, except such as may be engaged by them merely for private purposes; to restore to all persons the possession of property of which they were in occupation when the emigrants arrived, and

from which they had been forcibly ejected by persons calling themselves magistrates.

"In the execution of this duty I have particularly cautioned Mr. Shortland not to use irritating measures or language, but at the same time to act with becoming firmness and determination. As I have before stated to your Lordship, I have selected Mr. Shortland for this duty under a full persuasion that he will perform his office with credit to himself, and with a due regard for the honour and dignity of Her Majesty and Her Majesty's Government.

"Your Lordship may be disposed to regret that I was unable to proceed to Port Nicholson, as I had intended, early in March. It strikes

manifest injury and detriment of all Her Majesty's liege subjects in New Zealand.

Now, therefore, I, William Hobson, Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand, command all persons connected with such illegal association immediately to withdraw therefrom, and I call upon all persons resident at Port Nicholson, or elsewhere, within the limits of this Government, upon the allegiance they owe to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, to submit to the proper authorities in New Zealand, legally appointed, and to aid and assist them in the discharge of their respective duties.

Given under my hand at Government House, Russell, Bay of Islands, this 23rd day of May, in the year of our Lord 1840.

WILLIAM HOBSON, Lieutenant-Governor.

By command of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor,

WILLOUGHBY SHORTLAND, Colonial Secretary.

Lord John Russell, Secretary of State for



Petone Road, with Wellington in the distance, 1842.

me as a matter of congratulation that I did not go there: as I reported in my letter of the 17th of February last, I should have made my appearance amongst these demagogues without even the power to appoint a magistrate, and should only have displayed my inability to perform the most ordinary duty of a governor."

PROCLAMATION.

Whereas certain persons residing at Port Nicholson, New Zealand, part of the dominions of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, have formed themselves into an illegal association, under the title of a Council, and, in contempt of Her Majesty's authority, have assumed and attempted to usurp the powers vested in me by Her Majesty's letters patent, for the government of the said colony, to the

the Colonies, communicated his approval of the step taken by Governor Hobson, in the following despatch, dated Downing-street, November 10th, 1840: "I have received your despatch of the 25th of May last, reporting your proceedings up to that date, and enclosing copies of three proclamations which you had issued; the two first for the purpose of asserting the sovereignty of the Queen over the islands of New Zealand, the third for the purpose of checking the illegal proceedings of parties who were endeavouring to establish a separate authority. I have given due publicity to the two first mentioned proclamations by insertion in the *London Gazette*. As far as it

has been possible to form a judgment, your proceedings appear to have entitled you to the entire approbation of Her Majesty's Government.

"I shall soon be able to transmit to you letters patent under the great seal, constituting New Zealand a separate government, together with your commission as first Governor, and the royal instructions for your guidance in administering the affairs of your government.

"I trust that your health will continue to improve, and will enable you to remain in the discharge of the important duties which are entrusted to you."

The settlers at Port Nicholson made no attempt to resist the authority of the Governor. Their reception of Lieutenant Shortland may best be told in that officer's own words. Writing to Lieutenant-Governor Hobson from Port Nicholson, on the 20th June, 1840, he says:—"I have the honour to inform your Excellency that I arrived at this port on the evening of Tuesday, the 2nd June. I immediately sent Mr. Cole on shore with the proclamations, and a letter to Colonel Wakefield, informing him that it was my intention to land to read them next day. But I was prevented by a heavy gale from landing until Thursday afternoon, previous to which I was waited on by Dr. Evans, Mr. Chaffers, and Mr. Tod, who informed me that the settlers were highly delighted at my arrival. They assured me that they had been greatly misrepresented. Dr. Evans stated that the council had been formed to keep the peace, and for mutual protection, until the arrival of your Excellency or any person appointed by you.

"I told him that I was disposed to view their proceedings in that light, provided the council vanished, and that the flags were immediately hauled down; but that any proposal from any body of persons assuming any power or rights I should consider hostile. He assured me of the loyalty of the emigrants, and that my wishes should be complied with.

"I landed at two o'clock, accompanied by Lieutenants Smart and Best, and attended by the mounted police. We were received by Colonel Wakefield, Dr. Evans, Captain Smith, R.N., and all the principal inhabitants. The proclamations were responded to by three hearty cheers and a royal salute from the Europeans, and with a war dance and a general discharge of musketry by the natives, who had assembled in great numbers.

"I was again assured of the loyalty of the settlers, and that they were actuated in their

proceedings solely with a view to preserve the peace and to protect their property. I have great pleasure in informing your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government is fully established, and that both the European and native population are in a very satisfactory state."

The events which immediately preceded and attended this satisfactory settlement may be briefly narrated:—

On the 30th of May, Colonel Wakefield, as president of the Council, and with their consent, had issued a notice to the inhabitants between the ages of eighteen and sixty, requiring them to form themselves into a militia under his direction. The last paragraph of the notice thus explained the motives of this measure, and was a good sample of the patriotic feeling upon which the colonists depended for a sound maintenance of the infant constitution. "As it is intended to occupy no more than one hour in each week in this muster of the armed inhabitants, the object of which is to assure the minds of all persons of the existence of an adequate force for the preservation of order, it is believed that all who feel interested in the protection of life and property, as well as in upholding the power and authority of the British race, will make a point of honour to attend and answer to their names, when called upon the muster-roll, with such arms as they may be in the possession of, and it is expected that the employers will make no deduction from the wages of those employed by them, for the small portion of time that may be taken from the day's labour for the discharge of an important public duty."

The natives approved of this arrangement, and it was proposed to combine them under the command of their chiefs in the ranks of the militia. These proceedings, however, were interrupted by the arrival of the *Integrity*, Captain Pearson, in Port Nicholson from the Bay of Islands, on June 2, with Mr. Shortland, Colonial Secretary.

Mr. Shortland landed at Thorndon on the 4th June. The troops were drawn up in battle array, the British flag was hoisted, the provisional government was declared illegal, and all persons desired to withdraw therefrom, and at two o'clock the proclamation declaring Her Majesty's sovereignty over the North Island by treaty with the chiefs of the confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand, and the separate and independent chiefs; also the proclamation of the Queen's sovereignty over the Southern Islands of New

Zealand, commonly called the Middle Island and Stewart's Island.

A public meeting of the inhabitants of the district of Port Nicholson took place on Wednesday, the 1st July, at the Exchange, for the purpose of agreeing to a loyal and dutiful address to be presented to His Excellency Captain Hobson, R.N., the Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand.

On the motion of Dr. Samuel Evans, Colonel William Wakefield was unanimously voted to the chair. In the course of his remarks he said they were aware of the peculiar circumstances under which the colony had been formed, and of the fact that a large and influential body of settlers had left England for the purpose of forming a settlement in New Zealand, without the advantage of the countenance and sanction of the Government. They were also aware of the body called together by the signatures of the majority of the colonists in England, and known as the Committee, and subsequently, under the ratification and extension of powers granted to them by the sovereign chiefs of the islands, as the Council of the Colonists. That body had entitled itself to the approbation of the settlers, if they reflected that during the period of five months, without the aid of British authority, the peace and order of the settlement had been maintained. In the progress of the duties of the Council an emergency had occurred, which had been the subject of much discussion. The case of Captain Pearson would be in the recollection of all. The colonists would remember that the Council took pains distinctly to state in their address that, "although willing to admit to the fullest extent the power and right of the English Government to exercise sovereignty within the islands, whenever it may please the legislature of England to assert that right, yet it appeared to the Council that under the recent proclamations of the Governor of New South Wales the English Government had formally disclaimed the existence of any right of sovereignty in the Crown of England, and had in the amplest manner recognised the independent sovereignty of the native chiefs of the islands. As that proclamation contains a reference to the acquisition by purchase of the sovereign rights of the chiefs, the Council believe and hope that ere long the authority of the English Crown will be established in this place." That moment had now arrived, and he congratulated the colonists upon it. A statement had, however, been made respecting the intentions of the settlers to His

Excellency Captain Hobson, which demanded explanation. One of their own body had asserted that they were prepared to resist the introduction of British law; that an organized force was established here to resist "even to the knife" (that, he believed, was the expression made use of) the authority of the British flag. He (Colonel Wakefield) did not think that he should misstate their sentiments, if he designated those expressions as a gross misrepresentation of their feelings. The gallant colonel then called their attention to the immediate object of the meeting, viz., the presentation of an address to His Excellency Captain Hobson, expressive of the unabated loyalty and attachment of the inhabitants of Port Nicholson to the British Government. He next referred to the despatches received by the Brougham, and to the fact that the Company, ever mindful of the interests of the settlers, had sent out a large quantity of provisions, to be sold at reasonable prices, in order that the colonists might not be driven to pay exorbitant rates. He was also instructed to render every assistance in the erection of the Governor's house should His Excellency determine to make that place the seat of government. The gallant colonel then went on to say that thousands in England were in the most anxious expectation of news from New Zealand, and he was satisfied from their possessing so fine a harbour for ships of the largest tonnage, that they would shortly have an immense influx of emigrants of all classes, from the capitalist to the labourer. In the history of colonies, no instance had occurred of a settlement presenting the favourable appearance Port Nicholson now did. They had capitalists willing to expend their capital; they had an intermediate class engaged in successful trade; they had native produce and native labour, which had proved most valuable, and finally, they had the labouring class, all in the receipt of good wages. They had surmounted the greatest difficulties, and next winter he hoped to see them all provided with comfortable houses. Little did Mr. Sinclair, when he made the assertion that the settlers were hostile to the British Government, know the meaning of the word "allegiance." He did not know that it was a duty which could not be laid down and taken up at pleasure. He (Colonel Wakefield) thought that the time had now arrived when they should make a demonstration of their loyalty, and he urged it upon them from no fear of shrinking from the responsibility of past acts,

neither denying nor retracting any act or word to which he had been a party, and prove that, although whilst left to themselves, they knew how to maintain law and order, they seized the first opportunity to claim the protection of the Government whose authority they had never disputed, and in whose support they were as ready as ever, notwithstanding what may have been said to the contrary, to tender their cordial and dutiful services. He then called upon Dr. Evans to read the address, and resumed his seat amidst general applause.

Dr. Evans, in moving the adoption of a loyal address, congratulated the colonists upon the high degree of prosperity which they had before them, and said that nothing more was necessary than capital and labour to render the post permanently flourishing. He was satisfied with the harbour; it was the true geographical centre of the islands, and surrounded by a large agricultural district, and he was sure that the Government must ultimately be brought there, containing as it did by far the greatest European population in the islands. The Company in England were promoting emigration by every means in their power; the colonists were thus armed with elements of success, and by cordially co-operating with each other, would obtain that prosperity they so anxiously looked forward to in England. He was sorry means had been taken to deter His Excellency from making this the seat of government, and he was certain the individual who had made the attempt would be severely interrogated, both in public and private, on the subject. He (Dr. Evans) would take this, the first public opportunity he had had, to bear testimony to the admirable manner in which Colonel Wakefield had directed the affairs of the colony, and although a higher authority had arrived, he was sure they all felt grateful for the protection which he had afforded them. With respect to the Council he begged it to be understood that there had been no flinching on their parts. Perhaps they could have thrown down the gauntlet to Her Majesty's Government; but they did not seek to gratify their vanity, by raising any legal or constitutional argument to defend the legality of their proceedings. There were periods in men's lives, when they ought to sacrifice their feelings, and this was one of them. It was impossible 1,500 people could live together without some sort of authority being established; and, right or wrong, the Council had protected their persons and

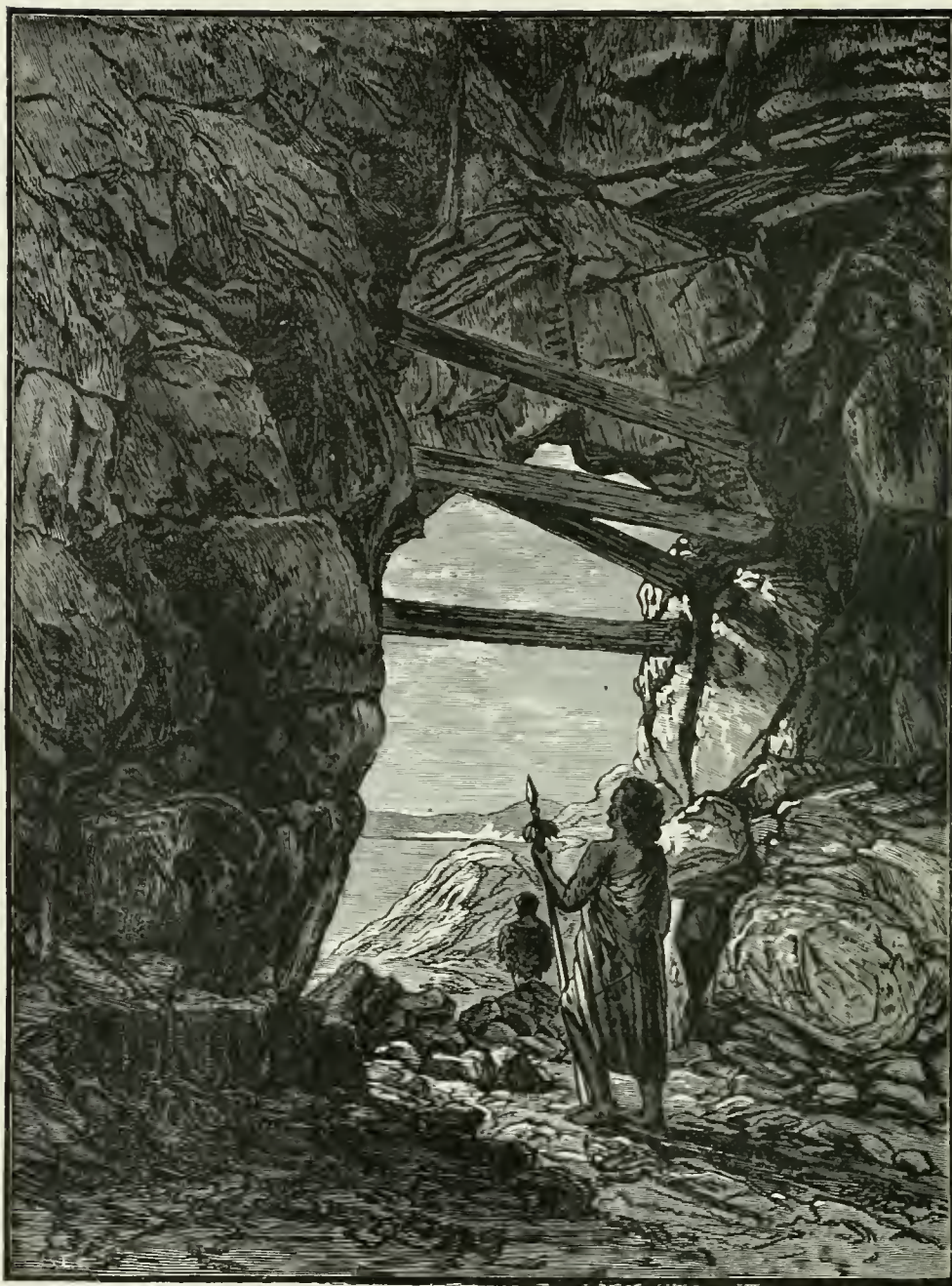
property during a period of five months. A new era, however, had now arrived, and he wished it to be distinctly understood that they were prepared to uphold the power and authority of the British flag.

Dr. Evans concluded by reading the address, in which the settlers set forth: "That our arrangements for the preservation of order were adopted by us as merely temporary and provisional, is proved by the acclamation with which the British flag was welcomed, as well as by the cordial support which has been rendered by all classes to the Colonial Secretary and the magistrates, of which they themselves are the most competent witnesses. We might add, that in planning the surveys of our future town, we had, as far as possible, anticipated the wants of Government, and set apart the most valuable sections of land for the convenience of the public offices and the personal accommodation of your Excellency, feeling assured, as we do, that sooner or later this must necessarily become the seat of government for these islands. Should that prove the case, your Excellency may rest assured that you will be welcomed here by the largest body of Her Majesty's subjects in New Zealand, unanimous in their loyalty, and desirous of promoting, by every means in their power, the comfort of your private life and the dignity of your public administration."

The motion was seconded by Mr. F. A. Molesworth, and on being put to the meeting, was carried unanimously. Mr. George Hunter, sen., moved, and Mr. St. Hill seconded, a cordial vote of thanks to Colonel Wakefield for the care and vigilance he had displayed during the period he presided over the affairs of the colony previous to the establishment of the British authority. This was carried by acclamation.

On July 15th a notice appeared in the *Gazette*, signed by Colonel Wakefield, announcing that the plan of the town in the Company's principal settlement would be open to inspection on the following Monday, and remain open until Monday, the 27th instant, when the registration of the choice and allotment of the town sections would commence.

On July 18th Colonel Wakefield, accompanied by Captain Chaffers, proceeded in the ship Brougham to the Bay of Islands. He returned in August to Port Nicholson, and a meeting of the settlers was held on Wednesday, the 19th August, in the large room at Barrett's Hotel, to receive the reply of Captain Hobson to the address voted by the inhabitants of Port Nicholson. The chair was taken by Dr.



From a sketch by S. C. Brees.

Interior of Archway at Pari-Pari, looking South.

The old road from Wellington northward towards Manawatu, formed at a very early period by the New Zealand Company's settlers, was carried along the coast, and passed through the rocky archway shown in the picture, which is taken from a sketch by Mr. Brees, principal engineer and surveyor to the Company. The rocks composing the archway consisted of argillaceous slate with sharp edges and hard wacke, almost black in colour.

Evans, and the replies of the Lieutenant-Governor to the address of the colonists, and to the offers of assistance from Colonel Wakefield, as agent of the Company, were read. Colonel Wakefield then stated the results of his mission; that he had been received by the Governor most courteously; and that he was assured that the feelings of Captain Hobson towards the settlers in Port Nicholson, under the auspices of the Company, were of the most friendly nature. This assurance and conviction of the sympathy of Captain Hobson for the respectable community in Port Nicholson were founded on the knowledge which His Excellency's condescension in admitting Colonel Wakefield to his acquaintance, had enabled him to obtain of his kindness of heart and nature, his love of justice, and the high-minded, straightforward conduct which characterised his profession. Colonel Wakefield then read the answer to the address, and to the offers of support from the Company and settlers. In this address His Excellency acknowledges with much satisfaction their very explicit declaration of loyalty and attachment to the Crown and Constitution of England, and states that "it has been a source of infinite gratification to me to learn, through the reports of the Colonial Secretary and magistrates, the cordial support which has been rendered by all classes to the Government authorities at Port Nicholson."

Upon the question of the seat of government, His Excellency, in a letter dated Russell, Bay of Islands, August 4th, 1840, while acknowledging the kind and considerate disposition the Association had evinced in their arrangements proposed for his personal comfort and accommodation, stated: "In declining the offer, I can assure the Association and the settlers generally that I am not insensible to the great sacrifice I make of my own ease, but it is a sacrifice which I feel is due to the public service, from a conviction of the advantages of fixing the seat of government in a more central position, and one better adapted for internal communication. Although it is consequently out of my power to reside amongst the settlers at Port Nicholson, their welfare and prosperity will not less be an object of my warmest solicitude and interest."

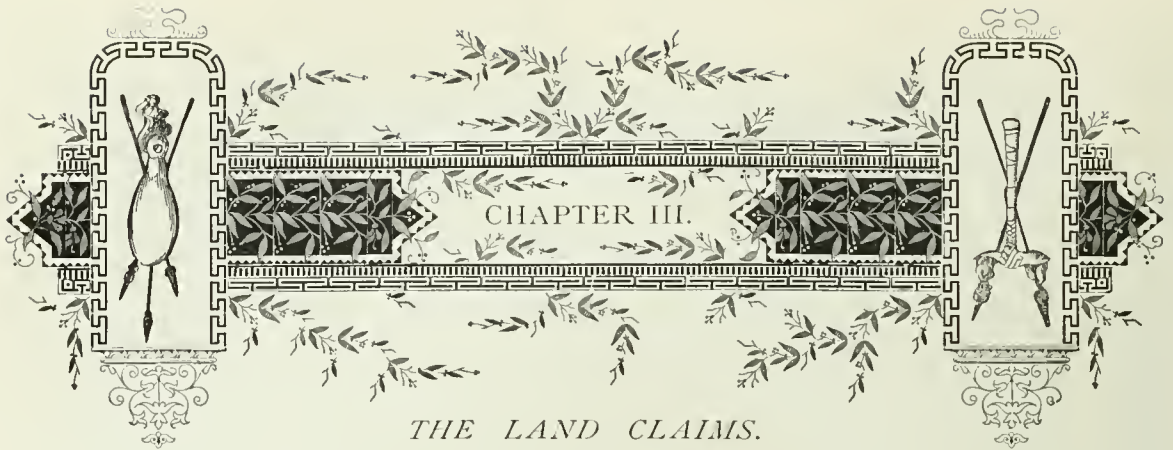
After a resolution had been carried suitably acknowledging His Excellency's reply, Colonel Wakefield took the chair in order that the

settlers might express their views of the position which they occupied. A series of resolutions were moved by Mr. Hanson, seconded by Mr. White, relating to the bill before the New South Wales Legislature. One resolution was, "That by the Bill for the Settlement of Titles to Land in New Zealand, now in progress through the Legislative Council of New South Wales, it is proposed to destroy all titles to land in New Zealand, however just in themselves, or whatever might be the length of time for which they had existed." Other resolutions were passed, and it was agreed, "That a memorial founded upon the foregoing resolutions be prepared and presented to the Governor of New South Wales, Dr. Evans, R. D. Hanson, and H. Moreing, Esquires, being appointed a deputation to present the same." It was also suggested that Mr. E. G. Wakefield should act as their representative in England to urge upon the Government the claims of the settlers in Port Nicholson to the land they had purchased, as well as to advocate their general interests.

In accordance with the notice fixing the 27th of July for that purpose the selection of town lands (Wellington) commenced in Barrett's Hotel, then being erected on the beach, which consisted of a large wooden building that had been brought out by Dr. Evans, who sold it to Dickey Barrett. A large map of the town was hung upon the wall and Mr. Hanson, Captain Smith and his assistants replied to any questions. Owing to a mistake being discovered on the plan on the 31st the further selection was postponed to the 10th of August.

The intelligence with regard to the Land Bill passed in New South Wales had caused a panic among purchasers and selectors, but the selection was proceeded with and completed on the 14th of August. Many took possession of their land, after the return of Colonel Wakefield from the Bay of Islands, the alarm consequent upon the appearance of the draft of the bill before the Legislature of New South Wales having much subsided.

In the beginning of the year 1840 the township of Petone was all bustle. Tents, raupo whares, and shanties of every description were erected to shelter the settlers who were rapidly arriving in the New Zealand Company's vessels. At the end of the year Petone assumed the appearance of a deserted village.



THE LAND CLAIMS.

The first Land Claimants' Bill—Action by Governor Gipps—Enormous area of land claimed—Measures adopted to investigate titles and stop purchases from natives—Captain King on land purchasing—How Mr. Wentworth bought the Middle Island—Meetings in New Zealand against the Land Bill—Deputation to Governor Gipps—Despatch from Lord John Russell—The system of colonisation proposed by the New Zealand Company—The Company's claim to the Chatham Islands—Reply by the settlers to reflections cast upon them by Governor Gipps.



THE Land Bill which excited so much indignation amongst the New Zealand land owners was passed by the New South Wales Legislature, and was entitled, "A Bill to empower the Governor of New South Wales to appoint Commissioners with certain powers to examine and report on Claims to Grants of land in New Zealand." Under this Bill all titles to land in New Zealand were declared absolutely null and void, except such as are or may be allowed by Her Majesty. The Governor was empowered to appoint commissioners to examine and report on all land claims, and the powers and duties of these commissioners were clearly defined. The commissioners were to be guided by the real justice and good conscience of each case, and they were empowered to summon witnesses, the commissioners having power to compel their attendance under a penalty not exceeding twenty-one days' imprisonment or a fine not exceeding £100.

The following reference to the opposition offered to the Bill appears in a despatch from Sir George Gipps to Lord John Russell dated

August 16th, 1840:—"The declared intention of Government to inquire into titles to land, and to disallow all exorbitant claims, occasioned much dissatisfaction among those purchasers or speculators, and when the Act for appointing the commission to inquire into the claims was brought forward by me in Council, it was loudly denounced by the parties interested, as illegal and unjust. Petitions, praying to be heard against the Bill, were presented from various individuals, and the prayer of these petitions being acceded to, five different individuals were admitted to plead the cause of the petitioners before the Council. Of these five persons, three were barristers, who appeared on behalf of the petitioners generally, the others were Mr. Busby and Mr. Wentworth, who appeared on their own account. Mr. Busby, the late resident, claimed somewhat more than fifty thousand acres of land, besides a township or the site of a town in the Bay of Islands, which he valued at thirty thousand pounds. Mr. Wentworth claimed about one hundred thousand acres on the Northern Island, and about twenty millions of acres in the Middle Island, being, as he stated, the whole of that island, with the exception of about three millions of acres, which belonged, he said, to prior purchasers. Two entire days were devoted by the Council to the hearing of these gentlemen. Their arguments, however, had

not the effect of preventing the passing of the Bill in the shape in which I have submitted it, for the approval of Her Majesty."

Before the establishment of the British Government many English and Americans purchased land from the natives. These purchases were at first confined to a few persons, but when it became evident that the country must soon become a British colony, a rush was made by traders and by people from Australia to buy land in any locality. Land was to the early settlers in New Zealand what gold was to the Spaniards in Mexico. To such an extent did trading in land go, that on Captain Hobson's arrival in New Zealand 45,000,000 of acres, or about one half of the whole country, were claimed as having been bought from the natives. The following table shows the quantity of land claimed and the date of purchase:—

Date of Purchase.	Acres Purchased.
From 1815 to 1824	8,000
From 1825 to 1829	1,008,000
*From 1830 to 1834	600,000
From 1835 to 1836	120,000
*From 1837 to 1838	240,000
†In 1839	12,000,000
In 1840	12,000,000
New Zealand Company's purchases, 1839	20,000,000
Total	45,976,000

* Also several islands. † Stewart's Island and others

Captain Hobson issued a proclamation at Kororareka which put an end to land sharking, and this was supplemented by the Bill passed by the Legislature of New South Wales empowering the Governor to send commissioners to examine into the purchases already made.

Captain Thomas King, in a little work published by him in 1839, and printed in Sydney, entitled "Important Information Relative to New Zealand," makes the following pertinent remarks with reference to the purchase of land from the New Zealand natives: "Scruples are felt in respect to the preliminary step of purchasing land. It is said, if the land be taken possession of without the consent of the natives it is a manifest injustice and aggression; and if, as is generally the case, it be purchased from them at the present rate of purchase, is it not a fraud? Is it not taking advantage of these poor savages? I shall say, no, for although there is something plausible in this, it can only exist so long as we keep out of view the circumstance which gives value to the land in question. In a country thinly peopled, where the population derive their sustenance not from hunting but

from the produce of the soil, the immense overplus of land not required for this purpose is to them completely valueless; it is colonization which must give value to the land."

There is much truth in these remarks, but at the same time it must not be lost sight of that the purchaser was fully aware of the great prospective value of the land he was purchasing, whereas the sellers were entirely unable to realise the true position. Strictly speaking in all reason and justice the early New Zealand settlers were only entitled to purchase as much land as was necessary for their own immediate requirements; they were not justified in purchasing for a trifle large blocks of valuable land with the sole intention of aggrandising themselves and handing down vast estates to their descendants.

But for the firmness displayed by Governor Hobson and Sir George Gipps in dealing with these claims the whole of the lands of the colony would have been locked up in the hands of a few persons, and the native owners ruthlessly stripped of their possessions. The mode of acquisition pursued in connection with the land purchases on behalf of the New Zealand Company, as well as that adopted by many other purchasers, displayed not merely a want of acquaintance with the system of native ownership, but an utter indifference to the question whether the purchase was being made from the rightful owners or not. In order to show the nature of many of these claims it is sufficient to state that when they were formally investigated by the commissioners appointed under the Act passed by General Hobson and the first Legislative Council of New Zealand, after the colony was dissevered from New South Wales, out of twenty-six millions of acres claimed by less than three hundred persons in separate claims, Crown grants were awarded for about one hundred thousand acres.

The origin of Mr. Wentworth's extraordinary claim to twenty million acres is explained by the Governor of New South Wales in the following despatch, dated Sydney, August 16th, 1840, and may be taken as a sample of the flimsy grounds upon which many of these land claims were based, and the earth hunger which prevailed at that period of the history of the colony:—

"There is yet a transaction, connected with the passing of the New Zealand Commissioners Act, transmitted with my despatch of this day's date, which I feel it my duty to report to your Lordship.

"In the month of February last seven chiefs

from the Middle Island of New Zealand, happening to be in Sydney, it was suggested to me by the persons who had brought them here, and under whose protection they were living, that they should be invited to sign a declaration of willingness to receive Her Majesty as their sovereign, similar in effect to the declaration which Captain Hobson was then engaged in obtaining from the chiefs of the Northern Island.

"The chiefs in question of the Middle Island were accordingly brought to the Government House, and, through the medium of an interpreter, the nature of the document they were required to sign was fully explained to them

received from one of the Englishmen, under whose protection they were, that they had been advised to sign no treaty which did not contain full security for the possession by the purchasers of all lands acquired from the natives. It subsequently appeared that it was by the advice of Mr. Wentworth that they adopted this course of proceeding; and Mr. Wentworth also, when before the Council, acknowledged that he had not only given his advice, but also that he had subsequently, and after the issue of my proclamation, in conjunction with four or five persons, purchased the whole of the Middle Island, or all unsold portions of it from these very natives,



From a sketch by S. C. Brees.

Mount Victoria, Port Nicholson.

in presence of myself, the Colonial Secretary, and several persons who claimed to have purchased land in the Middle Island, and amongst other things it was expressly declared to them that only such purchases of land as should be approved of by Her Majesty would ultimately be confirmed.

"At the conclusion of this conference a present of ten sovereigns was made to each of the chiefs, and they all promised to attend on the next day but one, to sign the paper which was to be prepared for them.

"On the day appointed, however, none of them appeared; and, in reply to a message that was sent for them, a short answer was

paying them for it £200 in ready money with a promise of a like sum per annum as long as they should live.

"Such was the origin of Mr. Wentworth's claim to twenty millions of acres in the Middle Island; and it was the legality and validity of this transaction that he appeared before the Council to defend."

The unpopularity of this Land Bill was not confined to the settlers at Wellington. The claims of all the white settlers were affected by it, and those acquired prior to the establishment of British rule were extensive. The small army of land speculators who flocked into the country in the wake of the New Zealand

Company and Captain Hobson, and the settlers already in the country who had begun to speculate in lands in anticipation of the value which would be given to their purchases by organised settlement, were disconcerted by Governor Hobson's proclamation declaring that all such purchases would be absolutely void. One of the most notable claims in connection with the settlement at Port Nicholson was that made by Mr. Robert Tod, who came over from Adelaide, after the visit of Colonel Wakefield to Port Nicholson in the *Tory* and his negotiations with the natives there, but before the arrival of the first settlers. Mr. Tod purchased from some natives a portion of the bay at Thorndon, and afterwards directed the natives to erect a house upon it. Feeling ran very high in the young settlement over this claim, which was hotly denounced at the last meeting of the Provisional Council on the 30th May, 1840, a few days prior to the arrival of Lieutenant Shortland with authority to abolish the Council and establish authorised Government. Mr. Tod subsequently became a large purchaser of land at the Government sale at Auckland.

It will be convenient here, although disturbing somewhat the sequence of events, to narrate the after proceedings in connection with this Land Bill to the close of 1840. On the 3rd September of that year a meeting of landed proprietors took place at Coromandel to take into consideration the defence of their rights and titles to their possessions in New Zealand. Mr. P. Abercrombie was placed in the chair and Mr. W. V. Brewer appointed hon. secretary.

It was moved by Mr. Cormack and seconded by Mr. White, "That the landed proprietors of Coromandel, of the Frith of the Thames, and other adjacent parts, being convinced that the purchases they have made of land from the natives have been fair and honourable, and not prejudicial in extent, or otherwise to the interests of future emigrants to New Zealand as all lands claimed and possessed by British subjects form together only a fractional part of the territory, deem it necessary to join the New Zealand Association in Sydney, for the purpose of defending their rights and titles in New Zealand against the illegal proceedings of Sir George Gipps and the Council of New South Wales, undertaken under the plea of expediency for the future interests of New Zealand, and in defiance of the solemn assurance of Her Majesty's Government in Great Britain, the Marquis of Normanby (when Secretary for the Colonies), and the Lieutenant-Governor of

New Zealand, 'that the titles and possessions of British subjects should be respected and confirmed.'"

It was moved by Mr. White and seconded by Mr. Dowling, "That this meeting views with feelings of great dissatisfaction the conduct of the Governor and the majority of the Council of New South Wales, and considers that the measure passed by them with regard to New Zealand, as decidedly detrimental, not only to landed proprietors, but to the entire mercantile community."

It was moved by Mr. Cormack, and seconded by Mr. White, "That the resolutions as passed at a meeting of the New Zealand Association held in Sydney on the 2nd April last, and also at the Bay of Islands, be adopted at this meeting."

It was moved by Mr. McLeod, and seconded by Mr. Dowling, "That a copy of these resolutions be left with the members of this meeting for the purpose of obtaining the names and subscriptions of those who from distance could not attend."

It was moved by Mr. McInnes, seconded by Captain Nagle, "That Mr. Peter Abercrombie receive all subscriptions collected by members, and transmit them to the funds of the New Zealand Association at Sydney."

Seventh resolution moved by Mr. Moore, seconded by Mr. White, "That these resolutions be forwarded immediately to the committee of the New Zealand Association in Sydney, and be published in the different newspapers of New Zealand and Sydney."

It was moved by Mr. Cormack, and seconded by Captain Nagle, "That it is the unanimous opinion and wish of this meeting that a memorial be prepared and transmitted to Parliament as speedily as possible, humbly praying for a separation of New Zealand from the Government of New South Wales, they placing sufficient confidence in the honour and integrity of His Excellency Captain Hobson's Government, without any interference of the Governor and Council of New South Wales."

Mr. W. V. Brewer was appointed conjointly with Mr. C. B. Brewer agent for the Association.

In November, 1840, a meeting was held at the Bay of Islands, at which resolutions were passed condemning the New Zealand Land Bill and demanding that New Zealand should be released from her connection with New South Wales. A meeting had previously been held at Wanganui, at which similar resolutions had been passed.

Dr. Evans, Mr. Hanson and Mr. Moreing, who

were appointed to wait upon His Excellency Sir George Gipps and place before him the position of the Port Nicholson settlers, duly fulfilled their mission with a satisfactory result, which was reported to a meeting held at Port Nicholson on the 11th December, when the following resolutions were agreed to: "That the unanimous and cordial thanks of this meeting be given to His Excellency Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales, for the spirit of justice and liberality he has displayed towards the community of Port Nicholson in securing to them a confirmation from the Crown of their title to the lands about to be occupied, on the terms consistent with the public policy, and which they hereby gratefully and loyally accept." Resolved, "That the thanks of this meeting be likewise given to His Excellency Sir George Gipps for the promise of a charter of incorporation as a municipality, by which His Excellency has provided for the settlement the inestimable advantage of local self-government, in all matters of a strictly local nature."

The concession which the deputation gained from the Governor of New South Wales is thus alluded to in a despatch from Governor Hobson, dated May 26th, 1841: "On a recent occasion Sir George Gipps gave them the permissory occupation of 110,000 acres around Port Nicholson, on condition of their confining themselves to that limit, with a promise to recommend to your lordship to obtain for them from Her Majesty a free grant to that extent, in return for the expense the Company had incurred in importing immigrants into the colony. But almost coincident with that act of grace they spread themselves over the lands of Wanganui to a distance of ninety miles, in direct opposition to a notice simultaneously published both by Sir George Gipps and myself respectively."

In a despatch from Lord John Russell to Governor Hobson, bearing date 16th April, 1841, the New South Wales Land Bill is alluded to as follows: "I have laid before the Queen the Act of the Governor of New South Wales, passed with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council of that colony, in the fourth year of Her Majesty's reign, entitled, 'An Act to empower the Governor of New South Wales to appoint Commissioners, etc.'"

"Her Majesty has been greatly pleased to approve the general provisions of that Act, as well as the more particular details which it comprises. But circumstances to which it was impossible that the Legislature of New

South Wales should have adverted will probably render the execution of it difficult, if not impossible. The separation of New Zealand from New South Wales will render obsolete and impracticable these enactments, which require the interposition of the Governor of the older colony. The arrangements which I have made with the New Zealand Company will fulfil the application of the Act, in its present form, to the case of the lands to be granted to them.

"To these considerations is to be added the remark that I propose to commit these inquiries to the single commissioner appointed by Her Majesty for that purpose, and not to three joint commissioners, as the Act has provided.

"For these reasons it appears necessary that a new law on the subject should be proposed to the local Legislature of New Zealand, to meet the various exigencies which I have pointed out, and any others which your experience may have brought to light. Subject to such variations, the Act of New South Wales may be followed as a safe and proper guide.

"Her Majesty has therefore been pleased to disallow the Act passed by the Governor of New South Wales with the advice of the Legislative Council of that colony. That as difficulties may possibly arise in obtaining from the Legislature of New Zealand the necessary enactment in substitution for it, or as the immediate disallowance of the New South Wales Act may be productive of other inconveniences which at this distance it is impossible to anticipate, the Queen has been further pleased to authorise me to signify to you Her Majesty's pleasure that you do postpone the notification of Her Majesty's disallowance of the Act in question, if you should be of opinion that the disallowance of it would, on the whole, be injurious to the public service. In that case you will report to me the grounds of that opinion, and until you are in receipt of further instructions, the New South Wales Act will continue in force in New Zealand, so far as it may be capable of execution, although subject of course to any amendments which may in the interval have been made by yourself with the advice of the Legislative Council of New Zealand."

These instructions were given effect to upon the meeting of the Legislative Council at Auckland in 1841. An Act was passed repealing the New South Wales statute and empowering the Governor of New Zealand to appoint one or more Commissioners to in-

investigate the claims to land, and to recommend to the Governor the issue of titles. The Act, however, provided: "That no grant of land shall be recommended by the said Commissioners, which shall exceed in extent two thousand five hundred and sixty acres, unless specially authorised thereto by the Governor with the advice of the Executive Council, or which shall comprehend any headland, promontory, bay, or island, that may hereafter be required for any purpose of defence, or for the site of any town or village reserve, or for any other purpose of public utility, nor for any land situate on the seashore within one hundred feet of high water mark."

It will be well here to give the main features of the system of colonization adopted by the New Zealand Land Company, as officially announced in the *Gazette* in April, 1840, which read as follows:—

The main features of the system of colonization adopted by the Company are—1st, the sale of lands, at an uniform and sufficient price; and 2ndly, the employment of a large portion of the purchase money, as an Immigration Fund. In these respects, the principles of South Australia have been followed as nearly as circumstances would, in the present case, permit.

The grand object of the new or improved system of the disposal of colonial lands, is to regulate the supply of new land by the real wants of the colonists, so that the land shall never be either superabundant or deficient, either too cheap or too dear. It has been shown that the due proportion between people and land may be constantly secured by abandoning the old system of grants, and requiring an uniform price per acre, for all new lands, without exception. If the price be not too low it deters speculators from obtaining land with a view to leaving their property in a desert state, and thus prevents injurious dispersion; it also, by compelling every labourer to work for wages until he has saved the only means of obtaining land, insures a supply of labour for hire. If, on the other hand, the price be not too high, it neither confines the settlers within a space inconveniently narrow, nor does it prevent the thrifty labourer from becoming a land-owner, after working some time for wages.

A sufficient, but not more than sufficient price for all new land, is the main feature of the new system of colonization. It obviates every species of bondage: by providing combinable labour it renders industry very productive, and maintains both high wages and high profits; it makes the colony as attractive as possible, both to capitalists and to labourers; and not merely to these, but also, by bestowing on the colony the better attributes of an old society, to those who have a distaste for what has heretofore been the primitive condition of new colonies.

The great object of the price is to secure the most desirable proportions between people and land; but the plan has the further result of producing a revenue which will not only supply the requisite profit to the shareholders of the Company, but furnishes the means for an Immigration Fund,—a fund constantly applicable to the purpose of bringing labour to the colony—that is, in causing the best sort of colonization to proceed at the

greatest possible rate. And this is the second feature of the new system.

The employment of the purchase money, or the principal part of it, in conveying settlers to the colony, has the following effects. It makes the purchasers of land see plainly that their money will be returned in the shape of labour and population. It tends, in fact, to lower the necessary standard of price, because, with a constant influx of people to the colony, the due proportion between people and land may be kept up by a lower price, than if there were no such immigration. It therefore diminishes the period during which the labourer must work for hire, and by the rapid progress which it imparts to the best sort of colonization, it explains to the labouring class of immigrants, that every one of them who is industrious and thrifty, may be sure to become not merely an owner of land, but also in his turn, an employer of hired labourers, a master of servants.

From these considerations, the Company has adopted the same system of disposing of its waste lands as has already proved highly favourable to the productiveness of industry in South Australia. In a new colony, planted in a fertile and extensive territory, it is obvious that the establishment of such a system is a matter of the deepest moment to the future welfare of society. "From it the best effects may with confidence be anticipated: a constant and regular supply of new land in due proportion to the wants of a population increasing by births and immigration; all the advantages to which facilities of transport and communication are essential; certainty of limits, and security of title to property in land; the greatest facilities on acquiring the due quantity; the greatest encouragement to immigration and settlement; and the most rapid progress of the people in material comfort and social improvement."

The Land Office for sales and transfers is now open at Port Nicholson, and the land is sold in sections of 100 acres each, at £1 per acre. The advantage of purchasing before the surveys are in a sufficiently forward state to allow of immediate selection, is, that the priority of choice is secured in the order in which the registration of the purchase is made.

Port Nicholson, April 14, 1840.

On May 9th Mr. Moreing brought forward the following resolution at the meeting of the Provisional Council, which, after discussion, was agreed to:—

That in order to encourage the cultivation of land and the production of food in the colony, and to facilitate the granting of leases for those purposes by the Company's chief agent, before the land section be surveyed and allotted, all holders of land orders from the New Zealand Land Company, entering according to the order of choice, or possession of land leased by the Company, shall pay compensation to the leaseholders for growing crops, agreeably to the conditions of the leases granted by the Company's agent, or allow a reasonable time for the removal of crops.

The New Zealand Land Company's scheme, though not perfect, was far in advance of the measures adopted by the permanent government subsequently established, for under the latter, through the want of funds which prevented the Government from carrying on systematic colonisation, and afterwards by a convenient process of legislation which



From a photograph by J. Martin, Auckland.

Carved Gateway of Pa, Ohinemutu.

it is not the object of this work to enter into, the original scheme of the sale of the lands to small freeholders upon the Wakefield system and the occupation of the country by settlers, was completely defeated by the introduction of foreign capital to absorb the public estate.

It was a matter of deep regret to the settlers, and has been ever since, that a great colonising body like the New Zealand Company should have been thwarted as they were in the heroic work of colonization in which they were engaged. Those settlers who left the British shores under the auspices of that Company, and who were the chief founders of this colony, thoroughly believed at the time in the Wakefield system of colonization—a system that planted labour as well as capital, and at the same time dealt liberally and fairly with the aborigines of the country—a system that did not encourage monopolies of great estates, but fostered small holdings. The Port Nicholson district is an illustration of the early and successful settlement of the colony upon the principles fully set forth in the prospectus of the New Zealand Land Company.

The New Zealand Company at this time imagined they had purchased the Chatham Islands. Their arrangements, however, fell through. Colonel Wakefield sent the *Cuba* to the Chatham Islands in July, 1840, with Mr. R. D. Hansen (afterwards Sir R. D. Hanson, Chief Justice at Adelaide) on board, to

negotiate with the natives. The Company abandoned their claim, the Crown lawyer having declared the purchase of the Chatham Islands illegal, and the Chatham Islands were declared a dependency of New Zealand.

The Sydney newspapers of June 19th contained the proceedings of the Legislative Council of New South Wales of May 29th. The Governor of New South Wales, Sir George Gipps, on the occasion of laying before the Legislative Council "A Bill for the Settlement of Titles in New Zealand," referred to the Port Nicholson settlers as a "band of adventurers," which called forth from the colonists the following manly reply: "It is true we are adventurers. We have ventured property and life, our own property and that of our children, in an undertaking which was rightly called by the sagacious Bacon heroic. If this enterprise be successful, as we hope and believe will be the case, we shall have realised for ourselves independence, and probably wealth; but at the same time we shall have substituted in this remote region civilization for barbarism, Christianity for heathenism, the empire of law for the prescriptive lawlessness, the arts that humanize and the sciences that elevate for a stagnating and unprogressive ignorance. We shall have laid the foundation of a community speaking the language and enjoying the institutions of England; shall have given yet further scope to them all."





LIFE AT PORT NICHOLSON.

Reminiscences of one of the earliest settlers—Colonel Wakefield—Native alarms—The Hutt Valley—Petone survey abandoned—Commitment of Captain Pearson—Visit to Bay of Islands—Ride to Manawatu—Reminiscences by Mr. McKenzie—Construction of the first houses—The first printing office—Early cultivations—Union Bank established—Alarm caused by an earthquake—Troubles by flood—Sad boating fatality—A flour famine—The removal from Petone to the new township—Narrowness of the streets of Wellington—The first business places—The Pickwick Club—Naming the town Britannia—Religion of the Natives—An excursion to Wanganui—Anecdotes of whalers—Their daring courage.



THE following from the pen of J. C. Crawford, Esq., F.G.S., gives an interesting and graphic description of the life of the earliest colonists at Port Nicholson. Mr Crawford was a

New South Wales squatter, and was in Wellington when the *Aurora* arrived at that place on January 22nd, 1840. He was subsequently for some years Resident Magistrate in Wellington and a member of the Legislative Council. He thus describes Colonel Wakefield:—

“Colonel Wakefield, it was at once perceived, was a man of action. Of medium height, compactly built, fair in complexion, and Saxon in appearance and temperament, astute and reticent, had seen much of the world both British and foreign, and could make himself a very pleasant companion. People said he always was so except when spoken to on business. Mr. Hanson, it was at once seen, was a man of great ability, of learning, and of a philosophical mind. He subsequently left New Zealand for South Australia, where he rose to be Chief Justice, and was knighted under the title of Sir Richard Hanson.

“The surveyors under Captain Smith were

busy laying out a township at Petone. As there were no hotels nor lodging houses I got Tom Wilson to contract with some Maoris of Te Mamuku's tribe to put me up a bark hut, which they did in a very short time.

“It was most interesting to watch the arrival of the emigrant ships and the landing of the settlers on the beach. Some persons had brought out Manning's wooden houses, which were quickly erected; others dwelt in tents, and others contracted with the Maoris to run up houses, generally of wattle and daub. The Maoris were astonished and excited, and the wonder is that they did not take the opportunity of killing and eating all the immigrants.

“Among the first arrivals were Mr. Francis Molesworth, the Hon. Henry Petre, Mr. Walter Mantell, Mr. A. de Bathe Brandon, Mr. George Duppa, Dr. Evans and his family, and Mr. Robert Park and family. Many have passed from the scene, but others are in full heart and vigour.

“Various alarms took place. On one occasion a boat landing at night returned to one of the ships, and the crew reported that the Maoris were about to massacre them. Great excitement arose in the squadron. Colonel Wakefield, after inquiring into the matter, told the people they were a pack of frightened geese, and that they had better go to bed. The panic arose from some Maoris rushing into the surf to help the boat on to the beach.

"The alluvial land on the banks of the Hutt was at this time covered by a dense forest, many of the trees being of gigantic size. Boats could ascend the river to the locality of the present bridge, and the foliage on the banks of the river, with the white clematis hanging in graceful folds from the lofty branches, was superb. The river was much narrower than it is now. The valley being under forest, the banks were protected from scour, and the flood waters were kept back and ran off more gradually. The scour and the rush of gravel and sand which has since widened and shallowed the river did not then prevail.

"When the surveyors were laying off the township at Petone beach much dissatisfaction arose in connection with the situation. It was perceived that the proper site for the city was where Wellington now stands, and rumours were afloat that holders of the earlier choices were prepared to take up this site as country land, and then cut it up into a township. A heavy flood in the Hutt river occurring at this time added force to the opposition, as it was seen that the proposed township at Petone would be liable to frequent submergence. Colonel Wakefield, however, was obstinate, and refused to be turned from his purpose until the arrival of Dr. Evans, who immediately took up the cause of the opposition. He called a public meeting, which he addressed in his well-known stentorian tone, and worked up public feeling to such an extent, that Colonel Wakefield was forced to give way. The survey at Petone was abandoned, and the surveyors transferred to what was then called Thorndon, now Wellington.

"Now came the task of transporting families with their goods and chattels from Petone to Thorndon. There was no road, the sea washed up to the foot of the hills, and the forest overhung the waters of the harbour. Foot passengers could hardly pass along dry except at low water, and there were the Ngahauranga and Kaiwharawhara streams to ford, over which, however, the Maoris would carry the traveller for a charge of sixpence. These streams were then much larger than they are now, for since the destruction of the forest the rainfall runs off with great rapidity, and the average volume of water has shrunk to a fraction of what it was. The valleys of these streams were then extremely picturesque with their Maori villages and small cultivations cut out of the forest.

"The chief mode of transit was by whale-boat, and many a hard pull I had between

Petone and Wellington, for we assisted each other in manning the boats.

"The survey of the town commenced, and then began troubles and delays. The Maoris disputed the sale in whole or in part, and pakehas put in adverse claims. Disputes went on for years, and much delayed the progress of the town.

"About this time an affair occurred which materially affected the political situation. A barque arrived in port commanded by one Captain Pearson, and some dispute having arisen between him and his charterer, a summons was issued by Major Baker, who had been appointed to act as a magistrate by the committee or board established by voluntary agreement of the settlers. Pearson treated the summons with contempt, whereupon Major Baker issued his warrant to bring Pearson before him. I happened to see Pearson pass by when in custody, evidently in a furious passion.

"Major Baker committed Pearson, probably for contempt of court, because the original matter was, I think, a civil action. There was no gaol, and Pearson was sent on board the ship *Tory*, in custody, and left in charge of Captain Chaffert. The latter was captain of an English ship, and of course had no power to keep any one in custody under the warrant of a magistrate holding such an anomalous commission as Major Baker did. Pearson's boat came alongside, he returned to his ship, and sailed for the Bay of Islands to report the matter to Governor Hobson. This produced exactly the result which was desired, viz., the establishment of British sovereignty. Lieut. Shortland, R.N., was ordered at once to Wellington, taking with him Captain Smart, of the mounted police force, and a few troopers. On arrival, they landed, hauled down some New Zealand flags in front of public houses, hoisted the British flag, and established a court and police barracks. I have seen it gravely asserted that all this was against the wish of the inhabitants, who were in a state of rebellion, and did not wish the British flag to be hoisted. It is astonishing what some people will believe. I was in Sydney at the time, but on my return we found we were under an established government.

"I took passage to Sydney in a barque commanded by an old Scotchman called Kyle, well known on the New Zealand coast. We called at Hick's Bay, and took on board about three hundred pigs, and they proved very noisy passengers. We next called at the Bay of Islands, and anchored at Korora-

reka. Governor Hobson had his headquarters here, and I went with Mr. Henry Moreing to visit him. The latter had taken a leading part in a public meeting at Wellington, at which remarks had been made uncomplimentary to the Governor, and the private secretary informed him that any communication from him must be in writing. The Governor would see me, but under the circumstances I left with Mr. Moreing. I was sorry not to renew my acquaintance with an officer whom I had met on the South American station, and who was favourably spoken of by all on the station.

"The Bay of Islands had been long looked

many other settlers were comfortably housed. Francis Molesworth had set the example of clearing land at the Hutt, and others followed suit. Although there were troubles at hand, and more in store, the first enthusiasm had not worn off. The difficult nature of the surrounding country was, however, a great obstacle to rapid progress.

"When I arrived in Wellington from Sydney I found that Colonel Wakefield had gone to the Manawatu with a party of settlers, including Mr. Francis Molesworth, who I wanted to see. I mounted my horse and rode towards that river, with Mr. Brewer, a solicitor in Wellington. The Porirua road



From a picture by S. C. Brees.

Colonel Wakefield's Residence.

upon at New Zealand, being the chief port of call for whalers, the station of the British Resident, Mr. Busby, and the headquarters of the Church Mission and of the great Ngapuhi tribe. The advent of colonization, by increasing the price of provisions, had driven away the whalers, and the bay, having little fertile country at its back, fell into comparative insignificance.

"I returned to Port Nicholson from Sydney, in December, 1840, bringing horses and cattle. The town was by this time fairly established at Thorndon. Colonel Wakefield had erected a house for himself, which afterwards, by additions, became Government House, and

had not then been formed, so we went by a Maori track which left the harbour at Kai-wharawhara. As in Spanish countries where pack mules are used for traffic, the tread of horses had converted the path into a succession of holes, and in damp places these holes were puddles.

"At Porirua our horses were towed across, and we slept at a rude house of accommodation—the beds were bunks made of kareas—the rats were in hundreds running over the beds, and I had to get a stick to beat them off. Porirua was a whaling station, and the blubber attracted the rats.

"Next morning we rode through the Puke-

rua bush, and descended on the coast further south than the present line of road. Arrived at the Waikanae river, we found the tide up and a broad sheet of water in front, and no one to tell us where to cross. We took to the river, myself leading. When about half-way across, with my horse swimming, I heard cries behind me. Looking back I saw that Mr. Brewer's horse had turned on his side. I felt perplexed what to do, the more so as I knew Mr. Brewer could not swim. As my own situation was perilous with the breakers near on my left, I decided to keep on to the opposite shore and then see what was to be done. When I landed I found that Mr. Brewer had managed to regain the south bank and was safe. Riding up the bank for some distance he met some Maoris, who put his horse across higher up.

"When we reached the Manawatu we found Colonel Wakefield up the river at a place nearly opposite Moutoa. The scene was picturesque—river, bush, and cultivations, fine groups of Maoris mixed up with the pakeha party. The day was fine and everything looked bright. As evening approached the pleasure was gone. A cloud of mosquitoes swarmed over the land, so dense and so tormenting as to drive us half crazy. In no part of the world have I seen anything to equal the Manawatu mosquitoes for denseness, if not for fierceness. As settlement advances, swamps are drained, and decaying vegetation burnt off, they are sure to decrease, but in 1840 they were unbearable. The next morning we were ready to start for Wellington, Colonel Wakefield having so far concluded his business, which, however, bore no fruit.

"I rode south with Francis Molesworth and Mr. Brewer. We slept at Waikanae, and examined Watanui's famous carving. We called on and conversed with Rev. Mr. Hadfield. The following day was magnificent, and the air balmy, as we rode along the beach, but as we crowned the ridge at Johnsonville we were met by a furious south-easter, which blew a bitter cold rain into our faces. Shivering, and with numbed hands, we were glad to reach Wellington and a fireside."

Mr. Crawford left New Zealand for England at the close of 1840, and did not return until 1846.

To Mr. Crawford's interesting account of the settlement at Port Nicholson in 1840, may be added a few notes by Mr. Thomas McKenzie, who arrived on the 8th of March, 1840, in the ship *Adelaide*. He says: "The vessel brought up at the anchorage under the lee of *Somes Island*, and passengers were landed at *Petone*

Beach. *Petone* was to have been the site of the embryo city, and with this object in view Captain Smith, Surveyor-General, and a staff of surveyors, who came out in the previous year in the ship *Cuba*, had laid off the proposed township, extending from one side of the valley to the other. The large quantity of land available gave them ample scope to mark out a town with streets, squares and large reserves. On the arrival of the *Adelaide*, however, a meeting of the land-owners was held, for the purpose of taking the situation of the town into consideration. The objection was raised that the difficulty of landing would be very great, as the landing-place was exposed to south-easterly gales, and very dangerous rollers came in on the beach. These and other drawbacks led to a decision to go over to the other side of the bay, where *Wellington* is now situated. The surveyors went across to lay off the new settlement, and the settlers continued to live on the beach for about twelve months until they had completed their labours.

"While the settlers remained at *Petone Beach* they lived in huts of *tois-tois* daubed with clay. There were several fortified *pas* of Maoris in the vicinity, one being on *Petone Beach*. This *pa* contained 400 or 500 natives of the *Ngatiawa* tribe, *Epuni* being the chief and *Wharepori* the fighting chief. If these natives had risen they could have crushed the European intruders, but the relations were always of a friendly character, although the settlers had to maintain a very respectful demeanour. Very little was done in the way of cultivation while the settlers remained at *Petone Beach*. They depended on the Maoris for their supply of fish, pork and potatoes. We could buy a pig for a blanket, and all purchases were by way of barter. The natives soon learnt the value of money, and where it was forthcoming would give a basket of fish or a basket containing perhaps 50 lbs. of potatoes for a shilling.

"The first potatoes raised in the new settlement were produced on *Hopper*, *Petre* and *Molesworth's* estate. The first yield was a splendid one, being about eighteen tons to the acre, and then about three tons of small or waste potatoes were left. The first shipment was sent up to *Sydney* in the schooner *Lady Leigh*, the vessel in which Mr. (now Sir William) Fitzherbert came from England. Previous to this traders bought flax and potatoes from the natives, but these potatoes were small and brought very low prices. The first bank in *Wellington* was a branch of the

Union Bank of Australia, and was opened on Petone Beach in 1840.

"The settlers suffered many reverses in the twelve months of their residence at Petone. The first shock of earthquake was experienced there in 1840. It was at night, and was very severe. None of the settlers had experienced anything of the kind before, and rushed out of their huts with their guns in their hands ready to meet the Maoris who were, they supposed, attempting to shake their whares down. When they found that there were no Maoris outside they began to realise what was the matter, and were naturally frightened, as they had no idea what would be the end of the disturbance.

"The first murder happened soon after that. A boy named Eaton was caught by the natives in the act of taking some potatoes, and was murdered. The settlers were absolutely defenceless, and could not do anything in the way of reprisal. Dr. Fitzgerald was coroner at the inquest on the body.

"Troubles were also caused by floods at the Hutt, were many of the settlers from the Oriental were located. The settlers were all in a dreadful plight while they lasted, but some most amusing incidents happened. Mr. Mantel (now Hon. Mr. Mantel) might have been seen seated on the top of some cases, with the water surging round him, playing 'Home, sweet Home' on an accordion, to the edification of the listeners. Dr. Fitzgerald had a pig which he had purchased from the natives fast at the end of a rope, which was fastened to the stump of a tree. Just about the same time a fire demolished Cornish Row, on the banks of the Hutt, destroying eighteen houses built of toitoi. It was a great blaze, and the Maoris turned out and danced in high glee.

"The flood already referred to occurred almost immediately afterwards. These troubles were closely followed by a terrible catastrophe. A number of settlers went over in a whaleboat to see how the surveyors were getting on with their work at Te Aro, or Britannia as it was then called, and to select their sections. It came on to blow from the south-eastward, and while the boatman was pulling down the sail, when the boat was nearing the beach on her return, she broached to and filled. Those on shore joined hands and venturing into the breakers saved several of the occupants. Some of the principal settlers, including the two hotel-keepers, Pearce and Elsdon, were drowned. These casualties depressed the settlers very much, as

the men lost were the backbone of the settlement. A week or two later, Mr. Hopper, of the firm of Hopper, Petre and Molesworth, was in his boat looking for snags in the Hutt River when she struck against an obstruction, and he fell overboard and was drowned. The water was so clear that his insensible body could be seen at the bottom, but life was extinct before his friends could recover it.

"Trouble was also caused by a flour famine. There was a scarcity of this commodity in Sydney, and the wheat harvests had been affected by the droughts. The price of flour went up to £110 per ton for a while, but the settlers sent two vessels, the Brougham and the Glenarm to South America and got cargoes of flour, mules and horses. It was thought that the mules would be very useful in view of the hilly nature of the country. These importations of flour brought the price down to £45 per ton. Cattle were first introduced into the new settlement by Mr. J. C. Crawford and Mr. Jas. Watt. Shipments of live stock were brought from Sydney in the Lady Lillford and Hope, the latter of which vessels got aground off Ward's Island.

"After the lapse of about twelve months the surveyors had finished their work of laying off the township of Britannia (the name of which was subsequently altered to Wellington, as a compliment to the Duke of Wellington, to whom the Company were indebted for passing a bill through the British Parliament), and the settlers began to move across gradually in whaleboats and punts, one of the latter having been made by the late Mr. C. J. Stone, of Auckland, and another by Messrs. Partridge and Revans. The Union Bank safe was conveyed across the water on a raft.

"There were several pas of Maoris on the Wellington side. The Te Aro pa included 300 natives; the Kumutoto, opposite the present site of the *New Zealand Times* office on Lambton Quay (Wi Tako's), 50 or 60; the pa at Pipitea, 150 or 200; and Te Ekewai, in the bight going towards Kaiwarra, near the end of Fitzherbert Terrace, 50 natives. The Europeans had little or no trouble with their Maori neighbours, but they had to be very civil."

Mr. McKenzie explains the narrowness of the Wellington streets and the absence of reserves in this way: "About 100,000 acres of land had been sold, and a tenth was to be reserved for the Maoris. Each purchaser of 100 acres of land was entitled to a town acre. Therefore 1,100 acres of town land were required. The surveyors, owing to the limited

area and the peculiar conformation of the country, had a difficulty to provide the required number of town sections, and were compelled to encroach on the ground that should have been reserved for streets. If the settlers had been content with half-acre town lots, the streets of Wellington would now be more capable of meeting the traffic than they are. The whole of the hill side on which Wellington now stands was covered with thick forest when the settlers moved over. The trees had to be cut down or burnt before houses could be erected. These houses were of a very primitive character, and consisted of toi-toi, interlaced with karewa, and then daubed with clay. Some were, however, of wood, several settlers having brought out Manning's portable houses with them."

The following were some of the first business places in Wellington:—Merchants: George Hunter, John and George Wade, Waite and Tiser, Tinlan, John Telford, William Lyon, W. B. Rhodes. Lawyers: George Samuel Evans and R. D. Hansen, afterwards Chief Justice and acting Governor of Adelaide; A. de B. Brandon. Medical: Doctors Johnston, Fitzgerald and Dorsett. Clergymen: Rev. John Macfarlane, Presbyterian minister, came out with the first expedition from Scotland in the Bengal Merchant; the next clergyman to come was the Rev. Mr. Butler, of the Church of England, and the Rev. Mr. Churton, afterwards of Auckland. Education: The first school was opened on Thorndon Flat by a schoolmistress who was brought out by Mrs. Evans. The attendance was between thirty and fifty. The mistress, however, soon got married, and she was succeeded by Mrs. Buckstone. Hotels: The earliest were kept by George Young, Robert Jenkins, Wright and Clark, R. Barrett, Bannister, Webb.

The first newspaper printed and published in the colony was the *New Zealand Gazette* established at Port Nicholson by Mr. Samuel Revans, who printed and edited it. The plant was bought by subscription among the principal colonists, and the management placed in the hands of Mr. Revans, who is regarded as the Father of the New Zealand Press. The *New Zealand Gazette* was first published in London in September, 1839, and in the colony in April, 1840. Mr. Revans, in writing to Mr. Chapman, gives the following account of the erection of the first printing office. He says:—"My life has been unceasingly active since I arrived. I have had to erect the house for the press to which I put my hand in right good earnest. I had

one of Manning's twenty feet by twenty completely erected, and the press put up in a day and a half; myself, two carpenters, and three labourers did the work. We are building a Canada bateau. She will carry about twelve tons, or 6,000 feet of boards, and will prove most useful when the town lots are given out. Partridge has a very fine native house as a store, and we have a similar one for a dwelling-house in which I am now writing on my London writing table."

The following announcement appears in the *Gazette* of May, 1840:—

The Pickwick Club of New Zealand, for members and friends only, will meet every Tuesday evening, at Mr. W. Elsdon's Commercial Inn and Tavern. The chair will be taken at seven o'clock precisely.—Port Nicholson, May 8, 1840.

This may safely be asserted to be the first club established in New Zealand, and during the time the settlers resided at Petone, previous to their removing over to Lambton Harbour, it afforded a place of resort to those who joined and enjoyed its pleasures. At this date the population of Port Nicholson was estimated as follows:—Native population, total of both sexes, 840; European population, total of both sexes, 1,275.

An interesting fact is recorded in No. 20, August 22, 1840, of the *New Zealand Gazette*, which changed its name to the *New Zealand Gazette and Britannia Spectator*: "Britannia, the name first given to the town of the New Zealand Company's first and principal settlement by Colonel Wakefield, has been approved by His Excellency Captain Hobson. It is a good name, because till now unappropriated by any town, and therefore distinctive in its character; and further, in being agreeably associated in the minds of all Britons with their fatherland. The town lands having been allotted, we couple with it the name of that able paper which has so long and successfully advocated the principles upon which this settlement has been founded, and add the united terms in our title. Henceforward this paper will bear the name of the *New Zealand Gazette and Britannia Spectator*."

The following extract from the letter of an intelligent settler to his friends in England on the religion of the natives and the good feeling of the New Zealand Company's settlers towards them, explains very truly the views of the settlers at that time. He says:—"The whole of the native population of Port Nicholson profess the Christian religion, and though there are no European missionaries among them, they are still strict in the performance

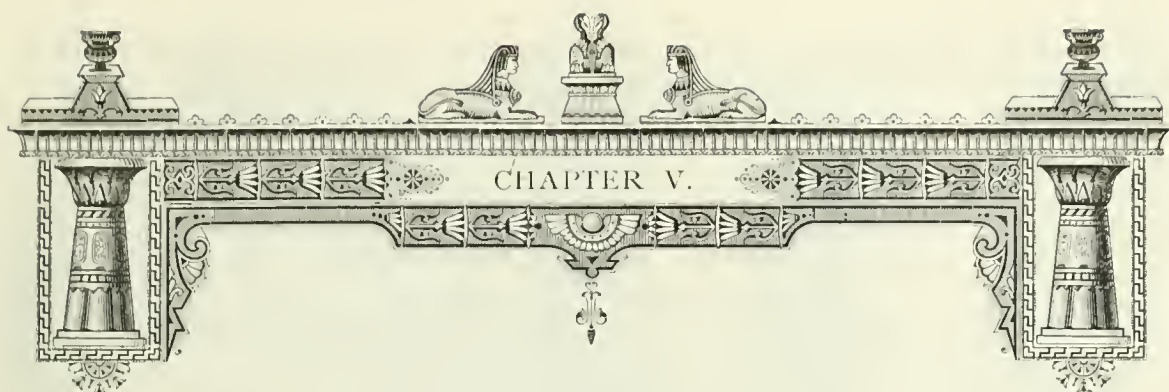
of their religious ceremonies. As it is to be expected, however, they are imperfectly acquainted with the doctrines of Christianity, and are superstitious in many of their observances, compared with what they were before the introduction of these doctrines among them, and this is obviously the true standard of comparison. The improvement effected by their conversion to Christianity is most striking; and if, as we trust, our settlement here will elevate and improve them, it will be as much to the labours of the missionaries as to the humane and just provisions of the New Zealand Company on behalf of the natives, that the result will be owing. This statement is the more needful, because some of the missionaries, in an ill-judged spirit of jealousy of the interference of the Company in a place of which they desired to secure the monopoly, have endeavoured to excite the natives against the English settlers, and have exposed themselves to severe and well-merited censure. While blaming them for their envious and selfish conduct, I desire that they should at the same time receive full credit for the good which they have undoubtedly effected."

Mr. E. J. Wakefield gives the following interesting particulars: "On May 14th I started in a schooner of thirty tons for Wanganui. She belonged to a man named Macgregor, who had been living by sealing and other pursuits for some years in the neighbourhood of Foveaux Straits. With the assistance of some other men he had built this boat, and having got on board some natives connected with Wanganui, he had come in search of that place in order to land them, and obtain payment for their passage in pigs and potatoes, which he meant to sell to the whaling ships on the coast to the southward. To escape some rough weather, he had run in here one night, seeing an appearance of shelter, and had been highly astonished in the morning to find himself in the midst of an active European settlement of more than a thousand persons, where he had thought to find an uninhabited country, or at any rate only natives. He had consequently named his vessel the *Surprise*. The *Surprise* arrived at Wanganui on the 19th of May. Macgregor claimed the honour of having taken the first vessel into Wanganui."

"Whilst at Kapiti," he narrates, "four vessels arrived at once on one day, and anchored at Long Point at the north end of Kapiti. There a projecting tongue of flat land forms an anchorage well sheltered from all

winds but south-east. Two stations were established on the beach, and two of the vessels were schooners from Sydney with stores, boats and men for them; a third was the *William Wallace*, a Sydney whaling barque; and the fourth a French barque from Sydney, the *Justine*, from Bordeaux, with a heterogeneous cargo of goods and passengers. Among the latter were Mr Wynen, who had been to New South Wales since I last saw him, and a Mr. Scott, who told me that he had, in 1831, had a flax trading station at Wanganui, and that at that time the entrance over the bar was so shallow that even a whaleboat could not get in at low water. He also said that he had traded at Port Nicholson when the Ngatimunga tribe, who had since removed to the Chatham Islands, were residing there."

Mr. E. J. Wakefield, in speaking of the daring courage of the whalers, relates:—"This remarkable decision and courage has also distinguished them in their disagreements with the natives. Early in 1840 Rauparaha and Rangihæta, intent upon plunder, picked a quarrel with a man named 'Long George,' who headed a small two-boat station on the mainland of Kapiti. They surprised him one morning, attended by their retinue, and took away everything that he had, including his boats, to Rauparaha's island. He managed to communicate with the two large whaling stations. The head of that on Evans' Island refused to interfere, dreading the intervention of the magistrates at Wellington. The head men of that at Te Kau o te rangi seem to have known how groundless such fears were, and settled the affair with promptitude and effect. They filled two or three boats with men armed with lances, harpoons, spades, or old rusty muskets, and pulled straight down to Rauparaha's island—a small island close to Kapiti. He came out on the beach as they approached and began 'bouncing,' as it is called, and asking their intentions. 'We'll show you when we're ashore,' answered they; and jumping out of their boat they surrounded him and Rangihæta with their dangerous weapons and demanded instant restitution of everything that had been taken. The request was immediately granted, as well as the additional submissive terms of making the natives themselves launch the boats and put the other goods into them. They then left the humbled ruffians, with a promise to drive them right away from Kapiti if they committed another like offence."



FRENCH COLONISATION.

Arrival of l'Aube and Comte de Paris—Reception by Lieut.-Governor Hobson at the Bay of Islands—Despatch of the Britomart to Akaroa—Baron de Thierry's account—An exciting race—The Britomart arrives first—A British Magistrate established at Akaroa—Recognised by the Commander of l'Aube—Debate in the French Chamber of Deputies on New Zealand affairs—History of the settlement of Akaroa.



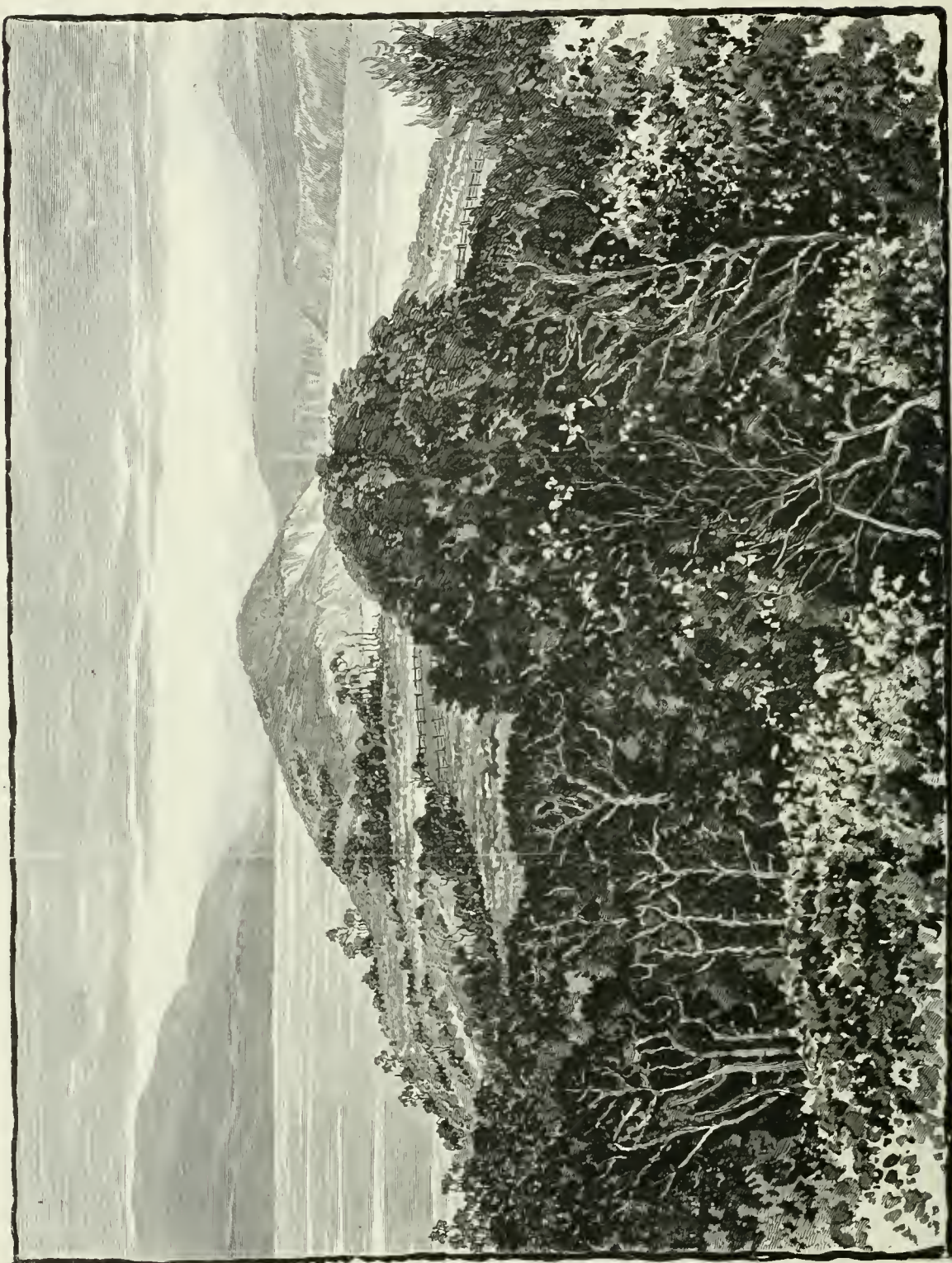
THE active colonizing operations of the New Zealand Company under the able superintendence of their principal agent, Colonel Wakefield, at Port Nicholson, and the formation of a Provisional Government, caused Governor Hobson to proclaim Her Majesty's sovereignty over the Middle Island sooner than he had intended, and it is fortunate this was done, for in July, 1840, the French corvette l'Aube called at the Bay of Islands on her way to Akaroa, to establish the French colony, which was expected there in the

English colony. Five hundred more settlers were leaving France when news of the declaration of Queen Victoria's sovereignty over New Zealand reached Europe.

Many versions of the circumstances which attended this momentous incident in the history of the colony have been published. It has been represented that the acquisition of the Southern or Middle Island by France was only averted by Governor Hobson detaining the French Commander at the Bay of Islands, engaged in the exchange of friendly courtesies, while he despatched the Britomart to Akaroa to take possession in the name of the Queen. While there is a substratum of truth in this story, the Queen's sovereignty had been proclaimed over the Middle and Stewart Islands long before the arrival of the Aube. This was done under a proclamation by the Lieutenant-Governor, dated the 21st of May, 1840, and afterwards by Major Bunbury, of the 80th Regiment, who had gone to the Middle Island to procure signatures to the Treaty of Waitangi, and who hoisted the Union Jack at a pa on the shore of Cloudy Bay, on the 17th of June, 1840, Captain Nias, of H.M.S. Herald, and a party of marines landing for the purpose of suitably honouring the occasion, and a salute of twenty-one guns being fired from the ship.

The circumstances connected with the arrival of l'Aube at the Bay of Islands and the despatch of the Britomart to Akaroa ahead of the French vessel are, however, not devoid of interest and significance. Baron de Thierry,

transport the Comte de Paris, whose departure created a considerable sensation in London. The latter vessel arrived at Akaroa in August. Sixty-three settlers disembarked, and Captain Owen Stanley, who was sent by the Governor to watch their proceedings in Her Majesty's ship Britomart, successfully protested against six long 24-pounders mounted on field carriages being landed. An English magistrate was left at Akaroa, and Captain Lavaud, of the Aube, acknowledged that the emigrants were French settlers in an



Scene in Akaroa Harbour.

in a historical sketch of New Zealand, written in 1846, but hitherto unpublished, gives the following account of the incident :—

“It was soon after the Lieutenant-Governor had established himself at Russell that the Aube arrived at the Bay of Islands from France to prepare the way of the transport Le Comte de Paris, coming out to Akaroa with a French preliminary expedition. But Captain Hobson was a keen man-o'-war's-man, not to be deceived as to the ultimate consequence of allowing the French commander to hoist his nation's flag on any part of the coast without using his best energies to prevent it if possible. The old Britomart was then at the Bay, and her dashing young commander, Captain Stanley, was entrusted with a 'secret mission,' which he executed with much judgment and success. While the French commander was giving and receiving dinners—and furnishing the Governor's lady with fresh French bread for her daily breakfast—the Britomart cracked on furiously, but she carried away some of her canvas and spars, which took time to repair. In this state the French frigate, which soon followed her, overtook her, but got becalmed under some headlands. The Britomart took a fresh and decisive start and arrived at Akaroa just time enough to hoist the British ensign when the Comte de Paris hove in sight and soon entered the harbour, but she was too late. The procrastinations which have baffled more than one French expedition, the unaccountable loss of time which marked all the preparatory movements in France, gave the English an opportunity to strike a masterly blow, and the French lost their only chance of getting a footing in New Zealand.

“On the arrival of the Aube, the Count de B——, who brought me a letter from the French commander, made use of these expressions: ‘*Il pousse ses attentions pour les Anglais jusqu'à l'heroisme* ;’ and it really appeared so, for the French frigate became the residence of the British Magistrate arrived by the Britomart, and French seamen were employed to erect a house for Her Britannic Majesty's Representative at Akaroa; much to the astonishment of the French in all other parts of New Zealand, and to the no small amusement of the English.

“It was thus that France, who had slumbered so long with respect to New Zealand, and which made such a bungling business of it when Captain l'Anglois prevailed on the ministry to give value to the lands which he had purchased at Akaroa, lost the important

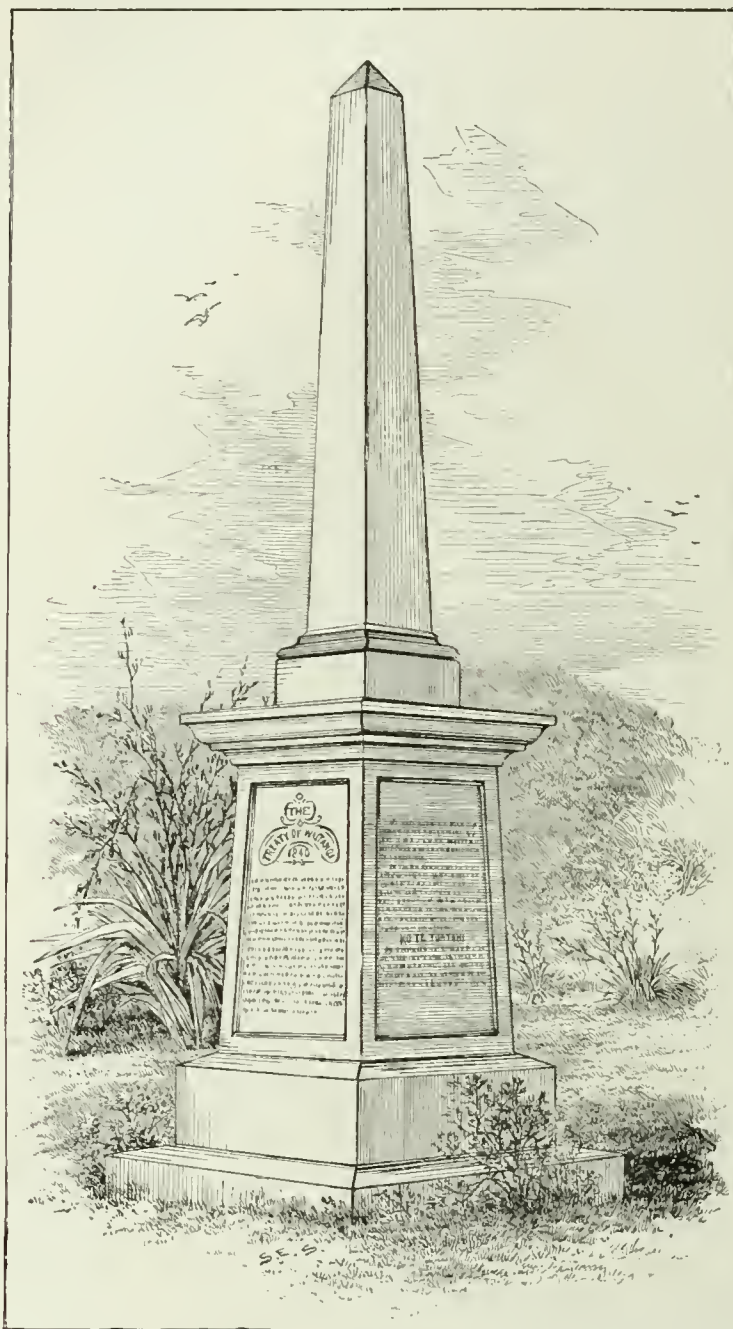
footing which she might by earlier and better dispositions have obtained in this important country. Captain l'Anglois had commanded a whale-ship, and the Comte de Paris, a noble vessel, was fitted up to go whaling after landing her immigrants.”

While there is no reason to question the accuracy of the Baron's statement of fact, he is scarcely just to the French commander in ignoring the previous proclamations of the Queen's sovereignty, which Captain Lavaud was undoubtedly informed of by Lieutenant-Governor Hobson on his arrival at the Bay of Islands. It is not unreasonable to suppose, as some writers have contended, that the French commander concurred in the prior departure of the Britomart with a magistrate for the purpose of avoiding any unpleasant complications. On the other hand, the opinion that the Britomart was sent secretly is equally probable, the Lieutenant-Governor's object being to place beyond all question British authority over Akaroa as a part of the colony of New Zealand. In this he was completely successful, the captain of the Aube accepting accomplished facts and treating the British officials with the greatest possible courtesy. The Britomart arrived at Akaroa three days before l'Aube put in an appearance.

Bishop Pompallier had a much more favourable opinion of the commander of l'Aube than is implied in the terms employed by Baron de Thierry. He describes him as “a captain of the highest merit, prudent and experienced,” and mentions that the vessel brought out two priests and two catechists of the Society of Mary, also funds for the propagation of the faith.

The following discussion, which took place in the French Chamber of Deputies on the 29th May, 1844, adds to the interest that surrounds this important chapter of New Zealand history. While fully confirming the fact that the chance by which the Middle Island was secured as a British instead of a French possession must be measured by weeks rather than by days, it still proves that Imperial dilatoriness very nearly lost to the British Empire one of the most valuable territories on the face of the globe. M. Guizot, in opening the proceedings, said :—

GENTLEMEN,—Let not the Chamber be alarmed. I will not overwhelm it with the reading of minute details. I shall demand simply permission to read briefly, with the dates, two compared histories which, I hope, will completely resolve the question; the compared histories of the English establishment in New Zealand, with the French establishment. I must first make a distinction and a caution. There are here three very different



The Treaty of Waitangi Memorial.
Erected at Waitangi, near the spot where the Treaty was signed.

questions. There is a question as to the sovereignty of New Zealand, a question between government and government, between the French and English Government. There is a question of anterior administration, purely French, between Government and the Nanto-Bordelaise Company, which was charged with the expedition of New Zealand. Lastly, there is a question of individual interest, the demands and the rights of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company with the English Government. It is not my duty to say anything about these latter questions, or what would compromise them. They are both pending. I have to make good with the English Government the rights and the demands of the French Company and the French Colonies established in New Zealand. The discussion of these rights would unfit instead of strengthen me for the duties that I have to perform in London.

I will then leave completely the two questions of individual interest. There is something inconvenient for these interests; there will be something perhaps weakening even in the discussion of the question of sovereignty, though the decision may rest only between the French and English Governments. But upon this it is necessary to treat. I will endeavour to do it in a manner which will least compromise those individual interests, which I have to support with the English Government. If there is anything wrong in it, it must not be imputed to me. I have not raised the question.

Here are the facts: There are in the relations of England with New Zealand three very different epochs. The first extends from the middle of the last century, from 1750 or 1760 to 1814 or 1815. Several times during this interval, navigators, sometimes Cook, sometimes others, landed at New Zealand, and said that they took possession of it in the name of Great Britain. This method of taking possession has never had any serious consequences. They could not be regarded as having constituted rights, and that is so true that the English Government has been the first to proclaim it.

From 1815 to 1838 several efforts had been made in England to determine Government to reclaim the sovereignty over New Zealand, because of those slight acts that I have just related. Government has always refused to do so. Not only has it refused, but it has, by several public acts, by several acts of government acknowledged, formally acknowledged the independence of New Zealand as forming a state under its natural chiefs.

There are a great number of acts of the English Government which, from 1814 to 1818, bear this character. In 1838 the aspect of things changed. After several English companies having tried to colonize, and to form establishments in New Zealand, there was formed one more considerable, richer, and more powerful than the others, viz., the New Zealand Company. This was the beginning, in fact, of great establishments in New Zealand. Large capitals and a great number of colonies were formed then. It then addressed itself very actively to the English Government.

On the 22nd of May, 1839, Lord Durham, as President of the Company, formally demanded of the English Government permission to take possession of New Zealand, to proclaim there the sovereignty of Great Britain, and to establish a Colonial Government. I have read the letter from Lord Durham to the Marquis of Normanby, dated 22nd of May, 1839. The English Government accepted the propositions that were made to it. Here is the series of the Acts which have been passed upon this subject:—In July, 1839, a commission from Queen Victoria, instituted a Lieutenant-Governor of the territories, either to be, or already acquired in New

Zealand. In the month of August, 1839, instructions from the Marquis of Normanby to Captain Hobson, then appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand, enjoined him to go and treat with the natural chiefs of the island, to obtain from them the yielding up of the sovereignty to the English Government, and proclaim the English sovereignty in these islands. It was on the 14th of August, 1839, that this instruction was given to Captain Hobson. Captain Hobson did not then go to New Zealand, as the Honourable M. Berryer said yesterday, as a private person.

M. BERRYER.—I beg your pardon.

M. GUIZOT.—I read the statements of the *Moniteur*.

M. BERRYER.—I did not say that. I said that he was not Governor, and not that he was there as a private person.

M. GUIZOT.—M. Berryer said, yesterday, that M. Hobson did not go to New Zealand as a public character, as representing the English Government, that he only went there as representing a company. [Then follows an unimportant discussion on the point, which ends in a reference to Governor Hobson's proclamation of sovereignty, dated the 21st May, 1840.]

In the month of May or June, in 1840, when the two French ships were crossing the Equator, possession was taken of it (*i.e.*, New Zealand). The English magistrates were established in both islands.

Now, what had the French Government to do? Must it deny these facts? Is it necessary that upon this question, when the dates could not be contested, when the French officer himself, on arriving, signalled them to the attention of his Government, must it enter into a serious quarrel on this subject? Evidently not. There is no person who would have done it. No person who, in a similar situation, thought that the interest of France over New Zealand was sufficiently great to adopt such a resolution. We have not done it. We have left the question in suspense.

M. ODILON BARROT.—You have cut the matter short.

M. GUIZOT.—It is precisely because of this that I said a short time before that the discussion of sovereignty would not fail to inconvenience this tribune, and that nevertheless it was impossible for me not to cause it. Also, I should not have done so if I had any doubts upon the main point of the discussion. If I had been convinced that the sovereignty could not be reasonably—(interruption).

M. THIERS.—St. Domingo!

M. THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—M. Thiers interrupts me to speak of St. Domingo.

M. THIERS.—Will the Minister of Foreign Affairs permit me to explain my interruption?

M. GUIZOT.—Willingly.

M. THIERS.—I am going to tell the Minister of Foreign Affairs why I recall to him St. Domingo. I ask pardon for the interruption, but since I am permitted I will explain my ideas. New Zealand is not so inconsiderable that it should be permitted to state, in conformity with international principles, that, because one point of it has been touched, *entire* possession should be taken. New Zealand is two or three times as large as St. Domingo. Every one knows the history of St. Domingo. Every one knows when the Spaniards and French touched at St. Domingo that they disputed the property, and that during many ages both parties inhabited it. This is excursion the second, and the debate turns from the particular subject of New Zealand to the general question here involved.

M. GUIZOT.—There are two proclamations, one on the 21st May, the other on the 17th June. Both are anterior to the arrival of Captain Lavaux. Of these I

have carefully read only that of the 17th June, relative to the taking possession of the Southern Island. Here is the English text. I translate literally: "Taken possession in the name of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, of the Southern Island of New Zealand. This island, situated in [here follows the latitude and longitude], with all its woods, rivers, ports, and territory, having been ceded in sovereignty by different independent chiefs to Her Most Gracious Majesty, we have taken solemn possession of it, etc., etc." A great number of signatures follow. I repeat it, gentlemen, this is the proclamation of the 17th of June, the only one which I have attentively read.

M. BILLAULT.—My recollections are different to those of the Minister. But the important point was this, to know if England had a treaty with the natives which permitted her to take possession. Now, this treaty did not exist in May, 1840, since the proclamation of that date speaks of taking possession in virtue of the right of discovery. What is remarkable is that the English word which signifies ceded is in the singular, and not in the plural.

M. GUIZOT.—But in English the participles have no plural; the words corresponding to *cedé* and *cedés* are written and pronounced the same.

M. BILLAULT.—I do not pretend to know better than M. the Minister the *finesse* of the English language. I demand of you, if England had maintained a treaty for both islands, would she have appealed to the right of discovery? Evidently, when she invoked a doubtful right, it was because she had not an indisputable one. Captain Lavaux himself has said, that England had no other right to the Southern Island than the pretended right of discovery, and that from that time it would be easy to bring England back to the taking of possession. This is what the letters of Captain Lavaux say, letters that have not been produced to us. Therefore you are wide of the truth when you say that the treaties were there parleying your actions. Treaties? There were no treaties. This is what the foreign policy of the Cabinet reduces itself to in this affair: it has displayed enormous patience and talent finally to arrive at—what? To make the policy of England triumph. England is continually gaining territory, and there are no complaints made on either side of the channel; but France is possessed of her fleet, the day when an account was demanded from you, a naval *matériel* (force)—(hear, hear)—from the day that an account was demanded from you of the increased millions, voted on the proposition of honourable friend M. Lacrosse—from the day when a ray of light fell on this question (excitement) inquiries were set afloat from the other side of the channel, and they have been repeated in France by an organ which is not independent, and which is not in the habit of speaking with much boldness of princes (murmurs). And why all this? Because in effect, there, as elsewhere, your situation is this: it is to let England assume over all the points of the maritime globe the rank which ought to belong to France, and to do everything which suits her pleasure. You are careful to call your adversaries the war parties; and the English, who perfectly understand this language, know that from you war will not come, and they can do anything without fear. During three years you have availed yourselves of the phantom of 1840, and in case of these you would use it again. But for cabinets, as for men, the dead do not return. Of this policy of 1840, you sir, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, have been the most important agent, and you have not abandoned this policy till recalled by the telegraph. In all these questions you begin by combatting the opinions of the Opposition, and you finish by rendering a forced homage to the wisdom of its council.

The cancelling of the treaty was war; the Opposition wished for this cancelling, and it is said that you are on the point of obtaining it without war. England first acknowledged the Government of France. She calculated, perhaps, on the weakness of a new Government. England has separated Belgium from Holland because she perceived that she had committed a fault in uniting them. You think to manage this alliance against the day when you shall want it; your conduct leads to the contrary effect. You habituate her to being exacting, and on the day in which your position will be difficult, you will have her no more.

M. BERRYER.—As to what concerns New Zealand, I have said that the English had had no treaty with us, that there was no taking of possession previous to ours. To prove it, I depend upon one document; the Minister has produced another, the possession of which, I believe, is new to him; but I maintain what I have said. Two English proclamations have been issued by the Government; the first has for its object the taking possession of the Northern Island in virtue of treaties concluded with the native chiefs; the same day a similar proclamation declares the taking possession of the Southern Island by virtue of the right of discovery. It is therefore very evident that on the same day possession was taken of two different territories. I add, that on the 12th of August, the owner on board the Comte de Paris, accompanied by another vessel, commanded by Captain Lavaux, renewed the act of session, before any cession had been made to the English. Well, immediately after the departure of Captain Lavaux, the English raised their flag by virtue of an act posterior to a *pretended cession of which there is no proof*.

M. GUIZOT.—The Chamber will understand that I shall not enter again into a discussion of details on this point. I repeat that the document I have read is of the 17th of June, 1840, that it is printed in the same collection of papers published by the English Parliament, in which are contained all the other papers to which reference has been made; the printing is dated, and it explicitly contains this phrase, "That the colours of Her Majesty had been hoisted."

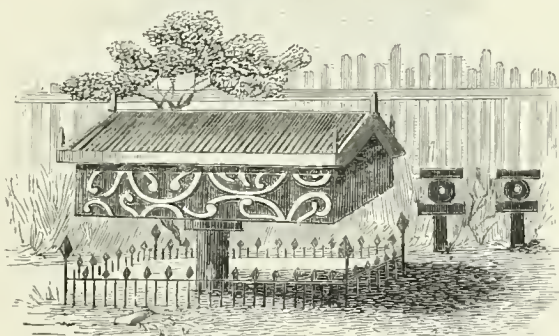
The origin of the Akaroa settlement is this: L'Anglois, the master of a French whaler, claimed to have purchased from the natives, in 1838, 30,000 acres of land on Banks Peninsula, and two mercantile houses in Nantes and two at Bordeaux, with three gentlemen from Paris, associated themselves with L'Anglois under the denomination of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company, to form a colony in New Zealand. The validity of this purchase, as of other land claims in those days, was very doubtful. Some articles of European manufacture, estimated to be worth about £6, were given to a chief, with a promise of further goods to make up a total value of £240. A deed to this effect was prepared in French, and formed the basis of the subsequent negotiations with the gentlemen composing the Nanto-Bordelaise Company, which had a capital of a million francs, one-sixth paid up. Louis Philippe took an interest in the Company. The immigrants were landed from the Comte de Paris on the 19th of August,

the fact of the English occupation being kept secret from them for some time. The terms on which they had come were a free passage, eighteen months' provisions after landing, and five acres of land, to become their own in the course of five years, conditionally upon its being cultivated in the meanwhile; if not, it was to lapse to the Nanto-Bordelaise Company. Captain Lavaud remained in l'Aube, and administered French law among the settlers, although he expressly "disclaimed any national intrusion on the part of his Government, but supported the claims of his Company as private individuals." The British Magistrate, Mr. Robinson, kept open court, but had practically nothing to do beyond maintaining the semblance of the Queen's authority. There were, however, eighty-six Europeans resident on the Akaroa peninsula at this time, and Mr. W. B. Rhodes landed some cattle there in 1840, under the care of Mr. Green. Captain Hempleman, a British whaler, claimed to have purchased Akaroa in 1837, before the purchase of l'Anglois. He was awarded 2,650 acres, the

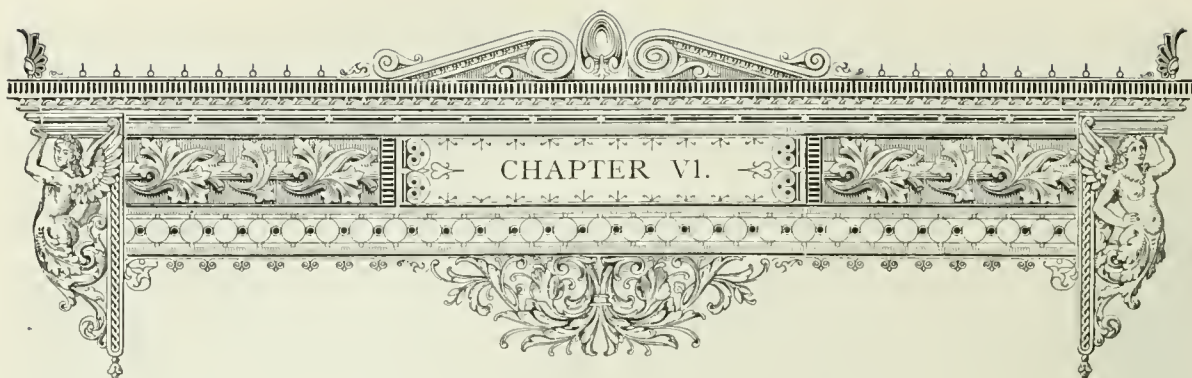
maximum allowed by the Land Claims Ordinance, on account of his land purchases, but he resisted the award, and for many years unsuccessfully pressed his claims upon the Government.

The question of the title to the lands claimed by the Nanto-Bordelaise Company was not dealt with by the Land Commission, and became the subject of protracted diplomatic negotiation with the English Government. Finally, in 1845, Lord Stanley directed the issue of a grant for 30,000 acres. The Nanto-Bordelaise Company disposed of their interests to the New Zealand Company, and upon the final settlement of that corporation's affairs the unsold lands became vested in the Government.

Captain Lavaud was relieved in 1844 by Commodore Berard. Mr. John Watson had previously succeeded Mr. Robinson as British Magistrate. The French settlers were offered passages to Tahiti with the promise of grants of property there equivalent to that which they owned in Akaroa, but they declined the proposal.



Te Heu Heu's Tomb.



SELECTION OF THE CAPITAL.

Purchase from Mr. Clendon of a site for the capital—Kororareka in 1840—Mania for land speculation—The town of Victoria—First newspaper at the Bay of Islands—Row at Pomare's pa—Population of New Zealand in 1840—Captain Hobson finally decides in favour of Auckland—His reasons—Angry correspondence with the New Zealand Company—History of the Manukau and Waitemata Company—Purchase of the site of Auckland by Captain Symonds—Judge Fenton's history of the Maori tribes of the isthmus—A remarkable story of Maori conquest—The pioneer settlers of the Waitemata—Description of the isthmus of Auckland in 1840.



ALTHOUGH the feeling of antagonism which had been provoked between the Lieutenant-Governor and the New Zealand Company's settlers at Port Nicholson over the latter's assumption of political and magisterial authority was allayed by the welcome accorded to Mr. Shortland, representative of Imperial supremacy, two causes that were destined to widen the breach and to engender a bitter feud were at work. First of all, there was the selection of the future capital of the colony; and secondly, the question of the land claims. These momentous issues had been put forward prominently already in the addresses and resolutions adopted at the meetings of settlers at Port Nicholson.

Governor Hobson's first intention was to establish the capital at the Bay of Islands, and a sufficient area of land for Government purposes not being available at Kororareka, he purchased from Captain Clendon his trading station at what was termed the Inner Anchorage near Pomare's pa. It fronted a bay between Okiato and Tapu Points, about four miles distant from Kororareka by water, and about two miles below the junction of the Kawakawa river with the Waikari. The Governor named

the new town Russell, and taking possession of the house upon it fixed the headquarters of the Government there, greatly to the chagrin of the people of Kororareka, who, confident that it would be selected as the capital, had indulged in wild land speculations. The Governor being without funds, afterwards granted Captain Clendon 10,000 acres of land south of Auckland on account of this purchase. The land selected under this grant extended from the Manukau into the present rich farming district of Papatoitōi, and included the site of the Manurewa railway station. As indicating the value of country land south of Auckland in the early days it is interesting to note that 320 acres of this block were sold to Mr. Smale, in 1842, for £32; in May, 1843, 240 acres realised £240; in September, 1843, Mr. E. Waters bought 180 acres for £260; in April, 1845, Mr. McLaughlan purchased 2,846 acres for £500; and in September, 1846, Dr. Campbell bought 586 acres, at auction, for £24.

Governor Hobson's official township proved a total failure, Kororareka holding the pre-eminence. Dr. Jameson, whose account of Kororareka prior to the establishment of British law has been before quoted, returned to the Bay of Islands in the *Delhi* in May, 1840, and the picture he drew of the settlement at that date is worth reproducing. He says:—

"I found the aspect of Kororareka considerably altered since I left it, two months previously. The British ensign was hoisted

on the beach, numerous tents pitched behind the town, and, in addition to the 'old familiar faces,' there were many new comers, whose presence gave to the little settlement an air of bustle and animation. To complete the metamorphosis, the appearance of policemen, sauntering along with an idle step, but with busy and searching eyes, indicated clearly that the occupation of the old tarring and feathering association was gone for ever. Moreover, the price of building allotments had more than doubled, and all the materials of building were in strong demand at exorbitant prices, circumstances strongly indicative of a prevailing impression that a numerous population would forthwith arrive in New Zealand. There was also an increased number of stores and shops. Bakehouses and butchers' stalls had been established, and regular ferry boats plied between Kororareka and the neighbouring settlements of Pahiā and Russell, a locality four miles distant, where, for the present, the Government offices were established, on the premises of the American consul. And since progress is the characteristic of a new colony, I may here state that two months afterwards Kororareka had its bank, its newspapers, and its club.

"Opposite the centre of the beach stands the native pa, or village, a square enclosure of fifteen or twenty acres, surrounded with a high palisade of rude construction, but sufficiently strong to resist the attacks of an enemy destitute of artillery. The chiefs had recently sold a great part of their hereditary lands to the white people at much higher prices than they had obtained previously. Buildings in Kororareka and its neighbourhood had now acquired a high value, and offers were daily made to the natives for the cession of the whole or part of their village, which, however, they would on no account assent to, although tempted with half a hat-full of sovereigns, besides blankets, tobacco, muskets, and ammunition, to the value of several hundred pounds. It was expected, however, that when they had exhausted the large stock of tobacco which, with other goods, they had recently received in barter for land, they would be less tenacious in regard to the pa. However large the payments made to them for land—and in some instances they amounted to several hundred pounds sterling—the chiefs individually were seldom enriched, since they divided the articles received among their relations and dependents in a spirit of open-handed liberality which in England would

probably have obtained for them the protection of a lunatic asylum. The menials and slaves received their portions of tobacco, pipes and blankets as well as the chief and the members of his family."

The mania for land speculation at this period induced Mr. Busby to lay off a township on the left bank of the Waitangi River, near its confluence with the bay. He dignified this embryo city with the name of Victoria, duly marking off streets, squares and reserves for exchange and other public buildings. Lots in this township sold at the rate of from £100 to £400 per acre, the purchasers being partly Sydney speculators and partly residents at Kororareka. Fifty years have passed away, and the land remains there, but the great city of Victoria, which fired the imaginations and drew the coin from the pockets of those early land speculators, is still as unsubstantial as were the visions of that little band who paraded the beach at Kororareka in 1840.

The official capital to be built on Captain Clendon's land is likewise as much a myth to-day as its rival on the banks of the Waitangi River. The site was ill chosen, and the project unpopular from the beginning. The Bay of Islands community stuck to Kororareka, where all their interests had gradually become concentrated, and subsequently the abortive official scheme was abandoned and the name of Russell transferred to Kororareka. But the glory of the capital was reserved for a nobler location further south.

The first newspaper published in the north was called *The New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Islands Gazette*, and the first number saw the light at Kororareka on June 15th, 1840. In this issue appears the following notification:—

NOTICE is hereby given that all communications from this Government inserted in the *New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Islands Gazette* are to be deemed official.

Given under my hand at Government House, Russell, this 12th day of June, in the year of our Lord, 1840.

(Signed) W. HOBSON,
Lieut.-Governor.

By His Excellency's command (for the Colonial Secretary) JAMES STUART FREEMAN.

In the leading article the editor says: "Our views are comprehensive; we wish to do good as far as our power extends to the whole community." The sub-leader says: "The period has at length arrived when New Zealand, the antipodes of the civilized world, is to take its share of the attention of the

nations of Europe, and occupy a prominent part in their consideration."

The following communication, explanatory of a disturbance in Pomare's pa, appears in the same issue, and is also historically interesting:—

To the Editor of the New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Islands Gazette.

SIR,—So many reports have been in circulation relative to the recent disturbance at the Pa, to avoid exaggeration I have been induced, under the authority of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, to publish a true statement of the facts, and therefore avail myself of the opportunity which offers through the medium of your journal to effect my object.—I am, sir, etc.,

S. E. GRIMSTONE.

Russell, Bay of Islands, 10th June, 1840.

"On the night of the 3rd instant, information was conveyed to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor that several Europeans had been murdered at the Pa, and that others would share the same fate, were not immediate steps taken to prevent it. A party of twenty of the military, under the command of Captain Lockhart, was therefore at once despatched to restore order. On the arrival of Captain Lockhart he found a large body of natives assembled under arms, and from the riotous conduct of all present, it was deemed desirable to have a reinforcement at hand.

"On inquiry it was ascertained that during the day two whaleboats belonging to American vessels had been seized by Pomare's tribe, in consequence of a misunderstanding which had arisen from the attempted capture by the crews of the boats of a deserter living at the pa under the protection of the natives, who refused to deliver up the man unless they received the reward offered for his apprehension. The master of the vessel, considering that an act of extortion, declined their terms, and endeavoured to obtain him by force, which was resisted. A scuffle ensued, during which one of the natives and an European were slightly injured, but eventually terminated in the natives possessing themselves of the boats and detaining them in their custody. The representation made to His Excellency relative to the murder was therefore unfounded. The disturbance was eventually quelled without loss of life, and Pomare and other chiefs thanked the Governor for having sent the troops, and for the protection they afforded. The masters of the American vessels likewise tendered their obligations for the timely interference of the military, which probably prevented a serious sacrifice of human life."

About this period the bakers of Kororareka

lowered the price of the 4lb. loaf from 2s. 6d., which had been the price for several months, to 2s. Beef and mutton were being sold at this time, the former at 9d. and the latter at 10d. per lb.

It was not long before Lieutenant-Governor Hobson perceived that he had acted hastily in his selection of Russell, and he accordingly set out to look for a more suitable location for the capital of the new colony. He crossed over to Hokianga and indicated a site for a town which he named Churchill. He then proceeded southwards to examine the isthmus between the Waitemata and Manukau Harbours which had been strongly recommended to him by the Rev. Henry Williams. The conspicuous advantages of this magnificent position at once impressed him, and his decision was virtually made on the spot, although it was not communicated to the Secretary of State until some months later.

The *New Zealand Gazette* (Port Nicholson) of the 13th June, 1840, refers to the question of the locality of the seat of government as not being then finally settled. It says: "We are again informed that as yet His Excellency Captain Hobson has not decided upon the proper place for the location of the seat of government in these islands." The colonists and the New Zealand Company were anxious to have Port Nicholson made the seat of government. Colonel Wakefield's and Captain Hobson's despatches to their respective superiors are not unlike those of rival storekeepers, each praising his own settlement. Colonel Wakefield was supported by the power of the English press, and Captain Hobson by the Colonial Office.

The following is a rude estimate of the white population in New Zealand, in October, 1840:—*Cook's Straits*—Cloudy Bay, 150; Queen Charlotte Sound, 60; Kapiti and Mana, 200; Port Nicholson, 1,600. *East Coast*—Banks Peninsula, 100; Port Otago and neighbourhood, 250; thence south, 300. *North Island—East Coast*—Poverty Bay, 30; River Thames, 200; Bay of Islands, 600; Whangaroa and other places to the north, 100. *West Coast*—Hokianga, 200; Kaipara, 60; Manukau, Kawhia, etc., 100. Total, 4,050 persons.

In a despatch dated the 15th of October, 1840, Lieutenant-Governor Hobson, after referring to the legislative enactment of the Government of New South Wales for settling the claims to land in New Zealand, and describing the arrangements he had made for carrying on surveys, states: "I further do myself the honour to acquaint your Lordship,

that, after mature consideration, I have decided upon forming the seat of government upon the south shore of the Waitemata, in the district of the Thames. In the choice I have thus made, I have been influenced by a combination of circumstances: first, by its central position; secondly, by the great facility of internal water communication by the Kaipara and its branches to the northward, and the Manukau and Waikato to the southward; thirdly, from the facility and safety of its port, and the proximity of several smaller ports abounding with the most valuable timber; and finally, by the fertility of the soil, which is stated by persons capable of appreciating it to be available for every agricultural purpose, the richest and most valuable land in the northern island being concentrated within a radius of fifty miles. The purchase of this district has not yet been completed, but the Chief Protector of Aborigines is at present engaged in making preliminary arrangements for that purpose, and I intend visiting the Waitemata in a few days, when I hope to obtain possession of the whole tract of country around.

"Dr. Martin, a gentleman of integrity and reputation, upon whose report I place much reliance, has addressed me on the subject, and I have the honour to enclose a copy of his letter. Should Dr. Martin's report be literally correct, the valley of the Thames and the Piako alone would furnish employment and support for any number of immigrants that we can reasonably expect for the next five years.

"I also transmit a copy of a letter received from Mr. Shortland relative to the township formed at Port Nicholson, on the southern coast of this island, by the New Zealand Company. This gentleman was sent down by me to remedy the illegal acts of the Company, who had assumed to themselves authority which I deemed it imperative on me at once to crush; and from his personal observations and report I have derived much advantage.

"I also beg to enclose a second letter from that gentleman relative to the claims made by the New Zealand Company to land at Port Nicholson, by which your Lordship will perceive that the chiefs do not recognise their titles, and deny having sold it to them. This question will, of course, be left to the decision of the Commissioners."

Writing from Russell, Bay of Islands, on November 10th, 1840, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Governor Hobson narrates his recent visit to Waitemata and his

choice of Auckland as the future seat of government. He says:—"I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have lately returned from a visit to Waitemata, where I found the officers of the Government, and the mechanics and labourers under their orders proceeding with the necessary works for establishing the town, which I contemplate being the future seat of government, and which I purpose distinguishing by the name of 'Auckland.'

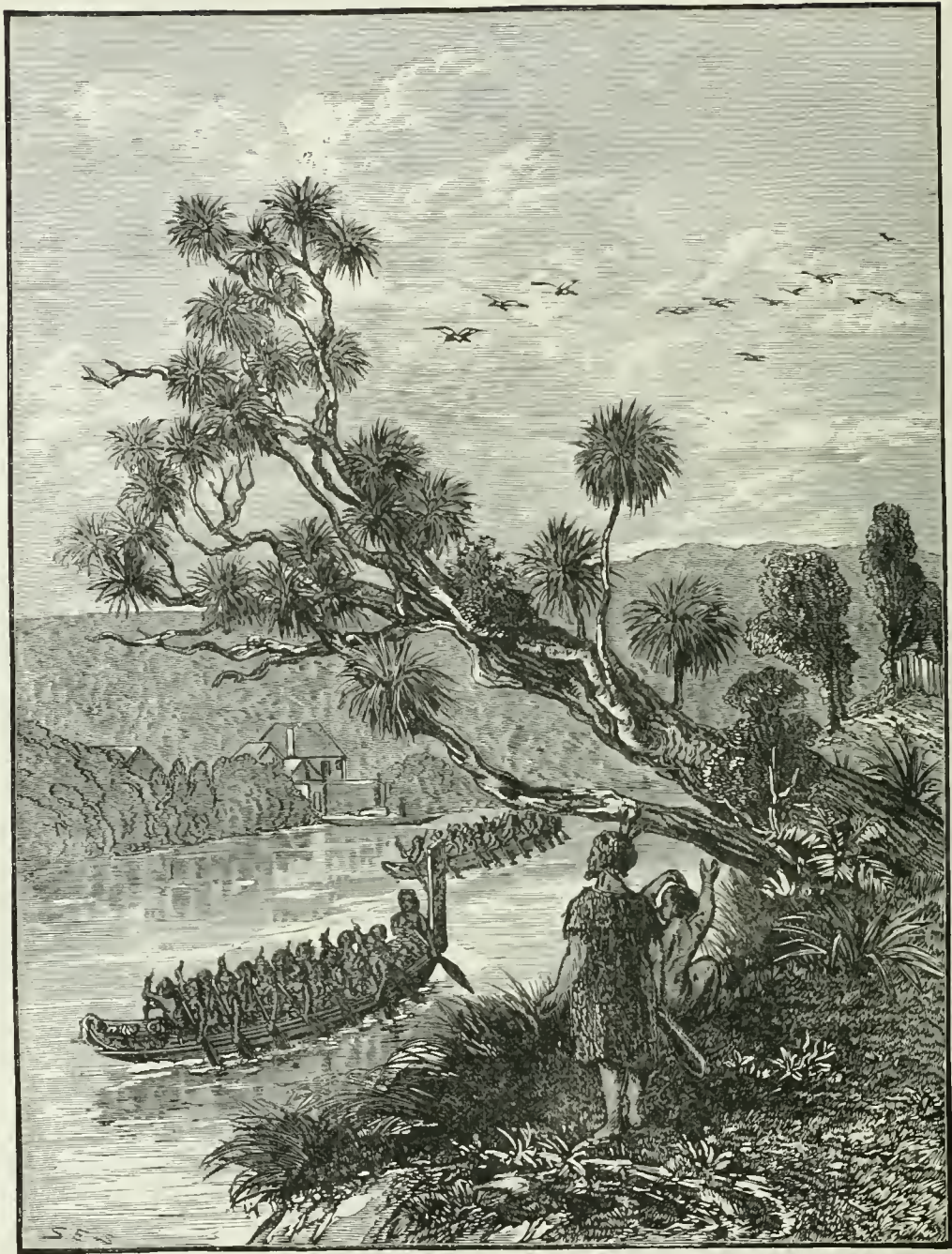
"I beg leave to call your Lordship's attention to the necessity for directing emigration to the proposed capital. The country around it is, as I have already reported, decidedly the best in New Zealand, and although from the deficiency of surveyors I am not in a condition to sell land at this moment, yet having already purchased from the natives a tract of land, computed at 30,000 acres, and having engaged nearly as much more, I shall be enabled to do so within six months to an extent sufficient to meet any demand that is likely to arise from immigration.

"The industry with which the New Zealand Company have circulated throughout the United Kingdom, by means of the press, most exaggerated descriptions of the land at Port Nicholson, and very incorrect statements of the extent of country at their disposal, has had the effect of deluding the people of England into a belief that the nature of the soil and the facilities for cultivation throughout that district, present advantages which are nowhere else to be found; that their title to the land is undisputed, and that the port is the finest in the colony; all which reports are in my opinion unsupported by facts.

"The utmost quantity of land available for cultivation is 25,000 acres, and this is to be found in detached spots and in situations difficult of approach, and all heavily timbered.

"The title of the Company to the land they have resold is at least questionable. It is disputed by the natives, by the Church Missionary Society, who have bought extensive tracts of the land claimed by the Company in trust for the natives; and by many British subjects, on the grounds of priority of purchase.

"The port is certainly most spacious, and is free from danger within its heads; but its very great extent and the tremendous violence of its prevailing winds generate so heavy a sea within itself as to suspend for many days together all operations connected with the shipping. The report of Mr. Shortland and of other authorities rank Port Nicholson as a commercial port second both to the Bay of



From a picture by S. C. Brees.

Mr. Molesworth's Farm at the Hutt.

Islands and the Waitemata; although the latter will require extensive wharves to render it in all respects convenient.

"It is not my purpose to disparage Port Nicholson, or to discourage the efforts of those who desire to settle there, but I think it quite right to dispel the illusion that has been created by selfish men for interested purposes, and to direct, if possible, the current of immigration to a more genial climate and a more productive soil.

"The New Zealand Company will found claims to exclusive privileges and indulgences in return for the quantity of labour they may have imported. If it should be your Lordship's pleasure to yield to any application of this nature, I would respectfully suggest that the Company be not allowed to locate the immigrants where their personal interests may dictate, or where, from the difficulty of communication with other parts of the colony, they will be placed solely at the mercy of the more wealthy settlers."

The determination of Captain Hobson to locate the seat of government on the Waitemata called forth angry remonstrances from the New Zealand Company's officers in the colony and in England. In a letter from Mr. Somes to Lord Stanley, dated London, November 24th, 1841, the Governor of the Company denounces Captain Hobson's policy as being "dictated by a spirit of reckless hostility to this Company, and to all who have gone out under its auspices," and declares that "every account from the colony convinces us that the results of his errors and animosities are assuming an alarming form." With regard to the choice of the site for the capital, Mr. Somes says:—

"Captain Hobson landed at the Bay of Islands on the 29th January, 1840. Turning away from Kororareka, where natural advantages had led to the formation of a considerable settlement, he crossed the Bay of Islands, and made arrangements for laying out a town on an uninhabited and barren spot, to which he gave the name of Russell. At this place he subsequently fixed his government for a time, published a plan of the future town, and advertised and sold building lots. It is said (though we do not vouch for the truth of the report, of which your Lordship must have the best means of estimating the accuracy) that on these transactions he made a considerable outlay of public money. The project of building a town here was, however, afterwards abandoned, and the spot is now almost uninhabited. On the 17th February he crossed

the island, passed a few days on the Hokianga river, where he fixed upon a spot for the site of another town, on which he bestowed the name of Churchill; but he did nothing to give it more than a nominal existence. Directing his steps somewhat further south, he arrived on the 21st of February at Waitemata. This spot was wholly unsettled, and the choice of it for a town was not justified by the presence of population previously attracted thither by the belief of its offering advantages to settlers. Here he remained till the 1st of March, when, having been unfortunately attacked by paralysis, he was compelled to return to Russell, where he appears to have remained for some time in a state of health that precluded his moving from that spot. Indeed, it would appear from his published despatches that he did not again quit Russell until after the 15th of October, when he informed the Secretary of State of his having fixed the seat of government. He nevertheless determined that at Waitemata a town should be founded and called Auckland: and such was the impression made on him by the capabilities which he discovered at that place—it seems to have so entirely realised his conception of possible perfection—that he made up his mind at once that it was useless to inquire any further, before he fixed on Auckland as the centre of government for the islands of New Zealand.

"At Auckland, therefore, he proceeded to lay out a town, and proclaimed it, while yet a wilderness, the capital of New Zealand; and here he has already expended public money in buildings, roads, surveys, and other works. The advantages anticipated from the seat of government being fixed there, together with the inducements offered by an expenditure of public money, have not been able to attract more than 500 persons at the utmost to settle at Auckland. This circumstance does not suffice to show that Auckland is not a proper place for a settlement, but it proves that the means that Captain Hobson had to attract population were merely artificial, and that emigration had not, and has not even yet, directed its course thither. In fact, we have not been able to discover that any vessel ever quitted the port of London for Auckland, except a small schooner called the *Osprey*, which, after putting off its departure from time to time in order to secure a freight, at length sailed the other day with only fourteen emigrants on board. At the period of the proclamation of Auckland as the seat of government, the population of the Company's

principal settlement at Wellington could not have been less than 2,000 souls, and it has increased by this time to more than 4,000. The number of vessels of various sizes which entered the harbour during the first fifteen months of the existence of the settlement amounted to 152, many of them being regular traders, and therefore counted for more than one entry."

Mr. *Somes* proceeds to say: "We do not accuse Captain *Hobson* of being actuated by any more dishonest motive than that of a poor jealousy of those who presumed to begin the colonisation of New Zealand, and beyond that of this petty vanity we attribute to him no personal interest inconsistent with the welfare of the people subject to his authority. With regard to him, it is enough for us to advert to the well-known state of his health and his sufferings from an affection by which the energies are always more or less impaired. In such a state a Governor must be completely under the influence of others, and the greatest of our alarms arises from our knowing that those whom official connection places in a position to influence him are precisely those who have the strongest personal interest in leading him to wrong our settlements." Mr. *Somes* then goes on to argue that the choice of site had been influenced by the *Manukau* and *Waitemata* Company. He points out that Captain *Symonds*, who was a director of that Company, had been appointed the Queen's Deputy Surveyor-General of the Colony, and says: "Although his appointment to that office was subsequent to the choice of *Auckland* as the seat of government, he was officially employed by Captain *Hobson* from the time of His Excellency's arrival in the colony, and had been sent to deal with the natives for the sovereignty of the very district claimed by the Company of which he was the director and local agent." In the course of this letter Mr. *Somes* mentions that although the first intimation of Captain *Hobson*'s intention to fix on *Auckland* as his capital is found in his despatch to Lord *John Russell* on the 15th of October, and his preference for *Auckland* "only got about in the colony" in the preceding August, "Captain *Symonds*'s report to the Governor, announcing the cession of the *Waitemata* territory, is dated the 12th of May, and Captain *Hobson*'s proclamation, determining what portion of the islands Her Majesty's claims extended to, did not appear till the 21st of that month."

The letter from Mr. *Somes* on behalf of the *New Zealand Company* assailing Lieutenant-

Governor *Hobson*'s conduct was subsequently withdrawn, but on the 30th of January, 1843, was again forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Lord *Stanley*, who had succeeded Lord *John Russell*, replied that "he must decline to vindicate to the directors of the *New Zealand Company* the conduct of an officer enjoying Her Majesty's confidence in the administration of one of the colonial dependencies of the British Crown; of his responsibility to the Queen and to the Parliament on this subject, Lord *Stanley* is fully prepared to acquit himself. To yourself and your colleagues in the direction of the *New Zealand Company* his Lordship acknowledges no such responsibility." Lord *Stanley* further intimated that "complaints of the acts or omissions of a Governor, transmitted from a colony without the intervention of a Governor, or the simultaneous communication of such complaint to him, cannot be entertained until the Governor shall have obtained and reported on a copy of the complaint."

The acquisition of the site of *Auckland* on behalf of the Government was entrusted to Captain *William Cornwallis Symonds*, who came to the colony originally on behalf of a Scottish Association called the *New Zealand Manukau and Waitemata Company*. This Company claimed a large area of land on the *Manukau* and *Waitemata* harbours, by virtue of a purchase effected in 1838, from the trustees of Mr. *Thomas Mitchell*, who is described as a merchant of *New South Wales*. The prospectus of the Company, issued in 1840, stated that "the lands were originally selected by Mr. *Mitchell*, in 1835, as the most eligible situation in the island in expectation of the country being colonized by England, and some members of the *Church Missionary Society* were competitors against him for the purchase. The conveyance in his favour by the native chiefs is dated in January, 1836. Mr. *Mitchell* died in the same year. His settlement was proved in the usual manner in the Supreme Court of *New South Wales*; and his widow having returned with her children to that country, she and the other trustees under the settlement sold to the Company." The purchase money was £500. *Mitchell*, it is said, at the time when he made the purchase, was engaged getting out timber from the creeks discharging into the *Manukau* harbour. A plan of the *Manukau*, produced in the Native Lands Court by Captain *Wing* during the hearing of the *Orakei* case, showed Mr. *Mitchell*'s house in 1836 as then standing at

Karangahape. The signatures to the deed were those of the chiefs Kawau, Kawae, and Tinana te Tamaki. Captain Symonds, in a letter dated Kaipara harbour, 7th February, 1840, thus describes the boundaries, and reports generally upon the prospects of the country for settlement:—

“The purchase far exceeds what we believed to be its extent. Following the north shore of the harbour of Manukau to the portage, its length is upwards of twenty-three miles. It then follows Wai Mogoia River in its windings, into the Waitemata (D’Urville’s) harbour about ten miles,—then along the Waitemata river about eight miles, and N.W. about twelve miles; towards its source, to a stone or rock called Mata, which gives the name to the river, the water of the Mata or Flint Stone, whence it takes a westerly direction to the sea, and encloses an immense district. That part of the lands on which the hills of Maungarei, Maungakiekie and Mangawha are situated, is excellent soil,—fertile to a proverb, and contains thousands of acres fit for the plough, and having two harbours for the export of its produce. Between the fertile land and the forest, there is a great extent of country which will become excellent pasture land, besides affording large locations for settlers. The character of the soil is generally clay, in some part sandy, but on the banks of the river a very rich alluvium. The property is well supplied with water. There are no less than nine small streamlets; and below the old pa or fort, in the peninsula part of it, is an extraordinary fountain within high-water mark, which sends forth a most abundant supply of water. There is already a brisk trade on the adjoining district of the Thames, and seventy-three Englishmen settled there. Numbers are also settling on the Waikato and Waipa Rivers. People are thronging to New Zealand from Adelaide, where a state of things is said to obtain which is ruinous to small capitalists, and where the general disgust is such that parties are quitting the colony in scores. A New Zealand Association has been got up there, and a Dr. Bright is in the Bay of Islands, acting, I believe, as agent for them. The rage for this country still exists in Sydney, and many settlers and many hundred head of cattle have arrived from thence. The few that have been here for some years thrive very well, and increase and multiply amazingly. I heard yesterday of a ship having arrived at Bay of Islands with forty passengers from Sydney. There are already several hotels, where one may spend, if so inclined, a guinea a day.

Scarcely a rood of land there belongs to the natives.

“New Zealand is becoming thronged with Englishmen of good connections and respectability, who are purchasing lands in all quarters. Land is rising in value daily. A native chief will not now part with a district for a bauble as formerly, and every day the natives are becoming more and more alive to their own interest. It is more difficult to bargain with the chiefs now than it would have been three months back, five-fold. The materials which already exist for forming a colony are by no means so bad as you are given to believe in England. There are many most respectable people here; and the natives, instead of being the ferocious savages they are represented in England, are well disposed and safe to deal with, as far as personal security goes, and the sanctity of private property. They are often ungrateful, bullying and lazy, but, according to the reports of the missionaries, are daily improving.”

This territory would appear to be a magnificent area to acquire so easily and at so small a cost, but upon investigation it was found that the dominions of the Company were very much more circumscribed than they had supposed, and the settlement which they attempted to plant on the bleak, cold clay hills of the Manukau, about two miles nearer the Heads than the present town of Onehunga, proved a total failure.

The interests of the Company, however, were manifestly concerned in securing the location of the official capital on their property, or in its vicinity, and the prospectus stated that “the Company authorised Captain Symonds, who accompanied Captain Hobson to the Waitemata, to offer His Excellency every facility which their property will afford.” Captain Symonds faithfully carried out these instructions. The Lieutenant-Governor, however, did not ask for any concession from the Company, but he authorized Captain Symonds to purchase the site of Auckland, which the latter succeeded in doing by negotiation with the chief Kawau of Orakei. Captain Symonds was afterwards appointed Deputy Surveyor-General of New Zealand. Except for a small tribe who occupied a settlement at Orakei and who had cultivations in the adjacent bays, the shores of the magnificent harbour upon which the city of Auckland now stands were solitary and untenanted.

The isthmus had for many years been the scene of sanguinary strife owing to the



Te Wherowhero (Potatau). The first Maori King.

raids of war parties passing to and fro between the north and the south. Chief Judge Fenton in his able judgment on the Orakei case—which is one of the most remarkable embodiments of patient research into Maori tradition extant—traces the history of the tribes inhabiting this isthmus from the year 1720. At that date, the learned judge states, “a great chief of Waiohūa or Ngaiwi is found living in strength at One Tree Hill, where he had a pa, the trenches of which may be seen to this day. His people held pas or positions of defence, formed by large ditches and protected by stakes, and in some places by stone walls, at Maungakiekie (One Tree Hill), Maungarei (Mount Wellington), Mangere, Ihumatao, Onehunga, Remuera, Omaha (near Remuera), Te Umuponga, at Orakei, Kohimaramara, Taurarua (Judge’s Bay), Te To (Freeman’s Bay), Rarotonga (Mount Smart), Te Tatua (Three Kings), Owairaka (Mount Albert), and other places. In fact, he appears to have held undisputed possession of the whole country from the Tamaki River to Te Whau, and stretching from the Manukau to the Waitemata. But prosperity and power appear to have made him treacherous and overbearing to his neighbours, for we find about the year 1740, at a feast at Waituoru, Kiwi, assisted by Rangikaketu, the great grandfather of Heteraka [a claimant to Orakei, whose claim was disallowed], surprised and treacherously murdered thirty of the tribe of Te Taou, and about the same period he murdered Mimihanui, in Kaipara, Tahatahi, the sister of Tuperiri, a chief of Te Taou, and grandfather of Apihai te Kawau [the claimant to whose people Orakei was awarded under this judgment], and other members of the tribe.”

This treacherous and bloodthirsty conduct of course led to reprisals and an army of Te Taou descended from Kaipara to Manukau, crossed the Heads in the night time in canoes made of rushes, and stormed Tarataua, a pa of Te Waiohūa or Ngaiwi, to the south of Awhitu, and slaughtered the people in it. In an attack on a pa to the north of Awhitu, the invading army were repulsed. They then recrossed Manukau Heads, and Kiwi having assembled a large army of the Waiohūa tribe to resist them, a sanguinary battle took place at Poruroa (Big Muddy Creek), resulting in the defeat of the Waiohūa with immense slaughter, thirty being destroyed in one canoe and Kiwi himself was killed. The vanquished tribe, deserting their other pas on the isthmus, gathered together for a determined resistance

in their pa at Mangere. They spread shells on the paths approaching to the pa, so that the sound of their being crushed might give the alarm in case of a night attack. Te Taou advanced under Tuperiri, and another of their chiefs (Apihai te Kawau’s paternal grandfather) spread their dogskins over the shells, assaulted the pa and took it by surprise. The whole of the people inside were killed or finally dispersed, except some women and a few men who were spared.

Two months after the pa at Mangere fell, a war party of the Ngatiwhātua, another tribe of Kaipara to which Te Taou were related, passed over the isthmus of Waikoukou to Pitoitōi (Brigham’s Mill), and sailing down the Waitemata assaulted and took in one day the pas of Kohimaramara and Taurarua, held by the Waiohūa, destroying their inhabitants. They returned home leaving the fruits of their victory to Te Taou. “Te Waiohūa were extinguished as a tribe, and individuals only existed in a subject state, or as wives amongst the conquering tribe. Tuperiri, chief of Te Taou, built his pa at One Tree Hill and entered into occupation of the desolated and vacant country and held undisputed possession of all the lands twelve months before inhabited by the numerous tribe of Waiohūa, which had now become extinct.”

Judge Fenton, in the course of his review, makes a note of considerable interest with regard to Mount Eden, showing that the fortifications upon it, of which traces remain, date back to a very early period. He says: “While some of the witnesses tell us of the pas taken and those abandoned, no one speaks of Mount Eden at all, and there is no doubt in my mind that it had been altogether abandoned before Kiwi’s time, and that it has not been occupied as a pa since.”

“From the period of this conquest, for about half a century, there is no evidence of peace having been broken. Te Taou and the new mixture, under a revised name—Ngāoho (really Ngāoho No. 2) and the returned refugees of Waiohūa, under the name of Te Uringutu, lived together in different places in or near the isthmus, in undisturbed possession. They appear to have abandoned some of the pas that they captured from Te Waiohūa, but maintained One Tree Hill as their principal pa, and had outlying pas at Onewa (Kauri Point), occupied by Tarahawaiki (Apihai’s father), and Te Whakaakiaki, the commander at Paruroa; Te To (Freeman’s Bay), under Waitaheke; Mangonui (inside Kauri Point), under Reretuarau; and Tauhinu, further up

the river. These, Waka Tuaea says, were all the pas that kept possession of this sea (Waitemata) after the original people were destroyed."

Judge Fenton then carefully traces the history of the tribes during the early part of the present century, and enters into details of the great wars which marked the period of Hongi's conquests, and which led to the complete evacuation of the isthmus between the Waitemata and the Manukau. The Taou and Ngaoho tribes took refuge near Mahurangi, subject to constant attacks and dangers, and all the Manukau tribes were in pas and strong places near the head waters of the Waikato River or on the borders of the Waipa. This period closed about 1834, the fortune of war having been latterly turning gradually but constantly against the Ngapuhi. "When, therefore," continues the Judge, "Te Wherowhero, the most powerful chief of the Waikato district, proposed to conduct the Manukau tribes to their old places and locate himself amongst them, there was little chance of their being molested by any of the armies which had for twelve years made this isthmus a place where it was impossible for any one to live. Moreover, Christianity had begun to make some progress, and wearied and worn out with war, the people appear to have hastily and gladly embraced the new religion, which, while it offered them a prospect of a happy life after death, secured to them, at any rate, a tolerable certainty of keeping their bodies in peace in this world until the time came for them to die naturally, and without being converted into the 'heads,' which one of the witnesses so frequently alluded to, and by the number of which he appears to have recollected events."

In 1835 the return to the isthmus commenced, Te Wherowhero settling with his own people at Awhitu, as a guarantee of the protection of Waikato to the rest. Apihai te Kawau and his people took possession of Puponga and built a pa called Karangahape. It was in this year that Apihai made his sale to Mr. Mitchell, whose claims were afterwards purchased by the Manukau and Waitemata Company. In 1836 Apihai commenced to cultivate at Mangere, and built a pa there and another at Ihumatao. Te Taou came to the shores of the Waitemata, and began to cultivate the land about Horotiu (Queen-street). In 1837 a pa was built at Okahu (Orakei), under two Te Taou chiefs. In 1838 the principal place of Apihai's people still appears to have been Mangere, but they were

permanently domiciled also at Onehunga, Auckland, and Orakei. In this year Potatau took up his permanent residence at Onehunga. In 1839 the Orakei tribes cultivated at Official Bay (Waiariki), and planted peach trees on the land between the present site of the Supreme Court at Auckland and the sea. This was the position of affairs when negotiations were begun for the location of the capital of New Zealand upon the shores of the Waitemata. The Court decided that: "Apihai te Kawau's people, under their generally known name of Ngatiwhatua, were the sole resident natives here and on this part of the shores of the Waitemata at the time of the Governor's arrival, and that they had houses and cultivations at Auckland and Okahu. The arrival of the English power found them domiciled at Okahu in undisputed possession, and thus they have remained ever since as the dominant lords of the soil." The Court therefore ordered the issue of certificates of title in favour of these tribes, or in favour of such persons comprising them as should be determined on hearing further evidence, or as should be agreed to amongst the members of the tribes.

Dr. Campbell, in his charming little book "Poenamo," describes how, in the early part of 1840, he and his friend Mr. Brown, who had lately arrived in New Zealand, having heard of the fame of the Waitemata, set out on a mission to purchase land on its shores. Arriving at Orakei Bay they found that all the inhabitants of the settlement had gone over to the Manukau to fish for sharks. Setting out in pursuit, a footpath through high fern and tupaki took them past a hill called Maungakiekie, which they there and then christened "One Tree Hill," because of the solitary tree which grew upon its summit. They found old Kawau at a village on the Mangere side of the Manukau, and proposed to purchase Remuera sloping down to Orakei Bay. The chief declined, but promised to show other lands, which he was willing to part with. When the Government afterwards came to deal, Remuera was excluded from the lands ceded, and although it was sold some years later, the Maoris retain their settlement at Orakei until the present day. A day or two later the party were pulled up the harbour and inspected all its bays, but having offended Te Hira, one of the chiefs, the natives refused to sell, and the expedition proved fruitless. A short time afterwards, Dr. Campbell and Mr. Brown, having purchased from the native owners Motu Korea (Brown's Island), at the

entrance to the Waitemata harbour, established themselves there and became the pioneer pakehas of the Waitemata, only removing from their island home after the Government had taken possession of the site of the new capital.

Mr. Charles Terry, F.R.S., F.S.A., who spent twelve months at Auckland and its vicinity in 1840-41, gives an excellent description of the district at that period. He says:—

“The Waitemata district is the property of the Ngatiwhatua tribe, and on the decision of the Lieutenant-Governor to fix the town of Auckland on the Waitemata, he purchased from these natives as much land as they chose to dispose of, which comprised the land bounded to the westward by the small river running from near Manukau into the large bay at the western extremity of the Waitemata, and to the eastward by a small creek debouching into the Waitemata, about one mile to the eastward of Mechanics’ Bay, and extending south nearly as far as the shores of Manukau harbour.

“Beyond the eastern boundary of the purchase by Government is a beautiful large bay, the native name of which is Orakei, but termed by the Surveyor-General Hobson’s Bay. From this bay there is a narrow inlet or creek, the entrance to another bay, from which diverge two small rivers, south-east and south-west, called by the natives Porewa and Terewa. This district, including the bay and valley of Okahu adjoining Orakei, and extending south to Manukau, the Ngatiwhatuas have reserved for their own occupation and cultivation, and it is the finest land and most beautiful scenery on the Waitemata. The natives here cultivate large tracts for potatoes, maize, and melons, and from the proximity, two miles by water, to Auckland, bring fresh supplies frequently. They are likewise very serviceable to the wants of Europeans by supplying the town with firewood at a very moderate rate.

“The Ngatiwhatua tribe of natives are not very numerous. Unfortunately they have dwelt in a district which has been the debatable and fighting ground for many antecedent years for the most warlike and powerful tribes on the North Island—the Ngapuhi from the north, the Ngatipaoa and Ngatihaua from the Thames and eastern coast, and the Waikato tribes from the westward. The Ngatiwhatuas, being allies of one party or the other, according to circumstances, were always subject from their position to surprise and attack from the others, and in any great general conflict their

villages and property must have suffered from being the seat of war; and thus, from being formerly a numerous, powerful, and influential people, the whole tribe now does not exceed two hundred and fifty fighting men. Such has been the exterminating effect of these internal native wars throughout New Zealand that there are numerous instances of native tribes that numbered some twenty and thirty years since many thousands—as the tribe of George, at Whangaroa, who captured the Boyd, and others on the western coast—of whom at this day not an individual exists, and the name of the tribe itself is only known as associated with the land they formerly possessed and occupied.

“The chief of the Ngatiwhatuas is Te Kawau, a native very much respected for his peaceable habits, yet for his steady friendship when engaged in war. He is a very mild unassuming old man, and very desirous to gain the friendship of Europeans. His eldest son, Te Reweti, the hereditary chief, is very acute and intelligent, particularly as to the interests of his tribe, in all his transactions with Europeans. He conducts all the affairs of his father and his tribe, and possesses very great influence over them. He married a widow of a great Waikato chief, and daughter of another celebrated chief. She is a very superior native, and is always working at her needle, surrounded by her women, or else reading her Bible. The natives who have become what they term ‘missionaries,’ in other words, converts to the Christian faith, have generally, when baptized, received a Christian and sometimes surname. Thus Te Reweti is named William Davis, after the missionary of that name, and his wife is named Martha. Te Reweti has a younger brother named Hira, or Peter, and an orphan cousin, Paora, or Paul, who are of high birth and rank among the natives, and are fine specimens of the present race of New Zealanders.

“The site of the town of Auckland is certainly judiciously closer for a seat of government and for a central dépôt of the various products hereafter from the different parts of the northern island. Inspection of the chart will show what easy and extensive communication there is coastwise for small vessels, without experiencing the danger of open seas. From Auckland, eastward of the southern shore, there is, about five miles distant, the river Tamaki, which has a very wide estuary; but a spit of sand running nearly across just at the entrance of the river



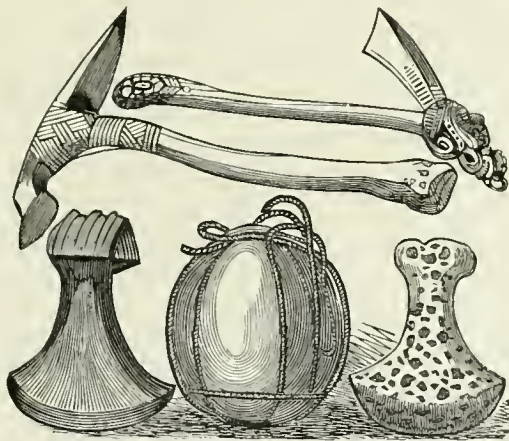
Dr. Campbell. Author of "Pōhāmō."

renders it difficult and hazardous for large vessels, although a brig of 200 tons burthen has entered. As soon as the entrance is passed there is deep water for some miles. It is a beautiful river, with fine cultivable land on both sides. About five miles from the mouth of the river, on the left bank, is a creek of great depth leading into a small, beautiful bay close at the foot of a high volcanic mountain, the native name of which is Mogia (Maungarei), but now called Wellington. Here, although quite deserted by natives, there are the same description of defences as at Mount Eden, and the remains of a most extensive pa, with their former cultivated grounds, on which are now growing wild in luxuriant vegetation, tares, cabbages, turnips, celery, and grass. The tares were, in October (spring), 1840, in full blossom, four feet high, and there were some acres completely covered with them.

"On this spot, about nineteen years since, there was fought a most sanguinary battle, in which the whole tribe here were either slain or carried into slavery. From the information of Te Kawau, the chief of the Ngatiwhatuas, who was present, above seven thousand natives

perished in the fray. The battle was between the tribes from the north, headed by Pomare, Titore, etc., etc., in conjunction with the Waikato and Ngatiwhatua chiefs and tribes, against the natives of the Tamaki and the Thames districts.

"Everywhere the country bears strong evidence of much greater native population than at present exists, and in the interior these evidences and remains of warlike feuds, with always the sacred (tapu) burial spots adjacent, remind the traveller that in all countries, either of classic renown or of the untutored savage, human passions are the same, and that time deals equally with all. Here, in this far distant and comparatively unknown region, has existed for ages the same thirst for glory, the same desires and attempts for aggrandizement of territories, the same defences and stratagems of war, the same respect, reverence and honour to the tombs of the brave, as in the most polished and civilized nations; and the traveller, while he feels surprise, cannot but also be impressed by corresponding emotions as when visiting similar spots famed in the annals of more enlightened kingdoms."





THE FOUNDING OF AUCKLAND.

Arrival of the first ship at Auckland—The British flag hoisted—Settlers pitch their tents on the beach—Description of Auckland in 1840—Trouble caused by Governor Hobson advertising for mechanics in Wellington—First sale of town allotments—Extraordinary prices—New Zealand created a separate colony—Appointment of Executive and Legislative Councils—Price of provisions and house rent—Sale of country and suburban lands.



GOVERNOR HOBSON having now acquired the site he had chosen for the capital of the colony, took steps to prepare it for occupation. With this object, the barque Anna Watson, Captain Stewart, was despatched from the Bay of Islands with Captain W. C. Symonds, 97th Foot, Mr. Felton Mathew, Surveyor-General, the Harbour Master, Superintendent of Public Works, and many officers under Government, to commence operations for the formation of the town. They arrived in the Waitemata on the 16th of September, 1840, and found that the barque Platina, Captain M. Wycherley, had anchored in the harbour three days before, being the first English merchant vessel to enter the port of Auckland. The Platina was chartered by the New Zealand Company in February, 1840, for the purpose of carrying provisions to Port Nicholson. At the request of the British Government the Company delayed the departure of the vessel in order to carry out the materials of Governor Hobson's house. They transhipped the provisions to the Brougham, and wrote directing Colonel Wakefield to have the house carefully for-

warded to any place Governor Hobson might indicate, although the directors plainly intimated that they expected Wellington to be chosen as the seat of government. In that case, the Company's agent was instructed to allot a suitable site for the Governor's residence and to render all the assistance in his power in erecting it. By the time the Platina reached New Zealand, it was known that the Waitemata had been selected, and the vessel accordingly went on there. There was no chart of the harbour, and the captain, taking the Motuihi channel, ran his ship aground on the Bean rocks. She got off, however, with the next tide without damage. When this vessel came in the only Europeans living on the shores of the harbour were Mr. William Brown and Dr. Campbell, who had established themselves upon Motu Korea (Brown's Island).

On the 18th September, 1840, at 1 p.m., the British flag was first hoisted at Auckland by Captain William Cornwallis Symonds, the chief magistrate present, on a staff erected on a bold promontory commanding a view of the entire harbour. The flag was immediately saluted by twenty-one guns from the Anna Watson, followed by a salute of fifteen guns from the barque Platina, after which Her Majesty's health was drunk at the foot of the flag-staff, and greeted by three times three hearty cheers. The Anna Watson then fired a salute of seven guns in honour of His Excel-

lency the Lieutenant-Governor, which was responded to by three hearty cheers and "one cheer more" from those on shore. The party then returned to the Anna Watson, and after partaking of luncheon, a regatta took place between a five-oared gig belonging to the Surveyor-General and a six-oared gig belonging to the Anna Watson, both pulled in excellent style by amateurs. This was followed by a match for a purse of five pounds between two whaleboats pulled by sailors, and another between two large canoes paddled by natives. The officers of the Government present on the occasion consisted of the Police Magistrate, the Colonial Surgeon, the Harbour Master, the Superintendent of Works, the Sub.-Protector of Aborigines, and the Surveyor-General and his wife.

The news that Auckland had been chosen as the capital caused an influx of population from other parts of the islands, as well as from the adjacent colonies. Pending a survey the settlers were allowed to squat on the land. The bay, ever since known as Official Bay, however, was reserved exclusively for officers of the Government, and other settlers were directed to pitch their tents in the bay round the point where the Government store was afterwards erected, giving to the place the title of Store Bay (since changed to the more euphonious title of Commercial Bay). The tide then flowed where Fort-street now runs (then called Fore-street, meaning literally Foreshore-street), and the Government store occupied a portion of the site on which the post and telegraph offices now stand, facing the beach. Queen-street at that period was a swamp, with flax bushes, manuka scrub and broken bush extending right up to the corner of Shortland-crescent and Princes-street. A considerable stream of water (known in the early days as the Ligar Canal) flowed down the gully along which Queen-street has since been formed. This stream, widening here and there into small swamps after the fashion of watercourses in New Zealand gullies, discharged its waters into the sea near the spot where the New Zealand Insurance Company's building now stands. At first everything had to be landed on the beach, but a small jetty was afterwards run out opposite the site of the *Star* Office.

The first settlers pitched tents, but soon arranged with the natives of Orakei for the erection of raupo whares. The officials having taken exclusive possession of the bay east of Point Britomart, a number of mechanics found their way into the adjacent bay, which

acquired the name it still bears of Mechanics' Bay. Here a sawpit was started by Messrs. McNaughton and Robertson (afterwards landlord of the Queen's Ferry Hotel), at which was sawn the timber used in the construction of the Government store in Commercial Bay, already mentioned—the first wooden building erected in Auckland. This was the only place from which the settlers could obtain provisions and other supplies. Captain Cornwallis Symonds pitched his tent at what was then considered the best site in Auckland, a bluff covered with pohutukawa trees, in Official Bay, subsequently occupied by the residence of Mr. Shepherd, and at a later period by Sir G. M. O'Rorke. Mr. Felton Mathew, the author of the extraordinary plan upon which Auckland was first laid out, selected the spot which is now occupied by the building used as St. Paul's church. Dr. Johnson and Major Richmond pitched their tents where now stands the late Mr. David Nathan's residence. Dr. Campbell and Mr. Brown at the end of the year left Motu Korea, and set up their canvas dwelling on a piece of land fronting Shortland-crescent, just opposite the present offices of the *Star* newspaper.

At this period an incident occurred which served to embitter the feeling of animosity that had already been engendered between the north and the New Zealand Company's settlement. There was a dearth of workmen at the new capital, and Governor Hobson advertised for men at Port Nicholson. The enticing away of labour that had been imported by the New Zealand Company at an enormous expense, naturally irritated Colonel Wakefield and the Company's settlers. The advertisement, which appeared in the *New Zealand Gazette* and *Britannia Spectator*, inviting mechanics to proceed to Auckland, ran as follows :—

GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

Police Office, Port Nicholson,
November 5, 1840.

The undermentioned Mechanics will be engaged for the service of the Government at Auckland, at the terms stated, viz.:—Four carpenters, first rate, 9s. per diem; six carpenters, second rate, 8s. per diem; six pairs of sawyers, 8s. 6d. per diem; three bricklayers, 7s. 6d. per diem; two stone masons, 7s. 6d. per diem. Sixpence per day extra, if they find themselves with provisions. The mechanics will be allowed one quarter of an acre of land to reside on whilst in the service of Government, at a peppercorn rent. Provisions will be supplied at cost price; the wages to commence on arrival at Auckland; the engagement to be for six or twelve months, at the option of the Lieutenant-Governor.

MICHAEL MURPHY,
Chief Police Magistrate.



Commercial Bay, Auckland, in 1840.

1. Government Store. 2. Brown & Campbell. 3. Mr. and Mrs. Nicoll. 4. Mr. G. Graham (of Engineers). 5. Track over to Official Bay.
6. Terry. 7, 8, 9. Early settlers whose names have passed away.

The inveigling of the New Zealand Company's settlers was not confined to the Auckland Government. "Crimping" was also indulged in by the masters of vessels from the neighbouring colonies to an alarming extent.

The action of the Government was strongly condemned in the press of Port Nicholson. Mr. F. Dillon Bell, secretary *pro tem.* of the New Zealand Company, also wrote a memorandum for the information of the directors, hotly denouncing this proceeding. Governor Hobson, in defence, denied that he had sent a vessel to entice any artificers or labourers away from Port Nicholson. He stated, however, that he did cause to be hired, for the erection of Government House at Auckland, certain mechanics and labourers for whom a free passage was provided in a ship that was casually passing between the ports. So far from this step being taken in a clandestine manner, he observed, he had advertised for workmen generally throughout the colony without reference to Port Nicholson more than any other settlement where there might be men wanting employment. Upon receipt of this despatch, Lord Stanley, Secretary of State, wrote disapproving of the course the Governor had pursued in the matter, but added: "I freely acknowledge that the necessity for procuring labourers for the public works at Auckland was urgent, and that the difficulties under which you were labouring on that subject were such as greatly to extenuate any error of judgment into which you may have fallen in the effort to encounter and subdue them."

Before the close of the year the numerical strength of the community was increased by the passengers who came in the ship *Chelydra*. Captain Smale, who owned as well as sailed this vessel, had paid a visit to New Zealand in 1837. With regard to his return in 1840, the following statement by the late Captain Williams, who occupied the position of landing-waiter for Her Majesty's Customs for twenty-five years, is of value because it indicates the materials of which the young community was composed. Captain Williams, who was a midshipman on board the *Chelydra*, states:—

"The *Chelydra*, which was under command of Captain Smale, left Bristol in the year 1839 and proceeded to Swan River, Western Australia, and Launceston, Tasmania. Thence the *Chelydra* proceeded to Sydney and took on board a number of passengers for New Zealand, calling first at the Bay of Islands, where H.M. war vessels *Favourite* and *Britomart*

were at anchor (it was after one of these ships that Point Britomart—only very recently cut down—was named).

"Amongst the *Chelydra*'s passengers were many whose names are closely associated with the early history of the colony, including the late Mr. James Coates, who was shortly afterwards clerk of the Executive Council of New Zealand, and Mrs. Bendle, who subsequently became Mrs. Coates. This was the second marriage in Auckland, and was made the occasion for great rejoicing. Mr. James Coates, the present manager of the National Bank, was the first boy born in Auckland, and he is justly proud of the distinction. The first marriage in Auckland was between Mr. W. Young and Miss Hargreaves, they also being passengers by the *Chelydra*, and the event was recognised as one of considerable importance.

"The *Chelydra* brought altogether about forty immigrants, some of whom settled at Russell, whilst others went on to Auckland. They were for the most part mechanics, there being, so far as I can remember, not a single farmer in the lot. They brought nothing in the vessel excepting a small quantity of blue-gum timber, mortised and all ready to set up for houses. Until this was got out and erected, however, the settlers had to be content with whares built of ti-tree, in the construction of which the Maoris lent valuable assistance. The settlers brought no furniture with them, and had for some time to content themselves with fern for bedding, and rough timber for many other articles. After a brief space of time small shanties were erected in the vicinity of Queen-street, the majority being on the side of the hill where Shortland-street is at the present time.

"At this time (1840) there were no wharves, and the harbour, as may easily be imagined, presented an appearance vastly different from that which it now possesses. Cargo from the *Chelydra* was landed in boats along the beach near where W. S. Graham's bonded store now stands in Fore-street. Queen-street from the corner of Shortland-street to Wyndham-street was a flax swamp, bounded on the west by a little fresh water creek which the tide backed up as far as Durham-street.

"The principal point in the harbour then was Point Britomart, afterwards known as Fort Britomart. It was here that the first troops, a company of the 80th Regiment, took up their quarters in 1841. Another landmark was Smale's Point, purchased by Captain Smale, which has also become a thing of the past.

"The barque Chelydra made several voyages between Auckland and Sydney in 1840 and 1841, and she also visited Wellington. Auckland, it should be well-known, was named after Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India. When the Chelydra returned to Auckland in 1841 buildings were going up rapidly, and the settlers were tilling the soil and otherwise occupying themselves after the usual style adopted by colonists. They were on good terms with the Maoris, and besides getting assistance from them in the erection of whares, etc., were supplied with vegetables and pork, in return for which the natives received blankets, calico, etc.

"The first Government House was put up on the site where the present one now stands. It was a long barn-looking place with a gable at each end, but it was an important place so far as architecture went in those days, and it was first occupied by Governor Hobson and suite.

"About this time two or three other ships arrived from Sydney, including the Minerva and Goshawk. On one of these vessels was Captain Porter, who settled on the beach near where W. S. Graham's bond is now. The late Captain Salmon was married to one of his daughters, and his son, R. F. Porter, who died a few years ago, was sub-treasurer of the Government."

In January, 1841, the Lieutenant-Governor, with the whole of the Government establishment, took up his permanent residence at Auckland, and every exertion was then made to prepare the town allotments for the sale advertised to take place in March. This was the great event for which the whole population were waiting with eager expectancy. Many had been attracted from the neighbouring colonies with the sole object of speculating in land, the sale having been advertised in New South Wales months before.

After one postponement, from the 8th March, the first sale of town allotments took place on the 19th of April, when, owing to the competition of the land jobbers and the limited number of allotments put up, extraordinary prices were realised. Only 119 allotments, containing 44 acres, were offered, and these sold for the gross sum of £24,275 17s. 9d., being at the average of £555 per acre nearly.

In a despatch to the Secretary of State, Governor Hobson points out that he had adopted the auction system in preference to throwing open the allotments for selection at

a fixed price, in order to give free competition. He remarks: "As a proof to your Lordship how fixed prices would have affected the financial concerns of this colony in the sale of Auckland, I enclose the copy of an application forwarded to me by Mr. —, which, had the fixed system been in operation, would have engrossed sixty town allotments for the benefit of himself and his friends, persons who can have no idea of settling in New Zealand, and if he had had the earliest selection, which from his activity in these matters he most probably would have had, he and those he represents would have realised from £20,000 to £25,000. Even as the case stands and high as the land sold, Mr. — and others have made considerable sums by the re-sale of choice allotments. The sale by lot is subject to less objection, because it offers no exclusive advantage to jobbers or to the officers of the Government, who might profit by the early knowledge of land to be sold, especially at the commencement of the system. I object, however, to this method of gambling, which encourages jobbing instead of colonising."

The following is a list of the purchasers, giving the extent purchased in Auckland, and the price given:—

Lot.	Extent. A. R. P.	Purchaser.	Price.	
			£	s. d.
4	0 0 35	Simmons Westend Co....	245	0 0
5	0 0 38	James Williamson ...	266	0 0
6	0 1 1	William McDonald ...	166	6 0
7	0 1 2	Edward Costley...	195	6 0
8	0 1 3	Frederick Whitaker ...	182	15 0
9	0 1 4	Moses Josephs ...	200	4 0
10	0 1 9	J. C. Crawford ...	196	0 0
11	0 1 16	James O. B. Croker ...	240	16 0
12	0 1 25	Robert Tod ...	321	15 0
14	0 1 19	Willoughby Shortland...	313	13 0
16	0 1 34	Henry Tucker ...	299	14 0
17	0 1 13	Want and Andrews ...	159	0 0
18	0 0 32	Want and Andrews ...	128	0 0
19	0 0 32	Want and Andrews ...	102	8 0
20	0 0 32	Want and Andrews ...	161	12 0
21	0 1 4	Mrs. Ann Tod ...	442	4 0
22	0 1 4	Moses Josephs ...	253	0 0
23	0 1 4	William Mason ...	202	8 0
24	0 2 10	Dudley Sinclair ...	450	0 0
25	0 2 3	Moses Josephs ...	365	4 0
26	0 1 34	Brown and Campbell ...	314	10 0
27	0 1 27	Henry Thompson ...	314	14 0
28	0 1 20	George Graham ...	270	0 0
29	0 1 20	Robert Field ...	123	0 0
30	0 1 14	James Watson ...	226	16 0
31	0 1 7	Willoughby Shortland	155	2 0
33	0 1 14	Patrick Donovan ...	172	16 0
34	0 1 9	Alexander Kennedy ...	213	3 0
35	0 1 19	N. Z. Banking Co. ...	285	0 0
36	0 1 19	George Cooper ...	253	14 0
38	0 1 20	Samuel A. Wood ...	318	0 0
39	0 1 32	I. Lord and J. Brown ...	201	12 0
40	0 1 9	I. Lord and J. Brown ...	144	11 0

Lot.	Extent.	Purchaser.	Price.	Lot.	Extent.	Purchaser.	Price.
	A. R. P.		£ s. d.		A. R. P.		£ s. d.
41	0 1 9	William Kendal and S. Marks ...	124 19 0	126	0 0 34	Dudley Sinclair...	49 6 0
42	0 1 12	Francis Hamilton ...	135 4 0	127	0 0 34	Dudley Sinclair...	142 16 0
43	0 1 16	Edward Costley...	137 4 0	128	0 1 0	Dudley Sinclair...	94 0 0
44	0 1 26	Charles O'Neile ...	132 0 0	129	0 1 0	Dudley Sinclair...	86 0 0
45	0 1 36	J. C. Crawford ...	178 12 0	131	0 1 10	Dudley Sinclair...	95 0 0
48	0 2 5	I. Lord and J. Brown ...	255 0 0	132	0 1 7	Dudley Sinclair...	138 13 0
49	0 1 29	Felton Mathew ...	127 13 0	133	0 1 7	I. Lord and J. Brown ...	133 19 0
50	0 1 32	Alexander Hepburn ...	147 12 0	134	0 1 7	I. Lord and J. Brown ...	117 10 0
51	0 1 5	John Cunningham ...	168 15 0	135	0 1 7	William Brown ...	108 2 0
52	0 1 4	Gilbert F. Dawson ...	267 12 0	136	0 1 7	Thomas Greenier ...	98 14 0
53	0 1 4	James Coates ...	228 16 0	137	0 1 7	J. A. Brown ...	129 5 0
54	0 1 6	Peter Williams ...	184 0 0	138	0 1 7	Robert White ...	129 5 0
55	0 1 5	I. Lord and J. Brown ...	213 15 0	139	0 1 7	S. Mills and R. Condon ...	94 0 0
56	0 1 5	Henry Thompson ...	227 5 0	140	0 1 7	J. Brown...	96 7 0
57	0 1 5	Felton Mathew ...	227 5 0	141	0 1 7	Dudley Sinclair...	155 2 0
58	0 1 5	Felton Mathew ...	227 5 0	142	0 1 3	Gilbert F. Dawson ...	67 12 0
59	0 1 5	I. Lord and J. Brown ...	225 0 0	143	0 1 3	George M. Mitford ...	129 0 0
60	0 1 5	I. Lord and J. Brown ...	229 10 0				
61	0 1 5	J. C. Crawford ...	236 5 0			Total ...	£21,299 9 0
62	0 1 8	Heale, Sinclair & Co. ...	254 8 0				
64	0 1 7	George Cooper ...	143 7 0				
65	0 1 7	William Greenwood ...	145 14 0				
66	0 1 11	I. Lord and J. Brown ...	191 5 0				
67	0 1 25	James Harris and Wm. Gordon ...	143 0 0				
68	0 1 30	George Benson ...	140 0 0				
69	0 1 29	William Mason...	148 7 0				
74	0 1 19	James Coates ...	179 19 0				
75	0 2 11	John Johnson ...	150 3 0				
76	0 1 36	James Rule ...	144 8 0				
77	0 1 31	George Benson ...	142 0 0				
80	0 2 7	Willoughby Shortland...	265 7 0				
83	0 1 25	George Cooper ...	133 5 0				
84	0 1 31	Dudley Sinclair ...	198 16 0				
86	0 1 31	Francis Fisher ...	181 1 0				
87	0 1 9	Robert Wigmore ...	100 9 0				
88	0 1 32	I. Lord and J. Brown ...	151 4 0				
89	0 1 32	I. Lord and J. Brown ...	270 0 0				
90	0 1 6	J. Logan Campbell ...	181 14 0				
91	0 1 6	George M. Mitford ...	138 0 0				
97	0 1 38	Felton Mathew ...	253 10 0				
98	0 1 38	Willoughby Shortland...	319 16 0				
100	0 1 10	William Goodfellow ...	252 10 0				
102	0 1 4	William Buckland and T. Henderson ...	147 8 0				
103	0 1 10	William Turner...	200 0 0				
104	0 1 8	John Swainson ...	132 0 0				
105	0 1 8	William Helyer...	100 16 0				
106	0 1 8	Patrick Sharkey ...	96 0 0				
107	0 1 8	William Standinger ...	96 0 0				
108	0 1 8	Thomas Wright ...	136 16 0				
109	0 1 1	J. Brown...	106 12 0				
110	0 1 1	John Johnson ...	118 18 0				
111	0 1 6	E. McLennan ...	241 10 0				
112	0 1 17	C. T. Stone ...	173 17 0				
113	0 1 16	Haggard and Pollen ...	210 0 0				
114	0 1 14	David Guillan ...	186 6 0				
115	0 1 12	David Guillan ...	150 16 0				
116	0 1 8	Robert Tod ...	290 8 0				
117	0 1 5	Thomas Russell ...	182 5 0				
118	0 1 5	I. Lord and J. Brown ...	180 0 0				
119	0 1 4	Dudley Sinclair...	210 0 0				
120	0 1 3	J. A. Brown ...	172 0 0				
121	0 1 3	Heale, Sinclair & Co. ...	215 0 0				
122	0 1 3	Frederick Whitaker ...	129 0 0				
123	0 1 3	Alexander Dingwall ...	90 6 0				
124	0 1 3	John Nolan ...	73 2 0				
125	0 1 13	Alexander Ross ...	95 8 0				

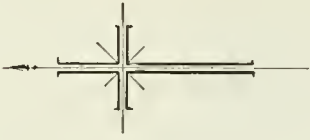
The town allotments mostly exceeded a quarter of an acre in area, many were three-eighths, and ten above half an acre; the upset price was 12s 6d per perch. The plan provided for access to the rear of each allotment by means of a lane. The frontages averaged 66 feet, with a great depth to these back lanes, but many of the first purchasers promptly sub-divided their sections and made a double frontage, the result being the creation of a number of narrow streets running into the main thoroughfares of the city.

A charter for "Erecting the Colony of New Zealand, and for erecting and establishing a Legislative and an Executive Council, and for granting certain powers and authority to the Governor for the time being of the said Colony," was signed by the Queen on the 16th of November, 1840. This charter or letters patent defined the colony of New Zealand to consist of the group of islands lying between 34° 30' and 47° 10' south latitude, and 166° 5' and 179° east longitude; and declared that the three principal islands heretofore known as the Northern, Middle and Stewart's Island, should henceforth be designated and known respectively as New Ulster, New Munster, and New Leinster.

The Legislative Council was to consist of not less than six persons, nominated by the Crown, and holding office during its pleasure, with power to make laws and ordinances for the colony, conformable to instructions from the Queen in Council; the Executive Council to be composed of three of the principal members of the Government, to assist and advise the Governor, who was to be nominated by the Crown. The first meeting of the Council was held at Auckland in May, 1841.

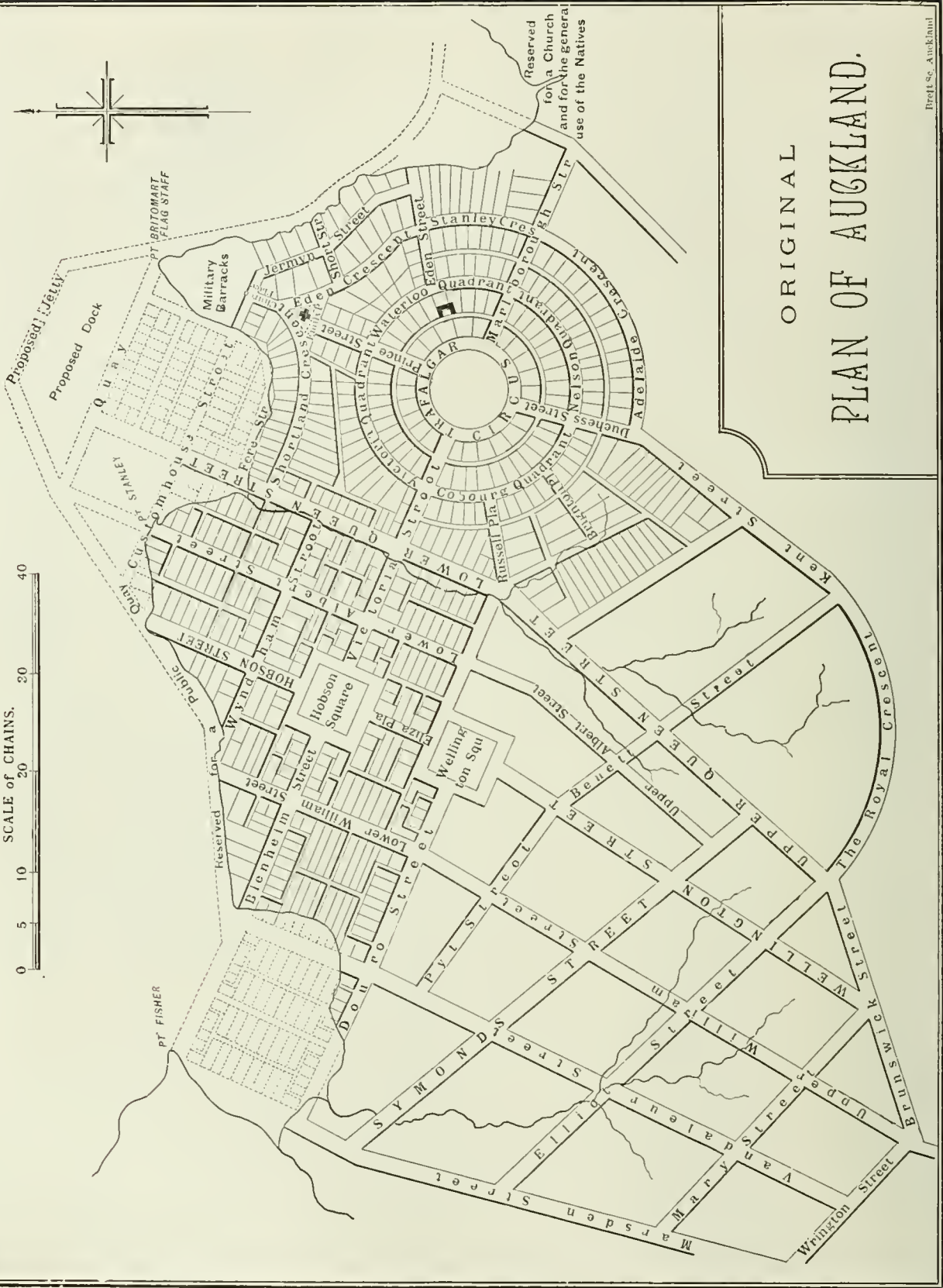
Captain Hobson was appointed Governor

SCALE OF CHAINS. 0 5 10 20 30 40



ORIGINAL PLAN OF AUCKLAND.

Printed at Auckland



and Commander-in-Chief of the new colony, and instructions were issued under the Royal sign manual, dated the 5th of December, 1840, prescribing his powers and duties, and those of the Legislative Council.

A civil list was drawn up, fixing the salary of the Governor at £1,200; that of the Chief Justice at £1,000; Colonial Secretary, £600; Surveyor-General, £600; Collector of Customs, £500; Attorney-General, £400; Protector of Aborigines, £400; total, £5,300. The salaries of the Colonial Secretary, the Colonial Treasurer, and the Surveyor-General were to be increased £10 per annum till they respectively reached £800; and that of the Attorney-General was to be increased £10 per annum till it reached £500. The expenses of the above establishment were estimated at £6,000; public buildings and works, £5,000; contingencies at £3,000; total, £19,300. To meet these charges it was expected that £10,000 would be raised from duties levied in New Zealand from 4,000 Europeans; £5,000 to be raised within the colony from land sales; and £5,000 to be voted by Parliament. The two chief sources of revenue expected were duties on imports, namely, spirits, tobacco, tea, coffee, and sugar, and assessments on uncultivated lands in the hands of private individuals.

In the early part of 1841, intelligence from England hinted at the separation of the colony, but it was not until the month of April that the Lieutenant-Governor received despatches direct from the Home Government announcing that Her Majesty had been pleased to create New Zealand a colony separate and independent of New South Wales. On the 3rd of May, 1841, the inhabitants of Auckland and its vicinity were assembled with the troops and all the public functionaries, when Her Majesty's proclamation was publicly read, establishing the islands of New Zealand a distinct and independent colony of Great Britain.

At this time was read Her Majesty's Commission appointing Captain W. Hobson, R.N., to be Governor of the Colony of New Zealand, when he took the oaths in public, before the magistrates and Government officers present. The proclamation announced the form of local government by Executive and Legislative Councils, in conjunction with His Excellency the Governor, and the following public officers were immediately appointed and sworn in by His Excellency:—

Executive.—His Excellency the Governor;

Colonial Secretary, Willoughby Shortland, Esq.; Attorney-General, Francis Fisher, Esq.; Colonial Treasurer and Collector of Customs, George Cooper, Esq.

Legislative.—His Excellency the Governor, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Colonial Treasurer, three senior Justices of the Peace.

Commissioner of Land Claims.—Edward Lee Godfrey, Esq.; Matthew Richmond, Esq.

Surveyor-General.—Felton Mathew, Esq.

Sheriff and Clerk of Council.—James Coates, Esq.

Protector of Aborigines.—George Clark, Esq.

Colonial Storekeeper.—Henry Tucker, Esq.

Superintendent of Works.—William Mason, Esq.

Colonial Surgeon.—John Johnson, Esq., M.D.

Harbour Master.—David Rough, Esq.

Postmaster-General.—Thomas Paton, Esq.

Registrar of Supreme Court.—R. A. Fitzgerald, Esq.

Coroners.—Auckland: J. Johnson, Esq., M.D. Bay of Islands: W. Davies, Esq., M.D. Port Nicholson: J. Fitzgerald, Esq., M.D.

The first session of the Legislative Council of New Zealand was opened 24th May, 1841. E. S. Haswell, Esq., one of the three senior Justices, received the oaths. James Coates, Esq., was appointed Clerk of the Council, and took the oaths of office.

The settlement had now been in existence nine months, and still there was no country land available for cultivation. Complaints on this score were clamorous. The bill of fare at this period in Auckland had neither the merit of diversity nor cheapness. The changes were rung upon pork and potatoes and potatoes and pork, with a variation of damper and tea without milk. Later on at intervals beef came from the Bay of Islands and a few sheep from Sydney, but these were of poor quality, and as there was no grass to sustain cattle or sheep they could not be fattened on the spot. In July 1841, the ruling rates were: Beef, 1s. 4d. per lb.; mutton, 1s. per lb.; pork, 7d. per lb.; flour, 5d. per lb.; bread, 7lb. per lb.; cheese (English), 2s per lb.; butter (Irish), 2s. per lb.; tea, 10s. per lb.; coffee, 2s. 6d. per lb.; sugar (brown), 6d.; refined, 1s. per lb.; rice, 4d. per lb.; potatoes, 8s. per cwt. House rent was extravagantly high. Two small rooms and a kitchen £60 to £80 per annum; lodgings, unfurnished, one small room, £1 a week; board and lodging, bed in a room with others, £2 a week. Mechanics were in good demand for the erection of

Government buildings. Carpenters, 16s. to 20s. a day; brickmakers, 10s. a day; labourers, 8s.; man servants, £4 a month and board; maid servants, £36 per annum and board; boys, 10s. per week and board.

In July 1841, the community had not emerged from its primitive condition. Captain Daldy, who arrived at Auckland on July 1st of that year, in command of his schooner the *Shamrock*, narrates that there were then only three wooden cottages in the town, the majority of the inhabitants being housed in tents or in whares, built by the Maoris. A very good dwelling of the latter kind, divided into four rooms, would be put up by the natives for £10. The institutions of Government were just getting organized. The Custom-house having opened its doors on the 1st of July, Captain Daldy's vessel was the first to enter.

On the 10th of July, 1841, the first copy of the *New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette* was published. The paper announced that it would be issued every Saturday.

The New Zealand Bank was soon afterwards established in the new capital under the management of Mr. Alexander Kennedy. It had branches at the Bay of Islands and Port Nicholson.

The foundation of St. Paul's Church, on the hill at the top of Shortland Crescent, and conveniently situated for the residents of Commercial, Official, and Mechanics' Bays, was laid on the 28th of July, 1841. The preliminary steps for the creation of a building fund had been taken at a meeting held at Government House in April, when His Excellency the Governor, who presided, promised a grant from the public treasury equal to the amount of the private subscription, but not to exceed £1,500. The sum of £500 was subscribed at the meeting. The building was a rather pretentious one for such a community to undertake. It was built from designs by Mr. William Mason, the style chosen being Old English, and the materials red brick. It provided accommodation for six hundred people. The subscriptions and Government grant fell short of the total cost by about £2,500, but the trustees—Messrs. Willoughby Shortland, George Cooper, Matthew Richmond, Francis Fisher, and Felton Mathew, accepted contracts for the complete structure, relying upon additional subscriptions during the progress of the work and after its completion. The ceremony of laying the foundation-stone was attended by nearly the whole population and by a large number of natives, who were ad-

ressed by Mr. George Clarke, the Protector of Aborigines. The Rev. J. F. Churton, who had at first gone to Port Nicholson in connection with the New Zealand Company's colonizing scheme, was appointed Colonial Chaplain, with a salary from the Government, and while the church was in course of erection he conducted service in the court-house.

Bishop Pompallier visited Auckland about the end of July, 1841, in his schooner, the *Sancta Maria*. He obtained from the Governor grants of land for a church site and a cemetery. In his memoirs the bishop states: "There were about three or four hundred Catholics, nearly all composed of Irish people. I gathered them together in a house in town, and I gave them holy mass twice during my stay. In their assemblies, over which I presided, these faithful people showed great attachment to the legitimate minister, and great zeal in co-operating for the establishment of a Catholic mission in Auckland. They made a subscription for the construction of a temporary wooden church and residence for the priest."

Later in the year, about the latter end of September, the Rev. James Buller, Wesleyan missionary, stationed on the Wairoa River, Kaipara, arrived in Auckland, and secured from the Governor an acre of land for church purposes. He preached his first sermon to the European population in a saw-pit at Mechanics' Bay, and in the evening addressed a congregation gathered in an auction-room. Funds, however, were soon collected for the erection of a small wooden church, which was opened by Mr. Buller in conjunction with the Rev. John Warren.

At length, after various postponements, the first sale of suburban and country lands took place on the first of September. The boundary of the town on the east side was the stream flowing into Mechanics' Bay. Beyond this were surveyed twenty suburban allotments; ten cultivation allotments of three acres intended as market gardens were situated on low swampy ground near the present Kyber Pass Road, and fifty-four small farms were situated about two and a half miles from Auckland along the main road to the Manukau harbour. The result of the sale was as follows:—

TWENTY-FOUR SUBURBAN SECTIONS.

Lot.	Sec.	Extent.			Purchaser.	Price.		
		A.	R.	P.		£	s.	d.
1	62	3	3	28	George Cooper	...	408	0 0
2	63	3	0	3	Robert Tod	...	248	10 4
3	64	3	2	0	George Cooper	...	325	10 0
4	67	3	2	7	James Beveridge	...	255	3 0
5	68	3	1	31	George Lawrence	...	209	17 4

Lot.	Sec.	Extent.	Purchaser.	Price.
		A. R. P.		£ s. d.
6	69	3 3 36	James Beveridge ...	95 8 0
7	70	3 2 9	James Beveridge ...	74 13 7
8	71	3 2 37	James Stone and J.A. Langford...	152 0 10
9	72	3 1 17	Abel Dottin Best ...	70 9 9
10	73	3 0 0	Wm. Field Porter ...	81 0 0
11	74	3 7 8	James Stone ...	68 8 0
12	75	3 1 7	Wm. Field Porter ...	69 3 4
13	76	3 1 17	John Kelly ...	177 17 7
15	82	2 3 18	Jas. Magee and John Mullooney ...	68 14 0
18	85	3 3 28	P. Donovan, E. Murray and John Oakes ...	82 7 6
19	86	2 0 3	George Cooper ...	57 1 0
21	90	5 2 21	Alex. M'Kay ...	123 16 9

Lots 14, 16, 17, 20, 22, 23, 24, and 25 were not sold.

TEN CULTIVATION ALLOTMENTS.

26	31	3 0 0	William Field Porter	42 0 0
27	32	3 0 0	William Gamble ...	40 10 0
28	33	3 0 0	Francis Hamilton ...	39 0 0
29	34	3 0 0	William Gamble, jun. ...	33 0 0
30	35	3 0 0	Edward Constable ...	37 10 0
31	36	3 0 0	Patrick Dignan ...	31 10 0
32	37	3 0 0	No offer.	
33	38	3 0 0	No offer.	
34	39	3 0 0	Robert Tod ...	31 10 0
35	40	3 1 24	Robert Tod ...	71 8 0
36	42	—	Not put up.	

SMALL FARMS.

37	19	9 1 4	Henry Prior ...	30 2 10
38	20	9 3 2	William Field Porter	29 15 6
39	21	10 0 36	William Field Porter	32 4 2
40	22	9 2 21	John Scott ...	58 5 4
41	23	9 3 37	John Scott ...	65 7 6
42	24	10 1 12	Robert Tod ...	83 2 4
43	25	7 1 26	David Smale ...	70 15 9
44	26	7 3 13	Daniel Pollen ...	41 10 1
45	27	8 1 5	Alexander Kennedy ...	25 2 8
46	28	8 2 20	Samuel Allen Wood ...	43 2 6
47	29	8 3 50	George Graham ...	31 1 3
48	30	9 1 0	John McIntosh ...	30 19 9
49	31	9 2 20	John Moore ...	29 7 1
50	32	9 3 20	James Beveridge ...	32 11 9
51	33	11 0 0	Robert Tod ...	92 19 0
52	34	11 0 0	Robert Tod ...	44 0 0
53	35	11 0 0	John Moore ...	33 11 0
54	36	11 0 0	John P. Du Moulin ...	30 16 0
55	37	11 0 0	C. H. McIntosh ...	27 10 0
56	38	11 0 0	John Wewell ...	26 8 0
57	39	5 1 15	William Greenwood ...	43 5 8
58	40	4 2 12	Deposit forfeited by H. Whitfield...	2 1 2
59	41	11 2 8	No offer.	
60	42	11 2 8	No offer.	
61	43	6 0 2	John Cunningham ...	18 6 9
62	44	7 2 1	George Lawrence ...	21 7 9
63	45	23 0 16	No offer.	
64	46	9 0 11	James Beveridge ...	28 2 3
65	47	10 2 36	Edward Constable ...	32 3 6
66	48	23 0 16	P. Donovan, E. Murray, and John Oakes ...	47 7 10
67	49	12 1 28	James Coates and W. C. Symonds ...	27 6 8
68	50	8 3 8	James Watson ...	31 13 7
69	51	22 0 0	George Lawrence ...	61 12 0
70	52	22 10 6	William Lister and Dermott H. Heather	47 7 1
71	53	20 3 24	Francis Fisher ...	44 11 8

Lot.	Sec.	Extent.	Purchaser.	Price.
		A. R. P.		£ s. d.
72	54	20 3 24	Francis Fisher ...	42 16 11
73	55	20 3 24	Francis Fisher ...	42 16 11
74	56	20 3 24	George Cooper ...	42 16 11
75	57	20 8 24	George Cooper ...	42 16 11
76	58	20 3 24	George Cooper ...	42 16 11
77	59	20 3 24	R. Tod ...	83 12 0

Lots 78 to 89 inclusive were put up at an upset price of £50 each. No offer.

Total ... £4,501 14 10

RECAPITULATION.

Total amount of sales, April ... £21,299 9 0
Total amount to Government officers ... 2,976 8 9

Total amount of sales, September ... 24,275 17 9
4,501 14 10

Total ... £28,777 12 7

Many of the suburban sections were quickly cut up and sold in small allotments. Mr. Robert Tod led off by announcing the sale of choice villa sites at "Parnell," a name which Auckland's western suburb still retains. Another suburban allotment, subdivided, formed Windsor Terrace. Terry observes: "The towns of 'Anna,' 'Epsom,' etc., with reserves for churches, market places, hippodromes, with crescents, terraces, and streets named after heroes and statesmen, were then advertised, with all the technical jargon with which colonial advertisements are characterised. The town of 'Anna' comprised about forty-two acres, and had reserves for two churches—'S. Anna' and 'S. Paul's,' a hippodrome in the centre of the town, reservoirs, market place, and a multitude of terraces, streets, and places at right-angles, the whole divided into about two hundred allotments."

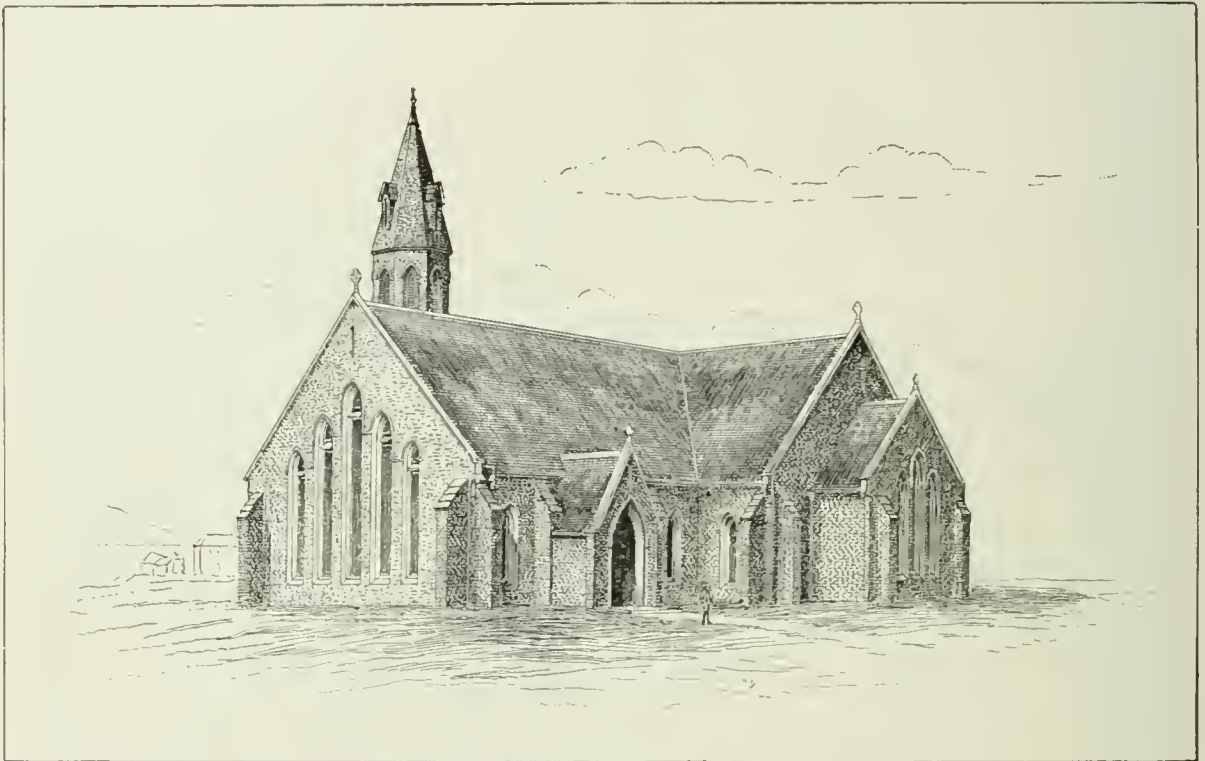
This, it should be remembered, occurred about half-a-century ago. Many artistic land-jobbing schemes have been set on foot in New Zealand since that day, but it is curious to observe what a general similarity the modern artifices of land speculators bear to those which were found effectual among the handful of settlers housed in tents and whares on the southern shore of the Waitemata, with the whole isthmus of Auckland still unoccupied. The first purchasers of city property began to mark off narrow lanes, and to subdivide original sections in small lots, and even as far afield as Parnell, one section which the Government considered small enough for a suburban lot, was divided into thirty-six allotments, for which ready purchasers were found. The Survey Department committed a serious error in not providing lots suitable for small purchasers, and also in

failing to secure the enactment of regulations which would prevent the laying off of streets of less than a certain width. The narrow thoroughfares running from Shortland-street and Queen-street, and the lanes of Parnell to-day have resulted from this lack of foresight.

The following picture of Auckland at the close of 1841 is from the pen of Dr. Martin, who was at that date a resident in the infant capital:—

“The town of Auckland, although so very recently established, contains a large population, from 1,500 to 2,000 persons, and every

“The houses of Auckland are as yet all built of wood, and congregated in one spot in the centre of the town, on a small bay, which contains nearly all the allotments sold at the sale. The evil effects of the limited quantity offered for sale, and the high prices realised, are already manifest in the appearance of the town, which is full of ugly and narrow lanes, on each side of which are built small wretched wooden houses, so close to one another that if one took fire nothing could save the whole town from being burnt down, as it must be sooner or later. These lanes have been made



St. Paul's Church, Auckland, erected in 1841-2.

species of speculation seems to be going on with much the same recklessness as in South Australia and Port Phillip at their first formation. In point of extravagance in living and drinking, the Aucklandites are also much on a par with their neighbours. Indeed, it is in the nature of wild and gambling speculations to encourage extravagance, for money that is easily made is seldom valued. The Governor and the Government officers, instead of checking this propensity, are in reality the parties who encourage and foster it.

by parties subdividing and re-selling their allotments, which many have done to great advantage.

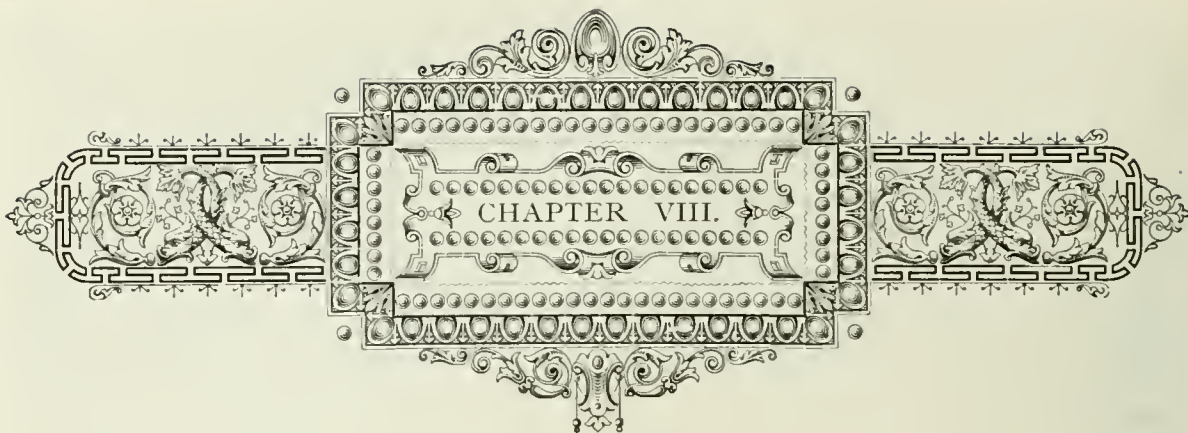
“By a strange and unaccountable blunder in laying out the town there is not a single square house in the whole settlement. I do not believe there is a rectangle from the one end of it to the other. By a still stranger perversity, every street is made either to slant or curve in such a manner that there is not a single allotment laid out at right angles with its street, nor a single street at right angles

with a street, nor, as a consequence, a single house built upon a square. It is supposed that Mr. Felton Mathew, the *distinguished* surveyor, who is a native of Bath, took the plan of that town, and, after improving it to his own taste, then applied it to Auckland, where (however well it might suit the fine brick and stone buildings of Bath), it does not seem at all to answer. The town of Auckland is at present situated in two small valleys, or bays, the one called Commercial, where the public have purchased allotments; the other, the finest of the two, is called Official, because the Government officers made their selections there. The two bays are divided by a low range, or rising ground. On the top of that range the surveyor planted a pole, and from that pole, as a centre, he described a number of circles, to which he gave the names of quadrants, circuses, and crescents, which he still further distinguished by calling each of them after some particular friend or favourite. With the exception of the spot on the top of the ridge, there was not an inch of level ground occupied by those circles, or cobwebs, as they were properly termed. Every circle went down the one side of the steep hill, up the other, and down and up again on the opposite side; but still, as the Jew does Jerusalem, faithfully facing the pole, which they could not see. Wherever a street could have commanded a fine view of the harbour it was purposely made a curve and called a crescent, though no regard was paid to the situation of the ground. These crescents, in order to be in character with the town, which is different from any other in the world, whether ancient or modern, were made with a row of houses on each side. The worthy Surveyor-General had such a horrid dislike to nature that he determined in every possible manner to oppose it. Instead of paying some slight attention to the lay of the land, and availing himself of the level of ranges and hollows for the formation of straight lines, he

invariably cut them up with curves and circles. If the side of a hill indicated its adaptation for a crescent, where the houses and inhabitants might overlook the valley below or the sea in front, its sides were either lacerated for the purpose of making a straight line, or if a crescent were made, its track was to the sea or valley, and its face to the hill. A very large portion of the town has been laid out on a mud flat in front of the beach, which is all under the sea at high water, and fortunately will not retain the eccentric figures of the surveyor. Why the town should be laid out on these mud flats, while there is abundance of dry land in the vicinity, is more than any person but Mr. Felton Mathew can tell. Where he intends to get money to fill in the sea-covered part of the town, I know not. Perhaps, like Canute of old, he had the vanity to think that it would not presume to touch any spot where he had drawn his lines or fixed his pegs. Mr. Mathew, like King Canute, is capable of entertaining strange ideas."

Fortunately for the drainage of Auckland, the spider-web plan which called forth Dr. Martin's criticisms, quoted above, was very materially altered later on. The Auckland of to-day, in its street formation and nomenclature, is a very different place from that shown upon the original plan. Nevertheless, the allotments marked off on the mud flats which Dr. Martin ridiculed, became realities at a comparatively early period in the history of the city, and the first Surveyor-General's anticipation that the shallow bays along the southern shore would all have to be reclaimed, showed much greater foresight than his many critics in the early days gave him credit for. The resemblance between the extensive reclamations on the foreshore since executed by the harbour authorities and those marked upon this old plan is very striking, and no doubt the provision then made to preserve valuable riparian rights for the public has saved the city a large sum of money.





EVENTS AT PORT NICHOLSON.

Change of name from Britannia to Wellington—Expedition to Taranaki—The second club in New Zealand—St. Andrew's Day celebration—Formation of a public library—Allotment of land grants at Wanganui—First shipment of wool—Indignation meeting at Port Nicholson—Petition for Governor Hobson's recall—The counter petition—Governor Hobson's despatch on the subject—His despatch on the state of the colony—Meeting at Wellington to arrange for Governor Hobson's reception—Governor Hobson's account of his reception—The Secretary of State's reply—Description of Wellington in 1841 and 1842—Value of houses and land—Profits from crops—Names of settlers engaged in clearing their land in November, 1841.



ON Saturday, November 28, 1840, the word "Britannia" in the title of the *New Zealand Gazette and Britannia Spectator* was changed to "Wellington," and that journal thus alluded in its columns to its change of name:—"We appear for the second time within a few months under a modified

title, but we trust our friends will not consider it typical of our character. When we first issued our journal, the name and the site of the town was surveyed and its name declared, and we adopted the one and removed to the other at our earliest convenience.

"The directors of the New Zealand Company always contemplated calling the town of their principal settlement after the illustrious warrior of modern times. This intention was entertained in gratitude for his having given life to the great principle of colonization, which they are extending to the best of their abilities, by advocating the enactment of the South Australian Bill. Had a proper spirit animated those in power, Adelaide would have enjoyed a name which must live through all ages, but they sought profit by pleasing

the King rather than honour by paying an honest debt. The directors of the New Zealand Company have made this settlement familiar to thousands throughout Great Britain by associating it with the name of the 'Great Captain of the Age.' Were we inclined, it would now be a difficult task to replace that name in the British mind by any other, and were the attempt made, confusion would be the consequence. Finally, the author of the great principle of modern colonization, to test the truth of which South Australia was erected into a British colony, to whom no little merit is due, would be pleased to find that we had named the town after the able advocate who stamped vitality upon his theory. Consequently, veneration, convenience, and gratitude call at the same time upon us at once to appropriate Wellington as the name of the town and special title of our journal, and we say henceforward be it so."

The Port Nicholson natives were so full of the praises of the Taranaki country that the settlers were daily becoming more dissatisfied because they could not, from the hilly nature of Port Nicholson, obtain land to commence cultivation. Many of the settlers set out in various directions to search for themselves. Colonel Wakefield was not prepared to locate

the settlers who were continually arriving, and to appease the growing discontent of the people he despatched a party up the west coast of the North Island to Taranaki. The surveying party set out on their journey on the 27th of August, 1840.

"An opinion seemed to be prevalent," says Mr. E. J. Wakefield, "at this time that the whole country was as mountainous as the district in the immediate neighbourhood of Port Nicholson. Colonel Wakefield therefore determined to despatch a party of surveyors by land to Taranaki, in order that their official report of the quantity and quality of land observed by them between the two places might dissipate this unfounded conjecture. The party was to consist of Mr. Robert Park and Mr. Robert Stokes, two of the Company's assistant surveyors, and Mr. Charles Heaphy, the draughtsman. Mr. William Deans, an enterprising young Scotch settler, who had already been employed in superintending a party of labourers while cutting surveyors' lines through the valley of the Hutt, volunteered to accompany the expedition; and I also offered my services as far as Wanganui, whither I was desirous of returning. Six labourers were selected from the surveying staff to carry the requisite supply of instruments, blankets, and provisions, and I engaged a native lad to carry my kawenga, or load, as far as Waikanae."

The first club in New Zealand (after the *Pickwick Club*) was the Wakefield Club, instituted 1840. The rules, regulations and members' names were printed by Samuel Revans, Wellington, October 1, 1840. Entrance fee, £25; annual subscription, £5. Trustees: Messrs. W. V. Brewer, Henry St. Hill (J.P.), William Guyton. Treasurer: Mr. George Hunter, sen., J.P. Hon. Secretary: Major Baker. Committee: Colonel Wakefield, J.P.; Captain Daniell, Messrs. James Watt, Michael Murphy, P.M.; J. C. Crawford, J. Dorset, F. A. Molesworth, George Hunter, sen., J.P.; and Major Baker. Members: Messrs C. E. Alzdorf, W. V. Brewer, John Donet, E. Halswell, J.P.; A. Hunt, jun.; T. M. Partridge, Dudley Sinclair, E. J. Wakefield, J.P.; and J. T. Wickstead.

A dinner, in honour of St. Andrew's day, took place in Barrett's Hotel, Wellington, on the 30th of November. George Hunter, Esq., occupied the chair. The attendance was very large. The chairman, in proposing "Her Majesty's ministers—reformation to them, and a speedy enlightenment of their views with regard to New Zealand," said the settlers

there had come out with an ancient predilection for the Whigs, but they had deserted them like foundlings. A large majority of the colonists, those who (to use Lord John Russell's words, had gone "a wild goose chase after land") felt confident that Government would be greatly benefited by an addition to their optical sense.

In submitting the toast of "His Excellency Captain Hobson," the chairman wished His Excellency would come among them—that he would show more interest about the settlement. He believed him to be a highly honourable man; indeed he had every assurance from quarters which could be relied on, that the character of His Excellency had not been mis-stated when he described him as a gentleman pre-eminent for rectitude and sound-heartedness. But there was one point he would like to be satisfied about, and that was whether it was right that labour which had been imported into the colony at the expense of the Company, should be taken away by the Government.

While the settlers at the opposite end of the bay (Wellington) were doing honour to Scotland's patron saint, those who had not finally removed from Petone met at an early hour of the day at Mr. Lyon's farm, a short distance on the Wellington side of Petone (which was named "Glenlyon," from the resemblance to a place of the same name in "the land of cakes"). The proceedings of the day commenced by the planting of, for the first time in New Zealand, the emblem of Scottish independence, "the rough burr thistle," amidst three hearty cheers from the company.

On December 1st, 1840, a meeting was held at Barrett's Hotel to consider the advisability of opening a public library and reading room. A committee was then appointed to report on the matter. Mr. John Smith, manager of the Union Bank of Australia, chairman of the committee, reported upon the want of an exchange or reading-room as a general rendezvous for the transaction of business and perusal of papers and periodicals, also a library. A committee of management was formed, who appointed Dr. Knox librarian at a salary of £75 per annum. The offer made by Mr. Richard Barrett to sell his house near his hotel for £30 was accepted. Captain Smith, Mr. James Smith, and Captain Rhodes were appointed a managing committee to prepare the house bought of Mr. Barrett for the exchange room and public library.

A meeting of those interested in the second series of land orders issued by the New

HARBOUR OF PORT NIELLOLSON AND THE TOWN OF WELLINGTON

(SKETCHED IN 1842).



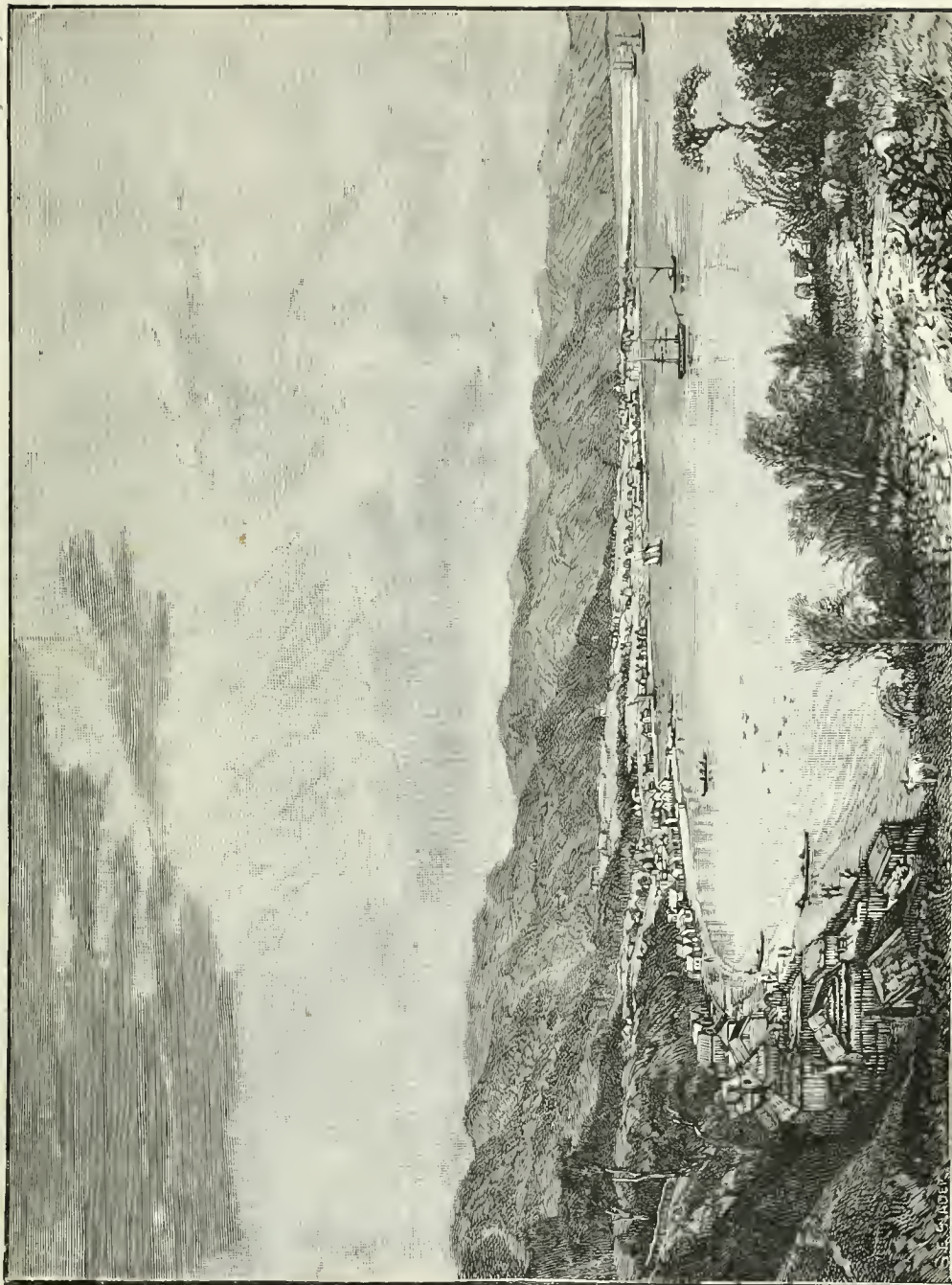
HARBOUR OF PORT NICHOLSON AND THE TOWN OF WELLINGTON

(SKETCHED IN 1842).

Tinakore Range

Kai Wera Wara

Nga Hauanga



Wellington
Terrace

Willis & Co's
Store

Kumu Tuto
Point and Pa
field's House

Dr. Evans's House

Barrett's
Hotel

Medical Hall
Company's
Immigrants'
Barracks

Commercial
Wharf
Government
Flagstaff

THORNDON.

Zealand Land Company was called for the 22nd December at Barrett's Hotel. The New Zealand Company's first series of land orders were supposed to be confined to the first and principal settlement founded by the Company. The second series of land orders were exercised in the Wanganui district.

A curious notice was issued by Mr. Murphy, the police magistrate, about this time, prohibiting the cutting of wood by sawyers without the permission of the owners of the land. This partial recognition of the title of the settlers, so necessary to prevent the great devastation which was now progressing in all the timbered lands within a few miles of the town, had been steadily refused during the reign of the Colonial Secretary (Lieutenant Shortland), who used to tell the applicants that they were all squatters, that they had no more right to the timber than the sawyers until the Crown had granted a title to the land, and that he expected shortly to receive orders to eject them from the Crown land. During the building of the town so great had been the demand for sawn timber, and so high the price paid in consequence, that some of the sawyers, paying nothing for their logs, used to earn enough in two days to remain idle and drunk the other five.

Some wool having been forwarded to England during this year, a Liverpool wool-stapler thus reported on it as follows: "A new feature in our market was the appearance of a few bales from New Zealand, which proved to be of excellent description, and well got up. It realised 1s. 9d. to 2s. per lb. If we may be allowed to judge from this small sample, it speaks very favourably of the soil and climate for the improvement of sheep's wool."

Considerable indignation was felt by the Port Nicholson settlers at the continued attempts to induce the New Zealand Company's artisans and labourers to migrate to Auckland. The following advertisement was inserted in the *Gazette* of February 13th, 1841, calling a public meeting to discuss the question:—

We, the undersigned, landholders and residents of Port Nicholson, viewing with surprise and disgust the nefarious attempt which is now being made by Captain Hobson to deprive us of our artificers and labourers, men brought out at our own expense, for the benefit of the settlement of Port Nicholson, and feeling persuaded that Her Majesty's Government at home will neither countenance such manifest injustice to ourselves, nor sanction conduct so ungentlemanlike on the part of its officials, and being also fully convinced that any representations from us as a body will receive from Her Most Gracious Majesty every possible consideration, do hereby call a meeting of our fellow colonists, to be holden at Barrett's

Hotel, on Monday, the 15th February, for the purpose of adopting a petition, praying for the removal of Captain Hobson from the Deputy-Government of New Zealand.

Wm. V. Brewer	G. Wade
James C. Crawford	J. Douglas
F. A. Molesworth	J. M. Stokes, M.D.
E. Daniell	H. Churton
A. Hart, jun.	J. Minett
James Watt	Sam. King
Samuel Revans	Wm. Burgess
Thos. Waters	A. Brandon
J. T. Wickstead	A. Hornbrook
John Dorset	Henry S. Harrison
T. M. Partridge	Alfred Ludlam
G. B. Earp	H. Moreing, J.P.
James Smith	John Hogarth
Robert Waitt	Robert Park
Charles Grace	Daniel Riddiford
William Guyton	E. M. Chaffers
P. Ridgway	J. H. Wallace
John Wade	Henry Taylor

On the 15th February, the indignation meeting was held at Barrett's Hotel. Mr. G. B. Earp, of the firm of Ridgway, Guyton, and Earp, was voted to the chair. Captain Edward Daniell proposed the following resolutions:—"That Lieutenant-Governor Hobson has systematically neglected his duty to Her Majesty's subjects settled at Port Nicholson." "That His Excellency's recent attempt to deprive this settlement of its skilled labour by inducing mechanics and artificers to leave it and enter into the employment of Government at Auckland, is calculated to inflict serious injury upon the settlement." "That the annexed petition to the Queen be forwarded to England, and presented to Her Majesty, stating the above-mentioned grievances, and praying Her Majesty for protection and the recall of the Lieutenant-Governor." The motion was seconded by Mr. James Coutts Crawford, and adopted.

The following is the petition:—

To the QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

May it please your Majesty,—We, your Majesty's loyal subjects, resident at Port Nicholson, in New Zealand, beg to approach your Majesty with assurances of our most respectful and devoted attachment to your Royal person and Government.

We humbly thank your Majesty for the gracious consideration of our necessities as a new and rising community, as manifested by your Majesty's directions to your ministers to establish British law and authority in this part of your Majesty's dominions, and in the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor to carry your Royal intentions into effect. But duty to our Sovereign, as well as justice to ourselves, compels us to state that the wise and gracious designs of your Majesty have been in a great measure frustrated by the neglect and misconduct of Lieutenant-Governor Hobson.

We desire to represent to your Majesty that the settlement of Port Nicholson comprises the large majority of your Majesty's subjects resident in the islands of New

THE TOWN OF NEW PLYMOUTH IN THE YEAR 1843.

(FROM A SKETCH TAKEN BY MRS. WICKSTEAD, OF JOHN TAYLOR WICKSTEAD, ESQ., THE COMPANY'S AGENT, ON MOUNT ELIOT.)



Zealand, that the population is rapidly increasing, that the natural productions of the country ensure the rapid development of its extensive agricultural, commercial and manufacturing resources. That already the commerce of Port Nicholson is much more considerable than that of any other port of the islands, that its geographical position must give it great political importance, and that in no part of the British Empire are your Majesty's subjects more distinguished by ready obedience to lawful authority or by a more earnest determination to maintain the honour and dignity of the British Crown.

Notwithstanding these claims on his attention, claims which we humbly submit ought to have decided Lieutenant-Governor Hobson to fix the seat of government at Port Nicholson. His Excellency has never even visited this important and flourishing settlement, but has selected for his capital a portion of the Northern Island, 300 miles distant from us, where there are no British residents, except those immediately connected with the Government. Communication with the Government is thus rendered uncertain, unfrequent, difficult, and expensive; in short nearly all those over whose welfare Lieutenant-Governor Hobson was instructed to watch, and from whose contributions the cost of establishing this rival settlement must be chiefly defrayed and the revenue of the colony mainly derived, are almost entirely excluded from the benefit of any Government state, with the simple exception of a police magistrate with undefined criminal jurisdiction.

But in addition to this systematic neglect of our welfare we have to charge Lieutenant-Governor Hobson with an attempt to inflict on us a serious positive injury.

Your Majesty's attention is called to the fact that a great scarcity of skilled labour exists in this settlement, that the artificers and labourers resident here have been brought from England at the expense of the landowners and capitalists of Port Nicholson, with the understanding and in the full belief that they were to remain here for an indefinite period, that the employment of this valuable and most respectable portion of our community at high wages is constant and the demand for their services increasing, and that the prosperity of the settlement mainly depends upon a sufficient supply of this description of labour.

Nevertheless, and with a perfect knowledge of the diminishing of the supply, Lieutenant-Governor Hobson has sent a vessel from Auckland, his seat of government, with offers of a free passage and other inducements to such artificers and labourers as may be induced to leave the service of your petitioners and enter his employment. The cost of sending down this ship for the above purpose will be defrayed from the public revenue, and thus the settlers of Port Nicholson will have not only paid for the passage of their workmen from England, but will also have to pay the cost of seducing them to Auckland.

We would humbly represent to your Majesty that the attempt to promote the prosperity of one part of your Majesty's dominions in New Zealand by inflicting a grievous and lasting injury on another and far more important portion is, in principle, unjustifiable, and that this species of competition of a Government with its subjects is opposed to the principles of the British constitution, and is, moreover, decidedly repugnant to the instructions which Lieutenant-Governor Hobson was commanded by your Majesty's Government to obey.

Prayer.—Hopeless of redress from His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, of whose unhappy and ill-judged hostility to this settlement we have received but too many proofs, and relying upon your Majesty's maternal care for the welfare of your subjects, whether at home or abroad, we humbly solicit your Majesty's most gracious

interference on our behalf by recalling Lieutenant-Governor Hobson and affording us such other relief as to your Majesty shall seem fit.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

As opposed to this a counter-petition was got up in Sydney, in favour of Governor Hobson. It was worded as follows:—

We would, in an especial manner, thank your Majesty for the gracious consideration and care manifested towards that part of the British empire with which we are more immediately connected. The establishment of British law and authority in New Zealand, we value as the greatest blessing that could be conferred, not only on your Majesty's subjects resident in that country, but on all the numerous aboriginal inhabitants of those interesting islands. We shall ever continue to admire your Majesty's wisdom in having selected such an able and efficient officer as Captain William Hobson, of the Royal Navy, to be your Majesty's minister and representative in New Zealand, and we humbly think that the wisdom, zeal, and energy which he has displayed in the discharge of the arduous and responsible duties imposed upon him by your Majesty entitle him to the approving consideration of your Majesty, and to the respect and esteem of all your Majesty's subjects. Captain Hobson has been the fortunate instrument of extending your Majesty's dominions, by the peaceable acquirement of the right of British authority over the most valuable and extensive islands in the Southern Hemisphere; he has, moreover, by the mildness of his government, the equitable administration of justice, and the safety and security afforded to life and property, happily succeeded in uniting the European and native population, and firmly attaching them to your Majesty's government.

Notwithstanding our very high opinion of the ability and integrity of Captain Hobson, we regret to perceive that certain persons, subjects of your Majesty, residing at Port Nicholson, have preferred complaints to your Majesty against Captain Hobson, which we cannot help looking upon as exceedingly frivolous, and altogether unworthy of your Majesty's notice. While we entirely disapprove of the conduct of the settlers at Port Nicholson, in reference to your most gracious Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, and reprobate the attempt to injure the character and reputation of so valuable and faithful a servant of your Majesty as Captain Hobson has approved himself to be, we must still commiserate the situation of the New Zealand Company's emigrants. Their disappointment and sufferings must have been great, not only from the injudicious manner in which the emigration was conducted, but from the imprudent choice they have made of a settlement and field for future operations, though even their disappointment and regret at the indiscretion and folly they have committed cannot by any means palliate the attack upon your Majesty's representative, who has on all occasions manifested the utmost anxiety to mitigate their sufferings, and to render their condition as comfortable as possible.

After comparing the relative merits of Port Nicholson and Auckland, the petition proceeds to state, with regard to the engagement of labour for Auckland, that "the settlers at Port Nicholson bear involuntary testimony to the zeal and humanity of Captain Hobson, in so far as the men whose services he engaged were at the time idle and unemployed at Port Nicholson, and on the eve of being removed

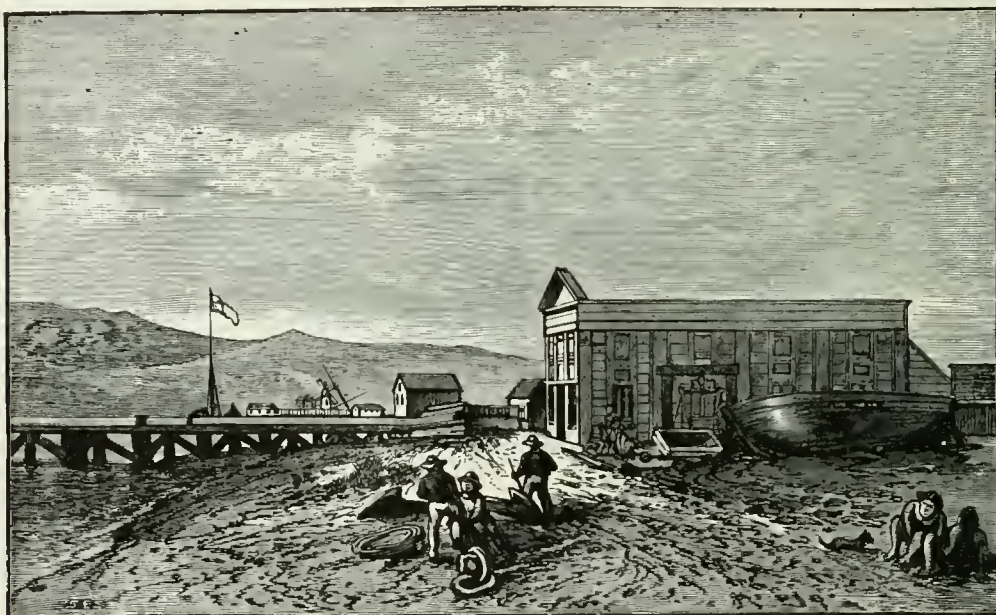
altogether from New Zealand, a ship having been chartered at the time at Hobart Town to convey them to Van Dieman's Land. Captain Hobson employed these labourers in the erection of buildings necessary for the establishment and maintenance of Government, and the dispatch of public business, and conferred a benefit on the country, not only by so doing, but by being the means of preventing their removal to another colony." The petition concluded with a strong protest against Governor Hobson's removal.

Governor Hobson's denial that he had sent a ship to remove labour from Port Nicholson, and his explanation of the circumstances under

subject that has so frequently and so fully been brought under your Lordship's notice that very little additional information can be afforded.

Those persons who have settled at Port Nicholson under the auspices of the company, are, from their rank, their numbers, and their wealth, by far the most important in the colony. But it is to be regretted that, from the impunity with which they have heretofore, in defiance of the Government, encroached on the land, they assume a tone of dictation and authority which is totally subversive of all government, and which must be eventually overcome, or the sole management of the affairs of the islands must be surrendered into their hands.

On a recent occasion Sir George Gipps gave them the permissory occupation of 110,000 acres around Port Nicholson, on condition of their confining themselves to that limit, with a promise to recommend to your Lordship



The Old Exchange, Wellington.

which he had engaged a number of mechanics, have already been given in a previous chapter.

A very interesting despatch from Governor Hobson to the Secretary of State on the state of the colony was written by him from Government House, Auckland, in the previous month of May, in which he says :—

Having already reported the course I adopted on the receipt of Her Majesty's letters patent, appointing me the first Governor and Commander-in-Chief of this newly-formed colony, I judge it proper to convey to your Lordship, by the earliest possible opportunity, a general statement of the constitution of society, and of the position in which I stand in respect to the settlers generally throughout the islands.

I will not trespass on your Lordship's attention by any lengthened account of the state of society, which is a

to obtain for them from Her Majesty a free grant to that extent, in return for the expense the Company had incurred in importing immigrants into the colony. But almost coincident with that act of grace, they spread themselves over the land of Wanganui to a distance of ninety miles, in direct opposition to a notice simultaneously published both by Sir George Gipps and myself respectively.

To this enactment they have since added the lands of Taranaki, which they have assigned to the Plymouth Company, and there is great reason to apprehend that none of this vast territory has been legally purchased from the aborigines. But this is a question that I will not prejudge.

I design shortly to visit Port Nicholson, when I will require the agents of the Company to submit their claims for examination to the Land Commissioners.

The natives in the neighbourhood of these new settlements have evinced considerable dissatisfaction at the

occupation of lands to which they lay claim, and more than one tribe has called on me to remove the intruders, threatening to dislodge them by force if I do not afford redress. I hope when I visit them to reconcile these differences, and if necessary to require a further payment to be made to satisfy their claims.

Besides the natives there are many Europeans who claim large portions of these lands in virtue of prior purchases, but these latter will furnish cases for the Lands Commissioners to decide.

The settlers of the northern part of the island for the most part consist of persons who have emigrated from the neighbouring colonies, many of whom lay claim to the richest portion of the country, which in the course of their traffic with the natives they have been enabled to select and purchase on most favourable terms.

From this portion of the colonists I have received every possible support, with the exception of some of the very lowest class, who have endeavoured to inflame the minds of the natives by disseminating amongst them false reports of the intention of Her Majesty's Government.

The next class I have the honour to introduce to your Lordship's notice is the native race. These, I am rejoiced to say, continue to preserve a peaceable demeanour towards the white population, and hold themselves amenable to our laws in a wonderful degree.

It is not my purpose to enlarge on this subject here, considering it of such paramount importance as to form the subject of a separate despatch, which I will have the honour to forward by a future opportunity.

As respects my own position in regard to the settlers generally, your Lordship will have heard before this can reach you of the hostility I have experienced, at the instigation of the Company's agents, from the settlers at Port Nicholson, where public meetings have been held, and resolutions adopted to petition Her Majesty for my removal from the Government, on the ground of partizanship, neglect of duty, etc.

This petition has produced a counter-petition from those interested in the northern portion of the island, applauding my measures, and praying Her Majesty to retain my services, and still to honour me with her gracious confidence.

It is quite evident, notwithstanding the extraneous matter introduced into the Port Nicholson petition, that the whole matter resolves itself into the simple fact that I have not studied the exclusive advantage of the Company by fixing the seat of permanent government at Port Nicholson; and it is equally certain that the counter-petition must be attributed to my having chosen my position on the Waitemata.

Had I been base enough to prefer my own comfort to what I believed to be the public benefit, I could have established myself at Port Nicholson, where, surrounded by a compact society, all personally identified with the place, I might have left it to the Company's agents or their press to answer any censure that might flow in upon me from other quarters. Or had I been still more base, and kept in view my pecuniary advantage, there could have been no scheme advised better calculated to ensure my own fortune and that of my friends than presented itself at Port Nicholson. It needed but to have speculated largely in the Company's shares, and having raised the value by the location of Government, to have sold off my interest whilst they preserved their artificial value.

But, My Lord, I claim no merit for resisting these temptations, for had I yielded to them the moral debasement would have sunk me to the grave.

In my public capacity I came to the country without bias to any interest whatever: I judged from what I saw and what I learned from authentic sources, from which I

formed a strong conviction that this portion of the country united in itself the numerous qualities requisite for the seat of government of this promising colony, and I therefore chose this situation.

The enormous prices given for allotments at the recent sale of Auckland speak highly in favour of my selection, and the unanimous opinion of all who have visited this country seems to confirm the wisdom of my choice. Your Lordship's approval of my proceedings is now only wanting to ensure the prosperity of this town and relieve my mind from all uneasiness.

As to the value of Port Nicholson as a situation for the seat of government, I feel quite assured that no fair conclusion can be drawn from the statements made by the Company's agents. We find, for instance, a large portion of the press engaged in circulating the most exaggerated statements of its merits, and a bird's-eye view of the settlement is exhibited in the windows of every printshop to delude the unwary into the belief that it commands a plane surface, but the perspective, which would show it as it is, broken and precipitous, is carefully kept out of sight.

There is no subject on which I am more solicitous than the readjustment of all differences between the Government and the settlers of the southern district. They are a valuable class of colonists and it shall be my study to disabuse their minds of the evil prepossessions instilled into them by the Company's agents and their press.

I know I have been held up to these people as their only enemy, and all their disappointments have been attributed to me, especially the nonfulfilment of the promise insiduously given in the prospectus of the Company, wherein the town of Wellington is described as "their principal city," which is generally read and understood as "the principal city."

The measures I mean to adopt for their benefit and that of others at a distance from Auckland, is to institute courts of general, quarter and petty sessions of the peace, very nearly assimilating to those held in England; and the places where these courts shall be held will afford the means of punishing offenders, without subjecting the prosecutor or witnesses to the inconvenience and expense of travelling, as I hope, beyond a day's journey; and to bring home justice under the more summary jurisdiction of magistrates, to settlers in remote (chiefly whaling) stations, I intend to appoint a magistrate, whose duty it will be to occasionally visit such stations and to hold petty sessions on the spot.

To these will be added courts of requests, which, together with the sessions of the magistrates, will provide for all ordinary cases, both civil and criminal, that are at present likely to occur.

It will hereafter become necessary to hold circuit courts for the trial of capital offences and issues in civil actions, but the details of this court cannot be taken into consideration before the arrival of the chief justice.

I know it is an object of great desire to the settlers at Port Nicholson to obtain a charter of incorporation.

When I shall have ascertained that the inhabitants of that or any other town are sufficiently numerous to carry out the details and afford the expense of managing their own affairs, such as forming and improving roads, streets, etc., I purpose to introduce to the Legislative Council an ordinance to enable this Government to grant them charters of incorporation, with power to elect their own civic officers, to be called the mayor, aldermen, common councilmen, and burgesses, with a common seal, and with the authority which is generally vested in English corporate bodies, except the right of holding courts of justice or of appointing a recorder; these I mean to retain in the hands of Her Majesty's Government, that I may better

exercise control over all judicial proceedings and preserve Her Majesty's prerogative in the nomination of judges.

By these measures the colonists will enjoy the advantages of legal protection and the power of managing their own affairs, whilst the Government will be relieved from the enormous expense attendant on the establishment of new towns.

If to these I can add the boon of maintaining more frequent intercourse between the capital and remote stations, I trust that no further obstacle will remain to the restoration of harmony and confidence between the Government and the colonists.

I have to apologise to your Lordship for the diffusive nature of this dispatch, but I was unavoidably led into subjects which may appear irrelevant; first, to show the state of public feeling in the colony; secondly, the causes which had engendered that feeling; and lastly, the remedy I propose for the removal of all just grounds of complaint. Should these measures meet with your Lordship's approval, I shall be fully compensated for all the vexatious and offensive opposition I have encountered.

To which the Secretary of State replied:—

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 26th May last, and I approve of your proceedings as reported in that dispatch, and also of the measures which you state it to be your intention to adopt for the benefit of the colonists generally and more particularly of those who are resident at a distance from the seat of government.

About this period Governor Hobson had expressed the intention of visiting Port Nicholson and other portions of the colony, and on this becoming known in Wellington a public meeting was called there to take into consideration the necessary arrangements for his reception.

The meeting, which took place on July 28th, 1841, was numerously attended, and, on the motion of Mr. W. A. Cooper, R. D. Hanson, Esq., J.P., was voted to the chair. Mr. John Wade moved and Mr. Cooper seconded an adjournment till Friday, to secure a full attendance. Dr. Evans suggested an adjournment to Monday, and said he would state frankly that there were other grounds which made it prudent for that adjournment. They were met that night to consider what kind of reception they should give His Excellency. He presumed it was not the intention of any one to pour out a fulsome effusion upon him. They were not, as free born Englishmen, about to commence a new career in politics, and fall down in adulation before His Excellency. They required some evidence of the public principles of Captain Hobson, and possibly they would become acquainted through the medium of the press, of the powers conferred upon him. He (Dr. Evans) had had an opportunity of perusing the earlier numbers of the *Government Gazette*, and before agreeing to anything, it was only proper that they should become acquainted with the acts

of the Government. For example, His Excellency began by declaring the laws of New South Wales in force here. Now, they all knew those laws, made for a convict colony, were not very palatable in this free community. If the Government showed a disposition to enforce those odious and tyrannical laws, he, for one, should be cautious how he crossed the threshold of his door to welcome such a man. They had an ominous prospect of taxation before them. His Excellency had contrived, somehow or other, to spend £62,000, and he would ask what benefit had the inhabitants of Port Nicholson derived from its expenditure? His Excellency had already begun to pass laws heavily taxing them; and he spoke under correction when he said that the duties were from 10 to 15 per cent. higher than in New South Wales. Articles such as tea, sugar, etc., were taxed 5 per cent. higher, and all other articles 10 per cent. higher. He (Dr. Evans) referred to these things merely that they should become acquainted with the real facts, and they would form important grounds for them to act upon. Dr. Evans concluded by proposing an adjournment to Monday, instead of Friday. Mr. F. A. Molesworth seconded the amendment.

Mr. Annear asked, if gentlemen had been in possession of the important information contained in the *Government Gazette*, why it had not been produced earlier? The fact was the gentlemen in this colony did not feel any sympathy with the working class, and it was only when they found them moving that they reluctantly came forward. It was explained to the speaker that the information referred to had only arrived the day before, and could not have been made known earlier.

The chairman then put the question of adjournment, when Friday was declared carried.

The adjourned meeting took place at Barrett's Hotel, on Friday, July 30th. There were at least 250 present, and considerable interest was excited in it. The meeting, as will be seen by the speeches made, and the resolutions which were passed, determined not to approach Governor Hobson with a congratulatory address until it had been seen what his real intentions were towards the settlement. From the reports furnished by the press it appears that Mr. G. B. Earp (who was in the chair) called upon Mr. John Wade for an address, during which he said he felt great pleasure in meeting so numerous an assemblage, and was persuaded they were met for the general good, however they might differ

in the mode of expressing their opinion. The chairman was in error when he had said that one party wished to get up a congratulatory address to the Governor, because he was satisfied there was no single individual present but felt the injury that had been inflicted upon the settlement. At a former period he had signed a petition for his recall, and he would be glad to sign a duplicate of it that night; but what was wanted now was, merely to meet His Excellency as the representative of Her Majesty, and thus give him an opportunity to explain. Mr. Wade then moved the following, and said if they could find one word of congratulation in it, he would withdraw it:—

That this meeting deems it expedient that an address be prepared, to be presented to His Excellency on his arrival in this port, expressive of their satisfaction at the representative of Her Majesty visiting this port, and their unfeigned loyalty to the British Government.

Mr. Roland Davis seconded the motion.

Dr. Evans rose to move an amendment. He felt deep regret at being called upon to address so numerous and respectable a meeting under circumstances like the present. He gave Mr. Wade full credit for his sincerity and patriotism, but he would submit that the present was pre-eminently a question of prudence. After what had taken place here with respect to the Government, one false step would be fatal to them; and he would say, wait and see what Captain Hobson will do, in preference to agreeing to an address under any circumstances. For eighteen months His Excellency had been absent; and the difficulties which at home they were led to expect they would have to contend with, were not from any savage or hostile tribes, but from jealousy, almost overwhelming jealousy, rivalry, and animosity from those who ought to have protected them. They had, however, overcome it all, as they knew by painful experience. When the colony was first established they managed affairs in an orderly and satisfactorily manner; but no one could forget the first arrival of Government authority amongst them. No one could forget the scene of the fetters and manacles dangling from the pockets of the mounted police, as they paraded the beach at Petone; nor the threats of the thousands of ball cartridges in store for them. He (Dr. Evans) recollected making an appeal to Mr. Shortland, respecting the occupancy of the lands they were now located upon, and what was his answer? "Sir, you are here as squatters, and I expect shortly to receive

instructions to warn you off the Crown lands." Afterwards, when three individuals, himself amongst the number, were deputed to visit Sydney, and when they obtained terms from Sir George Gipps, how was the result received at the Bay of Islands? Why, it was received with displeasure; and the reading of the dispatches produced a general gloom throughout the official circle. Reference had been made to the labouring population being enticed by the Government away from this place. He, however, did not lay much stress upon that; he would go upon the broad principle, and however unfair it might be to this colony, still he would never be a party to use undue influence to confine labourers. The spirit of the transaction was bad, it was done out of rivalry and jealousy; and he had come to the conclusion that all reasonable forbearance was exhausted; that they had nothing to expect from the Auckland Government, except what was to be extorted from their fears, or through the omnipotence of the law. He should feel astonished if gentlemen who on former occasions had protested against the Sydney laws being enforced here should now go to meet His Excellency. However customary it might be to go forth to meet great persons, still he should feel ashamed if the colonists of Port Nicholson were to imitate the people of Kororareka in their servile and disgraceful piece of composition. They were in a British colony; they were not in Turkey, or any other part of Asia; nor was Captain Hobson "Lord of the twenty-four umbrellas" who had come down to shade them with his greatness. They had not yet lost the effect of living in the mother country, and they had some notions of trial by jury and representative government; and they did not understand how six men could meet in a room and declare the Sydney laws in force here until such period as they should think fit. Another Act which had been passed was the Act of Indemnity, which went to screen magistrates, etc., from official acts which they had committed previous to the 1st January, 1841. Now, he had no doubt if gentlemen referred to their memoranda they would find out what particular case this would meet; for himself, he had been retained in several cases against Mr. Shortland, and by this Act they were deprived of their constitutional remedy. There had been some question raised as to the legality of the council, in consequence of some of the members not having been summoned; but that did not go to the principle, and might be got over by another Act of Indemnity next session. Dr. Evans reviewed the whole of

Captain Hobson's Government, and concluded by moving the following amendment :—

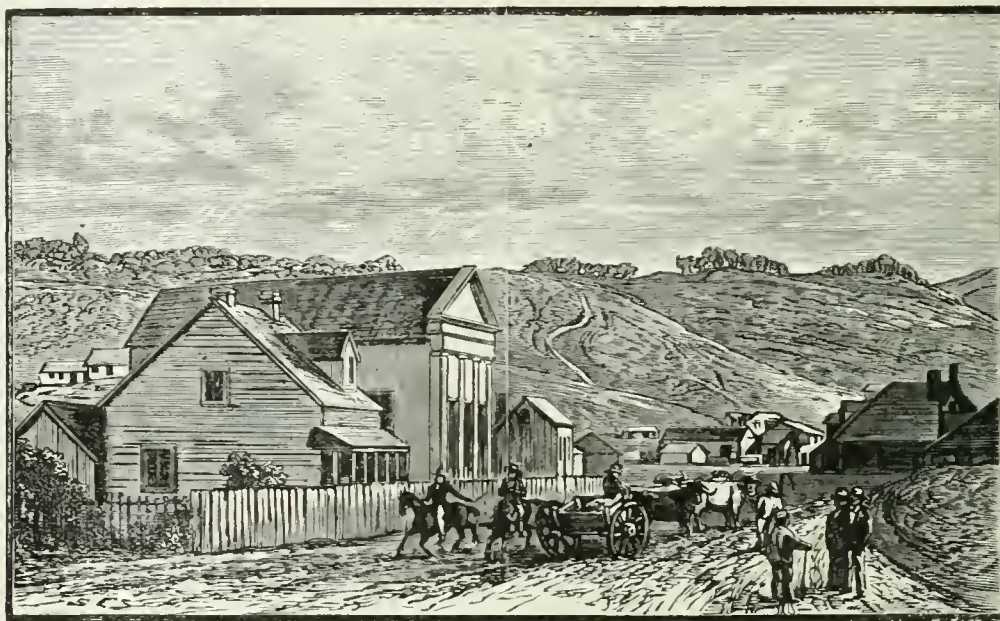
That in the existing state of uncertainty as to Governor Hobson's intentions towards this settlement, any public expression of opinion, on the occasion of His Excellency's expected visit, would be premature and inexpedient.

Mr. F. A. Molesworth seconded the amendment, and Mr. R. D. Hanson supported the original motion in a long speech, pointing out that the settlers ought to meet Governor Hobson in a friendly spirit. Mr. Wickstead and Mr. Revans spoke in favour of the amendment, and on the latter being put to the meeting it was carried by a large majority, amidst loud cheering.

when they fairly brought their case before me, found they had no sufficient grounds for complaint, and that they had been anticipated in almost every measure they sought by the previous provisions of the local Government.

On Monday, the 30th August, a deputation consisting of thirty or forty persons, headed by Dr. Evans, Mr. Hanson and Mr. Earp, waited on me, for the ostensible purpose of presenting a petition to request the institution of a charter of incorporation for their town, and for affording the colonists at a distance from the capital the means of self-government, and the prompt administration of justice.

All these measures, as I have already reported to your Lordship, had previously been under the consideration of the Government, and only waited the meeting of the Legislative Council to be legally provided for. The disaffected portion of the meeting, finding their principal grievance so promptly met, endeavoured to introduce



Wesleyan Chapel and Mission House, Wellington, 1844.

Governor Hobson arrived in Wellington early in the month of August, and the account of the proceedings which then took place will be best given in his own words, taken from a despatch written by him on October 20th, 1841, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies :—

Referring to my despatch, No. 41/11, wherein I expressed my intention of visiting Port Nicholson and the southern districts of this colony, I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that on the 11th instant I returned to Auckland, having completed my proposed tour, the result of which has been most satisfactory, both to the European and native population.

On my arrival at Port Nicholson I found one portion of the community in a great ferment, agitated and excited by a venal press, and by a few discontented spirits, who,

many extraneous matters, reflecting on the Government, which were so foreign to the purpose for which the interview was granted, that I took an early opportunity of dismissing the meeting.

It is with much pleasure I report to your Lordship that from by far the largest and most influential body of the colonists I received the warmest and most cordial support, and that even those who were opposed to my government displayed no manifestation of displeasure or disloyalty.

As I have mentioned the names, amongst others, of Mr. Hanson and Mr. Earp, I must, in justice to those gentlemen observe that they both expressed themselves satisfied with my pledge, and that in a few days subsequent to the meeting I found them the warmest and most zealous supporters which I had in the community. Mr. Earp, who had been conspicuous for the violent part he took at a public meeting which was held in May, to petition Her Majesty for my removal, apologised in the

most ample manner for the part he took on that occasion, declaring that he acted under a false impression of my character and of my views, and that he greatly regretted, as did many others, both the language he had used and the course he had adopted. My further knowledge of Mr. Karp satisfied me that he is a gentleman of good sense and education, free and liberal in his opinions, but so devoid of any spirit of faction that I selected him as a fit person to serve in the Legislative Council, to which I appointed him, by placing his name at the head of the list of magistrates, vice that of Colonel Wakefield, who declined the office, lest it should interfere with his duty as agent for the Company.

During my stay at Port Nicholson several questions were proposed to me, chiefly of a commercial nature, which I will have the honour to report in a subsequent despatch.

The native chiefs of the district called on me and expressed the greatest confidence in Her Majesty's Government, and their willingness to comply with every order I might give them, but they all demanded protection from the encroachments of the Company, who, they asserted, had most unscrupulously appropriated their lands.

The Secretary of State, in reply, says:—

Experience has happily confirmed my anticipations that personal explanation would tend in great measure to allay the irritation which existed among the inhabitants of Port Nicholson when they transmitted the petition for your recall, and I am happy to find from your despatch of the 20th October, written after your return from that settlement, that the body of the inhabitants, including some who had strongly censured your conduct, appeared satisfied with the arrangements which you had made, by the advice of your council, for the administration of their local affairs. This being the case I deem it unnecessary to enter upon a consideration of the petition which was then presented, further than to say, that I consider the answer contained in your despatch of the 5th of August, to the charges brought against you, sufficient and satisfactory, with the single exception of the complaint made in relation to your abduction of labourers from Port Nicholson to Auckland. On this point I cannot disguise from you my opinion, that in offering a free passage to Auckland to mechanics who had been introduced into the Company's settlement at their expense, you judged erroneously. To have accepted from such persons a spontaneous tender of service would have been unobjectionable, but I think that the public funds at your disposal were not properly applied, and that your authority as Governor was not judiciously exerted, in raising inducements to move those persons to quit the service in which they had been originally engaged. At the same time I freely acknowledge that the necessity for procuring labourers for the public works at Auckland was urgent, and that the difficulties under which you were labouring on that subject were such as greatly to extenuate any error of judgment into which you may have fallen in the effort to encounter and subdue them.

A few extracts from accounts of the New Zealand Company's settlements written in 1841 and 1842, may be introduced with advantage here to illustrate the condition of settlers at that period, and the nature of their efforts to establish themselves in the country. The Hon. H. W. Petrie, writing

of the progress made up to March, 1841, observes:—

"It is established, almost beyond doubt, that the north side of Cook Strait will be colonised by Englishmen in immediate connexion with the Company. A considerable number of settlers are already at Wanganui preparing to select the land which has been surveyed for them with praiseworthy despatch, and which will be open for selection in a few days. Large reinforcements to their number may now be daily expected.

"Proceeding higher up the Strait, we find the foundation of New Plymouth already laid in the vast and fertile district of Taranaki. The Surveyor-General of the Plymouth Company, with assistants, is employed in marking out the site of the future city. From Taranaki and Wanganui immense supplies of agricultural produce and of flax will be conveyed to Port Nicholson, and the fisheries on the coast will also become the source of much profitable employment. In anticipation of a large coasting trade, numerous small vessels are now being built in the various harbours and inlets on both sides of the Strait.

"It is impossible to overrate the value of flax as a staple article of commerce, and the only impediment to the introduction of the phormium tenax into Europe and America, has been removed by the discovery of a cheap method of preparing large quantities for export, in reduced bulk, and without injury to the fibre. A short time only will elapse before our settlement will provide a profitable return cargo for the foreign vessels visiting Cook Strait. Already, and before the agricultural resources of the settlement have had time for development, the shipping belonging to Port Nicholson has become worth £5,000, and this is almost exclusively employed in bringing pigs and potatoes, in return for blankets, guns, and other articles sought after by the natives.

"The houses erected in Wellington have cost at least £18,000, and the merchandise and provisions now in the place may be safely put down at not less than £200,000. In every direction large stores and private dwellings are springing up. Within a few weeks, measures have been in progress for the erection of the large steam saw and flour mill brought from England by Messrs. Hopper, Petre, and Molesworth. A company is formed with sufficient capital to carry on the business, and ships, not full of flax and oil, will be supplied with sawn timber for home consumption, and for the neighbouring colonies

of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. My confidence in the success of this settlement rests in no slight degree on the vigour with which many gentlemen are now employed in raising stock and in farming operations. Even inferior land has produced some excellent wheat and barley, whilst some of that grown on the banks of the Hutt is the finest I ever saw. The importation of cattle from New South Wales supplies us with means of increasing the best breeds."

Dr. Ernest Dieffenbach, writing with reference to the condition of the settlement of Port Nicholson in 1842, says: "Nearly three years have elapsed since my first visit to Port Nicholson (in 1839), and a spot scarcely known before that time, and rarely if ever visited by Europeans, has become the seat of a large settlement, with nearly 5,000 inhabitants. Where a few hundred natives then lived in rude villages, fearful of their neighbours, but desirous of intercourse with Europeans, and just beginning to be initiated into the forms of Christian wor-

ship by a native missionary, there is now a town, with warehouses, wharves, club-houses, horticultural and scientific societies, race-courses—in short, with all the mechanism of a civilized and commercial community. At this very place, where I then enjoyed in all its fulness the wild aspect of nature, and where the inhabitants, wild and untamed, accorded well with their native scenery, there is now the restless European, spreading around all the advantages and disadvantages of civilization and trade.

"Port Nicholson is situated in a foreland which, in its longest extent, has a north-east to south-west direction, and which is formed to the south-east by the deep indentation of Wairarapa, or Palliser Bay, and to the north-west by the bight of the coast in which Maua,

or Table Island, is situated. The outermost point of this foreland is Cape Terawiti. This is the narrowest point of Cook Strait, the distance to the nearest land in the Middle Island being only thirty miles.* In its geological formation this foreland is a continuation of the hills which I have described as forming the chief part of the land at the other side of Cook Strait, and it can scarcely be doubted that formerly both islands were here connected. The sea having once broken this connection, a rush of the tide, which comes from the southward and runs at the rate of five knots an hour during the spring tides, took place through this opening. The winds prevailing in this part of Cook Strait the greater part of the year are from the south

and south-east, and often increase to heavy gales augmenting the rush of water through the straits, and making considerable inroads on the coast. Port Nicholson was doubtless thus formed, and the general aspect of the foreland, in which the harbour is situated, bears decided proof of the wear



The Scotch Kirk, Wellington, 1844.

and tear of the coasts. At the head of the harbour, the hills of which Cape Terawiti is the outermost point, and those which form the eastern boundary, leave between them a triangular space, formed of alluvial land brought down by the river Eritonga, or Hutt. A sandy beach, two miles and a half in length, borders this alluvial flat, from which the water shoals to some distance. In consequence of its being opposite to the entrance of the harbour, a heavy surf is found here during southerly winds.

"The boundary hills, both to the east and to the west of the basin of Port Nicholson, rise abruptly from the water's edges; but in that

* Between Cape Terawhiti and Wellington Head—W. $\frac{3}{4}$ N. 12 miles—is the narrowest part of Cook Strait. (Wellington Head is two miles distant from the entrance to Tory Channel, which leads to Queen Charlotte Sound.)
—Brett's *New Zealand and South Pacific Pilot*.

peninsular part, where the town of Wellington has been founded, there is a strip of flat land at their base, about one-third of a mile broad, consisting of a soil composed of sand, shells, shingle, and vegetable earth, and extending to the western headland of the harbour, where the hills are low and undulating. At the town of Wellington there is consequently a long line of water frontage, with deep water at a few yards from the shore.

"The neck of land between the island of Mana and Port Nicholson consists of hills, with deep ravines intersected by watercourses, where the natives have some plantations. Of similar configuration is the neck of land separating the port from Wairarapa, or Palliser Bay. At high water the passage from Wellington to the head of the bay was impassable, but since I left Port Nicholson a road has been constructed, connecting the valley of the Hutt immediately with the town. A road has also been made across the neck of land to the Pararua, a river which discharges itself into Cook Strait, opposite the island of Mana."

A letter written by Mr. A. T. Holroyd to the "New Zealand Portfolio," published in London, gives the following account of the condition and expectations of the Port Nicholson settlers. His remarks, it should be observed, are based upon advices from the colony up to April, 1842:—

"The profit arising from the produce of the colony is enormous. I have seen a letter from a gentleman who has a large dairy farm at Wellington, and he mentions that if butter is reduced from 2s. 6d. a pound (the price it was at the date of his letter) to 2s., the profit upon his outlay would still be very great, and from confirmation I have had of this statement from other sources, I have no reason to consider it too sanguine. Next let us see what Mr. Molesworth is doing. You have shown that his potato crop yielded £124 per acre net profit for the first year, after the expense of clearing the land and liquidating all outgoing charges. Is not this a proof of the fertility and luxuriance of the land, and must not potatoes be, for many years to come, an article of export to the Australian colonies? The rental of houses is another criterion by which we may be guided in estimating the prosperity of the colony. From all I can learn, the worst investment in this description of property yields 30 per cent., but some pay a much larger rental on the outlay, and I conclude 30 per cent. is the lowest standard

to adopt, for I noticed in the last file of the *New Zealand Gazette* that there were two houses to be let for £1 a week each, £300 being asked for the purchase of the two. Were not the colony in a flourishing condition, Dr. Evans could not let his frontage at 30s. per foot per annum, but the emigrants would be contented with a less eligible situation in a more remote part of the town.

"Though I have instanced Mr. Molesworth as busily engaged in the cultivation of the potato, his agricultural operations are not confined to the potato alone; 'he has steadily persevered under all discouragements,' has many acres cleared in the Valley of the Hutt, and his example has induced others to follow farming operations. And here I cannot help quoting from Mr. Heaphy's work, which shows clearly the impulse which Mr. Molesworth's labours had given to agriculture:—

"'When I left Wellington in November, 1841, the following gentlemen were engaged in clearing land and cultivating in the different valleys about Port Nicholson, viz.:—

"'In the valley of the Hutt: Messrs. F. A. Molesworth, F. Johnson, C. Von Alsdorf, G. Shand, G. White, R. Barton, Smith, Bowler, Eaton, Poole, Turner, Mason, T. Cook, S. Cook, and Dr. Ralph.

"'In the Porirua district: Messrs. F. Johnson, Hay, Johnstone, W. Buchanan, J. Swainson, and Major Hornbrook.

"'In the Karori Valley: Messrs. Yule.

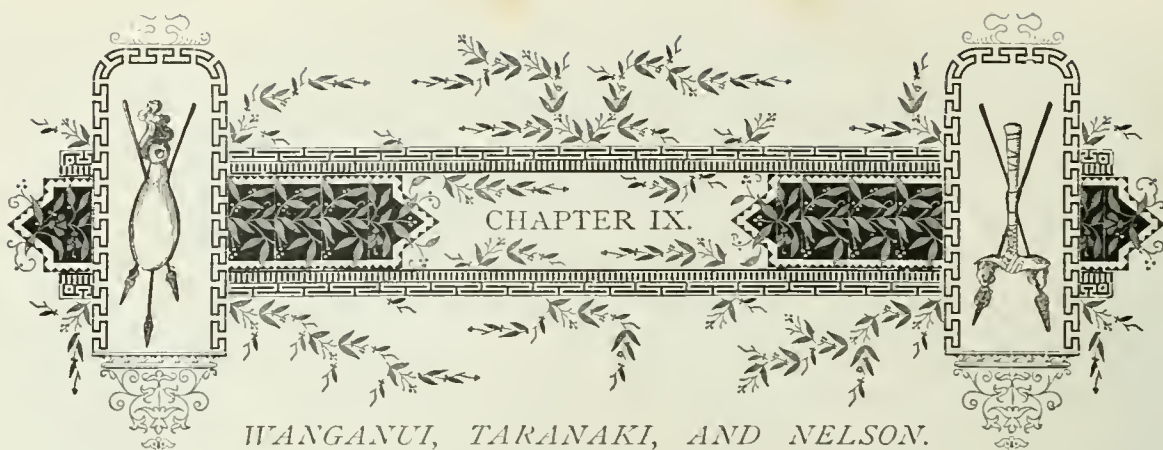
"'In the Ohiro district: Messrs. J. Watt, Harrison, Guyton, Earp, and Captain Daniell.

"'Round the harbour: Messrs. Deans, Tod, Crawford, Jackson, Bannister, and Scanlan.

"'Lyall's Bay: Mr. Hulke.

"'Although this number is small, yet, on considering the short time it had been known in Port Nicholson that the settlers were to have a full and conclusive title to their land, it does not appear that they had been tardy in availing themselves of their security by entering into agricultural pursuits.'"

From these accounts it will be seen that by the beginning of 1842 the settlers at Port Nicholson were firmly established and had commenced the work of genuine colonization with vigour and success. The fertility of the soil and geniality of the climate produced crops which were saleable in those days at prices that may well excite the envy of the farmers of 1890. But they had also to dispense with many of the comforts which the settler coming to New Zealand now considers among the common necessities of life.



WANGANUI, TARANAKI, AND NELSON.

Charter granted to the New Zealand Company—Settlements established at Wanganui and Taranaki—Exploring expeditions to Blind Bay and Taranaki—Departure of emigrants for Taranaki—Mr. E. G. Wakefield reviews the history of New Zealand colonisation—Mr. Cutfield's account of the arrival of the first Taranaki settlers—Disagreements between Captain Hobson and the New Zealand Company—Controversy over the choice of a site for the Company's settlement to be called Nelson—Captain Hobson refuses to grant lands at Port Cooper—The present site of Nelson finally selected—Land conditions at the new settlement—Operations of the preliminary expedition—Discovery of Nelson Haven—Rauaparaha's attitude—Brewing native troubles—The origin of the Wairau massacre—Major Heaphy's account of the early settlement at Nelson.

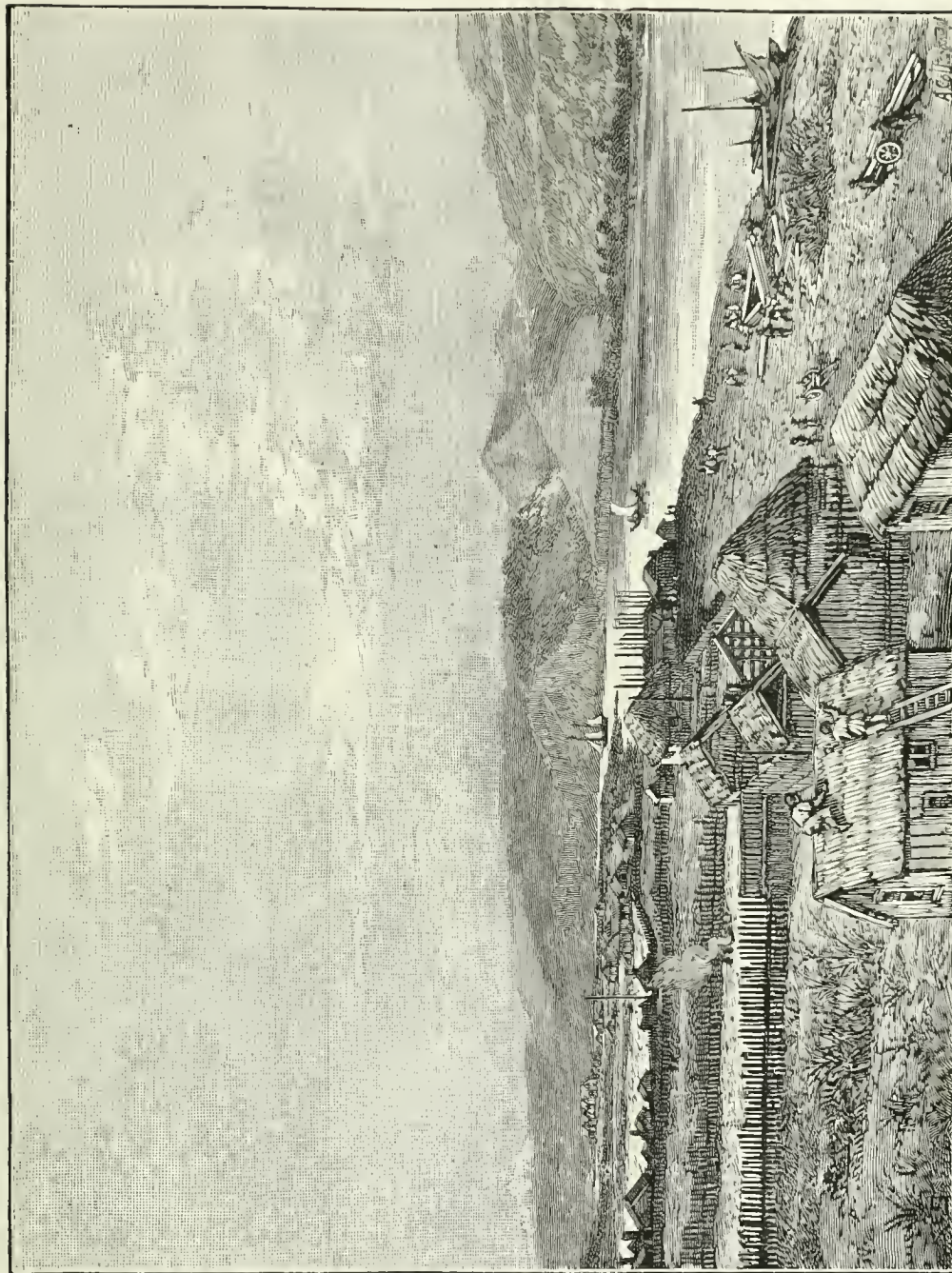


TOWARDS the close of the year 1840, the directors of the New Zealand Company became desirous of obtaining a Charter of Incorporation from Her Majesty's Government, and negotiations were commenced, which terminated, in November of the same year, in the offer of a charter, under certain conditions. The Company was to waive all claims to lands in New Zealand on the ground of purchase from the aborigines, and to receive from the Crown a free grant of land in the ratio of one acre for every five shillings reasonably expended by them for the purposes of colonization. This offer was accepted. The charter was issued on the 12th February, 1841; the Company's capital was fixed at £300,000, in shares of £25 each, of which two-thirds were to be paid up within twelve months, with power to increase it to £1,000,000, and also to borrow on mortgage to the extent of £500,000. In conformity with the terms of the agreement of November,

1840, Mr. James Pennington, an accountant, was appointed to investigate the expenditure.

Soon after the foundation of Wellington and Auckland, four new settlements were formed. The first was at Wanganui. Late in the year 1840, two hundred Wellington settlers, finding that they were impoverished by living on their own resources, and seeing no prospect of obtaining country sections of land nearer than forty miles from the town, migrated by sea to Wanganui, a place on the West Coast, one hundred and twenty miles to the north of Wellington. This new settlement was named Petre, and the site chosen for the town, up to which vessels of fourteen tons burden could be easily navigated, was four miles from the mouth of the Wanganui river. The Wanganui district was Colonel Wakefield's second land purchase from the natives. In old maps the river is called Knowsley, and in some of the Company's publications it is improperly described as navigable for large vessels. The depth of water on the bar ranges from 9 to 14 feet. The river rises in the interior of the North Island, and its course to the sea is tortuous and picturesque. Like all rivers on the West Coast, a shifting sand-bank at the mouth renders its entrance

Shakespeare Cliff.



Dr. Peter Wilson's House

Police Office and Magistrate's House

Mr. Henry Churton's Houses
Mr. E. J. Wakefield's House

The Town of Petre, on the Wanganui River, in September, 1841.

dangerous in stormy weather. The native population in the neighbourhood was numerous, and the land fertile.

Another settlement was formed at Taranaki, in the North Island, in the year 1841. The first settlers arrived in March, and the main body in September. These colonists were sent out by a joint stock association, denominated the New Plymouth Company, from a town celebrated in the early colonization of Massachusetts, and seated in a district which gave birth to that leader of colonists, Raleigh Gilbert.

The Earl of Devon was Governor of the Company, and Mr. Thomas Gill Deputy Governor. The Company had a capital of £150,000. The first purchase from the New Zealand Company was 10,000 acres, to which were soon afterwards added 50,000 acres, to be allotted out of the lands which Colonel Wakefield claimed to have purchased. The exact location of the settlement was as yet undetermined, and the New Plymouth Company despatched Mr. F. Carrington, as chief surveyor, to settle this question, while the directors of the New Zealand Company wrote to Colonel Wakefield, directing him to facilitate by all the means in his power the inquiries of the agent of the New Plymouth Company. Mr. Carrington and staff left England on the 13th of August, 1840, in the barque *London*, and arrived at Port Nicholson on the 12th of December.

The exploration party, headed by Messrs. Stokes and Parks, surveyors, and Mr. Heaphy, draughtsman, whose departure from Wellington has already been mentioned, only made a very short stay at Taranaki. The journey from Wellington to Sugar Loaf Point occupied a month. They found that the natives had erected a long house, divided into a number of compartments, on the beach, eastward of Sugar Loaf Point, for the reception of expected immigrants. The party experienced great difficulty in getting supplies of food, and therefore, after a very hurried examination of the country, returned to Wellington.

Mr. Carrington, agent for the New Plymouth Company, after his arrival at Port Nicholson, conferred with Colonel Wakefield on the question of site for the proposed settlement, and it was agreed that an examination should be made of Queen Charlotte Sound, Blind Bay, and Taranaki. For this purpose Colonel Wakefield placed at Mr. Carrington's disposal the barque *Brougham*, expressing, however, at the same time his own opinion that

Taranaki, despite its want of a harbour, would be the most attractive location. The *Brougham* accordingly made sail for that place first. Mr. Barrett accompanied the expedition as pilot and interpreter. Messrs. Carrington, R. H. Aubrey, Baines, Nesbit and Rogan landed and made a hurried examination of the country, including an excursion up the Waitara River. They thence proceeded in succession to Port Hardy, Motueka, and Queen Charlotte Sound, but did not observe Nelson Harbour, its singular natural breakwater, formed by the Boulder Bank, presenting no feature to attract attention unless upon close inspection.

The result of this expedition was the selection of the Taranaki district. Mr. Carrington lost no time in making preparations for the location of the expected settlers. He returned to Taranaki with a surveying party and some settlers on the 4th of February, 1841, and immediately commenced to lay off the site of the settlement. His reasons for rejecting Waitara, which was then believed to be available to him, were thus explained in a letter to Mr. Woollcombe: "I have fixed the town between the rivers Huatoki and Henui, the former two miles from this (Moturoa) and the latter three. Two or three brooks also run through the town, and water is to be had in any part of it. The soil, I think, could not be better. There is much open or fern country and abundance of fine country. We have also five rivers between this and the Waitara, a distance of about twelve miles. I have twice been up this river, once at low water for three miles. The banks are parallel, and the country and river beautiful. I once had made up my mind to have the town there, but the almost constant surf upon the bar has caused me to prefer this place. A good roadstead is certainly before a bad harbour. There is thirteen and a half feet of water at high tides at Waitara, and inside the bar plenty for a large ship. However, it would never do for the town, owing to the surf. As you will see by my journal, I have minutely examined about seven or eight hundred miles of coast. The Plymouth Company has the garden of this country." The latter expression, it may be remarked, has passed into a proverb, the country around Taranaki preserving still the designation of "the garden of New Zealand," which Mr. Carrington aptly bestowed upon it in 1841.

In November, 1840, preparations were made in Plymouth, England, for the despatch of a pioneer vessel to the Plymouth Com-

pany's settlement at Taranaki. The barque William Bryant, 312 tons, Captain Maclean, sailed from Plymouth Sound on the 19th November, 1840, and arrived at Cloudy Bay, March 19th, 1841. Mr. George Cutfield, who was in charge of the expedition, hired a cutter and proceeded to Wellington to see Colonel Wakefield, who furnished Mr. Cutfield with a pilot. Mr. Cutfield returned to Cloudy Bay; the William Bryant sailed from thence March 28th, and arrived at New Plymouth March 30th, 1841. In addition to Mr. Cutfield were Mr. R. Chilman, Mr. Thomas King, Mr. A. Aubrey, Mr. Weekes (surgeon), sixty-four adult emigrants, and seventy children.

Prior to the departure of the William Bryant from England, a *fete* in the shape of a public breakfast was given by the Plymouth Company of New Zealand at the Grand Hotel Assembly Rooms, Plymouth, on Friday, October 30th, 1840. The chair was taken soon after three o'clock by the Earl of Devon, and T. Gill, Esq., officiated as Vice-President. The number of persons at the tables was 360, and the gallery was filled with spectators admitted by ticket. On the right of the chair sat Lord Courtney, Lady J. Eliot, Mr. Admiral Warren, Sir William Molesworth, M.P., Mr. W. Coryton, Colonel Crawford, R.A., Lady Hoste, and Captain Eden, R.N. On the left were Colonel Hill, Mrs. Crawford, Mr. Bul-teel, Lady Molesworth, Lord Eliot, M.P., Mrs. General Ellice, Colonel Sir G. Hoste, R.E., Lady Elizabeth Bul-teel, and Lady Courtney.

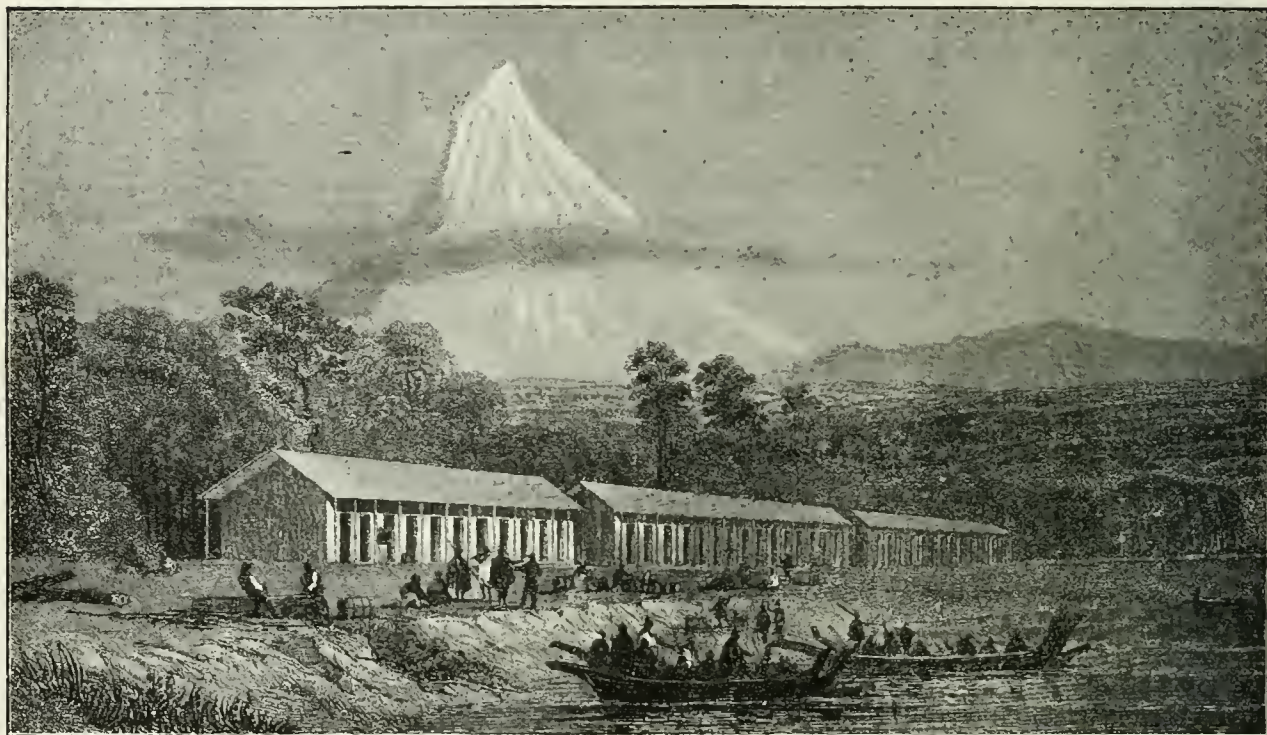
The report having closed, suitable toasts were given, in connection with which the company were addressed by Lord Eliot, Sir William Molesworth, Mr. E. G. Wakefield, Rev. Mr. Luney, Lord Courtney, Mr. J. Bul-teel, Mr. T. Gill, and Mr. Woolcombe.

Lord Eliot and Sir William Molesworth spoke at great length and with much ability, but the speech which most deeply interested the Port Nicholson settlers was that delivered by E. G. Wakefield, Esq., in the course of which he said they were all aware that within the last two or three years the subject of the colonization of New Zealand had given occasion to a number of disputes and vexed questions between the Government and the parties engaged in endeavouring to colonize the country. He rejoiced at being able to announce to them that those disputes were at an end. The main question in dispute was whether these magnificent islands should or should not remain under the dominion of the Queen of England. Some said that they were British territory, others that they were not,

and this difference of opinion was the source of many more. The main question, on which in truth all the others depended, had been settled by the civil boldness of a military man. He meant one who was known to many present — Captain Hobson, of the navy. Captain Hobson, who had been despatched to New Zealand in a diplomatic character, as Her Majesty's consul, accredited to the native chiefs, finding that great disorders prevailed for want of a sufficient sovereign authority, and that there was much risk even that the Company's settlers might in self-defence, in order to avert the evils of complete anarchy, set up for their own protection a sort of independent republic in the South Seas, Captain Hobson, he said, thus impelled, took upon himself to issue two proclamations in Her Majesty's name, by which the whole of the islands of New Zealand were declared part and parcel of the Queen's dominions. Those proclamations Her Majesty's Government had re-published in the *London Gazette*. The main subject of dispute was thus disposed of. The principal question being settled, it became comparatively easy to adjust the others. The directors of the New Zealand Company were in hopes, until last evening, that they would be able to convey to that meeting the detailed statement of a settlement of all differences between the Government and the Company. The details were still wanting, but the settlement had taken place. (He here read a letter which the Governor of the Company had received from one of the Under Secretaries of State for the Colonies, on this subject.) The directors of the London Company, he said, who deserved some credit for caution as well as boldness, for prudence as well as courage, had authorised him (Mr. Wakefield) to state that they were entirely satisfied with the purport of that letter, and fully expected that arrangements would be immediately made by which all the questions in dispute would be set at rest. In that room he ought to say, though it was scarcely necessary, that the directors of the London Company had not forgotten the society whose proceedings they were that day met to celebrate. They had not neglected the interests of the Plymouth Company of New Zealand; they regarded it as a branch of their own larger enterprise, and instead of viewing with satisfaction any plan that did not comprise the security and well-doing of the Plymouth Company, they would have had strong objections to it. The meeting would have seen from the letter of Mr. Vernon Smith that the directors of the London Com-

pany were not in possession of the details of the arrangements which Lord John Russell had promised to submit to them; but they had one among other very strong reasons for believing that the details of those arrangements would be perfectly satisfactory. He begged the attention of the meeting to that reason. The step Lord John Russell had taken had not been the consequence of any importunity on the part of the Company, but was a voluntary act of the Secretary of State. The Government had not given way—it had come forward. The proposals of the Govern-

to their settlement of Wellington in New Zealand, and they were about to double their large capital for the purpose of carrying into the fullest effect the present views of Her Majesty's Government. He regretted that it was not in his power to lay before them the particulars of Lord John Russell's plan for the government and colonization of New Zealand, but would repeat that the directors of the London Company had no doubt that that plan would prove satisfactory to themselves and to the public at large. They had never yet held out a false



Houses erected to accommodate the first settlers at Taranaki.

ment were not made in the spirit of unwilling concession, but in that of a free will offering, suggested by the adoption of the principle that it is the part of duty and wisdom in the Government to foster such enterprises as these, and to make use of colonizing companies as instruments of the State for accomplishing great public objects. The New Zealand Company, of which the Plymouth Company of New Zealand was a branch, would meet the confidence and good-will of the Government in a similar spirit. They had already, in the course of fourteen months, despatched 2,274 persons

hope to anybody, and it was not without deliberation that they had commissioned him thus to speak of their expectations.

The following report of the arrival of the William Bryant and the landing of the passengers and cargo, was furnished to Colonel Wakefield by Mr. G. Cutfield:—"The William Bryant arrived March 30, landed the emigrants and baggage, and then immediately commenced unloading the ship, placing the goods on a bank just above high water mark, under Mr. Barrett's houses. On the 6th April, having considerably lightened the

ship, she left us for Port Hardy to take in ballast. On the departure of the ship I began building a bridge over the Ewatoka, and erecting the store-house. By the 26th, the bridge being finished and the storehouse up, I commenced with my timber wheels and hand carts to transfer the stores two miles over the sand to the intended town, and had made some progress, when the return of the ship on the 29th obliged me to break off from this service to finish unloading her. Provisions of all sorts being very scarce, I have purchased all the captain could spare, and I believe I have now salt meat for two and a half months, and flour for four or five. At present I have not only to supply my own people, but many others, so that I fear, before the arrival of our next ship, we may feel the want of provisions. Mr. Barrett has no salt meat, and but little fresh; he is looking out anxiously for the Jewess (she was wrecked). The natives were in dread of another descent on them from the Waikato tribe."

The operations of the New Zealand Company at this period placed Governor Hobson in an extremely difficult position. His Excellency had come to the country with definite instructions to establish the Queen's sovereignty by treaty with the native chiefs. This he had done under the Treaty of Waitangi, by which the aboriginal owners were guaranteed in the possession of their lands. The danger he had most to fear was collision with the natives, but by the exercise of tact, and aided by the influence of the missionaries, he had obtained the confidence of the chiefs, disarmed their fears with regard to the security of their lands, and established confidence in the absolute good faith of the Crown's guarantee. The Governor understood enough of native land tenure to know that the hurried purchases made by Colonel Wakefield from such natives as he could induce to accept of his presents must in the main be invalid. Colonel Wakefield was totally unacquainted with the system of land tenure prevailing among the natives, which, as subsequent investigations have proved, comprehended a definite ownership for every piece of land in the North Island. Remonstrances, moreover, reached the Governor from native chiefs who saw their possessions being taken away, conflicting claims were arising between Europeans, and Captain Hobson foresaw a crop of troubles arising out of the land question. Meanwhile, the urgent duty of obtaining the recognition of the Queen's sovereignty, determining the

site of the capital, and establishing the institutions of Government, would alone have provided ample work for the first year of his administration to one more skilled in such matters than an officer whose life had been chiefly spent at sea. Beyond this, the Land Act passed by the Legislative Council of New South Wales, by the direction of Governor Gipps, under whose orders Governor Hobson was acting in the earlier part of his administration, provided for an independent investigation of all titles. It must have appeared imperative to Captain Hobson, therefore, that, pending this settlement, the creation of vested interests should be circumscribed. When the erection of New Zealand into a separate colony caused the authority of New South Wales to be superseded, the Governor's position in this matter remained unchanged, because Lord John Russell, Secretary of State at that period, intimated that a Commissioner would be appointed to investigate all land claims.

The New Zealand Company, however, were determined to push on their colonising schemes at all hazards, and were not content with extending outward from one centre. Their great aim was to establish themselves at as many advantageous points as they could secure. They had embarked in the undertaking in defiance of the British Government at home, and were not to be deterred by the weaker authority wielded by Captain Hobson in the colony. Continual conflicts resulted, the Governor on the one hand charging the Company with setting him at defiance, and practically usurping the prerogatives of the Crown, while the Company accused him of adopting on all occasions a hostile attitude towards the proceedings of the Company and its agents. The establishment of the settlements at Wanganui and New Plymouth became the subjects of an acrimonious controversy. Lieutenant Hobson opened the ball in the following despatch to His Excellency Sir George Gipps:—

Government House, Russell,
December 29th, 1840.

SIR,—Referring to your Excellency's letter, dated and numbered as in the margin, covering copies of communications made to the deputation from Port Nicholson by your Excellency, and informing me of the conditions on which the settlers are to remain undisturbed on the lands they have taken possession of, I do myself the honour to inform you that notice has been published in the Port Nicholson papers by Captain Smith, R.A., who signs himself Surveyor-General of the New Zealand Company, that plans of the district of Wanganui and Taranaki were ready for inspection, and that the selection therein would take place on Monday, 4th February, 1841.

I have to request that your Excellency will furnish me with instructions as to the course I should pursue to prevent the serious consequences that must inevitably result from the Company apportioning lands so distant from their settlement, in contravention of your Excellency's conditions, reservations, and limitations, as expressed in Enclosure D, the lands of Taranaki being distant one hundred miles from Port Nicholson, and those of Wanganui being far beyond the limits of any block including Port Nicholson that can be comprised within 110,000 acres.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,

W. HOBSON.

His Excellency Sir GEORGE GIPPS,
Governor, etc., etc.

To this Governor Gipps replied, under date January 12th, instructing Captain Hobson, "without loss of time, to direct the police magistrate at Port Nicholson to notify, in the most public manner possible, that no such selections will be acknowledged by Her Majesty's Government, nor any titles whatsoever derived from the New Zealand Company beyond the limits of the 110,000 acres taken in one continuous block round Port Nicholson."

The Company treated these notices as so much waste paper, and pushed on their operations as though the lands claimed under Colonel Wakefield's purchases were already held under Crown grant. The Company counted upon their influence in Great Britain to secure the ratification of their proceedings, and they were not mistaken, the Governor ultimately guaranteeing against all European claimants the titles of the settlers at Wanganui and Taranaki, although the native title was not thus barred, and at both settlements the encroachment very soon brought the settlers into collision with the native owners. Governor Hobson, in a despatch dated September 27th, 1841, explains that he had given way so far in the case of Wanganui and Taranaki, because it was "the only means open to me of restoring confidence to the occupiers of land, who purchased from the New Zealand Company under an implied assurance that the Company's title was clear and undisputed."

Encouraged by the eagerness with which land was purchased in England at the Wellington and New Plymouth settlements, the directors of the New Zealand Company issued a prospectus in 1841, for the formation of another settlement, to be called Nelson. In April, 1841, the ships *Whitby* and *Will Watch* sailed from London with emigrants to establish this settlement, and arrived at Wellington in September. Governor Hobson, who met the settlers at that place, wished them to be

located in the northern part of the North Island, and suggested as good sites Mahurangi, the river Thames, and the Waipa district. At the former place, he stated, the Government could place 80,000 acres at the Company's disposal, or 150,000 acres in the valley of the Thames or on the banks of the Waipa. This, however, did not comply with Colonel Wakefield's views or instructions, which required that the district chosen for the settlement should comprise "at least 200,000 acres of land, and a port capable of accommodating safely vessels of large size. It must also not be so near any other settlement as to render the abstraction of labourers easy or probable." The rivalry of Auckland was what the Company's agents chiefly feared in relation to Mahurangi and the Thames.

Captain Arthur Wakefield wanted the Governor to grant lands between Port Cooper and Otago, to which the Governor replied that there were already several European claims in that district, as well as an unextinguished native title, and it would be an unwarranted and wanton exercise of the power of the Crown were he to appropriate those lands until the claims of the purchasers, or alleged purchasers, had been adjudicated upon. In further recommending the selection of Mahurangi or the Thames, His Excellency wrote: "Referring to the observations which passed in conversation respecting the site of a town, I certainly admitted that the proximity of the capital would, by comparison, be unfavourable to the Company's town; but I am not at all clear that its real value would suffer by that circumstance. The expediency of placing two large towns so closely together is, I know, questionable, but this is a consequence we cannot guard against, while the Company continues to sell towns in England which are beyond the actual wants of the colony, and are used merely as a means of carrying on gambling and speculations by persons who never dream of becoming colonists."

Writing to the Secretary of State subsequently upon this controversy Captain Hobson remarked: "From the eager desire evinced by the Company's agents, in the enclosed correspondence, to extend their settlements to the southern parts of the colony, your Lordship will probably coincide with my opinion, that their real motive in thus endeavouring to direct immigration to New Munster is either to oblige the Government to establish itself at Port Nicholson, or to render necessary a dependent government in New Munster. Of the expediency of furthering either of these

views, your Lordship is the most competent judge.

"In relation to the system at present pursued by the New Zealand Company, of selling in England town lands of vast extent before any site has been chosen in this country, I respectfully submit to your Lordship that great evil seems likely to arise from that course. Not only are towns likely to be multiplied beyond the wants of the colony, merely to favour speculation, but in the subsequent selection of localities, objects of first importance (including the convenience of Government, whether geographically or politically considered), as well as the interests of the agriculturist, may be sacrificed."

The result of his parleying with Governor Hobson was that Colonel Wakefield determined at all hazards to establish the new settlement at Blind Bay, relying upon his own purchase there, despite the Governor's intimation that "the lands at that place and its vicinity are extensively claimed by persons who date their native titles prior to Colonel Wakefield's purchase in 1839."

In reply to the Governor's remarks about the establishment of towns, Colonel Wakefield stated: "With reference, however, to your Excellency's allusion to the Company's selling towns in England, which are beyond the actual wants of the colony, and are merely used as a means of carrying on gambling speculations by persons who never dream of becoming colonists, I venture to vindicate the intentions of the gentlemen who compose the directors of the Company, by observing, that if they had only mercenary views, and were not actuated by the desire they have always evinced to carry out the principles of colonization which they have put forward in reference to this country since 1837, and which they believe to be best adapted to the peculiar circumstances and configuration of the islands, they would, by taking advantage of the present feelings of the public, be enabled to realise much larger profits by indiscriminate sales of land, than they can ever hope to make for the shareholders and purchasers by systematic and judicious location of emigrants in the most appropriate spots."

The prospectus issued by the New Zealand Company in connection with the formation of the Nelson settlement contained the following particulars: The settlement was to consist of 201,000 acres, in 1000 allotments of 201 acres each, each allotment to consist of three sections, viz., 150 acres of rural land, 50 acres of suburban land, and one town acre; the town thus

to consist of 1000 acres, exclusive of reserves for public purposes. The price of each allotment was £300. As soon as a certain number of allotments had been paid for, a ballot was to be held, as in the case of the Wellington settlement, in order to establish the order of choice; but with this difference, that a separate ballot was to be held for town, suburban, and rural sections, so that the purchaser of an allotment might become entitled to a different order of choice for each of the three sections included in it.

The Company also added a quantity equal to one-tenth of the settlement as native reserves, so that the whole land to be appropriated was 221,100 acres, and the town was 1,100 acres, exclusive of public reserves. The Company had also a right of purchasing 100 allotments for its own benefit, at the same price and subject to the same terms in every respect as other purchasers. One half of the sum realized was to be devoted to emigration, out of which £20,000 was to be reserved as a special fund for making allowances of passage money to purchasers and their families, according to the discretion of the directors; two-sixths to defray the Company's expenses, etc., and one-sixth was to be held in trust for the purpose of rendering the settlement attractive. This last appropriation gave origin to the Nelson Educational Fund.

The preliminary expedition set sail from Wellington on the 2nd of October, 1841. It consisted of the *Whitby*, *Will Watch*, and brig *Snow*, having on board Captain Wakefield, the resident agent, Mr. Tuckett, the chief surveyor, and a staff of assistants and labourers. They took shelter at Kapiti, *en route*, and Rauparaha, who was there, listened with suppressed alarm to the accounts of the expected advent of many more Europeans. The vessels were compelled by the wind to approach near the opposite shore of Cloudy Bay, and the people on board observed, with no little surprise, the extensive plain of the Wairau, and the grassy hills to the east.

The ships proceeded to Astrolabe Roads, where, having anchored, three exploring parties were despatched in different directions to search for available country, and also for an available port. On the return of two of the exploring parties to Astrolabe, the leaders, Messrs. Heaphy and Moore, reported the discovery of sufficient available land for a settlement. This decided Captain Wakefield upon having arrangements made (much against the wishes of the chief surveyor, who

had returned in the meantime with the intelligence that the land seen by himself and others was insufficient for the requirements of the settlement) to survey a site for the future town at Kaiteretere, extending along shore to the mouth of the Riwaka Valley.

While the survey of the town was being proceeded with, a boat was despatched to the south-eastern shore of Blind Bay, to ascertain if any port existed. This led to the discovery of the harbour of Waikatu, or Nelson, as it was afterwards called. On the news of the discovery being conveyed to Astrolabe, the survey of the town site at Kaiteretere was abandoned, and the whole party re-embarked for the present site of Nelson.

On arrival of the ships in the Nelson haven, a conference was held with the native owners of the soil, and Captain Wakefield promised them presents when the settlers obtained possession of the land his brother had purchased. This speech produced a long silence. One chief said: "We welcome the white men, but decline their presents, lest they might be constructed into proofs that the lands were fairly bought." But a majority acceded to the agent's conditions, after which surveyors and settlers landed to select a site for the town. One emigrant, years since rich in flocks and herds, pitched his solitary sixpence overboard, and now boasts of having landed without a penny. This, however, is by no means an uncommon boast, for some of the richest men in the colony landed with empty pockets, and as a general rule those who had capital lost it.

The survey of a site for the projected settlement was commenced immediately and carried forward with energy and rapidity. The chief surveyor, although satisfied with the Port of Waikatu and the land contiguous to it as a site merely for a town, felt desirous of making further explorations; but as there was little time to spare to make an extensive research in consequence of the emigrants being then on their way out from England, for whose reception preparations were necessary, Captain Wakefield determined upon planting the settlement in Blind Bay—and Waikatu, with the surrounding country, comprising the districts of Waimea, Moutere, Motueka, and Massacre Bay, was therefore chosen, as being the best site.

As the whole of the available land in Massacre Bay afforded less than half the number of the rural sections, of 150 acres each, required to complete the scheme of the Nelson settlement, it became necessary to explore

further, and in the opposite direction, for available land. This led to the discovery of a tolerably easy route to the east, by which the valley of the Wairau was reached.

The chief surveyor, Mr. Tuckett, on visiting the district, reported favourably of its capabilities for affording the number of sections required to complete the settlement, and preparations were made to have the country surveyed.

As soon as the intelligence reached the natives on the northern shores of Cook Strait that the Wairau was being explored for the purpose of settlement, Rauparaha, accompanied by two other chiefs, Te Hiko and Rangihaeata, crossed over to Nelson, and had an interview with the resident agent, whereupon Rauparaha informed Captain Wakefield that having heard that persons had gone from Nelson to the Wairau with the intention of surveying the land, he had come to inform the agent that they must not go there, as he had not sold the district to the New Zealand Company and was not then disposed to do so; but, if he should, the payment must be great.

In reply to Rauparaha's remarks, the resident agent claimed the Wairau by virtue of the purchase made by the principal agent from the natives, and informed him that the survey must be proceeded with.

Rangihaeata repudiated the sale, and cautioned the Company's agents against going there, or they would meet with violence. Rauparaha, although quieter in his demeanour, entreated the surveyors not to persist in going to the Wairau, and requested the agent to refer the claim to the decision of the Government Commissioner, Mr. Spain. The agent, however, refused to recognize the Commissioner's jurisdiction over the Company's claims, and determined to proceed with the work, relying upon the purchase of the district made by the principal agent and the acquisition of the interest of the widow of Captain Blenkinsopp, who claimed to have made a prior purchase of the district.

This unfortunate determination to survey the district in opposition to the threats of the natives led to a serious affray with them in June, 1843, when what is known as the Wairau massacre took place, the details of which will be found recorded in its chronological order.

The following interesting narrative of the early settlement of Nelson is from the pen of the late Major Heaphy, V.C., who was at the time of writing draughtsman to the New Zealand Company. The letter was dated from on board the ship *Whitby*, at Port Nelson,

Waikatu River, Blind Bay, on November 6th, 1841:—

"The *Eliza* leaving this place for Port Nicholson to-morrow, I take this my earliest opportunity of writing to you, knowing that any information respecting the settlement will be received with interest. We arrived here after a passage of eleven days from Port Nicholson, having encountered a fair proportion of squalls, hard gales, etc., etc., all of which were, of course, dead against us. Cloudy Bay and Kapiti afforded us shelter against two of the above-mentioned stiff breezes, at the last of which places, by the by, W— was holding out in the Look-in.

"The three ships anchored in the *Astrolabe Roads* on the 9th of last month, and immediately all hands were engaged in exploring, surveying, etc., etc., and the affairs assumed quite a business-like appearance. One expedition was formed for exploring a valley on the right of the bay, and off I was started. Moore, also, was sent with two 'volunteers' under his direction, to explore any valley he might come across. We were both successful, and were able to report on our return the existence of considerable tracts of good land. Two days' rest followed these excursions, and then off we went again to look for land in an opposite direction, and returned with the like success. It was consequently determined that Blind Bay should be the site for the settlement, and the ships moved from the *Astrolabe Roads*, under *Adele Islands*, to the Waikatu River, on the opposite side of the bay. This harbour was discovered by Moore and one of the surveyors on a late expedition, and not only had no vessel entered the place before, but neither white man nor native had been previously aware of its capability for affording shelter to vessels. This harbour, though not, of course, equal to Port Nicholson, is nevertheless fit for all purposes required. The Taranaki people would give their heads for it, as would also the gentlemen at Adelaide and Swan River.

"The site for the town of Nelson is equal to that of Wellington, and possesses the advantage of being close to the agricultural land, which is sufficient for the purpose of the intended colony. The harbour is formed by a long sand-spit which runs off the mouth of one of the rivers, and vessels anchor outside in the bay until the tide suits, which is every six hours. There is then about three and a half fathoms on the bar, which is at all times perfectly smooth. The *Whitby*, *Will Watch*, and *Arrow* are now snugly inside, and dis-

charging their cargoes. The beach abreast of us will shortly be the scene of lively activity. It is now covered with tents and huts, which contain the stores, and into which we shall remove on Monday.

"The town will be in a more compact space than at Wellington. There will be water frontage for about a mile and a half, and vessels may lie alongside the beach to unload, as the *Whitby* has been doing. This settlement will require 500,000 acres, and that amount of available land is here. We have not had time to penetrate far into the interior, but we believe that we shall open on the *Looker's-on Plains*, at a distance of about sixty miles from the bay. The soil is of an excellent description. The plains are covered with fern and grass, with belts of bush occasionally; some of the valleys are similar to the *Hutt*, and equally rich. I shortly expect to start for the *Wairau valley* in Cloudy Bay, which is of considerable extent, and if at all approximating, will be included in the settlement of Nelson. Everything here is conducted on a glorious scale. The Company seem to have spared no expense in the equipment of this expedition. It beats the first all to nothing. Captain Wakefield, too, is a really noble fellow, and is liked by every one. It is very probable that Moore will be in Port Nicholson in a short time, in the *Arrow*, which will be despatched to Valparaiso, to convey the intelligence of the site of the settlement. By this vessel I shall send you some geological specimens, etc., which I have collected, together with a more particular description of affairs. The *Arrow* will sail in about a week."

A pioneer settler to Nelson, Mr. Simmonds, who arrived there in the *Fifeshire* in 1842, furnishes the following interesting narrative of the settlers' early trials and difficulties:—

"The *Fifeshire* arrived at Nelson on 1st February, 1842, and was the vessel that brought the first immigrants to that settlement. The expeditionary staff had preceded her, and had made ample provision for the reception of the immigrants. The site selected for the township of Nelson was found to be where the salt water bridge now stands. The New Zealand Company's depôt was placed on what is now known as *Christchurch Hill*. Our first work was to build a hut to live in. Poles had to be carried through the *Maitai river* upon our backs; fern walls had to do duty for a while until we could find time to build them up with mud. The Maoris supplied us with *toitoti* for thatching, for which

they were paid in clothing we could well do without, the natives putting on every conceivable piece of our clothing they could get hold of, and some might be seen whose only covering consisted of a white shirt and a black bell-topper. Buildings progressed very slowly owing to the distance we had to fetch our material, but the weather was delightfully calm and mild."

Before the buildings were completed, the new arrivals were aroused one night, or rather early in the morning, with a heavy storm of wind and rain, and many useful articles were carried away by the flood, and floated out to sea; however, the first flood experienced in Nelson did not prove very serious.

Finding work at his own trade, that of a builder, not in request, Mr. Simmonds was induced to try farming, and proceeded to visit the district across the bay in one of the New Zealand Company's boats, with old Sam Goddard, formerly a well-known hand in Nelson, in the management of boats. Upon his return he determined to build a boat for his own use, that would carry about three tons. This was built in what is now Bridge Street, nearly opposite to the present Government buildings, and it is thought that this was the first boat built in Nelson. Mr. Simmonds proceeded to the country, but after undergoing many vicissitudes, and having had little or nothing from the land he cultivated, and his resources being exhausted, coupled with the alarm caused to the outsettlers by the Wairau massacre, he abandoned all he had done and returned to the more settled districts of the Waimea. Here he found much distress, in consequence of the stoppage of the New Zealand Company's works. Those were fortunate, indeed, who had plenty of potatoes, as

these formed the principal, and in some instances the only food for months. Even salt was at times a luxury few could indulge in. Many of the settlers attempted to dress the native flax by hand, from which they could only obtain a miserable pittance. Roasted wheat or skinless barley was used for coffee, while manuka was used as a substitute for tea. The amount of work done by settlers on this wretched diet is described as truly astonishing. Men would go into the bush, clear and burn through the day, and go on late in the night by the light of the moon or their fires. Delicate women, the wives and daughters of these pioneers, previously unused to toil, took part in labour, grubbing in wheat, which, when threshed, was carried on the back to the nearest hand-mill to be ground into meal. A remarkable fact in connection with this state of things was the absence of all birds feeding upon the sown wheat.*

Mr. Simmonds thus concludes his narrative:—"I have known the seed thrown upon the ground in a bush clearing and allowed to germinate without any covering whatever, and produce heavy crops with straw six feet high, while with all kinds of fruit and vegetables there was a total absence of all kinds of blight. Sickness of any kind among the settlers was then almost unknown. Many of the old settlers are still living, and though few may be considered rich, many are in circumstances of ease and comfort, surrounded with farms, hop gardens, and orchards, and the privations of the old bush life are forgotten in the busy life of the present."

* Since then, however, owing to the introduction of sparrows, thrushes, and larks from England, farmers throughout the colony now complain bitterly of the depredations they suffer from the enormous increase of these birds.



CHAPTER X.

MAORI AFFAIRS.

Success of Missionary effort—Report by the Protector of Aborigines—Attitude of the natives towards the Government—Their land grievances—Te Wherowhero's claim to Taranaki—Invalidity of the New Zealand Company's titles—Atrocious murder by a Maori named Maketu at Kororareka—Arrest, trial, and execution of the murderer—Disquieting rumours—The bad influence of evil-disposed Europeans—Land disputes at Wanganui—Attack upon Mr. Forsaith's premises at Kaipara—Raid upon the settlers at Whangarei—Estimate of the Maori population—Condition of the natives at Port Nicholson.



THE good disposition of the aboriginal inhabitants of New Zealand towards the early settlers may be inferred from the general security of life and the freedom and safety with which settlers were located in situa-

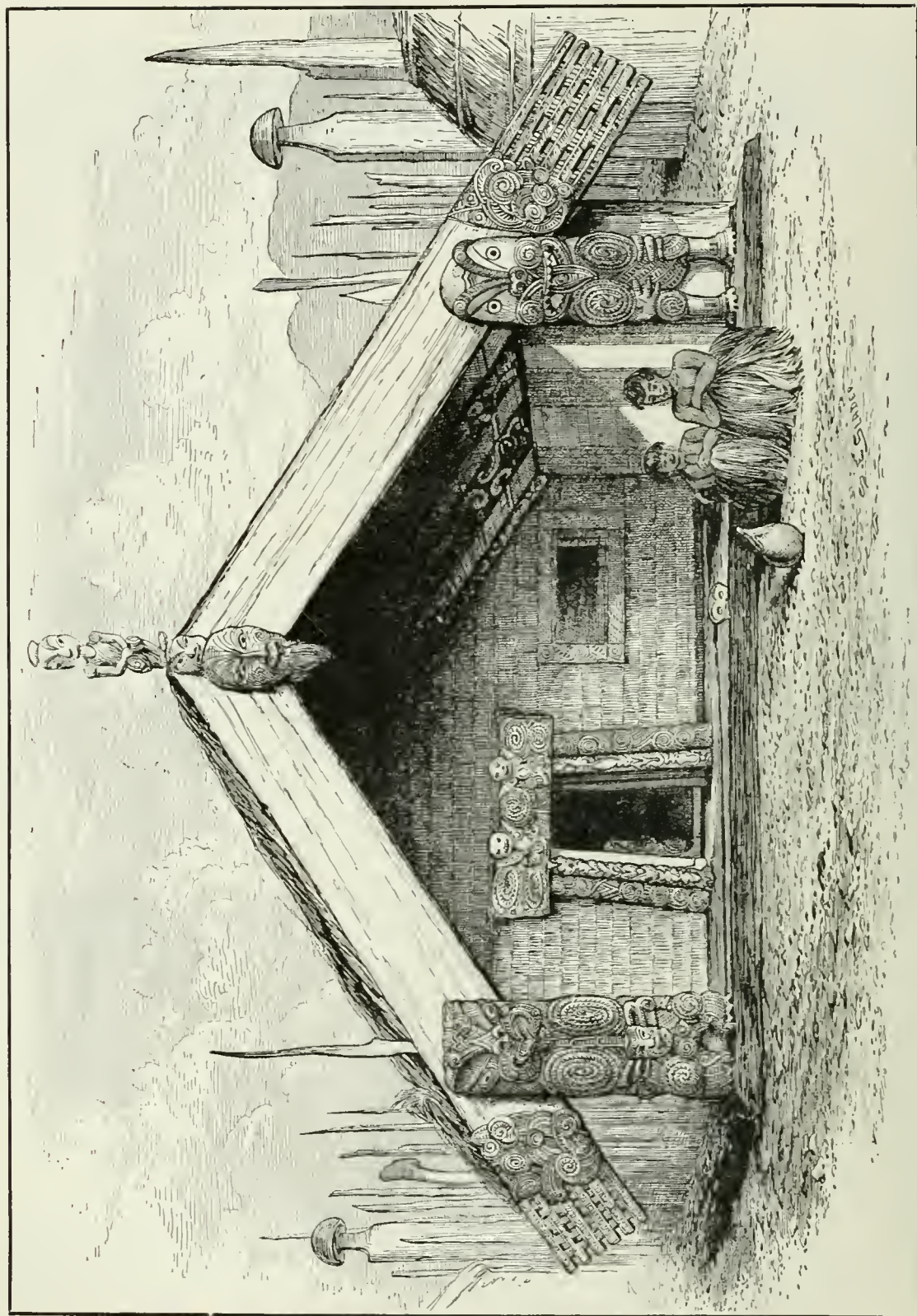
tions that placed them at the mercy of their Maori neighbours. Missionary influence had undoubtedly accomplished very much. The Rev. Henry Williams, in a letter dated Paihia, October 1st, 1841, states: "The natives assembling every Lord's Day under our missionaries and native teachers are not fewer than thirty-five or forty thousand." The Wesleyan and Roman Catholic missions were also flourishing. In every village crowds assembled for divine worship, and the schools were well attended. The Rev. William Williams, who was now stationed at Turanga, writes: "The idols are already cast to the moles and to the bats, the swords are beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks, that is, the whole fabric of native superstitions is gone, whether relating to the living or to the dead, the old priests being as forward to take this step as any others. Their weapons of warfare are laid by, their animosities with distant tribes are given up, and their petty quarrels are settled

by arbitration." This was, no doubt, a rather sanguine view of the change that had been effected in Maori character and conduct, nevertheless, the abandonment of the horrible practices of cannibalism and infanticide, and the general emancipation of slaves, attested the reality of the reform which had been accomplished by missionary influence.

Governor Hobson had appointed Mr. George Clarke, of the Church Mission staff, Chief Protector of Aborigines, at a salary of £400 a year, and in his half-yearly report, dated Auckland, September 30th, 1841, that officer observes:

"With considerable personal exertion and increasing solicitude for the welfare of this interesting portion of Her Majesty's subjects, I have continued to watch over and support their interests, principally by visiting the tribes in the different parts of the island, by settling as far as possible their petty disputes with Europeans, and with one another, and by endeavouring to disabuse their minds from the influence of unprincipled Europeans, disaffected to Her Majesty's Government, assuring them of the anxious and parental care felt for them by Her Most Gracious Majesty, and also by his Excellency the Governor.

"During my intercourse with them I have generally found that one of the principal subjects of complaint is the manner in which they have heard the British Government proposes treating them and their property,



Rangihaeata's House on the Island of Mana.*

being naturally a high-minded and independent people, and jealous of the proceedings of Europeans on account of the numberless frauds practised amongst them by whites of the lowest character. Amongst the old chiefs (in whom there is a large share of pride and ignorance combined, and whose power to do mischief is very limited) there is a dread of degradation by submission to the Government; but amongst the younger chiefs (whose views are more enlarged and whose dispositions are more pacific) there is an inclination to rely on the integrity of the British Government; they hold inviolate the treaty, saying that the words of it *cannot* be broken. Another very general subject of complaint, is the encroachment of Europeans upon their lands, which I fear will be a source of much trouble to Her Majesty's Government as well as to the colonists and aborigines. The equitable purchasing of a tract of country, even under the favourable circumstances of knowing the language and customs of the natives, has always been attended with great difficulty; yet, in the estimation of the majority of land purchasers (ignorant of both the native language and customs) they have accomplished more in the space of a few hours in the way of purchasing land, than the Government, under every advantage, can accomplish in as many years.

"I regret that I am not able at present to report any rapid or decided improvements among the natives, which I think is not much to be wondered at, when we consider the sudden influx of the colonists and the establishment

* The houses of the New Zealanders are generally collected into villages fortified with high wooden fences and supported at intervals by huge carved posts, some of which bear grotesque representations of the human figure; within the enclosure, which, when thus fortified, is termed E Pa, the houses are grouped about, each family having a courtyard of their own, divided with a slight fence and connected by stiles leading from the narrow ways that run between the various compartments. Great skill and taste are displayed in the carving and ornaments of the more important buildings, which are generally raised by some chief either to commemorate a battle or to show his proficiency in the art of carving; they are always painted red with kokouai, an ochre from Taranaki, and the ridge pole and boards that support the roof are richly covered with spiral arabesques in red, white and black. The house represented in the plate is designated by the cannibal name of Kai tangata, or eat man. It was built many years ago by Rangihaeata, the formidable warrior of the Ngatitooa tribe who massacred the Europeans at Wairau Valley. It stands on the small island of Mana, or Table Island, in Cook Strait, and is one of the finest specimens of elaborately ornamented dwellings yet extant. Most of the carving was executed by Rangihaeata's own hand and the image supporting the ridge pole is supposed to be himself.—*Angas*.

of Her Majesty's Government. The great demand for native labour and supplies has suddenly placed the natives in a state of affluence, which, added to the baneful influence of Europeans of vicious character, and their own natural independence, has been somewhat unfriendly to their great moral improvement; but I feel very little doubt that a reaction will soon take place, advantageous to both Europeans and natives. The sudden transition from a state of comparative poverty to affluence has been felt not only in Auckland, but even in the most remote parts of the island. It will, however, give his Excellency satisfaction that not a single case of great importance has occurred at Auckland during the last year requiring the interposition of the magistrates, and though property is in many cases intrusted to their care, I am not aware of a single instance in which the trust reposed in them has been abused. In almost every native village I have visited, they religiously keep up the observance of the sabbath, and attend their Sunday schools, which (except where there are missionaries) are conducted by native teachers.

"Hitherto but little has transpired to interrupt the harmony between Her Majesty's British and aboriginal subjects, and it is but due to acknowledge the forbearance exercised by both parties.

"Hitherto but little sickness has prevailed among the natives, and as their sanguinary wars have almost totally subsided, and Christian principles begin generally to prevail, I think the population may be on the increase, rather than, as it has been for some time past, on the decrease.

"It is also my painful duty to report that a deep-rooted superstition, under the denomination of witchcraft, has in one or two instances led to the perpetration of murder among the heathen part of the population, but this savage practice is fast disappearing, and in its place the Christian religion is everywhere diffusing its humane principles among them."

Mr. Clarke in this report stated that three important purchases of land had been made by him on behalf of the Crown, but he was of opinion that this duty was incompatible with his office as Chief Protector, the natives suspecting that their interests were less studied than those of the Government. Governor Hobson, in a despatch to the Secretary of State, remarks upon this subject: "The New Zealanders are a shrewd people, and are not a little apt to attribute all the

kindness and advice Mr. Clarke may offer them to the more sordid view of obtaining their land; besides which, he is often obliged to place himself in a false position with regard to them while resisting their unreasonable demands for large payments."

The trouble over the land question, especially with regard to the purchases of Colonel Wakefield, was steadily coming to a head. In a despatch dated Auckland, December 15th, 1841, Governor Hobson observes: "I have the honour to forward the half-yearly report of the Protector of Aborigines, Mr. Clarke, in which he sets forth the very peaceable and tractable state of the native population; but at the same time he remarks upon the apprehensions entertained by them respecting their land, and I certainly admit that a people who are in the highest degree jealous of their territorial rights, and amongst whom those rights are very imperfectly defined, are not unlikely to resort to force sooner or later rather than suffer the occupation of lands, which may have been fairly bought from one tribe, but are claimed with great apparent justice by another.

"I take, for instance, the Waikato tribe, under the chief Te Wherowhero, who are extremely powerful. They conquered and drove away the Ngatiawas from Taranaki in 1834, leaving only a small remnant, who found refuge in the mountains of Cape Egmont; and having pretty well laid waste the country, and carried off a large number of slaves, they retired to their own districts on the banks of the river Waikato.

"It appears that in 1839 Colonel Wakefield visited the country, and bought a considerable portion of it from the few Ngatiawas who had resumed their habitations on the retreat of Te Wherowhero.

"Now Te Wherowhero claims the country as his by right of conquest, and insists on it that the remnant of the Ngatiawas are slaves; that they only live at Taranaki by sufferance, and that they had no right whatsoever to sell the land without his consent. In illustration of his argument, he placed a heavy ruler on some light papers, saying, 'Now so long as I choose to keep this weight here, the papers remain quiet, but if I remove it, the wind immediately blows them away; so it is with the people of Taranaki;' alluding to his power to drive them off.

"Te Wherowhero certainly has a claim to the land, but not a primary one, as the received rule is, that those who occupy the land must first be satisfied. But he is the

most powerful chief in New Zealand, and I fear will not be governed by abstract rights, but will rather take the law into his own hands.

"I had hopes, until a few days ago, that he would consent to take a moderate compensation for his claim; but he suddenly broke off a negotiation entered into with him, because his conditions being large, I determined on referring them to Colonel Wakefield before I paid the price stipulated. Where he has gone, or what his intentions are, I cannot yet learn; but he will probably call on me again when his impatience has moderated.

"I have mentioned this case as the type of a hundred others, merely to show your Lordship how difficult it is, unsupported by power, to conclude any real bargain with the natives; for it is clear that in this case Te Wherowhero has presumed on his imposing position, and on my evident weakness; and I am compelled to assume an independence which I certainly cannot maintain."

After the negotiations referred to were broken off, a party of the Waikatos, in December, 1841, paid a visit to Taranaki to assert the tribal claim, and caused considerable alarm among the settlers, but upon the receipt of a few small presents, they returned peacefully to their homes. Soon afterwards Governor Hobson induced Te Wherowhero and Te Kati to accept £150 in money, two horses with saddles and bridles, and a hundred red blankets, in settlement of the Waikato claims over the Taranaki lands.

The Rev. Henry Williams effectually exposes the flimsy nature of the title upon which vast tracts of land were claimed by the New Zealand Company. He says: "On this visit * I saw in the bank at Wellington a map of New Zealand, about six feet in length, and was told by the authorities of the New Zealand Company that the coloured portion was the property of the New Zealand Company, from the 38° to the 40° parallel of latitude. At this time there was no one in connection with their commission who knew anything of the language. A man named Barrett could speak a few words in the most ordinary form. This man alone was the medium of communication between the Company and the Maoris in all their affairs, and the deeds of purchase were drawn up in English, not one word of which was understood by the natives. Nor had communication been held in the places included in this intended

* In 1840, when taking the Treaty of Waitangi south for signature.

purchase, except at Port Nicholson, Kapiti, and Taranaki, neither party understanding the other. On one occasion, while I was at Port Nicholson, passing down the harbour with several members of Council—Mr. St. Hill, Dr. Evans, etc., and Captain Chaffers—Dr. Evans inquired of Captain Chaffers how far south the Company's territory extended. His reply was, across the Island and from 38 to 42°. I knew that communication had not been had. I inquired who had been seen at Wanganui, Taupo, Kawhia, Rotorua, Turanga, Ahuriri, etc. No answer could be given, for this simple reason, that none had been held."

In the closing paragraph of the Governor's despatch quoted above, expressing satisfaction at the "peacable and tractable" disposition of the natives, brief mention is made of an occurrence which for a while threatened to destroy the good feeling that had been established between the two races, and which had undoubtedly a malign influence upon the relations subsisting between the natives and the Government. This deplorable incident was a cold blooded murder committed by a Maori named Maketu, a young man seventeen years of age, upon a family named Roberton, who were living on an island near Kororareka. Both the settlers and the natives were much excited over this untoward event, and fears were entertained that the Maoris would endeavour to prevent the law from being carried out.

Governor Hobson in his despatch of the 16th December, 1841, gives the following full details of the murder, and the subsequent capture of the murderer:—"I do myself the honour to report that on the 20th ultimo a widow named Roberton, her man servant, and her two children, with one native child, were brutally murdered on one of the islands in the Bay of Islands. Soon after the dreadful occurrence was made known at Kororareka, some of the white inhabitants, aided by the native tribes living in that town, proceeded to the spot, with the coroner, and held an inquest on the bodies; but in the course of the examination one of the jurors requested a postponement of the inquiry, as he had received secret intelligence from a native chief, which was likely to throw some light on the subject, and to disclose who was the perpetrator of the bloody deed.

"Accordingly, on the next morning very early a party again proceeded to the island, and there the natives pointed out a man who was in possession of many of the effects of the

deceased, all which were secured, and the man on whom they were found was apprehended on suspicion; but owing to the threats of the natives was not secured until his father came forward and gave him up.

"The adjourned inquest took place at Kororareka, when a verdict of wilful murder of the five persons was recorded against the native, whose name is Maketu. Maketu is the son of Ruhe, one of the high chiefs of the Bay, and he is connected with all the first men in the northern part of this island. His apprehension created such unusual excitement at the Bay of Islands that the Police Magistrate deemed it right to send him here (Auckland) for better security.

"The only reason that can be assigned for Ruhe giving up his son to justice was his apprehension that the Kororareka tribes would kill him on the spot, in consequence of the murder of the native child, a grandchild of Rewa, who is the head of the Ngapuhis, who principally inhabit Kororareka and its vicinity, and was then present. Since the confinement of Maketu he has voluntarily confessed that he murdered the five persons with his own hand, and the sum of his statement is as follows:—He says that he was engaged to work for the deceased, but his rate of wages depended on his exertions; that the white servant had either that morning or the day before told Mrs. Roberton he was a lazy fellow, and that, in consequence, he watched his opportunity when the servant was asleep to split his head open with an axe; that whilst he was committing the deed, the deceased, Mrs. Roberton, was standing at the door and saw him, and he judged it best to kill her also, which he did. He then murdered two of the children, and the third ran away, but was pursued and caught by him and thrown over the cliff into the sea. He then set fire to the house, first taking out of it what he deemed valuable, and threw the bodies into the flames. When the coroner examined them they were much mutilated. He has since entered more into detail, varying his story slightly. He attributes to Mrs. Roberton some breach of contract, and assigns this as his motive for committing this dreadful murder.

"The occurrence I have above related shows a degree of malignity in the New Zealand character which is not borne out by any of the reports that have hitherto been given. It is certainly a shocking instance of the turpitude of man, when unrestrained by moral or religious influence, but I have great

reason to hope and believe that this unhappy affair is not to be taken as a specimen of the race, even when unreclaimed.

"The chief Maketu was always a wicked man, and was much associated with low white people, yet he professes to be a Christian, and states that when even engaged in his usual prayer in the evening, he contemplated this diabolical deed. Since his confinement in gaol several of his letters have been intercepted, in which he endeavours to excite his friends to acts similar to his own, and in one he advises the murder of the Governor secretly and the sudden attack of the troops, whom he proposes to annihilate.

"In the excited state of the native feeling I deem it right to be on my guard, and the troops are concentrated in the defensible barracks, and much precaution is taken without any display. But I cannot relieve my mind of apprehension for those persons who are in out-stations and unprotected.

"The military force is so small that it admits not of separation, and the feelings and pride of the natives are much offended that a chief should be exposed to such indignity. Had he been killed on the spot very little excitement would have been manifested, for his crime is received with horror. But to expose him to an open trial, and then probably to the shame of a public execution, is considered a degradation on the whole aboriginal race. Had his offence been less atrocious, or had his guilt not been so clearly

established, I feel convinced that we should have had a severe struggle to carry the law into execution. As it is, although native opinion is much divided, there is still great excitement prevailing, and we feel greatly the want of force to check any ebullition that may arise."

The excitement among the natives was very great, and the settlers feared that if Maketu were hung his relatives would commit reprisals upon

them. The Governor was urged by many of the settlers to commute Maketu's sentence. One deputation which waited upon him at Auckland to urge this pusillanimous policy Governor Hobson dismissed with scant ceremony. He intimated that his own life and that of his wife were just as much exposed to risk from native outrage as were the lives of the members of the deputation, and he was resolved that no matter what the risk, so long as he remained Governor the law would be firmly administered and the perpetrator of such a diabolical crime as that committed by Maketu would not escape its just penalty.

In a later despatch the Governor reports Maketu's trial and execution, and he also alludes to disquieting rumours con-

cerning the natives in other parts of the colony. The following is an extract from this despatch:—

"In the case of Maketu, of the Bay of Islands, I am happy to say that the excitement which prevailed on his capture, and which it was apprehended would be followed by violence, has subsided with perfect tran-



Interior of Church at Otaki.

Erected by Maori labour.

quillity. The unhappy culprit remained in prison until the 1st March, when he was tried before the Supreme Court, and condemned to suffer death, which sentence was carried into execution in the most solemn and impressive manner on the 7th instant.

"On the day of trial the court was crowded with natives, and every word that was uttered, whether in Maori or English, was faithfully interpreted by Mr. Clarke, jun., a sub-protector of aborigines. The native witnesses gave their evidence in a clear and perspicuous manner, and the prisoner was defended by Mr. Brewer, who, being the only counsellor in the place besides the Attorney-General, was retained by the Government for the occasion.

"It is highly gratifying to me that every native I have conversed with, or whose sentiments have been reported to me, fully acknowledges the impartiality of the trial, and the justice and propriety of the sentence.

"Although this event will form the subject of a separate report, I allude to it in this despatch as a proof of the advance of our institution, and the powerful moral influence the Government has acquired over this semi-barbarous race. Although I have reason to consider the result of the foregoing case as having terminated in a manner highly satisfactory, I regret that I cannot report universal tranquillity. The natives of Kaipara are at this moment in a state of considerable excitement in consequence of unfounded and inflammatory reports which the lower order of white people have circulated amongst them. Even the notice in the London papers, that certain lands would be sold in New Zealand, has been construed to them into a proof that Her Majesty's Government mean to seize upon their lands; and a notice respecting kauri timber which I issued, and which only had reference to the unrestrained and profligate destruction by sawyers and others of that valuable staple, was converted into the means of exciting the most alarming apprehension that the property of the natives would not be respected, and that the treaty was a mere farce. These ruffians have taken advantage of the imprisonment and trial of Maketu to show that the British Government have no respect for their rights and customs, and that they will in a short time overturn them altogether. Unfortunately, from their close intercourse with the natives, the most abandoned white people have a most extraordinary influence over them, and the most unfounded statements by them find amongst the natives

immediate credence. I have done all in my power to avert this evil by publishing monthly in the Maori language, and issuing gratis for the present, a gazette containing all such facts as may best serve to disabuse their minds, and the Protector of Aborigines, who is at this present moment on a journey into Kaipara and through the north, endeavours with great zeal to dispel these groundless alarms.

"The news just received from the South is not, I am sorry to say, of a more satisfactory nature. The natives violently resist the claims of the Company at Wanganui, and seem to threaten generally great opposition to parting with their lands throughout the districts sold by the Company.

"I have the honour to enclose for your Lordship's information, two letters which I have received on this subject, one from J. F. Dawson, Esq., and the other from Mr. King, a highly respectable magistrate at Wanganui. At the period of writing this letter I have received a communication from the Rev. Mr. Hadfield, informing me that the natives of Wanganui resolutely object to part with their lands on any conditions.

"In my communication with Colonel Wakefield, having a strong presumption that purchases had been loosely contracted on the part of the Company, I promised to allow any defect in his engagements to be corrected by after payments, in order that the wishes of Her Majesty's Government might with greater certainty be fulfilled, and that the settlers under the auspices of the Company should not be exposed to disappointment. But I have never pledged myself, as I have heard it has been asserted, to allow the purchase of any land by the Company after the proclamation, except to permit subsequent demands of the natives to be satisfied. Mr. Spain, the Commissioner, is about to depart for Wellington and Wanganui, and I trust he will definitely settle this matter.

"I regret that this morning I have heard of renewal of outrages by the natives of Kaipara on the properties of several white inhabitants of that district. I gather from the deputation who waited on me on this subject that the acts of the natives were provoked by some supposed desecration of their tapued ground. It is a source of regret to me that I have not sufficient power to demand and enforce the abolition of these practices, as it generally happens that the violence of the natives is not directed against the individual person who has committed the aggression, but against

every other unprotected white settler in the neighbourhood."

The outrage at Kaipara referred to in this despatch was an attack upon the premises of Mr. Forsaith, who had settled at Mangawhare, on the Northern Wairoa River. It occurred in November, 1841. A skull, washed down the river, was found on Mr. Forsaith's property by a party of natives, who believed that it had been taken from one of their sacred places. They accordingly raided the settler's premises after approved Maori fashion. Mr. and Mrs. Forsaith were absent when the *mur* occurred. The natives carried off everything moveable, and wrecked the interior of the house. An inquiry into this outrage was held in the following March by Mr. Clarke, Chief Protector of Aborigines, when the natives reluctantly acknowledged their error, and surrendered a tract of land, afterwards occupied by the Te Kopuru sawmill, in payment. Mr. Forsaith was compensated by the Government, and entered into business at Auckland. He was subsequently ordained for the Ministry, and settled in Sydney.

The evil passions of the natives, excited by the occurrence at Mr. Forsaith's, naturally led to the perpetration of further outrages. The Rev. James Buller furnishes the following account of the raid upon Whangarei which followed: "Having so far committed themselves, I feared they would go further. A few days afterwards, some canoes passed my house, in which they were on their way to strip a native for some offensive words he had spoken. Then a large party started for Whangarei, for the purpose, they said, of visiting the *manes* of relatives, who had been devoured there in their old wars. A few Europeans had bought land on that river, and were cultivating the same. G. Mair, Esq., J.P., of the Bay of Islands, owned a fine estate, which was in the charge of an overseer. Te Tararau preferred some unsatisfied claim on that piece of land, and he told me he should insist on its redemption. I knew that they were now prepared for any act of violence, and was sorry that sickness in my own family prevented my going with them. I wrote a note to Mr. Mair's manager, apprising him of their intentions, and to put him on his guard. They returned after ten days, every man of them laden with spoils. I charged them with having robbed the settlers. They declared they had done no such thing, but that all they had had been freely given them. It turned out that they visited every family—there were seven—and by the war dance so frightened

them that the poor people were glad to give them anything they asked for to get rid of them." The natives concerned in this outrage were not professors of Christianity.

The following account of the raid upon the Whangarei settlers was published in the *Auckland Standard* when the news reached Auckland. In accordance with our custom, when quoting these early records, we reprint it literally, but there are some obvious mistakes in the narrative. The spelling of Maori names is especially uncertain and defective in the printed documents dated upwards of forty years ago:

"On Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th March current, the whole of the settlers on Wangari River were plundered of property to a vast amount by a mob of armed natives from the Munga Kahia, who were headed by Tirarua, Pikea, Waiata, Wetekia, Warenga, and others. On Thursday they visited the family of Mr. Thomas Runciman, carpenter; and after dancing their war-dance the chiefs entered the house and presented a letter from Mr. Butler, a Wesleyan missionary at Munga Kahia, advising the settlers not to resist them. They stated to Mr. Runciman that they came for payment for a tabooed place. Mr. Runciman told them that the said tabooed place was not on his ground, but belonged to another person at Auckland. The head chief, Peraua, said that he knew that to be the case; but as the person to whom the land belonged had left the land, he would have payment from Mr. Runciman. They therefore demanded all the boxes and chests in the house to be opened, and selected what pleased them. This search was made on Thursday and Friday morning. The property taken from Mr. Runciman is valued at £38.

"On Saturday forenoon they arrived at Mr. Gorrie's house, about ten miles farther up the river. After going through the same ceremony the chiefs entered, and presented Mr. Butler's letter. Their pretext here was also a tabooed place; and they acknowledged the claim was but trifling as it was very old, but as they were at Wangari at any rate, they would treat all alike. They took goods worth £44 in the short space of an hour and a half. After this, they went to Mr. Peter Greenhill's house, on the opposite side of the river, and took £13 worth; they had no pretext for plundering Mr. Greenhill, except the tabooed place for which they plundered Mr. Gorrie.

"They then hastened to Messrs. Robert and William Carruth's house, about three miles

farther up the river. Having gone through the war dance, they called for Mr. William Carruth, and said, that Wetekia had a claim on his land. He then asked what payment he required. Pirarua replied, that they wanted all that he possessed. They accordingly proceeded to ransack the house, and having selected some articles, some of them proceeded by land to Mr. John Carruth's, half a mile farther on. Having given a frivolous reason for paying him a visit, they commenced a similar pillage, and took about £44 worth. Thence they went to Mr. Mair's and took about £8 worth. They then returned to Messrs. Robert and William Carruth's, and on Sunday morning renewed the search. Not satisfied with what they found in the house (some of the more valuable articles being previously concealed), they demanded more to be produced, and said, that unless they were brought forward they were determined to pull down the wheat stacks, to destroy the house, and search everywhere till they found them. A few more articles being then produced some of them went to the house of Mr. Thomas Pollok (settled on that portion of the land in which Wetekia claims an interest) and completely stripped him and his family of everything they had.

"After carrying their booty to their place of rendezvous, they were followed by Mr. Pollok and family, who succeeded in begging back a few things. They then put the plunder into the canoes, and took their departure on Sunday afternoon. The value of the property taken from the Messrs. Carruth is upwards of £110, and from Mr. Pollok £8. It is quite evident that strong measures must now be taken by Government to subdue the Natives; for if this case is not punished the settlers will be compelled to quit New Zealand, their property being no longer safe."

The New Zealand Company appointed Mr. Halswell, Protector of Aborigines and Commissioner for the Management of Native Reserves at Wellington. In the Company's instructions to him, dated 10th October, 1840, they intimate that "the purpose of the Company has been to guard the chief families against cruel debasement, and to sustain them in a high relative position, by giving them property in land. The wilderness land purchased by the Company from the natives was valueless to them, and acquired value entirely from the capital expended in emigration and settlement. But the natives could neither foresee nor prevent the danger to which colonization exposed them, of themselves de-

nuded of all landed property, and therefore deprived of territorial consideration, in the midst of a new society, in which the land had for the first time become a valuable possession. To secure the natives from this impending danger was one of the first and leading purposes of the New Zealand Company. From the very commencement of its proceedings, the Company determined to reserve, out of every purchase of land from the natives, a proportion of the territory ceded, equal to one-tenth of the whole, and to hold the same in trust for the future benefit of the chief families of the ceding tribes. The Company did not, indeed, propose to make the reserves for the native owners in large blocks, as it has been the practice to make for the Indians in North America, because that plan tends to impede settlement, and to encourage savages to continue barbarous, living apart from the civilized community; but the Company's reserves were to be made in the same way as if the reserved lands had been actual purchases made of the Company by the natives. Accordingly out of the 1,100 sections, or 110,000 acres, which the Company offered to the public at the preliminary sales of land in the first settlement, 110 sections, 11,110 acres, which were reserved for the native chiefs, were appropriated, according to an order of choice, determined by ballot, in the same way as the priority of choice was determined among the purchasers in general. The numbers of choice of these 110 sections, thus reserved, are stated in the list herewith enclosed to you. Such being the objects of the Company, the directors do not find it in their power to do more at present than to preserve the property, by appointing a special officer to overlook it, as if it were the private property of the Company, but who will, of course, have no power whatever to alienate the same, or any part of it."

From Mr. Halswell's report to the secretary of the Company, dated Wellington, November 11th, 1848, we derive an interesting account of the condition of the natives in that part of the colony. Mr. Halswell estimated the total native population at 107,219, thus distributed:

1. From North Cape to River Rerikimo	...	5,000
2. Hokianga and Bay of Islands	...	10,500
3. Kaipara to Whangaruru	...	600
4. Hauraki (Thames River)	...	4,200
5. Manakau, Waikato, etc.,...	...	18,000
6. Tauranga, Mercury Bay, etc.	...	1,200
7. Rotorua and Bay of Plenty	...	9,000
8. Whakatane, Bay of Plenty	...	2,400
9. Opotiki, Bay of Islands	...	6,000
10. Wawaupauniu	...	3,800
11. Waipatu, East Cape, Tolaga Bay, Open Bay	...	8,000
12. Poverty Bay, Turanga, Hawke Bay	...	12,000

13. Palliser Bay, etc.	...	...	900
14. Port Nicholson...	...	...	495
15. North side of Cook Straits	...	...	3,400
16. Wanganui	...	...	2,000
17. Taranaki	...	...	3,000
18. Cape Egmont to Mokau River	...	...	3,000
19. Taupo and the Lakes in the interior	...	...	6,000
20. Urewera, quite in the interior, amongst the mountains, where no white man has yet penetrated	...	...	3,000
21. South side of Cook Straits	...	...	2,650
22. Banks Peninsula	...	...	309
23. The remainder of Middle and Stewart's Islands	...	...	1,465

107,219

Mr. Halswell observes: "The language generally spoken on the coast where the white people resort is most barbarous—a mixture of low ship slang, scraps of French picked up amongst the French whalers, and vulgar English. This, being pronounced in the native way, leaves the unpractised ear to imagine the jargon thus spoken to be Maori; which, on the contrary, is particularly comprehensible, and often very musical, and obviously of Eastern origin, having all the niceties of the dual number both in the pronouns and verbs.

"I find, on inquiring amongst them, that every tree, shrub, or flower, every minute vegetable and moss, has its own expressive name. Every mountain, rill, lake, and place, every nook, has an appropriate designation. As a specimen of the copiousness of the language, I enclose the various modes of salutation, and the names of every line of the face. I have at this time some natives from the south with me, who were at work upon a map of the entire middle and southern islands, giving a minute description of every bay and harbour round the entire coasts, with their native names, which generally convey a correct idea of the headlands, soil, etc. I regret I cannot get it ready to be forwarded by the present report, but there will be no difficulty in sending it with the next despatch.

"The missionaries say, that to teach the English language to the natives would be prejudicial to them. I am induced to think otherwise, not only from what I hear from persons long resident amongst them, but because, in tracing the causes of the prevailing evils, I am satisfied that a knowledge of our language would have prevented many fatal and mischievous consequences, and have been a restraint upon much of the vice which exists.

"The natives combine extreme activity and industry with supineness and laziness. I do

not think it possible that the present adult race will become, to any great extent, steady in civilized pursuits. There is a constant inclination to fall back and indulge in old associations, and nothing short of breaking up the pahs and locating their inhabitants in descent huts in small villages on their own reserves, and by degrees associating them with the white population, will render them generally fit companions for any, even the lowest of the settlers. There are some bright examples amongst us, where two or three natives have altogether abandoned their pahs and mixed in common with the Europeans. An intelligent chief, E Tako, never appears but in an English dress, has a deposit account with the bank, and in most things conducts himself as a man who was used to civilized society.

"And, though taking the natives as a body, they are not capable of undertaking the management of their lands, there are individual instances where the letting and renting of land are well understood. For example, Warrerarapa, who is one of the chiefs in the Pah Pepitea, applied a short time ago to the Surveyor-General to point out to him some portion of the native reserves of which he might take possession. He was referred to me, and I pointed out to him what appeared an eligible place amongst the native reserves for his location; but I afterwards ascertained that he did not want the land for cultivation, but to underlet to white men for the purpose of building, from which he expected to draw a constant rent. I have reason to think that the whole proceeding was his own, and that he had not been prompted by any white person; he was desirous of living upon the rent of his property; he boasts that he never carried wood, nor was a common labourer; he would assist in clearing land appropriated to himself, but would not work for another. Warepori, Epuni, and other chiefs partake of this feeling. The last named, who is principal chief on the Hutt River, is an old man of very high feeling, and great influence. All his transactions are those of a gentleman, except his living in his loathsome pah; but I have little doubt that here the great experiment may be made with advantage, and if the Company's intentions are fairly carried out, this tribe will be the first to show what good may be effected by a regular system. The existing and principal want is medical care. The native pahs—the crying evil—being a mass of filth and vermin, disease in various shapes always prevail. There is a distressing

complaint called *waikeake*, a cutaneous disease resembling the itch of the worst kind, and so long as they herd together in these wretched holes, it is next to impossible to eradicate it. Pulmonary complaints also prevail. From the best information I can obtain I find this disease is more prevalent than it was some years ago, though of late it has somewhat abated,—the use of the blanket as clothing, in place of the mat, is said to be the cause; the latter being linen, and thick enough to throw off the rain, more particularly the winter mat, whilst the blanket is frequently saturated with wet; then they sit down in it before a fire, within a hut sometimes not three feet from the ground, and breathe and live in a reeking steam of corruption and dirt. They are beginning, however, to feel the truth of what has frequently been foretold to them of the inevitable result of this practice; they see the first symptoms of disease, and expect death as the natural consequence.

"I do not find that the usual complaints incident to children are common among them, but as one of the emigrant ships entered the port with the small-pox on board, and reports prevail that this dreadful scourge had shown itself towards the south, I have succeeded in persuading them that they ought to take measures to prevent the spread of it. Some of them saw the disease on board the *Martha Ridgway*, and I have pointed out to others the scarred faces of white people who have been marked with it. Nevertheless they were very unwilling to submit to vaccination. The profession and the white people generally had an impression that if anything went wrong as to the result of their medical treatment, or that death followed any operation, serious consequences might ensue, but this feeling has somewhat subsided; they are now more disposed to submit to necessary medical treatment, and when it was proposed to vaccinate some of the younger people at *Pah Te Aro*, the principal elders (for there are no chiefs there) made it a condition that, if I would submit to the operation first, they would allow the children to be treated as I wished. To this I consented, and fifteen of the most healthy were vaccinated the first morning; from these an abundance of virus has been obtained, and nearly the whole *pah* have undergone the operation. The other *pahs* in the port have partially submitted, and I trust the measures I have taken, and intend to pursue, will prevent the spread of the disease among them, should it appear.

"Another recent instance of their increasing

confidence may be mentioned. An inferior chief of the tribe on the *Hutt* shattered his hand and arm by the bursting of a gun. The medical gentleman appointed by the Governor to superintend the natives attended, after an express had come over to us late in the evening. He found that amputation alone could save the patient's life, as mortification had commenced. It was objected to by the whole *pah*, and when explained to a leading chief, he first said 'Let him die,' but afterwards added, 'No, give him some opium, and when he is stupid, cut off his arm!' but the young chief having seen a white boy at *Wellington*, on whom the amputation of both arms had been successfully performed, consented to the operation, sat down, stretched out his arm, and refusing to be restrained, saw his limb cut off close below the elbow, without exhibiting the slightest emotion, until the amputation was performed, when holding up the stump, and looking at it, said with great delight, 'Well done, *whitie man*!' This was the first operation which had been performed upon a native, and I felt great anxiety as to the result, because in a recent instance, where the dead body of a native was found on the *Te Aro* flat, serious differences took place between these people and the settlers. It was clear to the medical men that the death was by the visitation of God, either from apoplexy or some such cause, and although the dead native belonged to the *Te Aro pah*, the people of which are looked upon with contempt by the others, *Warepori* mustered as many of his people as he could, and made a great demonstration of anger. I was in consequence much concerned about the recovery of my young friend *E Toko* at *Petoni*.

"Notwithstanding my earnest entreaties that he should remain quiet, he persisted in walking about and telling the story to all his companions. Upon opening the dressings three days after the operation, I found the flesh had healed over the stump, and that he was doing well. According to the native custom, a chief who was an uncle of the patient, demanded payment for the loss of his nephew's limb; he is now convinced, however, that the payment should not come from us, if due from any one. It is remarkable, that from this circumstance, several natives having merely a sore finger, have come to the medical attendant, and in their very significant way, requested him to make a cut, and cure them, drawing the finger across the arm at the place where the operation was made on *E Toko*. This young man is rapidly

recovering, and it would very much increase the favourable impression made upon the natives generally, if an artificial hand and arm were sent out from England for his use. It is my intention to have an iron hook made and strapped on the stump as soon as he is able to bear it. We have gained greatly among the natives by the result of this affair, and every day shows that we are obtaining that moral control over them, which unmixed with spiritual matters, gives the native a confidence in himself—he wishes to place the same in us; and this from a conviction that we are really interested in his temporal welfare, leaving the religious instruction to those who are best fitted for it. It is a great thing to see this poor creature of impulse restrained by real moral feeling, as well as by religious fear.

“The native will labour hard for a few hours, but if his attention be taken off by any fresh object, neither threats nor intreaties will bring him back again until his capricious fit has subsided; he will at times quarrel and appear furious with rage, threatening destruction to any one who approaches him. The next day, or perhaps the next hour, he is calm, subdued, and penitent; he takes a present of potatoes to the person to whom he had been opposed, declares that he is very much ashamed, and quietly returns to his occupation.

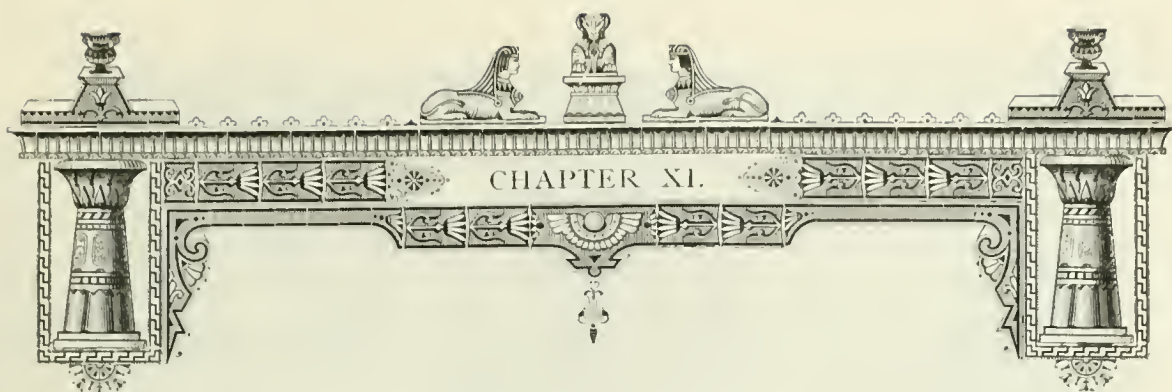
“Thomas Davis, a native missionary, keeps a horse, and is now building a vessel of twelve tons. He has come to me to draw the agreement between him and the shipwright. With this vessel he intends to visit certain parts of the coast known to himself, where he can procure at a cheap rate potatoes and grain, which he knows he can sell in this port at a large profit. Davis has just recovered from a severe illness occasioned by the loss of his wife, to whom he was much attached, and I was glad to pay him attention during his troubles. This man has become rich, and although living in the midst of the straggling pah of Pepitea, occupies a wooden building some degrees better than the Maori hut. He is a good carpenter, and built the house himself, and I trust his example will be followed. Moturoa, one of the chiefs of this pah, has commenced to cultivate a small portion of a native reserve, and is willing to build himself a house upon it; and if I have the control, I shall take care that it be one more calculated to preserve his health, than the miserable hole he now lives in,

“Building canoes is less followed than heretofore. Some of the natives are possessed of good whaleboats, and manage to pull and use the steer-oar with great adroitness. Te Hiko, a principal chief, living at Kapiti, a man as remarkable for his manly and handsome person as for his intelligence, was the owner of a boat employed in whale fishing, having a crew of his own, and gaining considerable profit; but he has lately abandoned his occupation and sold his boat, giving this extraordinary reason, that he has become missionary, and that, if it be good to rest one day in the week, it is much better to rest the whole week.

“The former occupation of the native in the rude manufactures of the country is fast fading away. A new mat is less frequently to be seen amongst the natives on the coast. It has given way to the blanket. The native mode of stripping the flax, which is a very slow process, is now no longer the constant employment of the woman, and dressed flax is by no means to be procured in any quantities. This has arisen in a great measure from the native receiving, comparatively to him, high wages for his labour, and he finds he can obtain more money for a few hours' work than he could by dressing flax in a week. The mats are consequently becoming more and more rare.

“These are their principal manufactures: they make, however, baskets in colours, and toys of various sorts, such as balls, very neatly made of black and white plait, which are swung by a cord in a peculiar manner, whilst the performers, many in number, sing in excellent time. Most of the women excel in this, and the exact time, the regular motion, and precise attitude which is observed by all the performers, are peculiarly striking. There is also great ingenuity displayed in their carving.

“Most of the tribes in the interior are largely engaged in agriculture, producing potatoes, maize, melons, etc., and also breeding pigs; it is not possible at present to calculate to what amount this is carried on, but it is very considerable. The custom-house returns at Port Nicholson will in time give some insight into this question. The actual value of the labour done by the natives at Port Nicholson is estimated, by a very acute mercantile man at this port, a little short of £30,000, since the first formation of the settlement.”



CHAPTER XI.

GOVERNOR HOBSON'S ADMINISTRATION AND DEATH.

Enactments by the Legislative Council—Estimates of revenue and expenditure—The Land Claims Ordinance—Appointment of Commissioners—Wreck of the Jewess and the Regina—Sad termination of a settlement scheme at Kaipara—Failure of the Manukau Company's settlement—Captain Symonds drowned—Accident to Captain Liardet—Native troubles at the Hutt—Wreck of the Prince Rupert—Second anniversary at Wellington—Exploration of the Manawatu—Wreck of the Fifeshire—First race meeting at Auckland—Agitation by land claimants—First Auckland regatta—Government buildings destroyed by fire—Horticultural show at Wellington—Native troubles at Wanganui—Mr. Spain's Land Court—The last cannibal feast—Native disturbances at Taranaki; the beginning of the Waitara trouble—Overland journey from Auckland to Wellington; interesting description of the country—Market prices in 1842—The New Zealand Company and the Land Claims Ordinance—Wellington formed into a Borough—Financial difficulties of the Government—Discontent in Auckland—Strong opposition to Governor Hobson—Petitions for his recall—His illness and death—Trade of the colony—Wreck of H.M.S. Buffalo—Customs receipts and shipping returns.



THE Legislative Council during its first session enacted six ordinances: 1. Declaring the laws of New South Wales, "so far as they can apply to the condition of Her Majesty's subjects," to be in force in New Zealand, with a clause of indemnity for all acts done since the 31st May, 1841. 2. Repealing the New South Wales Act for the issue of a Land Commission and vesting the same powers in the Governor of New Zealand. 3. Enacting Customs duties. 4. Establishing Courts of Quarter Sessions. 5. Establishing Courts of Requests. 6. Prohibiting distillation.

The first Customs tariff in New Zealand was as follows:—On all spirits of British manufacture, 4s. per proof gallon; other spirits, 5s. per gallon; snuff and cigars, 2s. per lb; tobacco, manufactured, 1s per lb; unmanufactured, 9d. per lb.; wine, for every £100 in value, £15; tea, sugar, flour, meal,

wheat, rice, and other grains and pulse, for every £100 value, 5s. All foreign goods, for every £100 value, £10; all British produce and manufactures, as well as those from New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, except spirits, free.

The estimates of revenue and expenditure were modest enough:

ESTIMATE

OF THE PROBABLE AMOUNT OF REVENUE FOR THE SERVICE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF NEW ZEALAND FOR ONE YEAR.

ORDINARY—	£	s.	d.
Customs	13,000	0	0
Post Office	500	0	0
Publicans' and other Licenses	2,400	0	0
Auction Duties	1,000	0	0
Fees and Fines of Public Offices	2,500	0	0

Total of Ordinary Revenue ... 19,400 0 0

EXTRAORDINARY—

Probable amount of Proceeds of Sales of Crown Lands, after payment of charges for Immigration, Survey Department, and Land Purchase	18,917	13	9
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Net Revenue available for Government Purposes ... £38,317 13 9



Commercial Bay and Shortland Street, Auckland, in 1841.

ESTIMATE

OF THE PROBABLE EXPENDITURE OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF NEW ZEALAND FOR ONE YEAR, COMMENCING
2ND MAY, 1841.

	£	s.	d.
1. His Excellency the Governor, salary...	1,200	0	0
2. The Chief Justice...	1,000	0	0
3. Civil Establishment	16,609	16	10
4. Survey Department	6,164	12	6
5. Department of Public Works and Buildings	5,354	0	0
6. Judicial Establishment	3,068	11	3
7. Police and Gaols	7,957	9	3
8. Ecclesiastical Establishment	450	0	0
9. School Establishment	140	0	0
10. Miscellaneous	8,977	13	6
Total	£50,922	3	4

WILLOUGHBY SHORTLAND,
Colonial Secretary.

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Auckland, New Zealand, 2nd July, 1841.

The Colonial Secretary, the Colonial Treasurer, and Surveyor-General each received £600 a year; the Attorney-General, £400; Collector of Customs at Auckland, £500; Postmaster at Auckland, £160; Harbour Master at Auckland, £200; Chief Police Magistrate, £300; Police Magistrate at Port Nicholson, £250; and other salaries on an equally moderate scale.

The Education Department was represented by one schoolmaster at £40, and one schoolmistress at £20 per annum at Auckland; one native schoolmaster, £40; and one schoolmaster at Port Nicholson, £40: total, £140.

The chief constable at Auckland received 5s. a day, and was assisted by three sergeants at 4s. 3d., and six privates at 3s. 6d. per diem, with four boatmen at £60 each.

Notwithstanding the meagreness of this establishment, it did not escape the criticism of the directors of the New Zealand Company. Mr. Joseph Somes, Governor of the Company, in a letter addressed to Lord Stanley, bearing date July 23rd, 1842, says:

They beg, most respectfully, to solicit your Lordship's attention, in the first instance, to the very large aggregate amount of the estimate, £50,922 3s. 4d., in proportion to the population of the colony. According to the best information at the command of the directors, which they submit, with all deference, for correction by your Lordship's better knowledge, the British-born population of New Zealand, with its distribution, is as follows: Wellington and the neighbourhood, 5,000; New Plymouth, 800; Nelson, 2,000; Auckland, 2,000; Bay of Islands, 800; Hokianga, 250; Kaipara, 60; Russell, nil: total, 10,910.

Taking round numbers, and reckoning the population at 11,000, and the expenditure at £51,000, the cost of government to the British-born inhabitants of New Zealand appears to be £4 12s. 6½d. per head. The directors submit that this is excessive in relation to the

cost of other and even expensive Governments, and still more so with respect to the wants and resources of an infant colony; and that the scale on which the estimate under remark has been framed, is entirely at variance with the instructions on the subject of public expenditure given by Lord John Russell to the Governor, under date of the 9th of December, 1840. They also beg permission to point out to your Lordship that, as it would seem certain that by far the greatest amount of revenue will be furnished by the settlers at Wellington, New Plymouth, and Nelson, it must necessarily appear inequitable and be extremely irritating to those parties to see the larger part of their contributions to the public funds constantly carried off and expended at a very distant settlement, from the institutions fixed at which they derive no benefit of corresponding value.

Proceeding to details, and noticing, first, the provision made for commercial and fiscal purposes, your Lordship will observe that £1,016 have been assigned for the salary of a harbour master, and the expenses of his department, at Auckland, whilst no such officer or establishment has been given to Wellington. Between the 20th September, 1839, and the 29th January, 1842, no less than 302 vessels, having an aggregate burthen of 50,796 tons, entered Port Nicholson. It has been stated, on the best private authority, that the collections of customs at that port commenced at the rate of £1,000 per mensem. The directors have no return of shipping and trade for Auckland; but they are confident, from the information before them, that the resort of shipping to that place has been very considerably less. If it is evident, therefore, that if there be a necessity for a harbour master at Auckland, the need at Port Nicholson must be much greater; and the newspapers recently received from the colony prove that the want is practically felt, and that great dissatisfaction prevails with respect to the conduct of the local Government in failing to make any provision for the safety and convenience of the large amount of shipping frequenting Port Nicholson.

The letter went on to criticise the other items of the estimates, laying especial stress upon the disadvantage which the settlers of Wellington, Port Nicholson, and Nelson would be put to if they had to carry all their Supreme Court business to Auckland.

The ordinance passed by the Legislative Council of New Zealand on the 9th of June, 1841, for the establishment of a Land Commission to investigate the titles to lands purchased from the natives, provided that the consideration paid for land to natives should be estimated at three times the selling value in Sydney of the articles which the natives acknowledged having received, and they were to be paid for in land upon the following scale:

Time when the purchase was made.	Scale per acre			
	s.	d.	s.	d.
1st January, 1815, to 31st December, 1824	0	6	to	0 0
" 1825	"	1829	0	6 " 0 8
" 1830	"	1834	0	8 " 1 0
" 1835	"	1836	1	0 " 2 0
" 1837	"	1838	2	0 " 4 0
" 1839	"	1839	4	0 " 8 0

Fifty per cent. above these rates for persons not personally resident in New Zealand, or not having a resident agent on the spot.

It was, however, provided "that no grant shall be recommended by the said Commissioners which shall exceed 2,560 acres, unless specially authorised thereto by the Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, or which shall comprise any headland, promontory, bay, or island that may hereafter be required for any purpose of defence, or for the site of any town or village reserve, or for any other purpose of public utility, nor of any land situate on the sea shore within one hundred feet of high water mark."

The Commissioners were paid by fixed salary, but a schedule of hearing fees in connection with the commission was framed under the Act. Some of these were of a rather curious character. For every summons for witnesses, each containing two names, five shillings was payable; for each witness examined on document or voucher produced in evidence, five shillings; for taking down the examination of any witness, five shillings for the first hundred words, and two shillings and sixpence per hundred words thereafter. It was the latter provision that provoked Maning's satire in the account given by him in "Old New Zealand" of his four and a-half hours' oration in defence of his land claim, which was listened to with a complacency and patience by the Commissioners which he never fully understood until he received a bill wherein his eloquent address was carefully charged at the rate of one farthing and one-twentieth per word.

Under the New South Wales Land Bill Sir George Gipps had appointed Francis Fisher, Esq., a solicitor, Colonel William Lee Godfrey, and Captain Richmond, Commissioners, and they had opened their court at the Bay of Islands. When the New Zealand statute superseded this enactment only Colonel Godfrey and Captain Richmond were reappointed, His Excellency having been advised by the Secretary of State for the Colonies that Mr. Spain had been appointed Chief Commissioner.

On the 1st of August, 1841, five hundred and ninety-five cases awaited adjudication by the Commissioners. In the Hokianga district there were some eighty claims for an area exceeding 130,000 acres. About a hundred and fifty claims related to Doubtless Bay, Kaitia, Whangaroa, and the Bay of Islands, pretty well covering all the land in those districts. Claims were widely scattered over the North Island, embracing about seven million acres, claimed by about two hundred persons; the separate claims numbered upwards of three hundred and fifty.

One provision of the regulations which caused a good deal of dissatisfaction provided that "all *unappropriated* lands within the said colony of New Zealand, subject, however, to the rightful and necessary occupation and use thereof of the aboriginal inhabitants of the said colony, are and remain Crown or domain lands of Her Majesty." By virtue of this provision any lands in excess of the award by the Commissioners, the *bona fide* sale of which was acknowledged by the natives, reverted not to the aboriginal owners, but became the property of the Government.

The appointment of Mr. C. W. Ligar, as Surveyor-General of New Zealand, was notified in the *New Zealand Gazette* on February 19th, 1841.

The schooner *Jewess* was wrecked on April 21st, 1841. She left Wellington

under command of Captain Moore, bound for Wanganui and Taranaki. She encountered foul weather, anchored under Kapiti, and parted her cable during a gale of wind, went ashore at Pakakaria, Paripari, twelve miles to the north of Porirua, on the open beach. Mr. G. Wade and a chief called "Wide Awake" were drowned. Mr. Churton was much bruised, and nearly all the crew disabled. Mr. O. Carrington had a narrow escape.

The barque *Amelia Thompson*, with 187 immigrants for the Plymouth Settlement, arrived at Port Nicholson on the 2nd of August, 1841, and after calling at Cloudy Bay for ballast, reached New Plymouth on the 3rd of Sep-



Major Richmond.

tember. The baggage and stores belonging to the party were shipped on board a new schooner called the *Regina*, 174 tons, commanded by Captain Browse. This vessel arrived at New Plymouth, via Wellington, on the 3rd of October. The weather was so unfavourable that she had not discharged the whole of her cargo by the 5th of November, when, owing to a heavy gale coming on, the captain deemed it advisable to put to sea. He weighed anchor and was going out, when the wind shifted suddenly and drove the schooner on shore between 2 a.m. and 3 a.m. near the landing place fixed upon by Mr. Cutfield for landing goods from the vessel. At 5 a.m. Mr. Brown called Barrett's whalers up at Ngamutu to render assistance. The schooner was found embedded in sand with a rock on each side of her, and the sea breaking over her deck half-way up her masts. She became a total wreck, but no lives were lost.

A settlement scheme which promised well came to an unfortunate end in September, 1841. Dr. Day, who came to the colony in a ship which called at Hokianga in 1838, paid a visit to the Kaipara in company with the Rev. N. Turner. While there he negotiated for the purchase of a thousand acres of land in the Kaihu Valley, Wairoa, on behalf of some friends in Cork. The pioneer immigrants for this settlement were Messrs. Stannard, Stewart, Salter, and Wilkinson, with their families, numbering twenty-two in all. They arrived in Auckland in 1841, and chartered the brig *Sophia Pate* to convey themselves and their belongings to the Kaipara. On the voyage round the vessel put into the Bay of Islands, where Messrs. Stewart and Stannard left the vessel with the intention of going to the settlement overland. This determination saved their lives, for the vessel was totally wrecked and all the immigrants drowned, with the exception of a little boy named John Wilkinson, who escaped with the captain and crew in one of the brig's boats. The Rev. James Buller visited the scene of the wreck in company with the survivors. They found several bodies on the beach, and interred them, Mr. Buller reading the burial service. This lamentable occurrence caused the abandonment of the projected settlement.

On the 28th of October, 1841, twenty-seven settlers from Great Britain arrived on board the *Brilliant* in the Manukau Harbour under the auspices of the Scotch Colonisation Company, which claimed 19,000 acres of land, purchased from the natives in 1835 by Mr. Mitchell, whose rights were subsequently

acquired by the Company. The settlers on disembarkation squatted on the ground; but as the Company could not establish their right of purchase, no more emigrants were sent out, and the settlement never took root. Those already in the colony were given lands in other localities, and after twelve years' correspondence the Colonial Government reported that the Manukau Company were only entitled to 1,900 acres of land.

Captain William Cornwallis Symonds, of the 96th Foot, who had come as the representative of this company, and who was appointed Deputy Surveyor-General by Governor Hobson, met with his death on the 23rd of November, 1841, while engaged in making arrangements for locating the settlers at Karangahape.

The appended account of this sad occurrence appeared in the *Auckland Herald* of November 27th, 1841: "Captain W. Cornwallis Symonds was drowned on Tuesday in Manukau Bay. The following particulars of this melancholy occurrence will, we believe, be found substantially correct. Mrs. Hamlin, wife of Mr. Hamlin, the missionary at Manukau (who was absent from home), being very ill, sent a message to the *Brilliant*, lying in the bay, to request that if there was a surgeon in the ship he would attend her. Captain Symonds having heard the circumstances, and knowing there was no surgeon on board, did that which those who knew him might have calculated upon, for with the active kindness and benevolence which so distinguished him, he immediately resolved to procure medicines from the ship, and cross the bay to Mrs. Hamlin's residence. He accordingly proceeded on board the *Brilliant*, and having made his arrangements, he, by the advice of the captain of that vessel, in consequence of the day being gusty and there being at the time a considerable sea, took the ship's long boat instead of his own. He was accompanied by Mr. Adam, a gentleman who came out from Scotland in the *Brilliant*, and settled at Manukau, two European seamen, and a native. Shortly after leaving the vessel, a violent and sudden squall struck the boat, which was observed to go down head foremost, about a mile from the ship. Two boats were immediately lowered from the *Brilliant*, but we understand that, owing to the dangerous sea running, it was found impracticable to proceed to the unfortunate men, and those in the ship were compelled to witness their unhappy fate. The two seamen disappeared almost immediately. Mr. Adam swam for a

long time in company with Captain Symonds, but at length sank. Captain Symonds, who was an expert and powerful swimmer, was observed to make the most extraordinary exertions. He swam more than an hour and twenty minutes encumbered with a particularly heavy kind of nailed boots and two thick peacoats (which latter he was seen attempting to take off), and had nearly gained the shore, when he disappeared. He had done much for New Zealand, and from his talents and energy much more was expected. He was public spirited and talented in the highest degree. The native who accompanied them swam ashore."

Captain Liardet, the agent of the New Plymouth Company, met with a serious accident on November 29th, 1841, which led to the resignation of his office. The accident occurred in attempting to discharge one of the guns purchased by Captain Liardet from Mr. James Smith (Waters and Smith), out of the wreck of the *Regina*. The captain had ordered a charge of powder to be put into the gun, but no wadding, and the touch-hole was primed and fired three times, but the gun did not go off. The captain was on the left side, Mr. Watson on the right side, and one of the seamen belonging to the company, formerly of the *Regina*, at the heel. The gun was lifted up by all three, but raised by the seaman at the heel. A piece of lighted wood had previously been put in, and had remained in about two minutes; the powder exploded and blew the sand and pebbles into the face of Captain Liardet and Mr. Watson, and threw them down on the beach. Both were very much burnt in the face, as well as having the sand blown into their skin, and blinded for the present. They afterwards recovered their sight, but Captain Liardet, still suffering from his injuries, left New Zealand for England, via Sydney, in February, 1842, greatly to the regret of all the settlers, by whom he was very highly respected.

During November, 1841, native troubles had commenced at the Hutt, which afterwards became the scene of serious conflict between the Maoris and the settlers. About thirty natives came over from Porirua, and settled on land which was being cultivated by a Mr. Mason. This land was a long way up the river in a thickly-wooded country. Mr. Mason's place was several miles distant from that of any other settlers, he was therefore at the mercy of any evil-disposed natives. Mr. Halswell proceeded to the disputed land, and induced the natives to bring the matter at issue before Mr. Murphy, the magistrate at

Wellington, and Colonel Wakefield, who persuaded the malcontents to go on to the native reserves. Exception was taken to this course by Governor Hobson, who inquired whether one of the reserves had been given in order to induce a native to abandon a good title to land at the Hutt. The letter from Mr. Willoughby Shortland, Colonial Secretary, notifying His Excellency's objection to any compromise of this nature, observed: "such a precedent might be followed *ad infinitum*, and would tend to place all native claims at the disposal of the Company." In reply Mr. Halswell stated that the natives had no claim whatever to the valley of the Hutt, but had, he believed, been "sent over by Rangihaeata, for the purpose of producing mischief." "This man," he added, "is very badly disposed, and is not to be trusted."

The brig *Antilla*, 283 tons, Captain Burnett, arrived at Port Nicholson on December 8th, 1841, from the Cape of Good Hope. Passengers: Lady White, Mr. Spain (Commissioner of Claims to Lands), Mrs. Spain and family, Mr. Ligar (Surveyor-General), Mrs. Ligar and family, Mr. and Mrs. Howard and family, Mr. and Mrs. O'Mealy, two Misses Bart, Messrs. Cass, Hewlings, Figg, Bailey, Yates, Scott, Malcott, and Baron.

The *Antilla's* passengers originally left England in the *Prince Rupert*. She left Gravesend April 16th, Plymouth May 14th, under command of her owner, Sir Henry E. Atkinson, knight and captain in the Royal Navy; had on board Her Majesty's Commissioners and a staff of surveyors for New Zealand. She put into Bahia 23rd July, and proceeded on the voyage; but finding provisions short, bore up for the Cape to obtain a further supply. She was wrecked September 4, 1841. All the passengers, and indeed every living thing on board, were safely got out, but the cargo, including much valuable property belonging to the passengers, was all lost, or almost irretrievably damaged. Some of the property saved was sold at the Cape at a great sacrifice. The *Antilla*, brig, was chartered to convey the passengers to New Zealand for the enormous sum of £2,000. The immigrants, about sixty in number, sent out by the New Zealand Company, remained at the Cape, where high wages were offered them. Among the property lost, or sadly damaged, were some most valuable drawings and books of reference executed by and belonging to Mr. Swainson, F.R.S., the eminent naturalist. This was a public as well as a private loss.

The preliminary steps for a gathering to celebrate the second anniversary of the foundation of the colony were taken at a public meeting held at Barrett's Hotel on December 22nd, 1841. The following committee was appointed, with power to add to their number, to make arrangements for a *fete* on the 22nd January, 1842:—Messrs. R. Barnes, Matthieson, K. Bethune, H. Moreing, W. S. Butler, F. A. Molesworth, E. Chetham, M. Murphy, R. Davis, T. M. Partridge, Major Durie, Mr. J. Ridgway, Dr. G. S. Evans, Captain Smith, R.A., Dr. Featherston, Captain Robertson (Tyne), Messrs. W. Greyton, J. M. Taylor, E. Halswell, H. Taylor, Blair Virtue, Capt. Hay, Colonel Wakefield, Messrs. G. Hunter, sen., J. Wade, Charles Lett, Watt, A. Ludlam, J. H. Wallace, W. Lyon, R. Waitt, Machattie, Wicksteed.

The committee met at Barrett's Hotel, when Mr. John Wade was appointed treasurer, and Mr. F. T. Yates secretary. It was agreed that the following programme of sports should be adopted:

1. SAILING MATCH, by boats under 30 feet keel. Three to start, or no race. Entrance £1. Under the management of Captain Rhodes.

2. ROWING MATCH, by whaleboats. Three to start, or no race. Entrance £1. Under the management of Captain Hay.

3. HURDLE RACE, three horses to start, or no race. Entrance £2 2s. Under the management of Mr. Charles Lett.

4. RURAL SPORTS, consisting of jumping in sacks, climbing a greasy pole, catching a soap-tailed pig, etc. No entrance. Under the management of Mr. J. M. Taylor.

5. FOOT RACE. Distance, one mile. No entrance. Under the management of Mr. J. H. Wallace.

6. RIFLE MATCH. Entrance £1. Under the management of Mr. Alfred Hodges.

7. In order to meet the wish of all parties, it has been arranged that a Ball shall take place at Barrett's Hotel,

and another at the Exchange Room, Te Aro. The ball at Barrett's under the management of M. Murphy, Esq.; that at the Exchange under the direction of Dr. Butler.

The Surveyor-General of the New Zealand Company, Captain Smith, formed a party towards the close of 1841, and proceeded to examine the Manawatu country. Mr. Revans, who was one of the party, furnished an interesting account of this journey commenced at the end of 1841 and terminated January 12, 1842, in the *New Zealand Gazette*, and a few extracts may be interesting:—"At the Manawatu we were feasted at every potato ground at which we made a call, and canoes were provided, and we were taken to examine the land in the neighbourhood of the river, without payment being required. Some of the chiefs journeyed with us and took the greatest pains to give us every information, alike respecting the land, its production, and the river." After a long description of how they found the whalers living with the native women, the narrative proceeds:—"During this trip we met with several white men who had resided in the Straits for years. They were members of a numerous band. In the season they whale



J. H. Wallace.

Author of the History of New Zealand.

from Kapiti, and the remainder of the year cross to the mainland, and reside on small properties they have had granted them by the relations of the females with whom they cohabit." The account speaks in warm terms of commendation of the work which was then being accomplished among the natives by missionary effort:—"We cannot close these remarks (says the writer) without bearing testimony to the great value of the Rev. Mr. Hadfield's services. This accomplished and pure-minded minister, we may say, is univer-

sally beloved—man, woman, and child, native or European, one and all attested to the excellency of his conduct. Not one word did we hear to his disadvantage. He came devoted to the cause of religion and reclaiming the savage, and most sincerely has he pursued his benevolent calling. He has been so jealous of his fair fame that he has not even allowed a ground for suspicion to attach itself to his having been guilty of any act inconsistent with the pure purpose which induced him to cast himself among the wildest savages in New Zealand."

The barque *Fifeshire* was totally wrecked on the Arrow Rock, at the entrance of Nelson Harbour, on Sunday, February 27th, 1842. The *Fifeshire* had brought out a party of settlers for Nelson. After discharging her cargo she got under weigh with a pilot on board; when in the Narrows opposite the Arrow Rock the wind suddenly died away, and the tide drifted her upon the rocks. The tide being up for the day, Captain Wakefield had gone to read prayers, supposing it certain that no attempt would be made to take the *Fifeshire* out of port that day, especially as the wind was very light, but Mr. Moore, who formerly commanded the *Jewess*, and who was acting harbour-master during the illness of the regular pilot, consented to take the vessel out. Captain Wakefield came out just in time to see her entering the Narrows, when there was no chance of averting a catastrophe, and all he could do was to save all that could be saved for the underwriters.

The prospects from the Nelson settlement at this time were very cheering, and the settlers, under the happy influence of their leader, Captain Wakefield, were settling down in earnest.

The maiden race-meeting at Auckland came off at Epsom on Wednesday, January 5th, 1842. His Excellency the Governor and suite, the Colonial Secretary, Dr. Gammie, Lieutenants Best and Smart, etc., were present. After the conclusion of the first day's races the sporting community adjourned to Wood's Royal Hotel, where a sumptuous repast was enjoyed, Mr. W. Young in the chair.

A meeting of landowners and others deeply interested in the land question was held at the Russell Hotel, Kororareka, on Monday, January 3rd, 1842, Mr. Powditch presiding, when a series of resolutions relative to the Land Clauses Commission were adopted on the motion of Captain Clayton, Mr. Robertson, Mr. Hodgkinson, Mr. Makepeace, Mr.

Grenier, and Mr. Quaife. Mr. Busby having submitted to the meeting a draft of a petition to the Queen he was requested to make it general, and let it lie at Kororareka for signature, after which it was moved by Dr. Ford, and seconded by Mr. Quaife, "That this document be presented to the Home Government in the form of an appendix to the petition to the Queen now read by Mr. Busby." Prefixed to this document was a petition from the chairman praying that it may be read in Council by Mr. J. R. Clendon. The meeting and petition had reference to "the Act passed by the Governor and Council of New South Wales, and subsequently adopted in substance by the local Legislature."

At the first exhibition of the Wellington Horticultural Society held at the Exchange on January 24th, 1842. Among the more remarkable productions were the cabbages grown by Mr. Burcham within thirty yards of the sea beach at Petone, one, a hybrid, weighing 21½ lbs., the other, an early Fulham, weighing 12 lbs. Some of the potatoes grown from native seed, exhibited by Mr. Molesworth, measured nine inches long. Turnips of an enormous size. The wheat measured five feet seven inches in length, and the ears were remarkably full. Apples were exhibited by Baron Alzdorf, the first fruits of trees brought from England. In the department of flowers Mr. Hunt's seedling geraniums were very beautiful. Some dahlias were shown by Dr. Featherston, who had the credit of being the first to introduce this magnificent flower into the colony. The exhibitors and prize takers were: Messrs. D. Johnston, D. Wilkinson, Mr. Hunt, E. Johnston, A. Ludlow, I. Jackson, Mr. Henry, Mr. Burcham, Captain Smith, R.A., Mr. Bannister, Baron Alzdorf, E. Pharazyn, Mr. McLaggan, E. Catchpool, R. Stokes, Major Baker, Mr. Baines, F. A. Mossworth, Colonel Wakefield, Mr. D. Lewis, Mr. H. Knowles, Mr. I. T. Wickstead, Mr. Hurst, Dr. Featherston, also native prizes. Judges: R. B. Barnes, Esq., E. Johnstone, Esq., Mr. J. Jackson, Mr. Henry."

The Auckland Anniversary Regatta was held on January 29th, 1842, and was thus announced in the *New Zealander*, No. 47, Vol. I., by the following advertisement:—"Under the patronage of His Excellency the Governor. Anniversary Regatta this day, the 29th inst., being the anniversary of the arrival of His Excellency in New Zealand. First race, prize 10s a thwart, with a purse added of £10,

open to all whaleboats pulling five oars. Second race, prize 10s a thwart, with a purse added, value £10, for gigs to be pulled by amateurs. Third race, canoes, twenty in each canoe, to be paddled by natives; prize, five pairs of blankets; second canoe, two pairs. To start from brig Victoria, round the White Buoy at the North Head, and back past the Victoria. Umpire, Captain Rough; to commence precisely at one o'clock." After the regatta, Captain Frazer, of the *Portenia*, gave a dinner to the amateurs. The Governor Hobson Hotel was brilliantly illuminated.

In April, 1842, an outbreak of fire occurred in the office of the Surveyor-General in Official Bay. The whole of the documents, charts, plans, instruments, etc., were totally destroyed, except a valuable portion of the instruments in use in the field. The principal portion of the inhabitants, the military, and the officers and men of the French frigate *L'Aube*, were quickly assembled on the spot, but the Surveyor-General's office was one mass of fire, which quickly spread to the western wing and adjoining new buildings; the new office intended for the Attorney-General was soon laid waste, as was also the Draft-office. The adjacent property of F. Mathew, Esq., Chief Police Magistrate, was placed in considerable jeopardy, as a strong easterly wind was prevailing at the time, but the

ordinances, was opened in March, 1842. The Secretary of State had appointed Mr. W. Martin (afterwards knighted) Chief Justice, and Mr. W. Swainson, Attorney-General for New Zealand.

Government House, Russell, was destroyed by fire in May, 1842. It was occupied at the time by Captain Beckham, the police magistrate, and Mr. Welman, the officer commanding the troops.

Difficulties now began to accumulate upon Governor Hobson on every hand. In the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* of May 14th, 1842, a letter appears from a Wanganui settler respecting the troubles experienced by the settlers in that district in obtaining possession of their lands. The

editor introduces the letter with the following comment: "There have been numerous complaints from Wanganui respecting the difficulty the settlers find in obtaining possession of their lands. Indeed, they would appear almost insurmountable. We give insertion to a letter to-day from a sectionist on this subject. The matter is necessarily now in the hands of the Government. The Company have or they have not purchased the land. They have or have not completed the terms of purchase. But as the Company are not the Government, to assert the claims of their purchases forcibly would be acting illegally. Their title must soon be determined and we



Captain Glendon

have no doubt will be made good. It will then be the duty of the Government to announce the fact to the natives, and warn them that if they obstruct the settlers they will bring down the punishment of the law upon their heads. If the Government fail to perform this palpable duty it will be for the colonists to address them on the subject, and failing due attention, to determine the course they must adopt, for the possession and maintenance of their own properties. We deeply sympathise with the harassing position of the Wanganui settlers, and feel confident we are justified in stating we believe that better days are at hand—that brighter prospects are in view."

The letter referred to above very lucidly

The Legislative Council had already passed twenty-six Acts for the peace, order, and government of the country, and the Supreme Court of Justice, created by one of these

explains the position of the Wanganui settlers at this period :—

SIR,—The present state of this part of the colony appearing to be but imperfectly known or much misrepresented, I trust you will find room in your paper for the following remarks concerning it :—

It is perhaps known to your readers that the natives here will not permit any sectionist to take possession of his land without a payment for it, they alleging that Mr. Jerningham Wakefield either did not buy the land, or did not give sufficient payment for it. Colonel Wakefield, at the last selection of land in November, promised that the New Zealand Company would return to the sectionists any amount of property, under £10, they might give to the natives as payment for the land. To say nothing of throwing a duty on the sectionists which ought to be performed by the Company, this promise left the sectionists in nearly the same state as before, as there is no one supreme chief here from whom, after giving payment, they may receive possession of the land—the payment has to be divided amongst a dozen. The sectionists, therefore, ignorant of the language, cannot, or dare not, give to any one or any number of the chiefs the payment, because some petty chief who may not have received part of it will effectually prevent their purchase being of any use to them. Four sectionists only have been able to settle on their land ; others have attempted, but, after some trouble and expense, have been driven back into the town. The natives on the east side of the lower part of the river will not treat for the sale of any single section, but for the whole district. If the Company had appointed a proper officer here to purchase the land from the natives, and see possession given to the sectionists, they might all by this time have been peaceably settled.

In the meantime, the settlers are condemned to inactivity. They have brought over cattle and implements—they can look at their land, but dare not touch it. Every day increases the difficulty. From the constant agitating of the question, the natives become impressed with the idea that the land is of great value, and consequently increase in their demands.

But, even if the sectionists had possession of the land, the Company have not, as undertaken, given them servants wherewith to cultivate it. If a sectionist wants a servant, he must send to Port Nicholson ; after waiting two or three months, and paying his passage here, he will perhaps get one, who, for some trifling cause, may soon after leave him, and either return to Port Nicholson or engage elsewhere. The marriage of a female servant caused a dearth, and consequent rise of wages ; it created a vacancy which has not and cannot be filled up. A female does not like to leave her friends at Port Nicholson ; it is a second emigration. This is of little consequence at present, but had the sectionists possession of their land, it would cause much trouble.

The white people here amount to about one hundred and fifty, and are not able to protect themselves against the natives ; theft therefore prevails to an alarming extent. Leave your house even in the open day, and it is broken into ; if you catch a native in the very act, you must not, cannot punish him. Not that the natives here are worse than elsewhere. We are in no fear of our lives ; but, as they can thief with impunity, it is not surprising they take every opportunity. The natives have no objection to our coming here ; they rather desire it, and have, within the last three months, built twelve large houses to sell to the white people they expect to arrive.

A petition to the Governor is now preparing, but the

Company can assist us more effectually than the Governor. They can send a proper officer to buy the land from the Maoris, and see the sectionists put into possession ; and they can send a number of labouring emigrants. These latter will supply the want of servants, prevent thefts by strengthening the white people, and enabling them to punish the thieves, and add materially to the prosperity of the colony by forming roads to the distant settlements, a work which at present is likely, amongst their other difficulties, to be thrown upon some two or three individual sectionists.

In June 1842, Mr. Spain, the Commissioner appointed to investigate the titles to land in New Zealand, was holding a Land Court at Port Nicholson, and the proceedings were irritating the minds of the settlers, who were most anxious to acquire their lands without further delay. A public meeting was called in consequence “to take into consideration the present circumstances of the settlement as affected by the proceedings of the Court of Land Claims.” Mr. F. A. Molesworth occupied the chair. Amongst others resolutions, the following was moved by Mr. Brewer, and seconded by Mr. Taylor : “That whilst this meeting recognises the consistency of the Government in instituting a Commission of Inquiry by which the validity of claims under native titles may be tried, they deprecate any such method of proceeding as may tend to throw doubt on the security of landed property granted by the Company on the faith of a compact with the Government, and to excite suspicion and jealousy in the mind of the native population.” To which the following amendment was moved by Mr. David Scott, and seconded by Mr. Hair, “That this meeting considering it only justice to the Government as well as Mr. Spain, who has been appointed to inquire into the validity of titles to land in this country, are of opinion, that the opinion of this meeting should be suspended until the inquiry should be completed, and the result of Mr. Spain's report made known to the British Government.” The amendment was lost, and the original motion carried by a large majority.

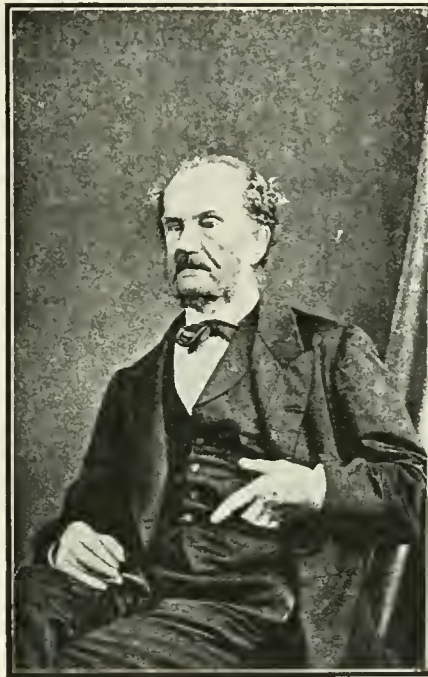
The *Auckland Standard* of June 27, 1842, relates the following serious affray amongst the natives :—“It appears some years since the tribe of Ngatitematera received an injury from the natives of Tauranga. Lapse of time not having blunted the sense of their wrongs, or fancied ones, a party of the tribe of Ngatitematera about five weeks since went to the natives of Tauranga, and horrible to relate, killed and ate seven of them, after which they returned to their pa, and having fortified it, awaited the retaliation of the

Tauranga natives. Their expectations were not long left in suspense, for about eight weeks since, the natives having since congregated in considerable numbers, marched to the newly-made fortifications, at a place called Witiangi, and after slaying several of the tribes of Ngatitematera and Ngatipaoa, took a number of prisoners. What the fate of the survivors may be is easily to be conceived. We understand the Waikato natives are on the lookout, expecting an attack from the Ngatitematera tribe, as when once the spirit of revenge and blood actuates these people they are not particular which of the natives they attack. We trust this unhappy affair may not be the means of causing the shedding of more native blood. It is, however, cause of congratulation that these feuds do not extend to the white population, who, we rejoice to say, are in good odour with the natives."

Thompson gives the following account of this occurrence, which is regarded as the last regular act of cannibalism in New Zealand carried out in accordance with ancient Maori custom: "Within fifty miles of Auckland two human beings were publicly eaten in 1842, and cannibalism and child murder were the two native customs the Governor was directed not to tolerate. The persons eaten were Christians, and their tribe, in requesting the assistance of the Governor, cunningly suggested that the ringleader, Taraia, should be hung like Maketu. The Government called on several natives for an account of the affair, and the following narrative was laid before the Executive Council: 'Between Taraia's tribe in the river Thames and the Tauranga natives wars have occurred for several generations, and their hatred commenced thus: A marriage took place in which the husband belonged to one of these tribes, the wife to the other; and some time afterwards the girl's father was cast ashore near his married

daughter's residence, where he was killed and eaten. The girl fled to her father's people, and war broke out between the two tribes, which has been renewed on trivial grounds ever since. It was the Tauranga people that killed the canoe wrecked man, and in excuse for their conduct they alleged that it was a law written on their hearts that persons saved from drowning always bought evil on their preservers.

"In 1842 Taraia was living quietly in his pa, when he received insulting letters from the Tauranga natives. Secretly he collected forty picked warriors, and started with the night flood up the Thames to wreak his vengeance on the slanderers. On reaching the upper part of the river, the war party disembarked, dragged their canoes on shore, and crossed the mountains which lie between the Thames and Tauranga. On the road they halted until evening, lest their approach might be observed. The pa to be surprised was Eugaro, and in it were sixteen men with women and children; the remainder were absent at a funeral ceremony. Before dawn Taraia's party approached close under the pa. One man within it had risen early to smoke his pipe, and was standing at the fence over-looking the sea. Hearing the stones rolling under the war party's feet, he called out,



Dr. Featherston.
*First Superintendent of Wellington and subsequently
Agent-General for New Zealand.*

"Halloa! whence came these men outside our pa?" Te Whanake, who came to the fence on hearing the cry, said, "No, it is the tide dashing against the stones." But the chief, whose Christian name was Thompson, called out a second time, "Which of our men is outside our pa?" Te Whanake again replied, "No, it is the tide dashing against the stones." Thompson now saw the enemy advancing, and shrieked out, "Oh, my friends! there is a war party attacking us;" but before the exclamation was finished the enemy were in the pa. Three chiefs, one woman, and a child were slain, and twelve women and children

enslaved. The remainder escaped to their canoes. The bodies of Te Whanake and Reho, after being cooked, were entombed in the warriors' stomachs. Tautahanga was interred, and not eaten, being a blood connection of the war party.

"After the action Taraia went over the deserted pa, and collected guns, the religious books of God, and the hymn-books of the people; then his party returned to their canoes on the Thames. On the road they robbed a white man's house, but Taraia made them restore the blankets. Paddling down the Thames they stopped one night at a Christian settlement. There they ran to the church with the two chiefs' heads, rang the bell, and caricatured the Christian service, to the great God of Heaven they prayed boastfully, and danced war dances; one old man tore prayer books with his teeth, put out his tongue at the Christian natives, and stretching wide his arms, cried aloud, "When will Christ your God come to save those of you who have been cooked in the oven? What is your God? All lies." Then the whole party jeered the Christians.

"The next day Taraia reached his own village. In it there was a church and a few believers; here they rung the prayer bell and mocked the great God of Heaven. When the Christians were at their evening prayers Taraia rolled the two chiefs' heads into the midst of them. A portion of the body of Te Whanake was sent to Te Taniwha at Coromandel, but that chief returned the flesh, and announced that he and his people would continue worshipping God only.

"The perusal of this narrative shocked the members of the Executive Council, and it was apparent to them that there never could occur a better case for Government interference than this, seeing the laws of God and man were alike violated. Without delay orders were issued for the soldiers at Auckland to embark in the Government brig and seize Taraia. During the delay which occurred in getting the brig round from the Manakau into the Auckland Harbour, Taraia heard of the Governor's intentions, and he addressed a letter stating that His Excellency had no right to interfere in a purely native quarrel, and that any attempt to arrest him would only make things worse.

"The good sense of the cannibal's letter changed the minds of the Executive Council, and when the brig was ready to sail she was despatched to Taraia's pa with missionaries instead of soldiers. Taraia then asked what

relation the Governor was to the men slain that he should interfere. The missionaries suggested that Taraia should give some compensation to the sufferers' tribe, and to this he had no objection, provided the tribe paid him for his relations they had slain. 'Have they not eaten my mother?' said Taraia at the conclusion of his eloquent harangue upon this subject." The matter was allowed to rest there.

Native troubles were likewise arising at this time at Taranaki. An interesting narrative of what was taking place at New Plymouth appeared in the *Wellington Gazette* of August 13th, 1842, the information being furnished by the Messrs. Aubrey, who had travelled overland from New Plymouth to Wellington:

"Intelligence from New Plymouth reached Wellington on Wednesday last, by the Messrs. Aubrey. These young gentlemen, sons of Colonel Aubrey of Devonshire, came overland on foot, and have been a fortnight on their way.

"The present condition and prospects of the settlement, which has always presented the greatest advantages to the agriculturist of any New Zealand settlement, continue to be most satisfactory. Many capitalists have commenced the cultivation of the suburban and rural sections in earnest. Live stock has been imported in sufficient quantities to supply the present demand, and it is sanguinely hoped that a very short period will elapse before the settlers produce enough to support themselves. This, we conceive, to be the first and best proof of the prosperity of any settlement.

"The settlers in this part of the New Zealand Company's territory have recently had some differences with the natives, the particulars of which we think it right to state, as they are liable to misconstruction.

"A considerable number of natives have lately been liberated by the Waikatos, who some years ago overran the Taranaki district and carried off a large portion of the inhabitants as their slaves. The manumitted natives are now returning to that district, and not having been parties to the sale of the land to the Company, now complain that they have neither potato grounds nor utu. In point of fact, however, the native reserves are sufficient for a population twenty-fold larger than that likely under any circumstances to belong to Taranaki, and the Company's agent cannot discover among the malcontents a single person who, according to the customs of the natives, has or had a

right to sell the land. On the contrary, many of those who did sell the land, have distinctly warned him not to enter into any treaty or bargain with the returned slaves.

"Not being encouraged by him to expect any *utu*, some of these natives had recourse to violence, and entered a section on the Mangoraka, belonging to a very peaceable settler named Pearce, burnt down his cottage, and destroyed some *raupo* for thatching. They then proceeded to the next section, where the Messrs. Bayly had put up their tent, and were commencing their farming operations. They were very furious, brandishing tomahawks, etc., and attempted to tear down the tent, but the Baylys, very resolute and strong men, resisted, and a sort of scuffle or wrestling match ensued between one of the brothers and a native who acted as champion of the assailants. Twice Bayly threw the Maori, and was thrown himself the third time; whereupon the natives crowded round him, and one apparently was going to cleave his skull with a tomahawk, when a bystander levelled his fowling-piece at the native, who then gave way. There were about thirty natives and six white men. A parley ensued, and they agreed to refer the case to the Company's agent.

"Accordingly the 'mob' of natives came to his house two days after, and there he told them his determination to put the white settlers on their land, and to call upon the Police Magistrate to send any native who broke the peace to prison, at the same time assuring them that any chief who had a real title to the land, should receive such compensation as Mr. Spain, on his arrival, might award. They very well knew that they had no such chief among them. They promised to give the Baylys no further annoyance, and they are now very good friends with the settlers, working for them, sleeping in the same tent, and apparently quite satisfied with the excellent land reserved for them in or near that part of the country.

"Another affair of the same kind occurred soon afterwards at the Waitara. A body of armed natives drove Messrs. Goodall and Brown, agents of large absentee proprietors, off their sections, lying on the north side of the river—cut down trees and brushwood, and declared their resolution to keep the white settlers to the south of the Waitara. The real chiefs assured the Company's agent that the rioters had no claim whatever to the land, and only intended to terrify him into paying *utu*. The day after the riot, Mr. Wicksteed

called upon Mr. Cooke, a magistrate, to swear in a body of special constables; and that gentlemen administered the oaths in the presence and with the sanction of Captain King, R.N., Chief Police Magistrate. Mr. Wicksteed put twelve muskets and fifty ball cartridges into the long boat, and accompanied by Mr. Cooke, who commanded the party, proceeded to the Waitara, and there the latter swore in the surveying men, making their force twenty-eight men. As was fully expected, this demonstration had the desired effect. A long talk with the natives ended in their entire submission, and promise of better behaviour in future. Mr. Cooke told the ringleader that, on the next occasion of his breaking the peace, he would himself go to the *pa*, arrest him, and send him for trial to Port Nicholson. Mr. Wicksteed afterwards gave away some blankets and tobacco. The principal natives at the Waitara, as well as here, expressed their satisfaction at the proceedings.

"Among the settlers there is but one opinion in its favour, and Mr. Wicksteed has received thanks on every side. At present all is quiet, and it is thought will continue so. It is to be particularly observed, that the Company's agent had the express authority and countenance of the magistrates throughout, and that he took what the event proved to be the best means of preventing an otherwise inevitable collision with the natives.

"Mr. Cooke, the magistrate, who has been of so much service to the settlement, was lately a lieutenant in the British army, and is well known in Devonshire. He has much personal influence with the natives, and behaved with excellent temper and firmness upon the late occasion. The Waitara natives are now perfectly quiet, and satisfied with the reserves made for them by the Company.

"We would earnestly recommend to the local executive, in all parts of New Zealand, that in order to suppress bad feeling between the two races, similar steps to those above recorded should be pursued by them on all occasions of difference between the white settlers and the natives."

Another interesting narrative relating to this period is an account of an overland journey from Auckland to Wellington, undertaken and accomplished by Mr. Robert Sutton, from whose account the following extracts are culled:

"I left Auckland 14th March, 1842, intending to follow the last year's track of the late Captain Symonds and Dr. Diffenbach,

and proceed to Onehunga, at the head of Manukau Harbour, distant from Auckland about six miles. I was here joined by some natives proceeding to the Waipa River, with whom I bargained for a conveyance as far as they should be going. We started off, and in about two hours arrived at Karangahape, a settlement formerly belonging to Captain Symonds, about fourteen miles below Onehunga, on the west bank of Manukau Harbour, now occupied by a small company from Scotland, under the title of the Manukau Company."

Mr. Sutton crossed the Manukau Harbour and entered the Awaroa River and proceeded on his journey and fell in with a white man named Bushell, better known by the *soubriquet* of Waiwairakau or wooden leg, who had a trading station, and was very hospitable to travellers. A few miles further on Mr. Sutton came to "an agricultural station belonging to the Rev. Mr. Hamlin, Church Missionary, at which he grows a considerable quantity of wheat." Mr. Sutton then proceeded to the Waikato. One of the chiefs, who hospitably entertained him, expressed great surprise at his presumptuous determination of crossing the island alone.

His narrative proceeds: "The natives are almost all converted to Christianity through the exertions of the Rev. Mr. Maunsell, who has laboured long and successfully in the missionary cause. Leaving Waikato Harbour, and proceeding up the river, I arrived at the station of Mr. Marshall, a most industrious and enterprising settler. This gentleman has with great labour drained an extensive marsh on the bank of the river. On my journey I saw several deserted pas of considerable size, the inhabitants of which had been destroyed a few years since by the Ngapuhi tribe. Arrived at the junction of the Waikato and Waipa rivers. At a Maori settlement on Waipa was robbed by a rascally European. I may observe that both Waipa and the Waikato rivers are infested with men of the very lowest grade, under the name of pig jobbers, ci-divant sawyers, and people of every disreputable denomination, whose sole employment consists in cheating and demoralising the natives, and endeavouring to throw difficulties in the way of the few industrious and honest Europeans who are fighting an uphill game for the support of themselves and their families."

Mr. Sutton then visited Mr. Turner's settlement, where he was hospitably received, and found an excellent garden. He remarks:

"Leaving Mr. Turner walked on to Kawhia. Mr. Buddle, the Wesleyan missionary, has a sweet spot upon which is a numerous establishment—his house, cornfields, etc., presenting the appearance of an English farm.

"Arrived at the house of Mr. McFarlane, one of the first settlers of Kawhia. He possesses an extensive station for trading in pork and potatoes. Two schooners were in the Kawhia Harbour obtaining cargoes for Port Nicholson and Taranaki, owned by Mr. Levein and Mr. McFarlane. Crossed the harbour for the purpose of seeing Te Roto, and visited the Rev. Mr. Whitely, the Wesleyan missionary.

"Te Roto refused me guides to Taupo, although he offered me men to go to Taranaki. The natives are very numerous, and are by the influence of Mr. Whitely becoming rapidly converted to Christianity. Re-crossed the harbour and returned to Mr. Turner's, on the Waipa." Mr. Sutton finding his native guide troublesome, joined a party on their way to Taupo. Mr. Shepherd was with the party, and he understood the native language. Journeying on Mr. Sutton arrived at Lake Taupo, which he describes, and also the country he had passed through.

He says: "I paid a visit to the King of Taupo, who possesses a cabin in no way superior to the poorest of his subjects. He was a very old man, and appeared delighted on being told that I had known Captain Symonds, who was a great favourite with him. Sailed along the lake in a small canoe, and arrived at Te Pahi's pa."

Mr. Sutton proceeds with a long description of the country he passed through, and of numerous incidents connected with his wearisome journey. He finally arrived at the Wanganui River, after great suffering:

"I felt quite elated at the idea of reaching my destination, and walked on with renewed vigour. I could not reach the river that night, but knowing it was not far off, gave myself no uneasiness, and slept soundly, dreaming of turtle soup, venison, Burgundy, and champagne punch, with no end of '*petits puits d'amour*,' '*omelettes soufflées*,' etc. The following morning I reached the river, and saw several canoes coming down. They proved to be some belonging to Mr. Richard Deighton, who had been up to Pukihika. On hailing him, he immediately came to the bank, exceedingly surprised at and not a little suspicious of my appearance, which certainly was not prepossessing. I had not shaved for three months, and the part of my face not

covered with hair presented a most haggard and ghastly appearance. My clothes were dirty and torn, and I had altogether the aspect of a man escaped from the galleys. On entering his canoe, I stated I had been four days without food, and was immediately supplied with some excellent coffee and cold pork. I cannot state how much I demolished, but it was no small quantity. We reached Wanganui the following day. The rest of my journey to Port Nicholson needs no description; but I cannot conclude without offering the expression of my gratitude to the inhabitants of Wanganui for the hospitality and kind treatment I received from their hands. The Rev. Mr. Mason sent a native to the place where I had hidden the things. The nest was there, but the birds were flown, which was accounted for by the circumstance of a party of Maoris having gone from Wanganui to Taupo by that road a few days after I arrived. The most serious loss I sustained was in my journal; and the circumstance of the present account being written entirely from memory, will, I trust, atone for the many inaccuracies and discrepancies which may be found to exist in it."

According to a corrected list of the market rates at Wellington and Auckland in July, 1842, the prices were as follows:—Pigs (scarce), 4d. per lb.; beef, 6d. per lb.; mutton, none; cows, £10 to £15; fat bullocks, £16 to £20; working bullocks, £30 to £60 a pair; hay (Tasmanian), £20 per ton; horses none; bread, 6d. per 2lb. loaf; flour, £26 per ton.

The Land Claims Ordinance, like all other measures adopted by the Government, was adversely criticised by the New Zealand Company. In a letter dated November 17th, 1842, Mr. Somes writes:—"The directors object to the proviso attached to clause 5, 'that when goods shall have been given to the natives in barter for land, the value of the goods so given shall be estimated at three times their selling price in Sydney at the time.' They are not aware—for it is not stated in the preamble of the Ordinance, nor does any sufficient reason suggest itself to their minds, upon the most careful consideration of the subject,—upon what grounds so very high a value has been set upon the goods bartered in the manner described, nor why an individual having made payment in that shape should be allowed land at the rate of 1s. 8d. per acre, whilst a person having made payment in money is to get only the same quantity of land for every 5s. so expended. With respect to the Company, the same in-

equality of treatment is extended to two parties having made their payments in purchase of land from the natives, in precisely the same manner. The agent of the Company gave goods to the natives in barter for land. It appears from Mr. Pennington's award communicated to the directors by Mr. Vernon Smith's letter of the 21st May, 1841, and which must have been before the Governor when the Ordinance under remark was passed, that the goods so disposed of were estimated, in determining the extent of the grant of land to which the Company was entitled, at their invoice cost. Upon this estimate, an acre of land was awarded to the Company for every 5s. expended. It is proposed by the Ordinance to give all other parties an acre for every 1s. 8d. thus expended, even if the goods were bought at Sydney. If they were brought from England, as those of the Company were, and similar goods happened to bear a high price in Sydney at the time, the actual expenditure necessary to establish a title to an acre of land would be still less. . . . If your Lordship confirm the Ordinance, the Company will justly expect to be placed upon the same footing as others; and that, therefore, Mr. Pennington should be directed to reconsider his award, as far as the relation of land to the value of the goods given in barter for the same to the natives is concerned, in order to the concession of an acre of land for every 1s. 8d. of such value, estimated according to the selling price of the goods in question, in Sydney, at the time. Whilst, however, the directors urge this claim as undeniably right-ful under the circumstances supposed, they earnestly deprecate the sanction by Her Majesty of a law, the effect of which must be to throw a large quantity of land into the market, which will yield a large profit to the owners if sold at the rate fixed by the Imperial Government for the compensation of past expenditure, and which those parties can afford to sell ten times cheaper than the present minimum price of Crown lands. The certain and most mischievous consequence will be, that the sale of Crown lands being greatly hindered, if not altogether stopped, the fund for immigration will be destroyed at this most critical period of the existence of the colony; and the purchasers of land from the Crown or the Company, who have largely contributed to that fund, will be exposed to an unfair and ruinous competition for labour, with parties who, because they have borne no part in that contribution, will be so much the better able to outbid them."

In reply to this communication Lord Stanley intimated, under date January 14th, 1843, that "Her Majesty has been pleased to disallow the New Zealand Land Claims Ordinance."

A proclamation forming the town of Wellington into a borough was published at Port Nicholson on August 4th, 1842, by Mr. Michael Murphy, Chief Police Magistrate. The proclamation was made under Section 2, No. 6, of an Act of the Legislative Council, entitled, an "Ordinance to Provide for the Establishment and Regulation of Municipal Corporations." It declared Wellington a borough, having a population of 2,000 souls, etc., and after defining boundaries, concludes: "And I do hereby also declare that all claims to the right of voting at the election of the first Council of the Borough of Wellington, shall be made before the 30th day of August, 1842, and I do appoint Michael Murphy, Esquire, to receive such claims, and to act as returning officer at such election. Given under my hand and seal this 21st day of July, 1842. (Signed) W. HOBSON.—By His Excellency's command.—For the Colonial Secretary, Jas. Stuart Freeman. God save the Queen."

Towards the close of the year 1841 the colony was suffering from a general exhaustion of financial resources. The expenses attendant upon the government of six or seven distinct and widely scattered settlements were necessarily very heavy. The whole revenue which could be collected in 1840 to meet an expenditure of £19,798 was only £926; that of 1841 (exclusive of the money raised by land sales, a large portion of which was to be appropriated to emigration purposes, amounted to but £5,507, while the expenditure had increased to £34,743. The treasury of New South Wales contributed in 1840, and up to May, 1841, £43,347 in the form of a loan. This resource was then stopped. Even the land sales at Auckland to which fund the embarrassed Governor was compelled to resort as the only available means of meeting the exigencies of his position, had greatly disappointed his expectations, having yielded in 1841 only £27,559, instead of £50,000, which had been confidently anticipated. In January, 1842, Captain Hobson wrote to Lord Stanley that it was utterly impossible to carry on the government of the colony without the assistance of the Home Government, and soon after he commenced drawing bills on the British Treasury, with the advice of his Executive Council, intending to do so to the amount of £25,000, to cover deficiencies in the

year 1842. The Lords of the Treasury objected to these proceedings, but consented to meet the bills to the extent of £10,000, announcing, at the same time, that any future bills so drawn would be dishonoured.

The condition of affairs showed no sign of improvement in 1842, and discontent in Auckland with regard to the condition of trade, the land claims, and the regulations for the disposal of Crown lands, which provided a minimum price of 20s. per acre, became intense, and was fomented by virulent articles in the local press.

It became known that, like most officers of the Royal Navy, Captain Hobson was keenly alive to newspaper criticism, and after this discovery he never had a day's peace. Newspapers unknown beyond the place where they were printed kept him in a perpetual fever. He removed one gentleman from the Legislative Council, and another from the Commission of the Peace, for writing against him. The prevailing feeling culminated in a public meeting at Auckland, which adopted a memorial to the Secretary of State expressive of want of confidence in the Governor. This memorial, duly signed, was forwarded through His Excellency.

High-minded, strictly upright, and well meaning, as even his bitterest opponents admitted him to be, Captain Hobson, previously in failing health, now began to succumb to the virulence of the attacks made upon him, and to the overwhelming difficulties of his position. After the meeting which demanded his recall, to obtain a respite from the persecution of his opponents, he made a long journey into the interior. Travelling up the Waikato and Waipa rivers, he crossed over to Kawhia, and returned by the coast to Auckland.

Immediately after his arrival the process of irritation was resumed. On the 8th of August a meeting was held at Auckland to consider a petition to the Governor, praying for a reduction in the upset price of land, and also a right of pre-emption, or the liberty of purchasing at a uniform price any portion of land. It was thought that this would encourage immigrants and capital to the colony. One suggestion made at this meeting curiously reflects the opinions entertained by the Northern settlers with respect to the New Zealand Company's settlements on Cook Strait. It was to the effect that "something should be done by way of appeasing Port Nicholson and Nelson settlers, whose unfortunate quarrels with the local government

have done much harm to the Northern settlements. Will not His Excellency do something to enable, if not induce, them to leave the mountains, marshes, and fens of Cook Strait, for the settlements to the northward, in each of which there is an abundant supply of rich and fertile land, which would yield them a remunerating profit for the capital and labour they are now so unprofitably wasting on comparatively useless and unproductive lands."

This meeting was adjourned to the 10th of August. The *Auckland Standard* gives the following account of the proceedings:—"The Secretary of the Committee read the memorial to His Excellency the Governor, which had been agreed upon by that body. It was a very lengthy document, the concoction of which had evidently occupied much time and attention. It consisted of an elaborate review of the past proceedings of the Government (which the Committee condemned, of course), and presented a gloomy view of the present state and future prospects of the colony, unless certain remedies were immediately applied, and which were fully set forth in the memorial. We have not space for a copy of this elaborate production, nor do we think that we should forward the objects which the memorialists professedly have in view, viz., to *advance* the interests of the colony, were we to publish it. We do not deny the existence of partial depression in trade, which we trust will be only temporary, and may be ascribed to other causes than those pointed out; but we can see no good effect in giving currency to highly coloured pictures of our position, furnished in the language of despondency, if not actual despair. We may state, however, that the grand nostrums recommended in the memorial had reference to a speedy adjustment of the claims to land by the old settlers, and the lowering of the upset price of Government lands put up to auction. The deputation appointed to wait upon His Excellency the Governor were in attendance at Wood's Hotel at 11 o'clock on Tuesday, when Mr. Sheriff Coates communicated to them that His Excellency was so seriously indisposed that he could not receive them until the next day (Wednesday) at twelve. We regret, very sincerely, to add that, on this second occasion, the account of the Governor's health was still more unfavourable—that access to His Excellency on business is strictly forbidden—and that the postponement of his reply must, of necessity, be considered indefinite. The sheriff informed the deputation that a reply had been prepared in writing,

but, as His Excellency was not well enough to affix his signature, it was not considered proper to divulge the nature of the course His Excellency may think proper to adopt. Of course, every loyal subject will deeply lament the immediate cause of this public disappointment; but, apart from personal respect and attachment to His Excellency, it is much to be deplored that questions of so great moment as the memorial involves should be left in abeyance. Vessels are about leaving the port, and their cargoes will probably consist of exports such as we can least afford, viz., mechanics and other respectable emigrants. It is much to be lamented, besides, that accounts so wavering as to our political prospects should travel to Port Nicholson, and thence to Australia, as the Sisters, now ready for sea, must of necessity convey."

Subsequently His Excellency received the deputation, but declined to adopt the measures which they suggested. The opposition to him thereupon became still more relentless and cruel, notwithstanding the manifest feebleness of the Governor's health. His Excellency had convened a public meeting to adopt a congratulatory address to the Queen upon the birth of a princess, at which the Governor himself was announced to preside. The opposition called another meeting, and adopted a separate address, which was largely signed, and this was subsequently moved at the Governor's meeting as an amendment upon the address which the Governor had caused to be prepared. This gross personal insult caused the Governor's heart to sink within him; a relapse of paralysis followed, and he died 10th September, 1842.

The following notice of his death and burial is taken from an Auckland paper:—

The painful task is imposed upon us of announcing the death of our late Governor, Captain William Hobson, R.N. His Excellency breathed his last about one o'clock on Saturday morning, the 10th instant. For some months past it has been evident to his medical attendants, and those by whom he was constantly surrounded, that his health was daily breaking, his constitution at times attaining an ascendancy over the disease with which he was afflicted, and, for a short period, offering some hopes of his recovery. The attacks, however, became more frequent, and a wrong medicine having inadvertently been administered in lieu of extract of senna, which His Excellency had been accustomed to take when unwell, his constitution received a shock, from which it never after recovered. The interment took place, accompanied with the most striking demonstrations of respect and affection. Not a person in the township of Auckland but appeared in the deepest mourning. We can bear testimony, from experience, to the kind and urbane course of conduct adopted, in his private life, towards every individual who had the

honour of his acquaintance. No man could be more fitted for the performance of social duties; a kinder heart never existed; and whatever apparent mistakes he may have committed in his official capacity, we cannot withhold our mite to the high admiration which has universally been accorded to his private station.

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Auckland, September 10th, 1842.

His Excellency Governor Hobson, departed this life at Government House at Auckland, this morning at quarter past twelve o'clock a.m.

In consequence of this lamented event, no business will be transacted this day at the Public Offices, and they will remain closed until the remains of His Excellency shall have been interred.

The ceremony of the funeral will take place on Tuesday, the 13th instant, at 1 o'clock p.m., when the presence of all public functionaries is required, and the attendance of all other persons who may be desirous of testifying their respect, is requested.

The following order is to be observed in the procession to the place of interment:—

Medical.	Firing party.	Attendants.
Attorney-General.	THE BODY.	Chief Justice.
Member of Council.		Treasurer.
Sheriff.		Surveyor-General.
The Horse.		
Chief Mourner.		
Acting A.D.C.	Private Secretary.	
Military Officers.		
Civilians,		
Members of Government,		
Four deep.		
Civilians,		
Not Members of Government,		
Four deep.		
(For the Colonial Secretary),		

JAMES STUART FREEMAN.

The appended account of the obsequies is culled from the same source as the foregoing announcements of the Governor's death:—

"The funeral of His Excellency the late Governor, Captain William Hobson, took place on Tuesday, at one o'clock. His mortal remains were deposited in a brick vault prepared in the new burial-ground, the service being impressively performed by the Rev. J. F. Churton. The Hon. the Colonial Secretary, Willoughby Shortland, Esq., followed as chief mourner, after whom walked, in procession, all the officers of Government, and nearly all the respectable inhabitants of Auckland. The body, covered by the Union Jack, was carried by the sailors of Her Majesty's brig *Victoria*, and military honours were performed over the grave by a party of

the 80th Regiment in attendance, under the command of Captain Best. It is needless to add that Major Bunbury, Dr. Gammie, and the rest of the military officers were present. Our friends abroad may be curious to know what was the conduct of the aborigines on this exciting occasion. They crowded into the town in great numbers early in the morning, and the ceremony of "*Uhunga*" was performed in every quarter, as if for one of their own most valued chiefs. This is a long continued public demonstration of grief, during which they sit upon the ground, and howl in chorus. In consequence of their numerous attendance, a *Maori Gazette* was issued to them, directing their presence in the rear of the procession, which was accordingly very numerous given. Every male almost carried a musket; but with intuitive politeness they abstained from their explosions till the military salute had been fired. Their demonstrations after this were rather noisy: there is scarcely any sound so dear to the New Zealander as the crack of his musket or fowling-piece. Most of the females had their hair fantastically ornamented with wreaths of the supple-jack—a very pretty native wild climbing plant, just now in full blossom. The funeral arrangements were conducted by Messrs. Langford and Gardner with admirable propriety. On the coffin was a very handsome plate, around which was a splendid embossed border, on which was engraved the following inscription:—

"Beneath lie the remains of WILLIAM HOBSON, Esq., a captain in H.M. Royal Navy, and first Governor of New Zealand, who departed this life on the 10th September, 1842, aged 49 years."

Nearly half a century has elapsed since the early settlers of Auckland followed to their last resting-place in the beautiful Church of England cemetery, overlooking the broad expanse of the Waitemata, the remains of this man, whose early death was unquestionably due to the anxieties and trials he had undergone in administering the affairs of the infant colony. The time has come when justice may be done to his memory; and in the coming years, many a New Zealander, standing by Captain Hobson's grave, meditating in silence upon the records of those eventful two years and eight months which closed a life spent in the service of his country, will be moved by feelings of gratitude for the achievements, and profound respect for the character of New Zealand's first Governor. By such men has the greatness of the British Empire been built up. Even in those days,

when political rancour found vent in the grossest personalities, the bitterest opponent of Governor Hobson's policy had no word to utter against his personal rectitude and the honesty of his aims. Dr. Martin, editor of the Auckland journal which espoused the cause of the land claimants, and whose caustic writings sadly embittered the Governor's last year of life, says of an interview he had had with Captain Hobson towards the close of 1841: "I think poor Hobson would desire to do well." And in chronicling the Governor's death he records: "Captain Hobson was, I believe, a very good naval officer; he was kind-hearted, but rather apt to entertain prejudices, and although deficient in education he had good natural abilities and a judgment by no means bad." Dr. Martin attributed what he conceived to be the failure of Governor Hobson's administration to a lack of firmness, which caused him to yield unduly to the advice of his officers, especially to the Colonial Secretary, Lieutenant Shortland. This was the verdict grudgingly rendered by one who had been a chief promoter of the meeting at Auckland which adopted the memorial to the Secretary of State, expressive of want of confidence in Captain Hobson, and praying for his removal from the Government of New Zealand. We are able to-day to see with clearer eyes the issues on either side, and to recognise in Governor Hobson's policy a greater breadth of view, a fuller comprehension of the wants of the nation whose foundation he was commissioned to lay, than was comprehended by the narrow, selfish aims of his critics.

It has been well said that the city of Auckland is Captain Hobson's monument, and a noble monument truly! But New Zealand owes much more than the selection of the site of Auckland to his judgment and foresight. His task in conducting the negotiations for the Treaty of Waitangi, his promptitude in proclaiming upon his own responsibility the sovereignty of the Crown over both islands, and in checkmating the French schemes of colonisation, prove that he was a man of discernment and action. Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who as the moving power in the New Zealand Company, had no love of Captain Hobson's policy, bore testimony to his services in this matter. When speaking at the breakfast in connection with the departure of the first emigrants for the Plymouth settlement he said "the question whether these magnificent islands should or should not remain under the dominion of the Queen of England" . . . "had been settled by the civil boldness

of a military man—Captain Hobson, of the navy," who having been despatched in a diplomatic capacity, finding that great disorders prevailed for want of a sufficient sovereign authority "took upon himself to issue two proclamations in Her Majesty's name, by which the whole of the islands of New Zealand were declared part and parcel of the Queen's dominions."

Governor Hobson's despatches display a quick apprehension of the duties of his position, of the difficulties to be overcome in colonising the country, and are animated by a strong sense of the obligations towards the native race to which the Crown was committed under the Treaty of Waitangi. His correspondence is vigorously worded, and exhibits no sign of the "deficient education" or lack of firmness attributed to him by his self-sufficient critic, Dr. Martin. On the contrary, he was a match for his opponents in controversy, and maintained with unswerving faithfulness, in spite of violent opposition, the policy which he conceived to be in the interests of the Crown and for the future advantage of the colony.

Baron de Thierry, writing in 1848, states that "all the unpopularity of the Governors has been occasioned by the land question." This statement is specially true of the clamour raised against Governor Hobson, upon whose devoted head the vials of wrath were first poured by the chagrined land-grabbers. Subsequent Governors pursuing the same policy also incurred very great odium. Looking back at the condition of affairs which obtained at that period, few persons now will question the justice and necessity for dealing firmly with these so-called purchases, and if Baron de Thierry were alive to-day he would not find many colonists willing to endorse his declaration that "it was heartless in the highest degree of the Government to throw discredit on the original land claims"—a doctrine which at one period of the colony's history found almost universal acceptance. The Baron's own claims were modest compared with some. "At one time," he says, "I held deeds for 180,000 acres of land!" "The first step of the Government," he remarks in another place, "should have been to look upon every sale as an accomplished fact, and to have allowed it to stand unattacked." This was the doctrine which Governor Hobson and his successors had to combat in the interests of the colonists who were to come after them with the intention of founding homes in the land.

During Captain Hobson's brief administration, besides securing the peaceful cession of the country, founding the capital, and inaugurating the institutions of government, he rendered material service to the country by his acquisition of lands on behalf of the Crown. He purchased the whole of the site on which Auckland stands for about three-pence an acre, and acquired other very valuable tracts of land for the public. He stood in a peculiarly difficult position, for while his policy was assailed in the colony and openly resisted by the New Zealand Company's agents, he received very little support from the Home Government. He was sent to acquire the sovereignty of a country inhabited by a numerous and warlike race without military force and with very little money. His appeals for the despatch of emigrants from Great Britain to the site of the new capital were almost unheeded by the Imperial Government, and he was left to raise funds in the best way he could to carry on the public administration, and to provide for the safety of the settlers—a task rendered the more difficult through the looseness of the New Zealand Company's land purchases and the scattered nature of their settlements. The parsimony of the Imperial Government contrasted unfavourably with the profuse liberality with which the colonising schemes of the New Zealand Company were sustained.

No doubt Governor Hobson made mistakes; the most serious one was his purchase for £15,000, afterwards paid chiefly in land, of Captain Clendon's trading station for the abortive town of Russell; but in view of the condition of affairs then existing at the Bay of Islands, any man similarly placed might easily have fallen into a similar error. His naval training was not favourable to complete success in the sphere of a civil administrator, but on the whole, that clear vision which arises from unselfish devotion to duty and unswerving integrity, enabled him to discern the true path and to follow it. He had won the confidence and respect of the natives, who were good judges of character, and perhaps no worthier commentary upon his life could

be framed than that which was contained in their petition to the Queen after his death when, in praying for a new Governor, they said: "Let him be a good man, like this one who has just died."

The imports in 1842 were valued at £166,000, and the exports at £18,000, consisting chiefly of timber and whale oil. The natives, as consumers of dutiable goods, contributed a considerable share to the taxation. The Government, however, were unable to employ a coastguard adequate to enforce the Customs regulations, and smuggling notoriously prevailed.

The sawing of timber was at this period the most important industry of the colony. Captain Dacre, of whose connection with this

trade mention has been made in the earlier chapters of the History, still maintained the station at Mercury Bay, under Mr. Gordon D. Browne. It was here that H.M.S. Buffalo was wrecked in August, 1840, when taking in a cargo of spars. The vessel was driven ashore during a tremendous north-east gale, but being beached at flood tide, all the crew escaped, and the ship's stores were afterwards got out.

At Coromandel Harbour (native name, Waihou) Mr. Webster, who had been settled there for about ten years, employed a large number of Maoris in squaring kauri. The natives of Coromandel had at this time been all converted to Christianity through the labours of Mr. Preece, the Church of England missionary.

On the Hokianga River there was also a considerable trade in kauri spars.

Although agriculture had not yet progressed very much, enough had been done to satisfy the settlers of the great productiveness of the soil and climate. The utilisation of the New Zealand flax and kauri gum was also receiving attention, and the settlers were already alive to the richness of the country in coal, copper, and manganese, while the titanic sands on the beach at New Plymouth were reckoned among the sources of future wealth for that settlement. The colonists were generally well satisfied with the country, and had unbounded faith in the future, but the



Captain Dacre.

land question and the impoverished condition of the Government, which was without means to push on colonising work, caused considerable agitation and discontent.

The following return shows the Customs receipts at each port in New Zealand during 1841 and 1842 :

Port.	Duties Collected.	Cost of Collection.
	1841.	1841.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Auckland ...	2,305 9 6	1,321 5 10
Wellington ...	2,914 14 5	406 0 2
Russell ...	1,194 4 3	420 10 1
Totals ...	5,414 8 2	2,147 16 1

Port.	Duties Collected.	Cost of Collection.
	1842.	1842.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Auckland ...	5,207 9 10	1,755 8 3
Wellington ...	7,967 3 2	1,184 0 10
Russell ...	2,534 11 4	778 17 4
Nelson ...	1,356 5 8	652 10 8
New Plymouth ...	170 17 0	104 0 0
Totals ...	17,316 7 0	4,474 17 1

Port.	RECAPITULATION.		Total Cost of	
	Total Duties		Collection.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Auckland, 1841-42 ...	7,592	19 4	3,076	14 1
Wellington, 1841-42 ...	10,881	17 7	1,590	1 0
Russell, 1841-42 ...	3,728	15 7	1,199	7 5
Nelson, 1841 ...	1,350	5 8	652	10 8
New Plymouth, 1841 ...	170	17 0	104	0 0
Grand total ...	23,730	15 2	6,622	13 2

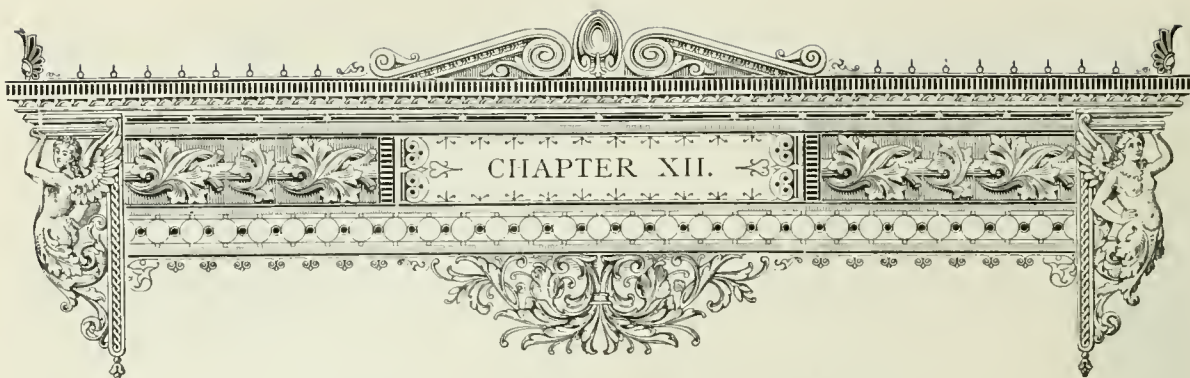
Number of ships, with their tonnage and men, which entered inwards at each port in New Zealand from the establishment of the Customs to the 31st December, 1842 :—

Port.	1841.			1842.		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
Auckland ...	23	3,237	223	49	9,125	586
Wellington ...	30	9,745	557	80	16,123	1,079
Russell ...	34	8,173	611	69	18,033	1,383
Nelson ...	...	...	...	30	9,548	520
New Plymouth ...	...	...	...	2	522	29
Totals ...	96	21,155	1,381	230	53,411	3,597

Ports.	RECAPITULATION.		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
Totals for Auckland ...	72	12,362	809
Totals for Wellington ...	119	25,928	1,636
Totals for Russell ...	103	26,206	2,094
Totals for Nelson ...	30	9,548	520
Totals for New Plymouth ...	2	522	29
Grand totals ...	326	74,566	5,088



Memorial Idol of a chief slain in battle.



BISHOP SELWYN. MISSION WORK.

Consecration of Bishop Selwyn—Arrangements with the New Zealand Company—Endowment of the Church—College for Nelson—Letters from the Bishop—First impressions of his diocese—Account of his journeys through New Zealand—His opinion of the mission—The mission settlement at Waimate—Clerical appointments—The Wesleyan Mission—Missionaries sent out in the Triton—The Rev. Mr. Bumby drowned—Appointment of the Rev. W. Larey—Bishop Selwyn and the Wesleyan Mission—Letters by the Rev. Hanson Turton—Baron de Thierry's account of the fruitless controversies between the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries—Various incidents illustrative of native character—The effect of Christianity upon the Maoris—The Rev. James Buller's opinion of Bishop Selwyn.



EARLY in the year 1840 the New Zealand Church Society was formed for the purpose of procuring for the colonists of New Zealand at the earliest period of its colonization all the advantages derivable from the

presence of a body of clergy acting together under the government of a Bishop, and, on the separation of the colony from that of New South Wales, an application was made to the Imperial Government to constitute the islands of New Zealand an independent diocese. The Government acceded to this arrangement, and on the 17th October, 1841, the Rev. George Augustus Selwyn, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, was appointed the first Bishop of New Zealand. He was consecrated at Lambeth, 17th October, 1841, and on the 17th November, at the Town Hall, Windsor, had a presentation of a splendid communion service. With a suite of clergymen he sailed for his diocese, by way of Sydney, in the *Tomatin*, 11th December, 1841, arriving at Auckland in the brig *Bristolian* on the 29th May, 1842.

Prior to the Bishop's departure from England there had been prolonged negotiations between

the Church Society and the New Zealand Company relative to the arrangements for supplying the religious wants of the Company's settlements. The outcome was that the Company offered to advance £5,000 on mortgage of the native reserves to create a fund for carrying on the Maori mission. This proposal was referred by the Secretary of State to the Governor of the colony, who objected to it, Bishop Selwyn concurring in the objection, and the arrangement was not carried out. With respect to the religious wants of the European settlers, it was agreed that whatever value was contributed, whether in money or land, by the Company, or by private subscription through the agency of members of the Company, would be met by a contribution of equivalent value, either in money or land, on the part of the Church; but that until the Church contributed the whole value of its share in capital of land or money, yearly payments, at the rate of 5 per cent. on the capital, would be deemed a contribution of equivalent value. In consideration of this offer by the Church Society the Company resolved to grant immediately, for New Plymouth £500, for Wellington £2,000, and for Nelson £5,000; and members of the court who were members of the Church of England expressed their intention to exert themselves in raising private subscriptions in money

or land, to be added to the Company's contributions. The greater amount of the contribution for Nelson was owing to the circumstance that, as respects that settlement, the colonists themselves had placed a large and constantly increasing fund at the disposal of the Company for religious purposes, and that, in the cases of New Plymouth and Wellington, the subscription came out of the Company's own funds.

The Company further intimated: "With respect to a contribution by the Company towards the foundation of a college for the settlers at Nelson, that in this matter the Company was but a trustee for those settlers by whom a sum of £7,500 had been contributed for the specific purpose of establishing a college. The directors, thus acting as trustees, were unwilling to make any disposal of the fund in question without the consent of the settlers. They proposed, therefore, as soon as the fund should reach its maximum (£15,000), or sooner, if the settlers should sooner obtain a municipal corporate capacity, to place the college fund at the disposal of those to whom it really belonged."

In pursuance of these arrangements the Bishop addressed a letter to the directors of the Company, dated Richmond, Surrey, 2nd December, 1841, stating that he would be prepared to station a clergyman at Nelson at a salary of £250 a year out of the funds placed at his disposal by the Church at home, reserving the £5,000 granted by the Company as a fund for building churches, parsonage houses, and schools. With reference to the settlements at Wellington and New Plymouth, he intimated that he felt himself bound, in consideration of the Company's grants for these settlements, to provide an annual income of £125 towards the maintenance of clergymen there.

The Bishop added: "It is my earnest wish to be enabled as early as possible to create an archdeaconry, according to the powers vested in me by my letters patent, for the effectual superintendence of the affairs of the Church within the settlements of Wellington and New Plymouth: and that I have now received offers of assistance from my friends, for this specific purpose, which induce me to hope that I should be able to meet any advances on the part of the Company with a full equivalent on the part of the Church. In saying this, I wish to be understood to desire the permanent residence of a clergyman of high character and station within the Company's territories, expressing at the same

time my own determination to devote as much of my time and attention to that portion of my diocese as may be consistent with strict justice to the remainder. On the subject of the college to be established at Nelson, I can only say at present, in general terms, that I shall be ready to give my advice on all occasions to the persons to whom the organization of the system of instruction will be entrusted, and shall be truly thankful if the plan adopted for the institution shall be such as will allow me conscientiously to incorporate myself with the board of directors, and give my unqualified support to the undertaking."

The following interesting letters from Bishop Selwyn to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, describe his first impressions of New Zealand and the measures he adopted after his arrival to organize the Church:—

Auckland, July 29, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—You will have already heard from other quarters of my arrival in New Zealand; but I have hitherto delayed writing any official letters, that I might have time to verify my first impressions by more extended observation. I have now been two months in New Zealand, and from the first day of my landing until now, have seen, day after day, more and more reason to be thankful, on the part of the Church, for the establishment of the bishopric of this colony, and for myself, that I am allowed to share in so great and hopeful a work. I find myself placed in a position such as was never granted to any English bishop before, with a power to mould the institutions of the Church from the beginning according to true principles; and I earnestly desire the prayers of the Church at home, that I may be enabled clearly to discern that truth, and consistently to follow it.

I landed first at Auckland, on Monday, May 30, from the brig *Bristolian*, in which I had proceeded from Sydney, in consequence of an accident to the *Tomatin* at Sydney, which caused a delay of several weeks before that ship could be repaired. Auckland now contains a population of 1,900 persons, of whom more than 1,100 are registered as members of the Church of England. The Rev. J. F. Churton, late chaplain at Wellington, has officiated here during the last year and a half. A brick church, in the early English style, which will contain about six hundred persons, is in progress; but from the great cost of materials and labour, the funds are at present inadequate for its completion. It is well placed on a commanding eminence in the centre of the town, and will form a striking object from the harbour. At present divine service is performed, by permission of the Governor, in the court-house, where a very respectable congregation is assembled every Sunday. Mr. Churton also performs divine service at the barracks, and at the prison. He receives £200 per annum from the Government, to which I have added £100 per annum from the annual grant voted to me by the Society for stipends of clergymen. He has built a house for himself on an allotment which he purchased for that purpose.

The Governor, on my application, has vested in me, as trustee, two pieces of ground of eight acres each, 'for the burial of the dead according to the usage of the Church of England,' allotting, at the same time, two similar plots to be divided among the other denominations

of Christians. Our burial-grounds are about half a mile from the centre of the town, on the sides of two of the ridges which slope down gradually to the harbour, and conveniently situated at corresponding distances from the two churches. The first ground was consecrated on Sunday last, on which occasion I was assisted by the Rev. J. F. Churton, Rev. R. Cole (whom I propose to place at Wellington), and Rev. R. Maunsell (one of the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society). Divine

spot to give it such a character as will accord with the reverential feelings with which it will be visited by the friends and relatives of the dead who are there interred.

The church now in progress is called the church of St. Paul, on the central one of the three ridges on which the town will stand. I have obtained another excellent site on the western ridge, on which I intend, as soon as possible, to build a wooden chapel, and to lay the foundations of a church on a grand scale, to be proceeded



Bishop Selwyn.

service was performed in the church tent presented to me by Mr. Cotton, which is completely filled with communion table and desks, and will contain three hundred persons. This will be of great use to me at Nelson and Wellington, where there are at present no places appropriated to public worship. In the event of the population of Auckland rapidly increasing this burial ground will form a beautiful sight for another church. In the meantime, I intend to avail myself of the natural beauties of the

with gradually as the funds can be obtained. On the third, *i.e.*, the eastern ridge, nearest to the mouth of the harbour, and on a high ground commanding a view of the whole Frith of the Thames, I have given directions for the purchase of twenty or thirty acres of land for a site for the cathedral, and for a cathedral close. By this arrangement I may hope to secure a future provision for every possible increase of population, as sites will be prepared for three churches in the main parts of the

town; and when the houses extend half a mile into the country, the two burial grounds will meet the wants of the people, by additions to the chapels which I intend to build upon them for the funeral services.

I have obtained permission to select and purchase sites for parsonage houses, contiguous to the churches and burial grounds, which I shall endeavour to let upon building leases, reserving one central piece of ground sufficient for the residence of all the clergy of the town, who may find it more desirable, for some years to come, to live upon a collegiate plan, than to incur the expense of so many separate establishments.

Any money that I may be able to spare from Auckland itself will be required for the establishment of the Church in some of the suburban settlements, where villages are beginning to be formed. From one of these, Windsor, distant four miles from Auckland, I have already received an address expressive of the desire of the inhabitants for a church and clergyman, and their willingness to contribute.

I am now (July 29, 1842) off the harbour of Auckland, in the Government brig *Victoria*, bound to Wellington and Nelson. On board with me are Rev. R. Cole, for Wellington; Rev. C. L. Reay, Church missionary for the south-western district; and Mr. Evans as my travelling companion. Mr. Whytehead having been advised to pass the winter at Sydney, I was obliged to leave Mr. Cotton with Mrs. Selwyn at the Waimate.

At Wellington everything will have to be begun. There appears to be neither school nor chapel connected with the Church, nor provision for either. Mr. Cole will, I think, prove well qualified for the position for which he is designed. On board the *Tomatin* I appointed him chaplain to the intermediate and steerage passengers, to whom his ministrations were most beneficial, and I was very thankful to see nine out of the thirteen come to the Lord's table on Easter Sunday.

One of the first public acts has been the appointment of the Rev. W. Williams, to be archdeacon of the eastern district. In taking this step I have acted upon the strongest recommendation of the Bishop of Australia, confirmed by personal intercourse with him at the Bay of Islands. Archdeacon Williams is a man universally beloved, and one who, during twenty years of residence in a savage country, has lost nothing of that high tone of feeling which distinguishes the best class of English clergymen. He will act also as one of my examining chaplains, especially for the native language; for I find the natives so interspersed among the English, that I must require every clergyman to make himself acquainted with their language. My excellent friend, Mr. Whytehead, will act as my other examining chaplain; and never, I am sure, was any colonial bishop better supplied with confidential advisers.

The power which has been accorded to me of creating archdeacons is most necessary, for the communication between the different parts of this country is very uncertain. I have now been waiting three weeks at Auckland for a passage to Wellington. The Bishop of Australia, at Sydney, is in a better position for communicating with Wellington and Nelson than I when I am at Auckland. New Plymouth is a perfect "terra incognita." However, my plans are now so laid, that, God willing, I hope to have seen every settlement, and every clergyman and catechist in the country, before the end of the year. But to secure the efficient administration of the Church in all parts of the diocese, each great division of the country must have its responsible head, capable of acting with authority without constant reference to me. I intend, ultimately, to arrange the diocese into four archdeaconries for the northern island, and one or

more for the southern, the first to include the northern part of the north island, to the isthmus on which Auckland is built. The centre of the island to be cut in two by a line running north and south. The eastern portion now forms the archdeaconry of Mr. Williams. The Company's territory, with the settlements of Wellington and New Plymouth, will form the fourth archdeaconry; and a fifth must be located at Nelson, for the care of the northern part of the middle island.

I have consented, in compliance with the urgent request of the Governor and most of the principal inhabitants of Auckland, including many members of the Church Mission, to undertake the formation of a school. The buildings for this purpose are already to be had at the Waimate, and my young catechists will, I hope, be useful assistants. I have hopes of a married gentleman from England to take the charge of the school, but if this should fail, I must conduct it by the assistance of my chaplains, till I can procure a headmaster. It will be in connection with a small collegiate institution for candidates for holy orders, to be under the care of Mr. Whytehead, upon the plan of King's College, London, and its tributary schools.

With my grateful remembrances to all my friends in the committee, and with earnest prayer for the success of your endeavours,

I am, yours most faithfully,

G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

II.

At Sea, off Kapiti, November 3, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR, I have now completed my first visit to the different English settlements in New Zealand, Kororareka, Auckland, Wellington, Nelson, and New Plymouth. Other smaller settlements are springing up in the following places: Whanganui, Petone (Port Nicholson), Hokianga, Windsor (near Auckland). The population of these settlements is about as follows:—Auckland, 1,800; Wellington, 2,500; Nelson (Blind Bay), 2,100; New Plymouth (Taranaki), 900; Kororareka (Bay of Islands), 300; Petone (Port Nicholson), 700; Whanganui (West Coast, South), 100; Hokianga (West Coast, North), 100; Windsor (near Auckland), 100; total, 8,600.

From the nature of the country of New Zealand, the population is likely to be divided into a number of villages; a distribution likely to be favourable to morality, but adding to the difficulty of providing the people with adequate pastoral superintendence. At the same time, I find in all the settlements a very considerable willingness on the part of the inhabitants to bear their part in the maintenance of ministers, and hope, therefore, to be enabled, by the assistance of the Society, to go on from year to year endowing the Church in perpetuity in the new settlements as fast as they arise. Of course, at first, the glebe lands will yield little or nothing; and I shall be obliged to divide the sum which the Society may be enabled to allow me for annual salaries of clergymen among the ministers, who may be expected to increase in number, and, therefore, must gradually become less and less dependent upon the allowance of the Society. This diminution of the dividend of the Society's grant may be met by the increase of the local church fund, arising from the rental of lands, and the contributions of the congregations.

In all the settlements where there is a bank, I have opened an account styled Archdeaconry of Auckland Church Fund, Archdeaconry of Wellington Church Fund, Archdeaconry of Nelson Church Fund, to receive private contributions, and collections made at the offertory by the whole congregation, every time the Lord's Supper is

administered. I have begun this practice at Auckland, Wellington, and Nelson, and have requested the clergymen at those places to continue it. The fund thus formed, I propose to vest uniformly in five trustees: the bishop, the archdeacon of the district, the senior minister, and two laymen, one selected by the bishop, and one by the archdeacon: the proceeds of the fund to be applicable to the building and endowment of churches, schools, parsonage houses, and to the payment, in part, of salaries of clergymen. I hope to bring all dues, such as surplice fees, Easter offerings, etc., into this fund, that they may be looked upon as the dues of the Church, and not as gratuities to particular clergymen for services performed.

I require every town clergyman to learn the native language, and be ready to minister to the spiritual wants of the aborigines; and I find it will be necessary also to establish the converse rule, that every missionary to the natives shall also be ready to minister to the English settlers; for in this country English and natives will live side by side, unless some rupture (which God avert!) should take place between the two races.

The probable increase in the number of small secondary settlements in this country will make the necessity apparent of my having the means of educating my own clergy, at least the greater number of them. This object I hope to accomplish with no other expense to the Society than an allowance for outfit and passage, similar to that already granted to the three young students who accompanied me from England. It has pleased God to deprive me of the assistance of one of them, Mr. Evans, who died at Wellington on the 3rd of October. I have lost a most faithful and valued friend; one who promised to be a zealous and able minister in the Church. My brother William has a candidate of the name of Hutton, who has been studying under him, and will probably be recommended to the committee to supply the place of my departed friend. These young men, will, I hope, be able to maintain themselves during their preliminary course by private tuition in connection with the collegiate school, which I have been encouraged to undertake to establish in the immediate neighbourhood of my own residence at the Waimate. Our institution there will probably consist of a small college for candidates for Holy Orders, under the care of the Rev. Thomas Whytehead; a collegiate school under the direction of a competent master, assisted by the young students of the college, and a native boarding school for the education of native children selected from the different mission stations. By putting our plan of life upon a collegiate system, and by aid of a good extent of land, formerly the farm of the Church Mission, I hope to be enabled to make the whole institution support itself without much assistance from home.

I am now on my way from Taranaki to Kapiti, with the intention of going up the Manawatu River to the East Coast, and proceeding round the East Cape, and then through the centre of the country to Auckland. On my return I hope to be able to give you a correct missionary map. The chief justice, Mr. Martin, is my companion.

In every part of the country I find great occasion for thankfulness and hope. Of course little has been done as yet, but the comfort is that very few hindrances have grown up to prevent the establishment of a sound and efficient Church system. May God give us grace to use with earnestness and understanding the peculiar advantages which are placed within our reach. We have not to combat with a host of full-grown difficulties, such as usually stand in the way of the ministers of religion when they come late in the day into ground already preoccupied. Thank God we are foremost in the field, and may prevent, I trust, much opposition which other-

wise would have been most injurious to the interests of religion hereafter.

I beg to be most kindly remembered to all my friends in the society, and beg to assure them and you that I remain,

Ever your grateful and affectionate friend,

G. A. NEW ZEALAND.

Some further information with regard to the proceedings and prospects of the Bishop may be obtained from the following extracts from his private letters to friends in England:

My friend Mr. Chief Justice Martin and myself, feel that in the line of our new duties, a door of great and effectual usefulness is opened to us. We have been appointed joint trustees, with the Chief Protector of the Aborigines as our colleague, of the lands and funds reserved for the benefit of the native race, a trust of immense importance, both as regards the magnitude of the property, and still more the high moral and spiritual interests which it involves. The native reserves amount in land to between thirty and forty thousand acres; and the money fund to fifteen per cent. upon the produce of all land sales effected by the Government. The moral and spiritual considerations involve the earnest endeavour to advance seventy or eighty thousand of the most intelligent people in the world in the knowledge of true religion, and in the scale of social existence.

I speak of the natives first, because they are the great bulk of the population, and, I think, the hinge upon which the prosperity of the colony will turn. But add to the native trust the necessity of providing every one of the English settlements with every one of its ecclesiastical institutions, for there is not so much as a Church of England school in any one of them; that the whole system has to be framed by the gradual addition of that "which every joint supplieth;" that upon the soundness of the principles upon which this system is framed, depends, under God, much of the future character of the people of the country, and I confess I should tremble at my own insufficiency, if the work did not display so manifestly the finger of God in all its parts, that I can look upon myself only as one portion of the clay over which He has power, and which He is moulding evidently according to His will.

But I have not yet concluded the sources of comfort which may be drawn from the effectual working of God's grace in this country; the care of the Church Mission by itself is an employment to which I should have been thankful to be allowed to devote my whole life. Taken as a whole, the missionary body more than equals my expectations. The great majority too of the catechists whom I have seen are men who, with few advantages of education, have been both faithful and successful in their exertions. As for the people, I love them from my heart, and my desire to serve them grows day by day; there is something so cheering in the frank and cordial openness of their countenance and manner, and in the blameless and devout tenor of their lives.

On the 29th of July I sailed from Auckland, in the Government brig *Victoria*, for Nelson, which is one of the largest and most flourishing settlements in New Zealand, situated at the very bottom of Blind, or Tasman's Bay, in the northern shore of the Middle Island. I arrived there on Sunday, August 21, and immediately went on shore, and preached at the afternoon service in the Emigration Barracks.

The next day I pitched the church tent—a most complete cathedral, with pulpit, reading desk, communion table, rails, kneeling boards, etc. It was fitted up with

boards resting on trunks of small trees let into the ground, which the natives cut for me. I thus provided seats for two hundred, which were well filled on the following Sunday.

On Sunday, September 4, I collected at the offertory £33 for Church purposes, and administered the Lord's Supper to seventeen communicants. After service a native came to me, and after much hesitation, explained that he had seen the pakehas (English) giving their money, and wished to give something also; upon which he produced 1s. 6d. as his contribution to the Church.

A lovely site for a church and cemetery has been reserved here; a small mount, rising to the height of one hundred feet, in the centre of the little plain on which the chief part of the town stands, and with a flat summit, sufficient for the base of a fine building. The site is already occupied by wooden buildings, convertible into a temporary church and school, at a small expense; and the Company's agent, Captain Wakefield, has consented to let me have them at a valuation; by which means I can at once provide for the reverential performance of divine service. In the meantime I have left my tent, with all its appurtenances, for the use of the Rev. Mr. Reay, the clergyman who is staying to take care of the arrangements made for the benefit of the natives at Nelson, and to act conjointly with Mr. Saxton (another clergyman whom I found there) in the charge of the English settlers.

A very strong feeling exists among all the respectable settlers at Nelson in favour of the natives, only requiring to be guided in the right direction. I gave instructions for the establishment of a small school for native children, and of a room for the reception of sick natives, to be placed under the care of Mr. Wilson, a very respectable surgeon at Nelson. Observing that the natives of the surrounding villages had no place to lodge in when they came to the town to bring their potatoes and pigs for sale (for which articles the English are almost entirely dependent on the native supplies), I ordered some little dwellings to be built for them in an acre of their own land, the name of each party being affixed to the dwelling allotted to them, in which they can lock up their goods.

On the 10th of October I left Wellington on foot, accompanied by several natives, who carried our tents, beds, food, clothes, and books, and set out on a land journey to New Plymouth, one of the principal settlements of the Company, which is situated to the north of Cape Egmont, the western extremity of New Zealand, and near the Sugar Loaf Islands. After a few days' journey I was detained by a slight inflammation in my heel, and was obliged to rest, while some of the natives went forward to procure me a horse. I was encamped near the river Wanganui, on some low sand hills, with three of the natives as my companions. My little tent was pitched in the hollow of the sand hills, and my native attendants made themselves comfortable round a large fire, under a little hut, which they soon constructed of drift wood and coarse grass. You would be surprised with the comparative comfort which I enjoy in my encampments. My tent is strown with dry fern or grass; my air bed is laid upon it; my books, clothes, and other goods lie beside it; and though the whole dimensions of my dwelling do not exceed eight feet by five, I have more room than I require, and am as comfortable as it is possible for a man to be when he is absent from those whom he loves most. I thus spent October 17th, the anniversary of my consecration, in my tent on the sand hills; and while in that situation I was led naturally to contrast my present position with the very different scenes in England last year. I can assure you that the comparison brought with it no feelings of discontent; on the contrary, I spent the greater part of the day, after the

usual services and readings with my natives, in thinking with gratitude on the many mercies and blessings which have been granted to me in the past year. Indeed, in looking back upon the events of the year, upon my happy parting from all my friends, my visit to the Bishop of Australia, my voyages (eight in number), my favourable reception in every town in my diocese, my growing friendship with natives, who hear of me in every part of the country, and receive me with characteristic cordiality, all form an inexhaustible subject for thoughts of joy and thanksgiving, which sometimes fill the heart almost to overflowing. "Here," he afterwards adds, "my favourite text came into my mind, 'The lot is fallen unto me in a fair ground; yea, I have a goodly heritage.'"

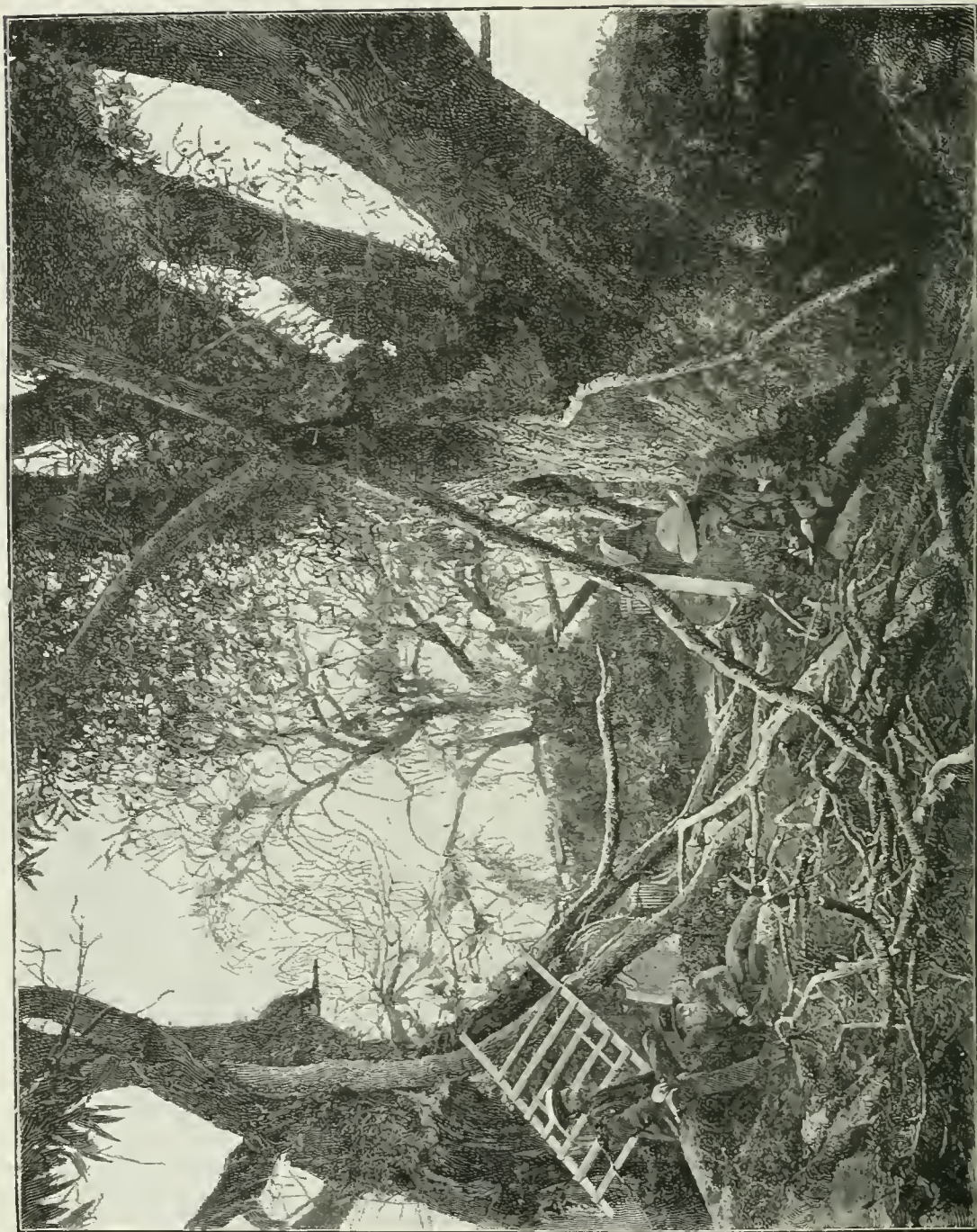
The Bishop took up his residence for a while at the missionary settlement of Waimate, Bay of Islands. He thus describes his situation at that place:—

Next door to our own house, which is the college, is the collegiate school, which has not yet been opened, but will probably be set on foot after Easter. The premises have hitherto been used as a missionary school, and are very complete for the purpose. The cathedral library is established at Kerikeri, ten miles from this place, in a fine stone building, partly used as a store. I have just completed the arrangements of the library, so that the goodly presents of my numerous friends are all accessible; and a beautiful sight they are. It is enough to cheer the heart to see such a body of sound divinity collected in this most distant of the dioceses of the Church of England. Add to this the private feeling of knowing that every one of the books is the gift of some friend, whose heart and whose prayers are with us.

One of the chief advantages of the Waimate is, that we have a spacious church close to the house. It is built entirely of wood, painted white, and gives a very English look to the village. In the interior we have a stone font, an altar cloth and cushions, a pulpit and beautiful large books, all the gifts of different friends in England.

Here I held my first confirmation, at which 325 natives were confirmed. A more orderly, and I hope impressive ceremony could not have been conducted in any church in England; the natives coming up in parties to the communion table, and audibly repeating the answer—*E wakaoetia ana e ahau, "I do (confess)."* It was a most striking sight to see a church filled with native Christians, ready, at my first invitation, to obey the ordinances of their religion. On the following Sunday 300 native communicants assembled at the Lord's table, though the rain was unceasing. Some of them came two days' journey for this purpose. My Windsor communion plate was used for the second time on this occasion. The natives were much pleased when they were told that it was a present from my congregation in England, and seemed to enter fully into the spirit of the gift.

In replying to an address presented by the people of Wellington upon his first arrival there in August, 1842, the Bishop expressed his admiration of the magnificence of the country now undergoing the great change of colonization, and remarked that, under Divine aid and the exertions of the British people, New Zealand would one day be the brightest gem in Britain's crown, her noblest effort at colonization. His Lordship anticipated this independently of any superiority of climate or



The Old Wesleyan Mission Cemetery, Hokiana.

soil, but from the prospect and practicability of civilizing and preserving an aboriginal race of natives. He believed the New Zealander would prefer the blessings connected with a civilized life, and would one day bless the happy period when Britons first settled amongst them, and that they might ultimately be placed on the footing of free-born Britons.

The Rev. Mr. Kissling and Mrs. Kissling arrived at Auckland in May, 1842. They accompanied Bishop Selwyn on his first visit to Paihia. The following account of the Bishop's introduction to the New Zealand mission field is from the diary of the wife of the Rev. Henry Williams:—"Paihia, June 20.—While Henry was engaged with his Monday evening Bible class, William came in with a card, brought by a pakeha, to be read by candle-light. He exclaimed, 'the Bishop of New Zealand on the beach.' He went down and found the Bishop, Mr. Cotton (private chaplain), and Mr. Lewington, dragging up a boat in which they had come from Cape Brett, steering for this house by a pocket compass. The natives poured out of the reading room at the news. The Bishop's manner was most prepossessing, and when shown into his room he seemed much pleased to find a crib for his little boy. When summoned to tea, both the Bishop and his chaplain seemed surprised at the long tea table of the two families of the Williamses, set for twenty-four.

"June 21.—Mr. and Mrs. Kissling, missionaries, the Bishop's fellow-passengers in the small vessel from Auckland, came to a second breakfast. He was an old German missionary from Sierra Leone; his wife a well-educated English woman. Quite a day of days. The Bishop and Henry started for Kerikeri." Mr. Kissling's original destination, according to the arrangement made by the Church Mission Society, had been the South, but the Bishop appointed him to Kawakawa, at the East Cape, the climate there being warmer.

The Church Mission stations at the time of Bishop Selwyn's arrival were as follows:—Kaitaia: Mr. J. Matthews, Mr. W. Puckey. Whangaroa: Mr. J. Shepherd. Tēpuna: Mr. J. King. Kerikeri: Mr. J. Kemp. Waimate: Rev. R. Taylor (school), Mr. G. Clarke, Mr. R. Davis. Paihia: Rev. H. Williams. Kororareka: Rev. R. Burrows. Maraetai: Mr. W. T. Fairburn. Hauraki: Mr. Preece. Orua: Mr. J. Hamlin. Waikato: Rev. R. Maunsell. Kaitoke: Mr. B. Ashwell. Otawhāo: Mr. J. Morgan. Rotorua: Mr. T. Chapman. Tauranga: Rev. A. N. Brown.

Opotiki: Mr. J. Wilson. Waiapu: Mr. J. Stack. Uawa: Mr. C. Baker. Turanga: Rev. W. Williams. Whanganui: Rev. J. Mason. Waikanae and Otaki: Rev. O. Hadfield. Mr. Spencer arrived a fortnight before the Bishop, and had been located at Tarawera.

One of the most pleasing duties which the Bishop had to perform, after he became familiarised with his diocese, was that of bestowing well-earned honours upon those faithful missionaries, clerical and lay, who had spread the gospel among the native race. The Rev. W. Williams was appointed Archdeacon of Waiapu shortly after the Bishop's arrival. The Bishop himself, residing at Waimate, undertook the supervision of the Northern district, but upon his removal to Auckland in 1844, he appointed the Rev. Henry Williams to be Archdeacon of Waimate. At the same time, the Rev. A. N. Brown became Archdeacon of Tauranga, which included provisionally Tauranga, Hauraki, Rotorua, and Taupo. On the 11th of June, 1843, that veteran missionary, Mr. Richard Davis, was ordained to be deacon of Kaitoke; and in the September following Mr. Seymour Mills Spencer was ordained to be deacon for the district of Raupo. Other lay missionaries, whose services have been recorded in the preceding pages, were ordained in the following order: Mr. James Hamlin and Mr. Joseph Matthews, 1844; and Mr. Benjamin Yate Ashwell in 1848.

The arrival of the Bishop caused a material change in the relations between the Church missionaries and the Wesleyans. Hitherto, the spirit which led Marsden to enlist the sympathies and assistance of the Rev. Samuel Leigh in the mission work had distinguished the relations subsisting between the Church missionaries and the Wesleyans. They had studiously avoided coming in conflict, defining by mutual consent their respective spheres of labour, and had co-operated with each other wherever they could. The Bishop's High Church views and the duty he conceived to be imposed upon him of establishing his church throughout the colony caused him to refuse recognition altogether to the Wesleyans as a co-ordinate Christianising missionary body. This led to considerable conflict between the two denominations, and to confusion and loss of power in the mission work among the natives.

Prior to Bishop Selwyn's arrival, the Wesleyan missionaries had been strengthened by several able coadjutors. In 1839, the Cen-

tenary Conference of the Wesleyan Church was held at Liverpool, and one outcome of it was the purchase of a schooner called the Triton for mission work in the South Seas. She left England in September 1839, taking the Rev. Thomas Buddle and his wife, the Rev. H. H. and Mrs. Turton, the Rev. J. and Mrs. Skevington, and Messrs. Buttle, Aldred, and G. Smailes. The voyage was a dreary one, the vessel not arriving at Hokianga until the 10th of May, 1840. She had, however, called at Hobarton, en route, where the Rev. John Waterhouse, General Superintendent of the mission in Australasia and Polynesia,

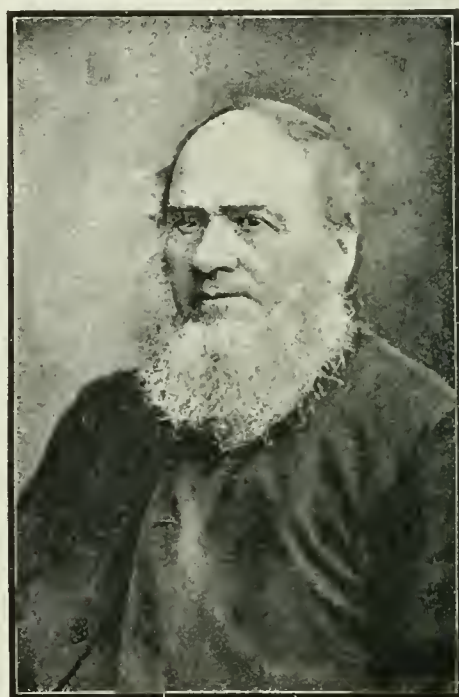
that the Rev. Mr. Bumby met with his death. He travelled overland as far as the Rev. Mr. Fairburn's station at the Thames. Here the question was discussed whether he should go by way of the Waitemata and Kaipara to Hokianga, or go via Whangarei. Mr. Fairburn recommended the former course, but Mr. Bumby being fearful of the passage across Kaipara Heads, determined to go by canoe to Whangarei. They set out on the 25th of June, the weather being very fine, and paddled as far as the island of Motutapu, where they spent the night. On the following day, the sea in the Hauraki gulf still being perfectly



Rev. John Waterhouse.

joined the party and accompanied them to New Zealand. Messrs. Williams, Wilson, and Keverne, who were to take up mission work in the South Sea Islands, also came on board at Hobarton.

After spending a fortnight with the missionaries at the Mangungu station, Mr. Waterhouse and Mr. Bumby, who was in charge of the New Zealand mission, set sail in the Triton for the purpose of landing Messrs. Ironside, Turton, Buttle, and Aldred at Kawhia, where they were to enter upon their missionary labours. Mr. and Mrs. Buddle travelled overland. It was when returning from this visit



Rev. Thos. Buddle.

calm, when near Tiritiri-matangi an attempt was made to hoist a sail, and in doing this the canoe was capsized, and its occupants, twenty in number, were precipitated into the sea. All the Maoris, of course, could swim, and they supported Mr. Bumby in the water until the canoe was righted, and Mr. Bumby got in again, but while the natives were endeavouring to scramble into the canoe it once more turned over. The natives again rallied round the missionary, and by great exertion managed to get him on the bottom of the canoe, a Tongan lad who assisted becoming himself so exhausted in the effort

that he sank and was drowned. Out of the twenty occupants of the canoe only five were finally saved. Mr. Bumby was washed off after he had been held on to the bottom of the canoe by a native named Hemi Karana for about half-an-hour. Mr. Bumby was only thirty-three years of age at the time of his death. He was a man of earnest piety, and of genial social disposition. His health, however, was delicate and ill-adapted for the rough work of a pioneer missionary.

The Rev. Walter Lawry, who had been labouring for many years in the Friendly Islands, was appointed to succeed Mr. Bumby in charge of the New Zealand mission, with supervision also over Polynesia. About the same time the Rev. W. B. Boyce succeeded the Rev. John Waterhouse in charge of the Australian colonies, Mr. Waterhouse having died soon after the death of Mr. Bumby. Mr. Lawry was the founder of the mission at the Friendly Islands. He originally went out as a missionary to New South Wales, and his first visit to New Zealand was in 1822, when on his way from New South Wales to Tongatabu. He returned to the colony, to take supreme charge of the mission, on the 17th of March, 1844.

Among the new arrangements made by Mr. Lawry, after his arrival, was the removal of the Rev. Thomas Buddle (somewhat against his wish) from mission work among the natives to the charge of the Auckland circuit, with supervision over the native institution, where Maori students were qualified as teachers. Since his arrival, Mr. Buddle had experienced the vicissitudes attending the life of an early missionary. From Hokianga, accompanied by Mrs. Buddle, he had travelled overland to Kawhia, and thence to Whangaroa in a small craft, accompanied by several friendly natives. During this short passage, a fearful storm broke over them. They lost all their goods, every available thing had to be thrown overboard, and it was with the greatest possible difficulty that they landed at all. At the urgent request of the chief Tama-i-hengia, Mr. Buddle settled at Porirua. He next laboured at Waipa, taking up his abode with Te Rautakerei at Kopua. In this district his ministry was very acceptable to the natives, and his Christian influence told upon their lives and conduct. His personal worth and mental qualifications were at this time attracting considerable attention, and led to his final removal in 1844 to the more prominent and responsible sphere of labour in the city of Auckland.

It was about this time that the changed feeling between the Church and the Wesleyan missionaries, which had arisen after the arrival of Bishop Selwyn, found expression in a series of letters written by the Rev. Hanson Turton to the Auckland *Southern Cross*. The first of these was dated New Plymouth, 30th April, 1844. A few extracts from this correspondence will show the nature of the contention and its effect on the native race. In his first letter Mr. Turton stated: "On September 19th, 1843, a letter was addressed to your lordship from our district committee, then assembled at Waipa, complaining of certain ecclesiastical irregularities and acts of imprudent interference on the part of the Church Missionary brethren residing at Wanganui and Waikanae. Your lordship promised to institute inquiry upon arrival at those places, but with what success or satisfaction we have not, as yet, been made acquainted. We had complained that one of those brethren had marked with the sign of the 'cross' several natives who had been baptized by us, and had thereupon admitted them to partake of the Lord's supper, seeing that now 'their baptism was complete.' The writer goes on to state that, although the Bishop had only just returned from his southern tour, these practices continued. Mr. Turton then reviews the work which had been accomplished by the missionaries in bygone years, and he continues:

Now, my Lord, it is only right to observe that this great though very imperfect change in the principles and habits and feelings of the New Zealanders, is to be attributed not to the sole efforts of either of the societies separately, but to the united and persevering labours of the agents of both churches conjointly. I say to their united labours, and I wish to call your lordship's attention to that fact. Although they have laboured separately, each in his own communion, and in accordance with those distinctions of internal arrangement which are therein to be recognised, yet has it hitherto been a separation of love—separate in form, but united in object, in affection, in sympathy. The head-quarters of the Church brethren have been at the Bay of Islands, and those of the Wesleyans at Hokianga, with only a narrow strip of land between them, yet have they hitherto been enabled amicably to prosecute the great object of their mission in those contiguous localities, without any unnecessary interference the one with the other; and the same spirit of Christian love has been exercised in the extension of their several spheres of operation—the one stretching themselves along the eastern coast as far as the Thames and Poverty Bay, and the other along the western coast and Middle Island as far as Kawhia, Taranaki, Port Nicholson, Nelson, Cloudy Bay, and Otago. Indeed such was the formal arrangement agreed upon some years ago by the two parent societies at home, and which arrangement exists in its full force at the present time, however it may have been regarded by more recent acts. The rivers Waikato and Manukau were excepted in that general arrangement; but as to the

occupation of Wanganui and Waikanae by members of your Lordship's society, we never can consider it in any other light than as a most unfriendly interference with the acknowledged claims of another body of Christians. Had a little more missionary prudence and courtesy, and rather less intemperate High Church zeal, been shown by the agents who were at first located at those stations, then might the evil have been less, and our rightful claims might have been foregone; but as it is, I can only assure your Lordship of the conviction of many, that the present occupant of Waikanae would have done much more good had he been originally placed upon a station where he could have done much less harm. My Lord, if such be the beneficial change which has been wrought upon the New Zealand mind, and such the united agency by which it has been effected, is it not remarkable that at the end of twenty years an Episcopalian bishop is found travelling the coast and astonishing the minds of the natives with the (to them) unheard of assertion, that the Wesleyans are a "crooked branch," a "fallen people," and that they have no scriptural ministers, etc.

In a second letter Mr. Turton says:

My Lord,—In your communication to our district committee of October 31st, 1843 (our answer to which you will long ere this time have received), your Lordship is very free to declare the Wesleyans to be "schismatics," their ordination to be invalid, and their baptisms to be at most but the mere "acts of laymen." Of course we can admit no part of this sweeping sentence to be correct; and if your Lordship will only submit it to be tried in written debate by the test of Scripture and right argument, we have no fear of being able to substantiate any ecclesiastical claims, which, as a part of Christ's visible church, we felt ourselves entitled to advance. Now, I would respectfully submit it to your Lordship's judgment as to what is likely to be the ultimate consequence upon the native character of the propagation of such exceptionable and High Church views as those to which I have alluded. Will it serve the promotion of their best interests, whether domestic, civil, or religious? Upon your Lordship's arrival in New Zealand you found the natives generally settled down into a state of domestic peace, and family feuds were ended, and parents and children worshipping God together, according to their limited knowledge. Perhaps one part of the family have been baptized into the Episcopalian; another put into the Wesleyan Church. Your Lordship appears amongst them and tells them that they must no longer worship together, but separately, and that the teachers of the one party are no longer to be allowed to instruct the other; that they are a distinct communion, and that all the distinctions of the church are to be rigorously observed. I here refer to my own district; and what, my Lord, is the effect? Why, the Scripture is literally fulfilled, that "a man's foes shall be they of his own household," and here we have the awful sight of father and son, mother and daughter—tuakana and teina—hating each other with a mortal hatred. In some cases they are dividing themselves into separate pas; in other cases into separate divisions of the same pa; and in one village, within eight miles of this settlement, has the party spirit risen so high between near kinsmen that one of them has erected a fence across the kainga, and lined it thickly with fern, not as a breakwind or shelter, but as he told me, "that the one party might not be able even to look upon the other." I know your Lordship would disapprove of everything of the kind; but such is the natural effect of an exclusive religion upon an uninstructed mind. You restrict them

in matters of ecclesiastical communion, though of the most indifferent character; but they know not where to limit the restriction, and hence we find it extended to their worship, to their cultivations, to their dwellings, and to their food. They will neither eat together, nor sit together, nor commune together, and a kind of embryo persecution is already being carried on on both sides. I say on both sides, for though they are far from being equally guilty, yet I lament to say that many of my own natives, excited to action by the intolerance of the Church party, have more than once exceeded the bounds of Christian temperance. But a short time ago a serious altercation arose between the natives of Orungituaepaka and Waimate, three days to the southward of this place, the inhabitants of the former pa declaring that they had adopted the bishop's tikanga, and refusing to allow their missionary, the Rev. J. Skevington (who resides within two miles of the place) to visit them; at the same time using very contemptuous language towards the natives of Waimate. Feeling rose high between the two parties; and, but for the prompt measures of their missionary, a scene which had commenced with intolerance would have ended in blood. My Lord, in the introduction of High Churchism into New Zealand, you seem most egregiously to have miscalculated the native character. Naturally proud, domineering, and resentful, the inculcation of any principle of a kindred tendency upon the mind of the semi-civilised New Zealander, must of necessity be fraught with danger. I have already alluded to its evil effect on the domestic harmony of our people, nor do I apprehend that any greater benefit is likely to accrue to their civil condition. . . . For instance, the tribes of this Taranaki district are the conquered enemies of the Ngatimaniapoto and Waikato, and many of the past years have been spent by the majority of them in slavery. In the course of time the Gospel is introduced into the Waikato district by our brethren, the Rev. Messrs. Whiteley, Wallis, and Woon, and more recently by the Rev. Mr. Maunsell, of the Church mission. The preaching of that Gospel obtains success. The chiefs, with the rest of the people, receive it, and in compliance with the entreaties of their ministers, agree to a cessation of hostilities with their enemies—the doctrine of Christian compensation is urged upon them with the best of feelings, and from the most disinterested motives—the Taranaki slaves are returned to the land of their birth, the chiefs are left to be their own servants and to do their own work; and we now behold such exertions of self-denial on the part of the Waikato aristocracy as have never before been witnessed since the country was first colonised with New Zealanders. At length the slaves arrive home, and for some considerable time continue to "walk by the same rule, and to mind the same thing," grateful to God for His gospel, to their chiefs for their liberation. But by and by a new Gospel arrives, new tikangas are set up, new rules enforced, new teachers are sent amongst them; their baptism is ridiculed, their church is degraded, and their old and faithful ministers who have taught them all they know, who have cared for and defended them, and who, at length, have released them from slavery, are now slandered and denounced as uncommissioned intruders into the land, and that too by men who in respect to missionary labours and zeal, are perfectly unworthy to "unloose the latchet of their shoes." The consequence of all this is that the people, like so many children, are ever fond of something new, are proselyted over to the new ritenga, are instructed in the new doctrines, and admitted for the first time, as they are taught to believe, into the true church. Under the influence of this teaching it is not long before the old spirit of hatred towards their Waikato chiefs revives in its full strength, and any

little morsel of retailed slander which they can collect against the Wesleyan Church or against the claims of the Wesleyan ministers, is so much the more delightful to their embittered feelings, inasmuch as that is the Church and those are the ministers of their old and victorious enemies. My Lord, I speak what I know when I say that this revived feeling of ancient animosity has no little share in the present religious commotion of the Taranaki district. And who can say where this spirit will end? Many a Waikato chief has already, to my knowledge, been grossly insulted by these High Church proselytes, and many an exasperated remark has been made in reference to it on their return home, and some have even gone as far as to propose fetching their slaves away again that they might be initiated for a few more years in the principles of Wesleyan prudence and Wesleyan love. It is but three weeks ago since I accompanied the Rev. J. Whiteley to Waimate, and so intemperate were the proceedings of your Lordship's disciples at Wareatea against that devoted and successful minister of the Saviour that an unhappy collision had well-nigh taken place. Feelings of no ambiguous character were perceived to arise in the breasts of the few Waikatos that attended us as they stood gazing in astonishment, and but for the timely precaution of my friend, who ordered them to leave the village and proceed on their journey, there is no knowing what the result would have been, and yet these were natives most of whom were returned from slavery through the kind interposition of the very man whom they were now so grossly insulting, and who but for him, would have been in slavery still. They had the confidence to plead your Lordship's personal instructions as an excuse for their conduct. But, of course, whatever those directions may have been, they must have exceeded them on the present occasion. But if your Lordship chooses to lay the foundation of an intolerant exclusiveness in the minds of uninstructed men, you need not be surprised at any excesses of conduct into which they may run; or at any event, however fatal or however distant, in which such principles may terminate. As a body of Wesleyan ministers, we have delivered our souls, and their blood shall not be required at our hands.

My Lord, if such be the injurious tendency of the inculcation of High Church principles upon the domestic and civil interests of the natives, it is very evident that it will exert no better influence on their religious feelings. If it be injurious to them as families and as tribes, it must be equally injurious to them as men and as Christians, and so from experience we find it. Coming from a station in Waikato where all was peace and comparative prosperity and encouragement, great indeed was my surprise and grief, on my arrival here, to find the people so deeply involved in party contentions as to mere forms and opinions. Instead of meeting me with inquiries as to the great doctrine and blessings of the Gospel, the time of both ministers and people is lavishly wasted away with useless discussions on matters of mere ecclesiastical arrangement. The spirit of the Gospel has evaporated in the form, and the mind perversely surrendered to the influence of foolish questions and genealogies and contentions "which are unprofitable and vain." And as to the Church party, it is lamentable to behold the pride and presumption which they evince. On the journey just alluded to, Mr. Whiteley was forbidden to preach at Wareatea, the natives declaring that your Lordship had so ordered it, and that they dare not transgress; and so a scene was presented at once ludicrous and disgraceful—of two missionaries found seated on the ground, whilst an ignorant Maori lad stood up in triumph to disburden himself of a load of most egregious nonsense; and when

in the morning we called upon the natives to prayers in our own sleeping house, they forthwith left the place, rang their own bell out of mere opposition, engaged in their own worship, and left but three to listen to the "tale of a Saviour's cross." At Wareatea also we were grossly mocked whilst in the attitude of prayer.

My Lord, I feel perfectly indignant when I think of the alleged cause of this conduct. Here is an old missionary of eleven years' standing, through whose moral influence and single intervention great and contending tribes have more than once laid down their arms and become reconciled—through whose interposition chiefly the Waikato wars have been ended, and Taranaki re-peopled, and the European settlement of New Plymouth been saved on more occasions than one from the hostile visits of the exasperated Ngatimaniapoto tribe. I say here is that very man, forbidden by your Lordship's alleged direction to exercise his commission in a village which owes its erection to him, and to natives who, under God, even owe their present existence to him. In the meantime the natives are thus debarred from all means of European instruction save what they may imperfectly derive from the quarterly or half-yearly visits of Church ministers who, as yet, are unable to address them in their own language, so that they are rather to be held in the bondage of ignorance than permitted to hear the truths of the Gospel as delivered from the lips of a Wesleyan minister, and that too in his own district!

Writing on the 24th May, 1844, Mr. Turton remarks:—

For the last twenty years there have been two churches in this country—the Episcopalian and the Wesleyan—using the same form of public worship, and in the administration of the sacraments using the same Scriptures and Book of Common Prayer (the objectionable passages always excepted), preaching the same doctrines, and exercising the same system of moral discipline. The island has been divided into compartments so that no minister should interfere with the parish of another, and hence when our baptized natives have moved to the district of a Church missionary they have become members of that minister's communion, and our original claim upon their membership has been resigned for the sake of the general principle of non-interference, and so vice versa on the part of the Church brethren. Members of the two churches likewise, after the established custom of the mother country, and for Scriptural reasons, have been mutually admitted to partake together of the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The missionaries of either society have never been forbidden to preach the Gospel in the course of their journeyings wheresoever and whenever they could find a congregation to hear them. The utmost possible respect has been excited in the minds of the natives towards all parties, and thus both ministers and people have lived together and laboured together and triumphed together, being bound together in one common cause of missionary effort by the best of all bonds—the bond of Christian love.

But it appears that we have quite mistaken our object, that we have been all wrong, and that it is your Lordship's purpose to set us all right. It would appear that we came to this country not so much to promote the spiritual interests of its population and to live together in "brotherly love," as to advance to the utmost of our power the separate and contending claims of our respective churches, to bring out all the points of difference into conspicuous relief, and to forbid, on the part of our disciples, all manner of intercommunion and fraternity in matters of a religious and ecclesiastical nature. It would appear from your Lordship's directions to the natives of

this district that the utmost distance is in future to obtain between the two parties—that separate services are to be established in the same village—that the attendants of one native hut are no longer to enter the threshold or resort to the services of another native hut—that Wesleyan ministers are to be forbidden to preach in such consecrated places—that their ministrations are not to be attended by any but their own people; and that in some pas (as at Wareatea, Mokotuna and Warea) they are not to be allowed to preach the Gospel at all within the boundaries of the village fence! My Lord, is it true or is it not?

My Lord, it seems a great pity that the arrival of an Episcopalian bishop in New Zealand should thus be made the signal of strife and contention to a peaceable and rising population; and the establishment of a Church upon such an unholy foundation is but a sad presage indeed of its continuance and prosperity. You have publicly entered your protest against the Wesleyan Mission. That mission has been established in this country for upwards of twenty years, during which time no less than £80,000 of the Society's funds have been expended in its support. We have no fewer than eighteen mission stations formed, viz., one at Auckland, three on the River Hokianga, one at Kaipara, Wangaroa, Waipa, Aotea, Kawhia, Whakatatumutu, Mokau, New Plymouth, Waimate, Patea, Port Nelson, Cloudy Bay, and Otago; and which stations are supplied by the labours of fifteen clergymen and five catechists, under the general superintendency of one bishop. Some of the most influential and important tribes of New Zealand, including many thousands of natives, are under our regular instruction, and the general prosperity of our work is only limited by the contractedness of our means. And is it against this mission, my Lord, that the skirmishes of the High Church party are to be directed? And does your Lordship for a moment imagine that any efforts of that character will ever be able to drive or frighten the Wesleyans from the field? As far as we ourselves are personally concerned, your Lordship is perfectly free to act as you please in this matter, for we have not the least apprehension in respect of the final result. Methodism has met with opposition before now and as often has she triumphed over the influence of illiberality and prejudice. But this, my Lord, is a new scene in the conflict. The ground of contention is removed to the mission field, and though we have nothing to fear for ourselves, yet are we all apprehension and dread (and I am free to confess it) as to the spiritual welfare and immortal destinies of our people.

These profitless disputes recall those which took place at an earlier period of the mission history between the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries. Baron de Thierry in a manuscript dated 1848, gives the following account of these controversies:—

“The excitement which prevailed at this period gave rise to one of the most ridiculous scenes I ever witnessed. The ministers of the different creeds—Protestant, Wesleyan, and Catholic—met on a given day to discuss in public, at Kororareka, the respective merits of the Catholic and Protestant religions. A sort of awning, under which were seats for the disputants and witnesses, was erected, and Mr. Robert Fitzgerald was called to the chair. But, who were the umpires in this discussion

—who were called upon to decide upon the merits of the different Christian denominations—upon the older claims of the one, and the better claims of the other? Why, the Maoris, the only half-evangelised aborigines of the soil. What an absurdity! Of course everything ended as it began—each party returned home convinced he was in the right, and as no blankets were given on the occasion, the natives came to but one conclusion, and that seemed to be that if persons always speaking of Jesus Christ could not agree in New Zealand, where each professed to come to establish his religion, and where all should be unanimous, there must be something wrong, but what it was they could not tell, nor did it seem their instructions could decide the point, since they wrangled a whole day and failed to settle their own differences, as they had failed to persuade their hearers.

“Whilst on the subject of religion and of the missionaries, I must be allowed to say a few words, in which I am fully borne out by some of the missionaries of the three denominations. The missionaries have taught a large number of natives to read and write—some to be able to teach others, and to read the prayers and Scriptures, but the missionaries have not succeeded in making good Christians of them. Vast numbers say prayers morning and night, and even say grace at meals, but all this is done because they are told it must not be left undone. Still are they not thorough Christians. Gratitude for advantages received, for education, food or raiment, is unknown to the New Zealander; for gratitude the Maori tongue has not a name; charity, too, is not a native feeling, and without charity there is no Christianity. Interest is the all-absorbing consideration with a native, and it is this passion, so strong and so powerful, which is operating a rapid change in the character of the aborigines. Show a native that something which he wishes to attain is to be gained, and he will leave his kindred and the tribe to which he belongs even without the ceremony of leave-taking.

“When Repa, who figured in the late war, and who is a brave and daring fellow, was first seen by me in 1837, I was struck with his intelligent appearance, as he sat finishing a fine canoe, dressed from head to foot in good and comely European clothing. He was then one of the favourite members of the Wesleyans. When Bishop Selwyn arrived Repa heard great things of his lordship's liberality to the natives. He went to him, said the Wesleyans were *kakino*, and he became a

zealous Protestant. He next admired the fine texture of Bishop Pompallier's blankets, and he and all his tribe became Catholics, diligently crossing himself a hundred times a day, and incessantly praising the bishop and his clergy; but in an evil hour Bishop Pompallier refused to supply his demands, which were beginning to be rather expensive, and having no fresh friend to go to, and no new creed to adopt, my friend Repa took three wives in the old-fashioned way, and himself and his people once more turned devils. He now derives a very dishonourable source of revenue amongst the troops at Kororareka; he is likewise a most successful gambler, drinks hard, and yet withal is one of the best friends of our race. Instances might be quoted to show that a great native chief, remarkable for attendance to religious exercises, will surrender his nearest female relative for a suitable consideration; therefore he cannot be deemed a practical Christian, though he should conform ever so rigidly to the usages of the different creeds. These facts are perfectly unanswerable. I could prove the assertion by a long list of names, but am unwilling to do the natives such an injury.

"When at Tahiti the Rev. Mr. Pritchard used often to say that the only good and faithful servants were the devils, and so it is here. If you would employ a native on any extraordinary errand you will be better served by a devil than a missionary. It is *interest* which rules the natives, and they will become anything you please if you will make it worth their while. Let us therefore, as most justly observed my worthy, good, and most exemplary Christian friend Daniel Wheeler, the Quaker and inestimable philanthropist, let us take the aborigines of these islands by their weak side—begin by civilising them, which employment and trade will most effectually do, and then evangelise them. We shall then begin at the root, we shall strike at once at their strongest passions, and by dealing fairly with them, heighten their esteem and confidence for our race, and we shall finally convert them into real Christians, effective Christians; not Christians by words alone, but by deeds.

"The missionaries have appeared to do more good than others, for this simple reason—they could afford it better. In the first place, their goods were bought for them by tender in England, and they got them of the best and cheapest kind, so that what would have cost any other settler a pound would barely cost them ten shillings. Thus they might appear

to give higher prices, when, in fact, they gave less than anyone else. What has ever grieved me more than anything else is the utter disregard of the missionaries and the Government to the future welfare of the native race, and the want of exertion towards locating them on farms by the formation of a few comfortable villages which might attach them to their property. The New Zealander has lost his country, and gained nothing in return except what he works for. Captain Fitzroy built one house on the Domain at Auckland for Te Wheoro Wheoro, and Captain Grey has erected another for Tamati Waka at Kororareka, but that is all that has been done for the natives."

The charge of a want of gratitude preferred by Baron de Thierry in the foregoing remarks, appears, however, somewhat inconsistent with the illustrations of native character given by him in the same paper, detailing acts of great generosity performed by Maoris without hope of reward.

"The aborigines of New Zealand," he writes, "are a very different race to those of New Holland, whose low degree in the human family and whose inauspicious colour has been so fatal to them. The number of natives in New Holland are but a sprinkling compared to those of New Zealand, and they are quite void of the endowments which so eminently characterise those of these islands. A people more verging on civilization, more ready to be broken in to our habits and manners, and more capable of taking an active share in our labours, cannot be named. But, if they are so ripe for co-operation with us, and if they can be made such valuable auxiliaries, they are men not to be trifled with. They will often act liberally, and at times with a generosity not to be expected from people so selfish in their general intercourse with us as they are; but nothing may be taken from them with impunity, and they will defend their own with the most determined intensity of purpose. Ask of a New Zealander and he will give, but whatever you do attempt not to take anything from him.

"The gain which very often and indeed in most cases accrued to the natives by having white men to live in their districts, often caused the natives to offer them great inducements to dwell amongst them. A gratuitous gift of land, a field of potatoes or a field of wheat, the clearing away of a large portion of bush, and the gift of a few breeding sows—all this would they give to induce a white man to live with them, and they would often build

him a better house than any owned by their principal chiefs. They would do more, they would fight for his property if necessary, and do what Tiro did when other tribes refused to, give up a portion of land, which he had made over to me, and which he proved belonged to him. He built a large and formidable pa on the disputed land, and assembled a considerable force, and then dared them to do their worst. Tiro, a determined warrior, but as determined a friend, might be seen standing on the bank of the Waima, with a double-barrel gun in his hand threatening to shoot the first chief who should dare pass him in a canoe. One stormy night he did more; he walked some distance to where the hostile tribes were sitting in a circle arranging their plans of operation. Suddenly, he stood in the

attached to us, and feeling more confidence in my family than in any other European, he came to my house at Mount Isabel to request one of my sons to write a Maori letter for him to Captain Fitzroy. This visit took place a few months before the attack on Kororareka. In his letter Tiro stated to the Governor that he was the friend of the white people, but that there were natives who were unfriendly to them, and that if the Governor would take warning from him he would immediately put a stop to the sale of gunpowder and lead to the natives. He impressed the necessity of this measure on the Governor, and requested to hear from him by return of post. He patiently awaited for a reply for upwards of a month. He then wrote another letter to Captain Fitzroy, and waited five or six weeks



Maori War Canoe.

midst of them, exclaiming as he cocked both barrels of his gun, 'Here I am; now, tell me, if you dare, that the land is not mine. Speak, and die!' No one said a word, and Tiro returned to his people. Next day the enemy made overtures, and matters were quietly settled.

"How Tiro happened afterwards to side with Hone Heke is too curious not to be mentioned. Tiro had been taken to Sydney by one of the Hokianga settlers, an Irish Catholic, and was the first native of New Zealand who became a Roman Catholic. He was christened by Bishop, now Archbishop Polding. This native came to reside with my family when I was in Sydney, and afterwards proceeded to New Zealand with my settlers. From that moment he continued

for his reply, but no answer arriving he came to us in great ill-humour, complaining bitterly of the Governor's insulting conduct to him. I assured him it must be owing to some mistake, and having rather softened his angry feelings he said he would write once more. A third letter was written, and for nearly six weeks he constantly inquired whether the Governor had answered him, but no letter arrived, and he once more came to me. 'The Governor,' said he, as he stood with a double-barrel gun in his hand and a tomahawk in his belt, 'has insulted me. What have I done to deserve this; am I a slave? I have been one of the white people's best friends, and I would have stood by them to the last; but I will now be the Queen's enemy, and the enemy of the Governor and of his people. Go,

my friends, get away from here, for unless you come to live at Waima I cannot protect you. Go where there are soldiers to protect you, for in the best tribes there are bad men, and you might be injured before protection could reach you. It is not against the white people that there will be fighting, but against the soldiers and the Governor. Your land at Waima shall be protected, and shall always remain yours, and if you ever need a friend amongst the Maoris, come to Tiro.' Saying this he wept, shook us all cordially by the hand, and offered the assistance of his people for our removal.

"It was owing to this warning, which was soon after repeated by Tamati Waka, Tau Nui (Macquarie), and other leading chiefs that I determined upon coming to Auckland. When my family joined me at Kororareka, whither I had come to secure passages, hostilities had already commenced, and cannons were firing from the gun-boats at Matawai. The friendly natives had supplied my family with horses, and never left them until they landed under a flag of truce on Kororareka beach. Hone Heke, with a spirit of friendliness not to be expected from a man who I had once been compelled to strike in my own house, sat with a body of his followers, at the entrance of the Waimate, to see that no harm happened to my family. There sat the afterwards dreaded warrior, securing safe-conduct to those under escort of his enemies, careless of his own danger whilst protecting from danger those who had been friendly to his race.

"But this is not a solitary instance of native generosity towards our family. I must relate another, though perhaps out of place just here. Three summers before (in 1842) the natives had been burning a large bush which they had cleared at Utoia, about five miles off, to plant their winter potatoes. The wind set in from that quarter, and the flames having crossed the river, communicated to our side, and raging along with destructive strides threatened destruction to the whole of our property. Just as we were giving up all hope of saving anything we heard great shouts which drew nearer and nearer to us, and blended themselves in horrid confusion with the raging element. About five hundred natives rushed up to our assistance. With the greatest possible presence of mind they used their tomahawks and axes to cut down the neighbouring bush, of which they made a multitude of small fires, and tore up all the fern which was likely to catch fire. They

wetted their blankets and covered the buildings with them, and numbers sat on the different roofs throwing off the blazing fragments which the wind carried in every direction. The heat was now intense, so overpowering that some of my goats fell dead by the houses, and others were scarcely able to breathe. The fire reached to the edge of the clearings made by the natives, and extending in a wide range through the forest of gigantic trees with which we were surrounded on three sides. After a few hours the devouring element had sufficiently passed as to leave us in comparative security. Immense trees fell in every direction, and what had before been the admiration of every traveller now became a dreary wilderness. At nightfall the natives proposed leaving us, and I wished them to accept of a quantity of goods as a reward for the truly friendly services. 'No,' said they, 'we don't do these things for pay. You live amongst us, and we must protect your lives and property.' I remonstrated and entreated, but in vain, and all I could prevail upon them to accept was one fig of tobacco each. Many had been burnt, and otherwise injured, and a great many of their shirts and blankets were rendered useless, but they cared not; they had served us and were satisfied, and many called the next day to see if they could be of further use.

"A few months before this unfortunate conflagration my eldest son, accompanied by a couple of natives, went down the river, towards the Heads, in a light wherry. A violent storm came on, and they had reached where the river is upwards of a mile wide, when the boat upset, and they would have been drowned had they not succeeded in hanging to her. The sea was so high that no boat would venture to their assistance. Luckily my son was recognised by a party of natives who had taken shelter with their large war canoe on the other shore; they instantly threw off every vestige of clothing, and putting off their canoe, succeeded, with incredible exertions in reaching the boat, which being much shattered, was sinking, and they saved my son and his two natives. For this important service they refused any remuneration. These noble traits, which would be so honourable to civilised men, are beyond praise when emanating from an untutored race."

Gratifying testimony to the beneficent influence exercised upon the native race by Christianity, however, comes from many quarters. Colonel Wakefield wrote: "The whole of the native population of this place

prefers the Christian religion, and though there are no missionaries among them, they are strict in the performance of their religious exercises. As is to be expected, however, they are but imperfectly acquainted with the doctrines of Christianity, and are superstitious in many of their observances. Compared with what they must have been before the introduction of these doctrines among them, and this is obviously the true standard of comparison, the improvement effected by their conversion to Christianity is most striking."

Dr. Sinclair, afterwards Colonial Secretary, who originally came to the colony on a scientific mission, wrote as follows of the Maoris after his return to Scotland in November, 1842:—

"By means of the well-directed labours of the missionaries, the natives have become exemplary Christians, and shown an intellectual capacity which strikes everyone with surprise who goes among them. I might mention many circumstances to prove how sincere they are, and how well they seem to be instructed in religion, but I will state only one, which made a deep impression on me at the time. While staying for a few days in the hut of an Englishman, at a part of the coast very little frequented, where about thirty natives live, I heard morning after morning, about daybreak—when as Captain Cook beautifully observes, 'the warbling of the small birds in New Zealand appears like the tinkling of little bells—the sound of a person striking on an iron bolt.' On inquiry, I found this to be the call to morning prayer, and that on a small spot of ground, cleared for the purpose, all the little village assembled beneath the canopy of heaven, to offer up, in unaffected piety, their grateful thanks and prayers to their great Creator. Their avidity to learn reading and writing, and to possess books as well as engage in discussion on religion and other subjects, is very remarkable. From what I have seen of those still unconverted, the state of the whole people, before the arrival of the missionaries, must have been more degraded and abject than that of any nation I have seen, whether on the coasts of Africa, on the north-west coast of America, the Sandwich Islands, or any country which I have visited. I have observed myself, as well as heard it remarked by others, the great contrast between the modesty and good sense shown in the conversation of those who have been converted, and the ribaldry and indecency of those who still remain in darkness. Frequently have I

heard a Christian native, when asked to buy or sell on the Sunday, or break any commandment, make the decided answer, 'No me missionar,' and that in circumstances when the temptation was great, and the means of keeping the transactions secret not difficult."

The Rev. William Williams (Bishop of Waiapu) writes:—"During the first year of the establishment of the Government, the spirit of inquiry after Christianity was greatly on the increase. In many it proceeded from a clear conviction of the evil of their former system, and of the blessings which Christianity offered to them. In others, this change would be merely the effect of example. It was so in the early days of Christianity, and we are therefore prepared to expect a reaction, when any strong influence is brought to bear upon them, which might test a profession that is not based upon absolute conviction. The people now flocked in large numbers to attend the classes of candidates for baptism. This was particularly the case in the old stations in the Bay of Islands, and also at the Waikato and the Thames, and in almost every part of the country the profession of Christianity became so general that the total number of attendants at public worship was estimated at not less than 30,000, besides those in connection with the Wesleyan mission."

The same writer observes: "When the liberal grant of ten thousand Testaments from the Bible Society reached New Zealand, they were quickly put in circulation, and another supply was written for, the larger number of them being at once paid for at the full price. The first case which reached Tauranga, containing 490 copies, was disposed of in eight days. It follows, therefore, that there were many who were able to read, or if they could not read, there was an inducement for them to learn as soon as they possessed the book."

Mr. Turton's letters were penned at a time when sectarian feeling ran high. Happily these causes of bitterness gradually passed away, and one of the most graceful reviews of Bishop Selwyn's life and labours in New Zealand was written in later years by another Wesleyan clergyman and early missionary, the Rev. James Buller. In his "Forty Years in New Zealand," Mr. Buller says:—

Another phase of mission life in New Zealand turned up by the advent of Bishop Selwyn in 1842. In 1838, Bishop Broughton, of Sydney, visited the Bay of Islands, and fulfilled certain episcopal duties. The new bishop was a young man for that office, yet not too young for the special work that was before him. He was about

thirty-three years old. Of an athletic frame, a cultured mind, and apostolic zeal, he was well gifted for his position.

He brought with him several clergymen and students, and took up his first abode at the Waimate. He had with him a large and valuable library; for this he fitted up a room in a spacious stone building at the Kerikeri that was ten miles from his residence, over a rough, hilly pathway, but it was only a "constitutional" before breakfast, for the young Bishop.

He was a first-class pedestrian. Few could equal him in threading forests, scaling mountains, or swimming rivers. In his palmy days, he did not care to ride, even where there was a road for a horse. It is said that, on one occasion, when the Bishop of Newcastle was visiting him, they took a short journey together. It was over a plain. Selwyn was on foot, the other on horseback. The latter, cantering forward, was brought up at the bank of a broad stream. Not knowing the ford, he waited for his companion. "Follow me," cried Selwyn, as he dashed through the river, somewhat to the surprise of his right reverend brother.

There was, I think, a slight touch of asceticism about Bishop Selwyn, which longer experience rubbed off. Certainly, he taxed his iron constitution to a severe degree, for a quarter of a century he laboured like an apostle. His published journals, never exceeding the truth, read almost like romance. He was willing to "endure hardness." The man must be without judgment, or feeling, or both, that can withhold esteem, "for his work's sake," however he might differ from his views.

He had been scarcely two months in the colony before he set out on a visitation tour. After six months of the roughest travel, by land and sea, he returned to Auckland, en route for the Waimate. His clothes were torn to tatters. "My last pair of thick shoes were worn out, and my feet much blistered by walking on the stump, which I was obliged to tie to my insteps with pieces of native flax." Such was the record in his journal. He thus describes his arrival at Orehunga: "I landed there with my faithful Maori, Rota (Lot), who had steadily accompanied me from Kapiti, carrying my bag of gown and cossack, the only remaining article in my possession of the least value. The suit which I wore was kept sufficiently decent, by much care, to enable me to enter Auckland by daylight, and my last remaining pair of shoes (thin ones), were strong enough for the light and sandy walk of six miles which remained from Manukau to Auckland. At 2 p.m. I reached the judge's house by path, avoiding the town, and passing over land which I have bought for the site of the cathedral, a spot which I hope may hereafter be traversed by the feet of many bishops, better shod and far less ragged than myself."

Throughout his whole career, he embodied in his own example the sentiments contained in his first charge to his clergy in 1847. "You have heard already the definition of the Venerable Bede, that the episcopate is a title not of honour, but of work; and in that spirit I trust to be enabled to exercise my office." And again: "I pray in the name of our crucified Master that we may never here discuss the question, 'which shall be the greatest?' It is to be hoped that the title of a 'dignitary' of the Church will never be heard in New Zealand. . . . If I designed the office of archdeacon to be a mere peacock's feather, to distinguish one clergyman above his brethren, I would not offer it to the acceptance of anyone who had borne his Master's cross, in retirement and self-denial, in the mission field. No earthly dignity, either in Church or State, can equal the moral grandeur of the leathern girdle and raiment of camel's hair, or

the going forth without purse or scrip, and yet lacking nothing."

The Bishop's diocese reached to latitude 33 South, but by mistake in his letters patent, it was extended to latitude 33 North, instead of South; this took in a portion of Japan. When the mistake was discovered, he would not allow it to be rectified, regarding it as being God's providence that had given him this great extent of diocese. In a little vessel, the *Undine*, less than twenty-two tons, which I believe he navigated himself, he visited many of the South Sea Islands, and so began the Melanesian Mission, for the charge of which he afterwards consecrated a man as singularly gifted, as he was intensely devoted, to his great work—the martyred and lamented Patteson, who is now succeeded by Selwyn's eldest son.

Bishop Selwyn was a versatile genius. He neglected no part of his wide diocese. Both races were alike the object of his care. If he had any preference, it was for those who wanted it most, the natives. The Europeans sometimes complained of this.

By many he was said to be imperious, ambitious, designing. I can only say that if he was imperious, he was also kind; if he was ambitious, it was to do good; and he was ready to divest himself of power as soon as others could be found to share authority with him; if he was designing, it was not for himself, but for the interests of the Church, on whose altar he laid down his gifts, his fortune, and his life.

By judicious foresight, he secured by gift or purchase convenient sites and valuable endowments all over the land before they had acquired a high market price. By dint of great labour, involving more than one voyage to England, he framed and set in motion a constitution for his church in New Zealand, by which his own power was reduced to a fraction. Moreover, there was hardly a settlement, however small, or a mission station, however distant, that he did not personally visit. He spared not himself.

But with all that was excellent, he did not escape censure. He made mistakes, for he was fallible. Plans that were somewhat visionary, melted into thin air, and in some well-meant efforts to do good, he was misunderstood, and at times grossly misrepresented. This was especially the case during the unhappy war. He had the misfortune to incur blame from both sides. But there was no room to call in question his stern integrity, his moral courage, or his good intentions.

His influence was unfortunately qualified by one fact: he was a High Churchman. In many points Bishop Selwyn resembled John Wesley, as an ecclesiastic, in that stage of his experience when he went to Georgia. For the effemenacy of Ritualism he cared not. "I know nothing," he said, "of what is called Ritualism, otherwise than by report. Our poverty, which constrains us to worship God in the modest buildings of wood and rushes, effectually prevents us from gorgeous ceremonial and costly vestments." But he went out with extreme views as to the duty of establishing a hierarchy, in all its integrity. Hence his words soon after his arrival, "I find myself placed in a position such as was never granted to any English Bishop before, with a power to mould the institutions of the Church from the beginning, according to true principles."

The first outcome of his zeal was to throw the people back upon unprofitable questions. Up to that time, the converts of the two missionary societies looked on each other as belonging to one body, and held inter-communion. But, unhappily, this was now forbidden. The Jews were to have "no dealings with the Samaritans." This gave rise to severe strictures, and even more was said than was meant.

I think no one regretted the result more than the Bishop himself. In his journal he notices with deep concern, that the minds of the natives were distracted with inquiries respecting the Habi and Wetera (the Church and Wesley), and he must have felt that he was responsible for this. I fancy that some feeling of self-reproach was on his mind when he said to his clergy in 1847:—"The divisions of Christian men are a hindrance to the faith at all times." When I asked a New Zealand chief why he refused to become a Christian, he stretched out three fingers and said: "I have come to the cross-road, and I see three ways—the English, the Wesleyan, and the Roman. Each teacher says his own way is the best. I am sitting down, and doubting which guide I shall follow."

No one can deny that his exclusive pretensions did harm. But he was often condemned on mere hearsay, and never attempted a reply to his critics. I believe that many of his early mistakes were due to unavoidable inexperience. Personally, he was courteous to all, and evidently wished to avoid giving offence to any.

When he was leaving for England, in 1876, I heard him publicly say that it was to him a matter of great satisfaction that from the time of his first coming to New Zealand he had had no personal difference with a minister of any denomination. I know that in one case he deferred the

ceremony of consecrating a church where there was no resident clergyman, in order that any one might preach in it, and more than once I had the opportunity of officiating therein.

When at last the good Bishop bade farewell to New Zealand to enter on the see of Lichfield, in England, all parties united to do him honour. It was to the Pan-Anglican Synod, at Lambeth, that he came home in 1867. He had no expectation or desire to take office in England. It was only when the Queen pressed it upon his acceptance that he felt it his duty to yield.

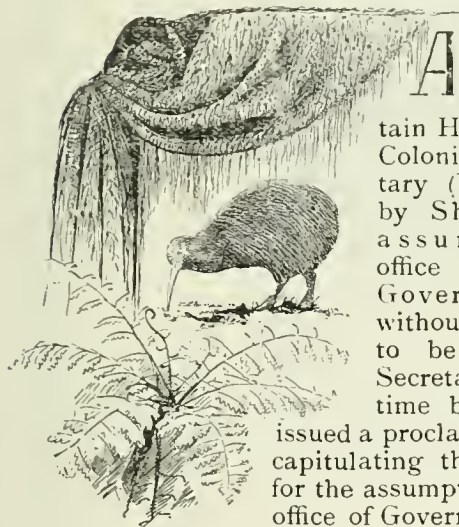
On his leaving Auckland for the said Synod a great demonstration was held in the Brunswick Hall. His Honour the late John Williamson, Esq., the then Superintendent of the Auckland Province, and a Wesleyan, was in the chair. The committee invited the Rev. D. Bruce, of the Presbyterian Church, and myself, as representing the Wesleyans, to take part in the proceedings. I did so with great pleasure, and was glad of such an opportunity of giving my testimony to the untiring and self-denying labours of Bishop Selwyn. When the future historian of New Zealand shall recount the names of her early benefactors, that of Selwyn will not be the least among them. If Samuel Marsden was the father of the New Zealand Mission, George Augustus Selwyn was the father of the Church of England in New Zealand.





THE ADMINISTRATION OF MR. SHORTLAND.

Financial difficulties—Election of first Mayor of Wellington—The Duchess of Argyle and Jane Gifford—A Maori affray at Auckland—Great fire at Wellington—Native disturbance at Tauranga—Immigrant ships at New Plymouth—Exploration of the Middle Island—Importation of English horses—Overland journeys from Wellington to Wairarapa and to New Plymouth—Influx of ruffians from the neighbouring colonies—Shipbuilding at Wellington—Immigrants for Nelson—Mr. W. Fox protests against the declaration required of barristers—Serious intertribal war at Mangonui—Compensation claims against the New Zealand Company—Sir Charles Clifford's early experiences in New Zealand—Establishing the first sheep runs in the North and Middle Islands—Letters from settlers describing the condition of the colony early in the year 1843.



AFTER the death of Captain Hobson, the Colonial Secretary (Willoughby Shortland) assumed the office of acting Governor, but without ceasing to be Colonial Secretary for the time being, and

issued a proclamation recapitulating the charter for the assumption of the office of Governor. The

acting Governor commenced his career by doing two acts which met with general approbation—one giving Nelson a county court, and the other making the Victoria really a colonial brig to be actively employed between the various settlements.

The Colonial Treasury was empty and the Government in great straits how to meet its engagements. Before Governor Hobson's death he had determined to draw upon the

Home Government and endeavour to raise funds by discounting the drafts in Sydney. Mr. Shortland carried this resolution into execution, and Mr. Cooper, the Collector of Customs, was dispatched to Sydney, where he arranged with Mr. Boyd, the manager of the Royal Bank of Australasia, to discount bills to the extent of £15,000. Disputes arose, however, as to the terms of this contract and it was only partially acted upon.

On the 3rd of October, 1842, the first municipal election for Wellington took place. The first Mayor was George Hunter, sen., who headed the poll with 273 votes; the eleven aldermen then elected and the number of votes polled by each were as follows: W. Lyon, 237; W. Fitzherbert, 220; John Wade, 212; George Scott, 196; Francis A. Molesworth, 182; Dr. Dorset, 176; R. Waitt, 164; W. Geyton, 125; A. Hunt, sen., 155; E. Johnson, 151; R. Jenkins, 149. The candidates who formed the reserve list to fill vacancies were John Howard Wallace; R. Davies Hanson, 126; William A. Cooper, 125; Edward Daniell, 124; Thomas Milne Machattie, 122; Henry Taylor, 117.

The first immigrant ships from Great Britain to Auckland direct were the ship

Duchess of Argyle and the barque Jane Gifford. Both vessels arrived in the Waitemata in the second week of October, 1842. The official list of the passengers by these vessels gives the following totals:—Duchess of Argyle: Male adults, 90; female adults, 90; boys and girls under 14 years of age, 117. Total, 297. Jane Gifford: Male adults, 82; female adults, 81; boys and girls under 14 years of age, 75. Total, 255. Total arrived, 552. There was no wharf and the immigrants were landed in boats at Mechanics' Bay.

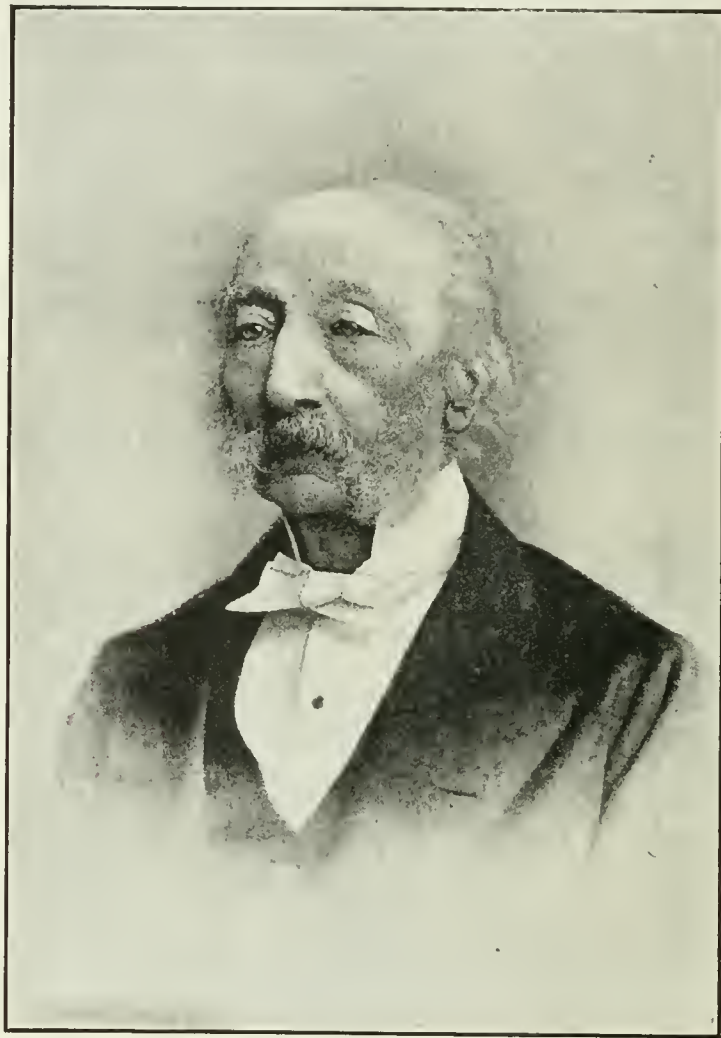
A passenger by the Duchess of Argyle gives the following account of his experiences:—

"Our family was the first to land. It was in Mechanics' Bay, where about thirty raupo houses had been erected—in the bay and on Parnell rise—for the use of the immigrants. Being high water when we landed we had no distance to carry our baggage to the whare we selected in the middle of the bay. Those that came after, when the tide had ebbed, had much further to convey their goods, and it was a sorry sight to see them carrying their children, boxes and bundles, through mud and water up to their knees, from low to high water mark. There were about 150 immigrants altogether by the Duchess of Argyle. Governor Hobson had died two months before we arrived and things were very dull. Acting Governor Shortland was then in charge of the Govern-

ment. The immigrants applied to the Government and had work given them to cut down the top of Shortland-street. The wages were: married men, £1 per week; single men, 16s. per week.*

"Pomare, the native chief, arrived in Auckland Harbour with two cutters full of Maoris from the Bay of Islands. He came on shore

and was looking at the immigrants at work in Shortland-street when a strange Maori happened to pass whom he recognised. He rushed at the native, intending to kill him, as he had run away with one of Pomare's women from the Bay of Islands. The strange Maori cried out and the immigrants went and rescued him, and told him to run to the gaol where there was a guard of soldiers. Pomare was very angry and went on board his cutters to bring ashore firearms. Mr. Felton Mathew, hearing what he was going to do, came riding down on horseback to the beach where the armed natives were about to land, and as they approached the shore he told them that if they



Sir W. Fitzherbert.

Superintendent of Wellington and subsequently Speaker of the Legislative Council.

did not return to their cutters with their firearms he would cause the soldiers on Point Britomart to fire with their big guns and sink their cutters. The Maoris then went on board and set sail and kept firing off their guns as

* The barque Tuscan, 181 tons, Captain Ormond, from London, with a number of settlers, arrived in Auckland, in October, 1842.

they sailed down towards Orakei Bay, where they anchored. In the evening of the same day Chief-Constable Smith came to Mechanics' Bay, where the immigrants resided, and told them that they had better keep a look-out during the night, as Pomare might make an attack on them for having rescued the Maori from him that day. He also said that if they heard any firing of guns the women and children were to run for protection to Point Britomart, where there were soldiers. One of the immigrants getting ready for action was trying his horse-pistol when it went off bang, which caused a great panic for a few minutes until it was known what had happened.

"When we first landed there were no made roads, only tracks through the titree and fern. I have seen people waiting in our house in Mechanics' Bay for the tide to ebb out of the creek on the east side of the bay before they could get home, there being no bridge then. Auckland then could boast of one large bridge named Waterloo Bridge. It spanned from the foot of West Queen-street (now named Swanson-street) across a creek, and was about a chain and a-half long and about five feet wide with hand-rails on each side. It was only for foot passengers. This creek ran across the foot of Wyndham, Victoria and Wellesley-streets, and there were no bridges over either of these streets, and, of course, Waterloo Bridge carried nearly all the traffic of the people that lived on Chapel Hill, the name of the west side of the city in those days."

The first sitting of the Supreme Court at Wellington was held by the Chief Justice, Mr. W. Martin, on the 14th of October, 1842.

On Thursday morning, November 10th, a fire which caused great loss of property broke out on Lambton Quay, Wellington, commencing in the premises of Mr. Lloyd, a baker; from that it extended up Te Aro Flat, destroying some five-and-thirty places of business at an estimated loss of £15,970.

In October, 1842, a dispute arose with the Maoris at Tauranga which very nearly resulted in serious trouble. Some Maketu natives had taken a boat belonging to Mr. Farrow, who complained to Mr. Shortland while that gentleman was at the settlement, having called in on his way to Wellington. He demanded its surrender, which the natives refused. The acting Governor therefore sent to Auckland for troops, who were despatched to Tauranga in the Government brig. The Attorney-General, Mr. Swainson, however, forwarded a protest

against the commencement of hostilities. Bishop Selwyn and the Chief Justice, who had travelled unmolested along the coast, endorsed this remonstrance, and the troops, after a few weeks, returned to Auckland, having done nothing. An intertribal conflict arose out of this incident, but without involving the settlers or the Government.

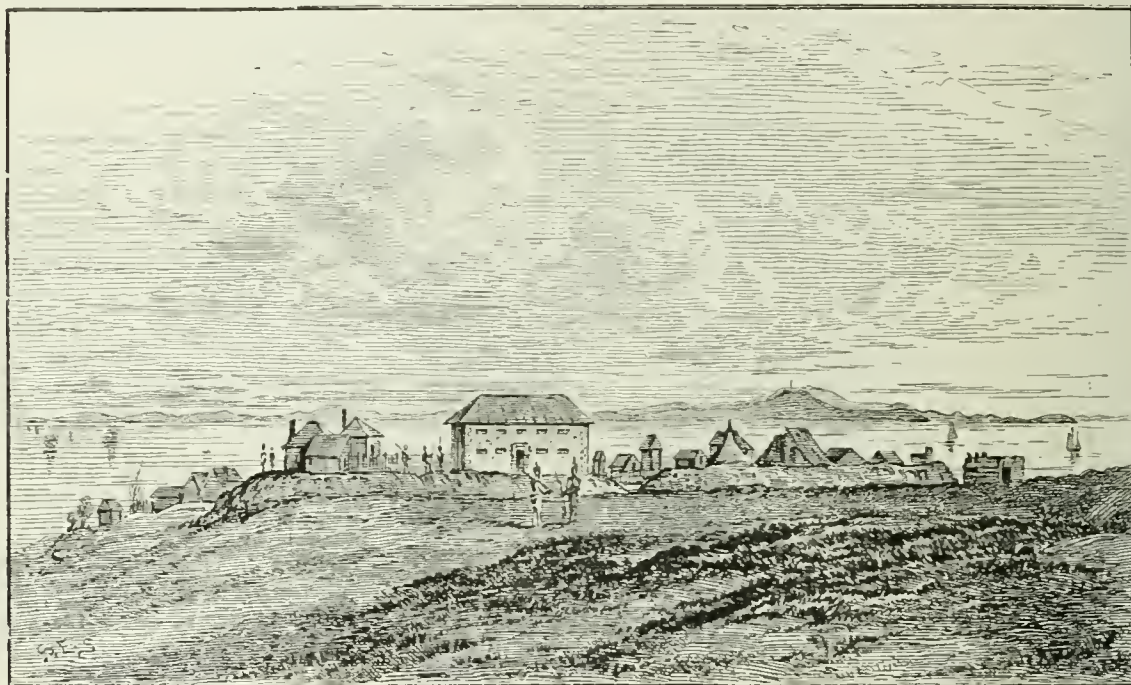
Dr. S. M. D. Martin declares that the location of troops at Tauranga on this occasion had the effect of lowering the prestige of the soldiers among the Maoris as fighting men. The Maoris are very fond of wrestling and are great adepts in the art. During the stay of the troops the men engaged in many friendly bouts with the natives, and as the latter were usually successful they discounted the prowess of the soldiers accordingly. One of the most amusing stories told by Maning is that in which he recounts how he won the respect and admiration of the natives upon landing by a successful tussle with one of their best wrestlers.

The Blenheim, with 159 passengers for New Plymouth, arrived at Taranaki on the 19th of November, 1842. Mr. Parris and family came to the colony in this vessel. Good progress was being made by the settlers already landed, and before the close of the year a cutter had been built there and explorations up the Mokau River had led to the discovery of two valuable seams of coal.

On the 23rd November, Captain Smith, R.A., returned to Port Nicholson from an expedition to the Middle Island on the New Zealand Company's service. Colonel Wakefield had dispatched him in a small cutter called the Brothers, about the time that he himself sailed for Auckland to confer with Mr. Shortland upon matters connected with the colony. Captain Smith's instructions were to examine and report upon the harbours and adjoining country along the whole east coast of the Middle Island. He had made a very careful and interesting report, with accurate sketches and maps of the principal harbours and rivers. Unfortunately, the cutter, in entering the port of Akaroa on her return, had been suddenly upset by a squall and sunk in deep water, so that all Captain Smith's maps, books, journals, and valuable instruments were irretrievably lost. His report to the Company, made partly from memory and partly from materials which he had sent to Wellington by another opportunity, is still a most interesting document, and causes the reader to lament the accident which prevented it from being complete.

Captain Smith had visited Otago, the Bluff and New River in the Middle Island and Port William, Patterson's River and Port Adventure, in Stewart Island, and Ruapuki, an island in Foveaux Straits, distant about twelve miles from the Bluff. Of all the harbours he had made accurate surveys. The latitudes and longitudes were defined. Sketches of all points likely to guide the stranger were made. A sketch of nearly all the coast between Otago and the Foveaux Straits had also been obtained, and the map of the Middle Island to the southward of Akaroa was found to be very inaccurate, and

First and foremost were Æther and Riddlesworth, two thoroughbred English horses, which had come in boxes on deck as fat and in as sleek condition as though turned out of a London stable. Between decks were nineteen brood mares and a mule from the Cape of Good Hope. Peacocks and pheasants completed the muster roll of the menagerie. The Rev. Mr. O'Reilly officiated in Wellington and the district for many years, greatly beloved by all classes of the community of every denomination. He was active in every good work, and enjoyed the highest respect and confidence of the whole settlement.



From an old plate.

Port Britemart, Auckland.

had been corrected for a distance exceeding one hundred and twenty miles. These valuable documents, together with all the surveying instruments and sundry other things, were lost.

The last party of emigrants for the New Plymouth settlement, numbering 114, arrived in the Essex on the 23rd of January, 1843.

On the 31st January, the Hon. H. W. Petre returned to the colony. The Rev. Mr. O'Reilly, a Roman Catholic clergyman, was a passenger by the same vessel. Mr. Petre brought valuable importations to the colony.

On February 22, 1843, Mr. Brees, the New Zealand Company's principal surveyor, had returned from the Wairarapa by way of the Hutt, which direction he took for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability of carrying a road up the Hutt Valley to connect Wairarapa with Wellington. The coast road round Pencarrow Head was the way taken by the first settlers entering the Wairarapa valley at the lower end and where the lake empties itself into Palliser Bay.

Captain Cooke set out from Wellington on the 20th February for New Plymouth with

seventy head of cattle and a large number of sheep. About this time Mr. E. J. Wakefield started overland from Wellington for Taranaki, and an interesting account of his journey, which he has placed on record, describes the condition of the country at that period. He overtook Captain Cooke, who had started a few days ahead of him, both intending to reach New Plymouth by road through the forest on the east of Mount Egmont. Mr. E. J. Wakefield writes:—

"After all the beautiful spots and districts I had already seen in New Zealand, I was

to remind me touchingly of Shakespeare's sweet picture of the perfection of agriculture—

'Earth's increase and joys on plenty,
Barns and garner's never empty,
Vines, with clustering branches growing,
Plants with goodly burden bowing,
Spring come to you at the farthest,
In the very end of the harvest.
Scarcity and want shall shun you
Ceres' blessing so is on you.'

"A long trudge through the forest, of which the trees increased in size as we advanced, presented but little variety till we emerged on the picturesque broken country



By S. C. Brees.

Bivouac of Surveyors (Wellington) in 1843.

struck with the surpassing beauty and luxuriant productiveness of the country hereabouts. Just after entering the wood, which is at first like an immense shrubbery, with occasional large trees, the abundance of the crops in the existing native gardens, the rankness and yet softness of the grass which had sprung up in the old deserted patches, surrounded with flowering shrubs, amidst which singing birds were chasing each other, all combined with the genial weather, although it was approaching to the middle of winter,

which stretches northward from Mount Egmont at a distance of ten or twelve miles from the coast (Kairoa). We had slept two nights in the bush, and on the third we reached a hut in a small cultivation on the northern edge of the forest. The journey had proved very tedious from the extraordinary number of gullies and streams we had to cross. Among these were the Patea, and several of its tributaries which take their rise in the side of Mount Egmont. After passing them we came to those which join to swell the

Waitara. We had passed about half-way in the bush the skeletons of two horses. These had belonged to Mr. Cooke and his stockman. On the journey with the herd of cattle he had expected to find the road open. On being disappointed he left his horse, being guided by the natives through the forest along the line which the road was to take. His cattle and sheep were in the meanwhile feeding on the rich pasture of the coast of Cook Strait. He directed his stockman to take the horses back, and drive the cattle along the coast, but the stockman left his horses too and also came through the forest to New Plymouth. When he got back again both horses were dead of starvation.

"Descending from the broken country we found ourselves on the plains of New Plymouth, which are almost entirely covered with fern. Scattered groves of timber and gentle undulations from the plain into the valleys of the watercourses and their tributaries diversify the view agreeably. At length we got into a line of road through the fern. One or two strong wooden bridges over the streams, and three or four neat houses and fields in various directions, soon told of the neighbourhood of a European settlement. We crossed the Waiwakaiho river by a rough suspension-bridge in process of erection, of which the chains were supported on the round trunks of four large trees, then some smiling gardens neatly hedged and ditched, a forge, a row of labourers' cottages, some cob houses in various stages of progress, and we reached the house of Mr. Cooke, who had invited me to come and find him out. From thence to the mouth of the Huatoki river the houses and gardens thicken apace, and a little nucleus of dwellings form the town.

"The population of New Plymouth seemed a particularly happy set of people. As they are little troubled with politics I saw very few of them in the town, which is a dull place, except to look at, as you can imagine. But on going to their little farms, a mile off in one direction, or two miles in another, I found them hard at work, delighted at the fertility of the soil which they were turning over, with hardly a complaint to make, and spending homely English evenings round a huge farmhouse chimney, rising early and not long out of their beds after their tea and pipes."

The story often told of the strength of the wind at Wellington, which on one occasion is said to have raised a boat off the ground into air, and in descending to have killed a passer-by, is looked upon now-a-days as an extrava-

gant joke. The appended account of a coroner's inquest held at Wellington on March 6th, 1843, taken from a Wellington paper of that time, proves the story to be literally and absolutely true. The story is worth reproducing, because it shows how early incidents in the history of a place merge into traditions which are repeated long after the facts have been forgotten.

The newspaper report of the inquest ran as follows:—"On Monday, March 6, an inquest was held at the Ship Hotel, before J. Fitzgerald, Esq., M.D., Coroner, and a respectable jury, on view of the body of Mary Cattel. From the evidence, it appeared that during a heavy gust of wind, about 11 o'clock on the same day, the deceased was struck to the earth by a punt opposite the Ship Hotel, such being the force of the wind that it was lifted off the ground, and after knocking down the deceased, was carried some distance beyond where the unfortunate woman lay. She was instantly carried to Mr. Fuller's, and medical assistance procured, but the poor woman died almost immediately from concussion of the brain. The jury returned a verdict of 'Accidental death,' and ordered a deodand of one shilling to be levied on the punt, at the same time stating—"that this jury cannot separate without requesting the coroner will make a strong representation to the proper authorities requesting them to direct the constables to see all boats, punts, and building materials of all kinds properly secured and in proper places, and not exposed in such situations as to endanger human life."

The same issue also announces the appearance of a comet, as follows:—"On Saturday and Sunday evenings, a comet appeared in the south-west quarter of the heavens, and was seen to great advantage by a large number of the inhabitants. The Maoris hailed it as an evil omen, and commenced howling very pathetically." This comet was first seen from Wellington on the night of the 4th March, travelling away from the sun in a north-easterly direction.

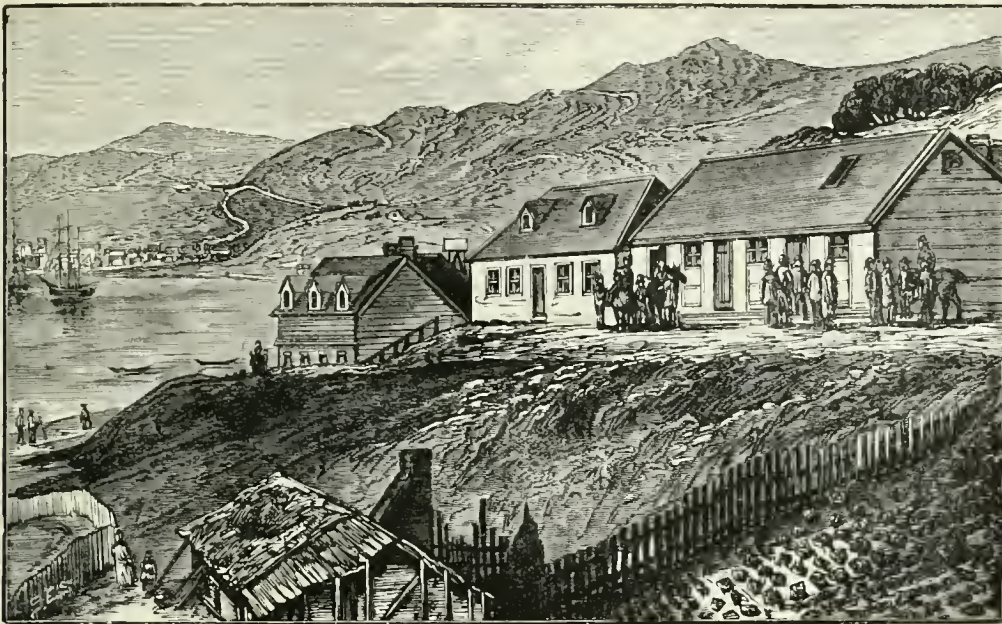
Wellington was infested by a band of the worst description of characters—runaway convicts and desperados from the neighbouring colonies, and from various parts of the coast, attracted by the influx of population from England. The authorities had great difficulty in dealing with these ruffians, and the country settlers were continually annoyed by vagabonds prowling about the outskirts of the settlements. The gaol became inadequate for the accommodation of the

prisoners confined in it. A special meeting of Justices of the Peace was held on February 28th, 1843, to consider the insecurity of the gaol. They passed resolutions urging upon the Government the necessity for immediate action in the matter.

The following extract from the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* of March 18th, 1843, gives good proof of the enterprise of the early settlers:—"Ship building seems going ahead in all parts. Mr. Much has laid the keel for a schooner of forty-three tons, and for some time past two working men have been employing their time by forming, in Hawtrey Bay, a vessel of more than one

cabin passengers and 107 immigrants, arrived at Nelson on Wednesday, the 29th of March, having left Gravesend on the 15th of November. Some of the passengers went on to Wellington, with the intention of seeing both the Company's settlements before determining which they should make their future abode.

A curious circumstance occurred on April 3rd, 1843, at the sitting of the Supreme Court, when Mr. William Fox applied to be enrolled as a barrister of the court. His Honour the Chief Justice requested Mr. Fox to make a declaration "that he had not, since his leaving England, done any act whereby he should be precluded from practising as a barrister-at-law



From a picture by S. C. Brees.

Courts of Justice, Wellington, 1846.

(The first Courts were destroyed by fire.)

hundred and twenty tons burthen. This makes four vessels building in Port Nicholson. So much for our own harbour. In Queen Charlotte Sound, within the last fortnight, a craft of sixty tons, built by Mr. Thoms, has been launched, and he has already had the keel laid for another to be one hundred and fifty tons. Besides these, small coasters are continually being built on both shores of Cook Straits, and the quality of our timber is becoming appreciated. We understand the vessel launched in Queen Charlotte Sound is intended for whaling off the coast, the blubber to be tried out on shore."

The *Phœbe*, with 35 chief cabin and 33 fore

in the superior courts of England." Mr. Fox declined to make this declaration on the ground that it was derogatory to the character of the English bar to suppose such a declaration necessary. His Honour the Chief Justice—"Mr. Fox, I request you to answer me categorically, will you, or will you not, make that declaration?" Mr. Fox declined for the reasons above stated.

The following remonstrance was subsequently sent to his Honour the Chief Justice:

WELLINGTON, April 3, 1843.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR,

Your Honour having, on the first instant, refused to admit Mr. Fox as a barrister of the Supreme Court of

New Zealand, because he declined to make a declaration, "That he had not, since his leaving England, done any act whereby he should be precluded from practising as a barrister-at-law in the superior courts of England;" which declaration Mr. Fox declined to make, on the ground that it was derogatory to the character of the English bar, we, the undersigned settlers at Port Nicholson, feel it our duty respectfully to remonstrate against your Honour's persisting in a decision calculated to inflict the most serious injury, not only upon this settlement, but upon the colony of New Zealand.

Deeming as we do the declaration in question to be most repugnant to the feelings of a gentleman, and incompatible with the duty imposed upon every barrister of upholding the dignity of his profession, we cannot but express our approval of the course pursued by Mr. Fox, and at the same time our surprise and deep regret that the exercise of such honourable feelings should be the means of depriving us of so valuable a settler.

Further, when we consider that there is no precedent for such a declaration either in England or in any of her numerous colonies, and being convinced that its tendency will be to deter other members of the bar, entertaining the same sense as Mr. Fox of what is due to themselves and their profession from settling in the colony, and that, instead of operating as a check to the admission of disreputable members, it will rather (by excluding such men as Mr. Fox) induce them to flock to your Honour's bar, we are still more deeply impressed with a sense, not merely of the injustice to Mr. Fox, but of the evils which will inevitably result to ourselves from the declaration being insisted upon.

And it is with these feelings that we now respectfully urge upon your Honour the justice and expediency of adopting some other course, more in accordance with the practise of the Courts in England and in the neighbouring colonies, more consonant to the feelings of honourable men, and as such, better calculated to insure the respectability of your Honour's bar, an object of paramount importance to the colonists of New Zealand.

(Signed)

William Wakefield, J.P.	James Kelham
Henry W. Petre	Richard Baker
Charles Clifford, J.P.	Joseph Boulcott
William Vavasour	Wm. Lyon, Alderman
I. E. Featherston, M.D.	I. Ridgway
Samuel Charles Brees	W. H. Donald
Francis Skipwith	Charles M. Penny
Alfred Ludlam	George Hunter, jun.
C. R. Bidwell	George Moore
F. A. Molesworth, Ald.	James T. Hansard, M.D.
W. Johnston, M.D.	Edward Catchpool
I. M. Stokes, M.D.	H. S. Tiffen
G. Hunter, J.P., Mayor	Kenneth Bethune
H. S. Knowles	George White, J.P.
Arthur Whitehead	Abraham Hort, jun., Ald.
George Smith	F. V. Martin
John Sutton	Ed. Johnson, Alderman
John Wade, Alderman	Andrew Wylie, Assistant
John Dorset, Alderman	Surveyor to N.Z. Co.
James Watt	J. Woodward
George Scott, Alderman	Robert Waitt, Alderman
W. M. Smith, J.P.	William Guyton, J.P., Ald.
Nat. Levin	Robert Park, C.E.
H. S. Durie	J. D. Greenwood
S. Mocatta	J. H. Greenwood
Alfred W. Hort	Thomas M. Machattie
Samuel Revans	John Howard Wallace
Daniel Riddiford	George Samuel Evans,
E. Daniel, J.P.	LL.D., J.P., Barrister-
James Jackson	at-Law
H. Moreing, J.P.	W.V. Brewer, Bar.-at-Law

The passage in the declaration to which Mr. Fox objected originally stood thus: "I have not *at any time before or since* my leaving England done any act whereby I should be precluded from practising as such barrister-at-law." It was subsequently altered by the omission of the words in italics; but which, of course, left it quite as objectionable as before.

The Chief Justice, in reply, addressed a letter to Colonel Wakefield, which concluded:—"When the authorities at home, to whom in this and in every matter connected with the administration of justice here I am responsible, shall tell me that I have acted erroneously, the regulation in question will cease to be enforced."

A serious native disturbance occurred about the end of March, 1843, at Mangonui. In 1840, while the Governor had established his head-quarters at the Bay of Islands, Mr. Shortland, during a visit to Kaitia, was persuaded by Nopera Panakareao that it would be a good thing to purchase certain lands at Mangonui and Oruru. These lands had been conquered by the natives in possession thirty years previously, and Nopera had no power to recover them for himself or to give a title to the Government. However, Captain Hobson, on Mr. Shortland's advice, completed the purchase from Nopera. The natives in occupation protested to the Government ineffectually and the ill-feeling which the transaction provoked resulted in an intertribal war in which nearly 5,000 natives were engaged. Nopera's party, which was very much fewer in numbers than their opponents, was defeated, and Nopera himself fled. The Rev. Henry Williams interfered in this quarrel with excellent effect. His official report states:—

"In April, 1843, I accompanied Ngapuhi, at their request, to Oruru, in consequence of a war which broke out in that quarter between Nopera Panakareao, a chief of the Rarawa, residing at Kaitia, and certain parties of Ngapuhi, living at Oruru. The war had been occasioned by Nopera desiring to force Ngapuhi from that part of the country, where they had been residing peaceably for about thirty years by right of conquest. It is much to be regretted that Nopera exhibited much obstinacy to the remonstrance of all his friends, and showed a determination to carry his point at the hazard of his Christian character. Several were killed on either side, and the country around became desolate, the crops being destroyed. The leading chiefs therefore of Ngapuhi felt that it was needful to bring

these evils to a close, and stop further proceedings, by withdrawing their friends from Oruru, the land in dispute, and requiring that Nopera and his party should also retire from the same place, leaving it unoccupied. I was much pleased with the disposition shown by the tribes from the Bay of Islands and Hokianga to obtain peace, though their advantage in point of numbers was very considerable. The killed and wounded were by them treated with every respect, and restored to their friends. It is to be feared that serious evil will result from this war to the whole of this part of the country, but more particularly to the Karawa."

Mr. Carleton, in his "Life of Henry Williams," says:—

"Mr. Williams' journal supplies details. But he does not tell us that in his endeavours to stop the fight he was in the thick of it—under fire from both sides. In his own accounts, he minimises his own work throughout.

Friday, March 31, 1843.—Mr. Kemp mentioned that the chiefs wanted me to accompany them to Oruru. In the afternoon went over to Kororareka; saw a few of the natives. They were much changed in their behaviour, and spoke of my going to the North. In the evening Wharerahi came over to see me about proceeding with Ngapuhi.

April 1.—Wharerahi and I went up to Otuihu to see Kawiti; he was not there. Saw Pomare; returned with the old man to Kororareka; saw the chiefs generally; concluded to move as soon as the weather appeared favourable.

April 5.—At committee. Received message from Ngapuhi that they should move in the morning.

April 6.—Fine; preparing for departure; no movement amongst the canoes. In the evening a message,—Ngapuhi to proceed in the morning. Edward Williams arrived in the evening. Heard that the Bishop had returned from Oruru, and was to proceed in the morning to Auckland, overland.

April 7.—At daylight all in motion; canoes off early, with fine wind at south-east. At 8.30 took departure. Mr. Burrows came when off Tapeka, to deliver two letters for Kaitaia and Whangaroa. Overtook the canoes at Waihihi; remained about an hour. One of the Pikopo priests in company. Continued our course, and landed at Matauri, where we met Captain Butler going to the

Bay. All the Europeans had left Mangonui. Natives assembled at Oruru; whether peace or war not known.

April 8.—Fine; moved off at sunrise, Pikopo taking his seat in Rewa's canoe. Landed on a point, and cooked food. The canoes not in sight. After waiting two hours, went in quest of Ngapuhi; found them in a snug bay, secure for the morrow. Tents up and all comfortable. Long *korero* with Rewa. Pikopo moving up and down keeping watch. In the evening, rang the bell for prayers; Pikopo did the same. Long conversation in the evening with several natives at the tent door.

Monday, April 10.—Fine; at daylight all on the move. Took breakfast in the boat, having a fire with us. A fine breeze as we drew near Oruru. About ten observed considerable firing on the long sandy beach, and soon saw that the two parties were fighting. On our landing they separated, when we heard that the Karawa had passed near to the pa of Ngapuhi in

defiance, which brought on the conflict. We learnt that about ten of the Karawa had fallen, besides wounded, and one killed of Ngapuhi. Much confusion for some hours, all talking together. In the afternoon Whai and I were deputed to go to the Karawa, and see if they were now disposed for peace. We had about an hour's walk to them. Mr. Clarke and Mr. Matthews came to meet us, followed by the whole party of the Karawa fully armed,—a formidable body of about four hundred men. After the infernal dance, we proceeded to the kainga. Many speeches were made. Those of the Karawa were not good. Mr. Clarke, Mr. Matthews and I left them at a late hour for some refreshments, glad to be relieved from them for a short time.

April 11.—Fine morning. Went early to the natives. Panakareao in a better humour, but obsti-

nate. Papahia and Whiti disposed to go to Ngapuhi. We accordingly proceeded—a goodly number. When we came in sight of the Ngapuhi pa, no flag was flying, at which our party demurred. A messenger was dispatched to them, when two white flags were hoisted, and the party moved on. They were received most graciously. Many speeches were made on both sides. Some fine old men present.

April 12.—All the natives talking through the night. Papahia and his party returned to the Karawa, and all the Hokianga party returned home. Captain Butler and Mr. J. Busby called.

April 13.—Fine. The camp more quiet, though but little sleep. At noon Mr. Puckey came to fetch me to Kaitaia, where we arrived by sunset; all well. Passed through several plantations destroyed by the parties passing to and fro, in consequence of the war.

Good Friday, April 14.—Fine morning. Service at



From a photo, taken in 1861.

Sir William Fox.

eleven o'clock; good congregation. Papahia's party returned to their place. Had conversation with several persons upon the evil of war. The church an important building, and neat.

Sunday, April 16. —Fine. Three services, besides the baptism of six European children. Felt weary in the evening. Saw Panakareao, who was unwell and low in spirits.

April 17.—Wind N.W., and rain until eleven o'clock, when we prepared to take leave, as the weather cleared up; had a pleasant ride, and arrived at Ngapuhi camp by dusk. All were quiet, but anxious to learn the news from the Rarawa, which was given to them. They appeared to be satisfied.

April 18.—Fine. Every one talking through the night, and much firing of guns. At the dawn of day the camp was set on fire, and all prepared to depart. A little after sunrise every one out of the river. We soon rounded the headland of the Bay on our way home, with a fair wind. We landed at Paihia at seven o'clock, after a pleasant voyage."

On April 22nd, twelve prisoners convicted and sentenced to transportation at the last and preceding session of the Supreme Court at Wellington were placed on board the Government brig *Victoria* to be conveyed to Auckland, and from thence forwarded to their place of destination, Van Diemen's Land. Six men who had attempted to escape, were amongst them, the natives having secured them with flax ropes on their landing in Fitzroy Bay, and they were safely brought back and placed on board the brig.

The *Wellington Colonist* early in May states: "We regret to hear that notwithstanding the recent removal of a number of convicted felons in the Government brig *Victoria* another robbery was committed on Monday night last at the retail stores of Mr. C. J. Pharazyn, and that goods and money to the value of £30 or £40 were stolen therefrom. The thieves effected an entrance through the toi-toi roof."

In consequence of the inability of some of the settlers to obtain peaceable possession of their lands at Wanganui in 1842, claims had been made against the New Zealand Company for compensation. The following letter to Colonel Wakefield by one of these settlers sets out the nature of these claims:—

Wellington, April 20, 1842.

SIR,—As the New Zealand Company's Principal Agent, I address myself to you, requesting compensation for expenses incurred by me in endeavouring to obtain possession of my land sold by the New Zealand Company. After the land had been given out for selection by the Company's surveyor I proceeded to Wanganui with three labouring men, for the purpose of building a house and clearing the land, my intention being to farm it. Soon after my arrival, and after the house was built, the natives came in great numbers, declaring that the land was theirs, that they had never sold or received any compensation for it, and that they would tomahawk me

if I persisted in interfering with it. I then made propositions to purchase the land, according to your recommendation when you were at Wanganui, "That any expenses the settlers were put to in obtaining their land the Company would repay." The natives refused to sell the land, saying they wanted to live there themselves. They afterwards broke into my house, and took all they could lay their hands on, and these annoyances compelled me to leave the place. On my returning ten days ago, I found my house occupied by the Maoris, and a pa building close by. Under these circumstances I trust you will see that I am entitled to liberal remuneration for the expenses I have been at, in endeavouring to obtain possession of land bought on the faith of the New Zealand Company's professions, and am,

Sir, your obedient servant,

W. ALFRED WANSEY.

Colonel Wakefield in reply stated: "I cannot, on the part of the Company, acknowledge the principle implied in your demand for compensation, that the Company is bound to reimburse purchasers of land from them for the losses incurred by the illegal proceedings of the natives. In all the neighbouring colonies, and in other parts of this island, outrages on property have been made by the aborigines, without the seller of the land being held responsible for the loss. I shall, however, be happy to forward to the Court of Directors any statement and estimate of damage and loss of property incurred by you, for their decision."

The final decision of the Company was communicated to Mr. Wansey in the following letter, dated Wellington, May 5, 1843:—

SIR,—I am instructed by the Court of Directors of the New Zealand Company to decline to give compensation on their part for the losses which settlers may undergo from the aggressions of the natives, as in the instance which you represented to me on the 4th May, last year. The Directors consider it to be the duty of the Government, and not of the Company, to protect the settlers, and compel the natives to respect the law and to seek redress, in case of their thinking themselves aggrieved, from the constituted authorities, and not by acts of violence and rapine.—I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

W. WAKEFIELD,

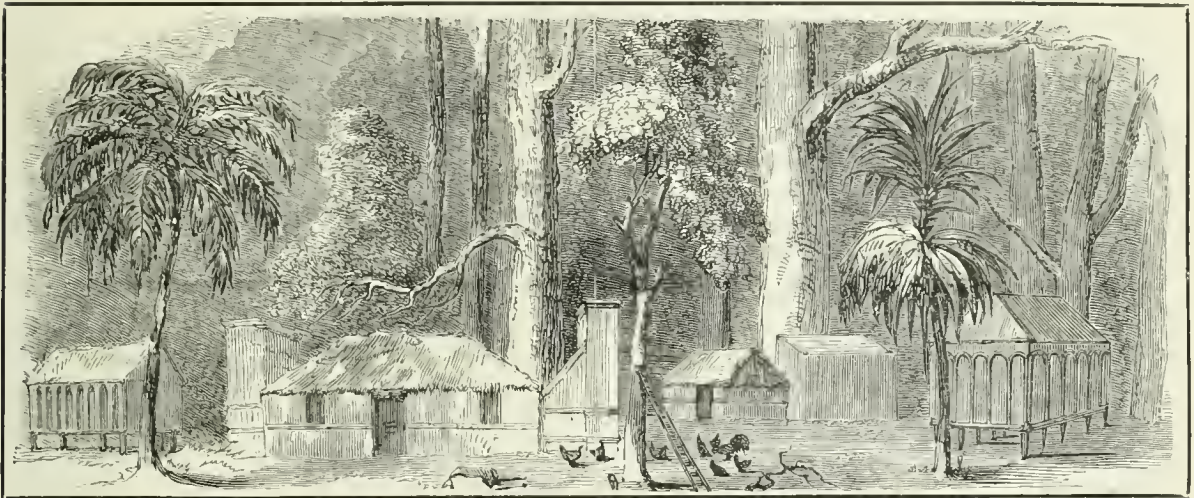
Principal Agent to the New Zealand Company.

The following from the pen of Sir Charles Clifford, narrating his early experiences in New Zealand at this period, 1843, and the formation of the first sheep station, will be read with interest:—

"In the month of May, 1843, I, accompanied by Mr. William Fox, Mr. William Vavasour, and Mr. Whitehead, visited and explored the Wairarapa, and after various adventures, some of an exciting nature, became acquainted with the natives. On my return to Wellington two young chiefs, Mauhiero and Rauhiera, after—

wards well-known in Wellington, came as a deputation from their tribe to my house, and requested me to settle in their district, saying that they were aware of the benefits obtained from the pakeha by the natives of Port Nicholson, and that they knew if I came to them I should require houses building and other work done for which they would get blankets and tobacco, and that if I would come they would give me what land I required for nothing. I agreed to this and went with them to choose the land. I examined and chose between 20,000 and 30,000 acres of land on the east of the River Ruamahunga, at Warrekaka. I then went to Sydney and sent down 600 breeding ewes in the Bee brig, which were landed on December 5th, 1843, at Donald's Bay in Wellington Harbour, and kept them on the

to do. He remained there for some months until he had completed his arrangements with the natives for land on the west bank of the Ruamahunga and above the Wairarapa Lake. To this land he removed his sheep and became a permanent settler. About this time Mr. Duke and others came to bargain with the natives for land for sheep and cattle stations. The young chief Mauhihero then came to me and said:—"We promised to let you have your land for nothing if you would come here and settle among us, but now there are many pakehas wanting land, and we cannot let them have it for nothing. We think it would be a good thing if you set the example and paid us something, and then the others could not complain. I agreed to this, and it was arranged that I should pay an



An Early Settler's Cottage (Whare).

hills round to Orongaronga until driven to Wairarapa. I followed in the ship *Francis* and immediately went to the Wairarapa to see that the houses, fences, etc., arranged to be built by the Maoris, were ready for occupation. On their completion I drove the sheep round Palliser Bay to the other side of the Wairarapa Lake and up the valley to the Warrekaka Station, and thus stocked the first sheep station in New Zealand. While driving these sheep in the month of April, 1844, I was overtaken by Mr. Bidwell with another flock of sheep which he had just landed from Australia.

"He requested my permission to camp his sheep on my station at the Warrekaka till such time as he could make a bargain with the natives for himself. This I allowed him

annual rent of £12, and a regular lease was drawn up accordingly.

"The natives from the first were very friendly and peaceable. There were now and then disagreeable rows with them, often about their dogs, sometimes from petty thefts; but firmness and justice, while showing no signs of fear, always gained the day, and in the end rather increased their friendship. At the first commencement of the Warrekaka station we lived on pork and potatoes bought from the natives for tobacco. All the flour used had to be brought on men's backs from Wellington (80lbs. was a load) up the Hutt valley by the Pakaratahi and the head of the Lake at a very great expense. Later on the wool was packed on horses' backs and taken to Te Kopi in Palliser Bay and thence in

small vessels to Wellington, and stores were taken back in a similar manner.

"As to the question of the settlement in the Middle Island, I happened one day in September, 1846, to be in Barrett's hotel when I met two men who had just landed from Cloudy Bay. They were telling a long story of the splendid grass land they had seen about the Wairau and Cape Campbell, and how they had been obliged to curtail their examination of it from the danger of being killed and eaten by the natives, from whom, they said, they had barely escaped with their lives, and they certainly appeared greatly alarmed at what had happened to them. I was then on the look-out for another station, and the next morning I chartered a little 15 ton schooner, the Catherine, and went across the straits to see the country. I found it all it had been described and the natives at the north of the Wairau kind and civil. They informed me that the chief native owner was Te Puhaha, a relative of Te Rauparaha, who resided at Porirua. I went to him with R. J. Deighton and John Wade as interpreters, was very kindly received, and soon agreed upon a lease of all the land from the White Bluff to the East Coast round Cape Campbell to Keheranga for £24 per annum. Having arranged this I went to Sydney early in 1847 and purchased between three and four thousand ewes which came down in three vessels, were landed in Port Underwood, and afterwards driven across the Wairau to Flaxbourne."

In June, 1843, the Porirua natives had again become restive, and proceeded to acts of hostility on the Hutt. On Friday, June 9th, they tore down a house on the banks of the river, belonging to Mr. Storey, throwing the material into the river. As soon as it was known in town, several persons went over, and amongst the number was Mr. White (Town Clerk). On that gentleman expostulating with the natives upon their conduct, they became furious and maltreated him.

The following extracts from private letters describe the condition of the Cook Straits settlements and the feelings of the settlers in the early part of 1843:—

Wellington, N.Z., 9th March, 1843.

It would be idle to repeat the old story about the soil and climate; there is no question that they exceed all that has ever been said or imagined; but we want money, and without assistance we may fall back into the condition of Swan River. With all this the labourers, except a few, are still intoxicated and insolent with the false notions conceived by them in England: and they bitterly reproach us, because we do not give wages such as they read of at home. Individuals may be ruined, but the colony will survive. This, however, will be a poor

consolation to those "who have borne the heat and burden of the day." It is three years yesterday since I landed, and it is one week since I was enabled to choose the whole of my land. Of that land the natives, at this moment, refuse to yield possession of two-thirds, we have no Crown grants to any of it, and our court will be shut up this session, for want of a single freeholder to be impanelled as a juryman.

Now for the brighter side. Nature is doing everything for us; and that peculiar vitality which she puts forth in the infancy of everything is displayed in our community. Cultivation is extending on every side. We shall soon be independent, so far as the production of food is concerned. When the native question is settled, large tracts of land will be cleared—and if it is not soon settled, but with this difference, that the natives will be cleared with it. A melancholy reflection! for I protest that the natives were satisfied, and would have concurred with us in our plan of colonising the country, but for the insidious agency of white men, and those men, I blush to say, in many instances, missionaries and persons in the confidence of the local government. You are aware that Mr. Spain, the Land Commissioner, is here. I believe he is just and well-disposed, but who would not nurse a commission of £1,000 a-year? And the method of writing down the examinations in two languages, and hearing all the stuff that all the natives in the island may have to say, after they have been crammed by missionaries, protectors, land sharks, etc., is so prolix, that it may last longer than the Trojan war, and cost more than the impeachment of Warren Hastings, if it is not put an end to summarily by some instructions from home, or by a *coup d'état* here. The commissioner holds that every individual native that ever cultivated a potato garden, or was not a slave, should have concurred in the sale, and signed a deed—not merely for the conveyance of his own bit of ground—in which I agree with him—but of all those vast tracks of forest which no human foot ever penetrated, until they were opened and made known to the Maoris by the labour of our surveyors. Of course, we have not such a title; for when Colonel Wakefield bought, the authority of the chieftains was unimpaired—the rest of the tribe were dumb when they spoke; and he had a right to believe that he was buying of the only proper parties, with the acquiescence of their vassals. But now the authority of the chief is destroyed, without the effectual substitution of any other. The natives are taught that they are to have another grand haul at the Company; and that every man, woman, and child, who was not paid before, or was not paid enough, for selling degrees of latitude and longitude, seas, rivers, and mountains, is now to come down for utu upon John Company, without respect to the value of native reserves, or to the price which savage man must always pay—by a law of nature, in spite of the dreams of mock philanthropy—for being admitted within the pale of civilization.

But I promised to say something about the bright side. We have now more than 1000 head of cattle, several thousand sheep, plenty of horses, pigs and poultry innumerable, vegetables of every description abundant, and living generally cheaper every day: our small craft and coasting trade increasing—about 100 tons of flour produced this season, with preparations for raising ten times as much next year. We produce one ton upon an acre, and the first crop pays the clearing (notwithstanding all that has been written by our theoretic friend Duppa). But barley is our staple growth. We have a brewery in full work, on a large scale, using home-grown barley; we have tan-pits using the bark of native trees, with which I have seen leather prepared, and well-

tried in the soles of shoes, equal to anything made in England; and I have lately been smoking tobacco grown and prepared at Petone, a much finer sample than any that has been imported into the colony, and equal to the fine aromatic tobacco brought from Syria. Notwithstanding our want of money, people contrive to raise handsome brick buildings in the town, to build new schooners, to import fresh cattle and sheep, and to make fresh inroads upon the bush. How it is done, Heaven knows: the Maoris say it is Atua—it is the will of God. But the Port Nicholson people have got a character for a sort of savage perseverance, and the thing goes on *moie suit*. Nevertheless, we want money; and without loans the old settlers will speedily walk out of the result of their labours, and they will see them handed over, by the sheriff and the auctioneer, to the grog-shop keepers and Sydney adventurers, and even to our own labourers, who will buy them up with our own money which they have extracted from us.

P.S.—On reviewing what I have written, I see nothing to qualify or to retract. I have just been conversing with one of our oldest settlers, and the last man who would take any part against the Company. He said, "Tell them that if I am obliged to sacrifice my land orders, because I have been kept out of my land for three years, I shall sell the wreck here for what it will fetch, go home to England, and seek damages from a jury of my countrymen; and whether I recover or not, I shall stop all further proceedings."

Extract of a private journal of an excursion to Wairau, in Cloudy Bay:—

1843, March 25th.—Launched our boat at ten a.m.; saw a large boat and seven canoes put out of Port Underwood, whilst we were rowing against the wind under the land.

March 29th.—Reached Nelson at eleven at night.

Since my return a missionary from Port Underwood told us that the canoes we saw putting out as we left the Wairau Beach was Robulla* in search of us, and that they had that morning stripped themselves naked, and had a war-dance. The missionary asked Robulla what he intended to do with us? He said he would send us to our boats, and if we did not go he would force us; and if we resisted he would make ("bung-a-bung") to kill us! So, as fortune would have it, we just escaped the old scoundrel.

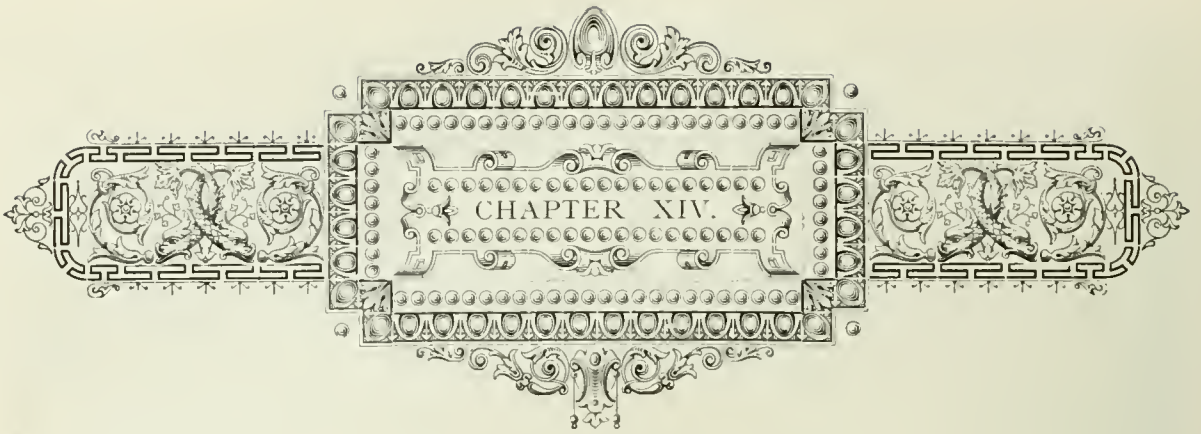
* Raupero, or Te Rauparaha.

The following letter was written by a Wellington settler:—

Wellington, New Zealand, June 6th.—No doubt you will ask, why, if the substantial accounts of New Zealand are correct, and all these splendid additions are being made to the extent of its available soil, from time to time, has its progress as a colony been so slow and partial as it has? I have given every attention to the subject myself, and considered the effect of all the alleged causes—the original delay in the surveys, the want of roads, the distance of the seat of government, the unwillingness of settlers to quit the town and its commercial allurements—and I am satisfied that none of these is the cause of failure. One cause, and one only exists, the unsettlement of the native claims. As you are aware, the Maoris profess either not to have sold their land, or not to have received the purchase-money; and, standing on this ground, they refuse to permit the occupation of a single acre by the settlers, and except where they are strong in numbers, as at the mouth of the Hutt, not an acre can be got for cultivation. Hence the energy of the colonists is wasted, and their capital expended in importing those necessities of life which long before this they could have supplied for themselves, and for exportation, perhaps, too, if they could have got upon the land. If the natives were restrained from this interference, the expectations of the colony might still soon be realised; for, as already said, the substantial advantages promised *do* exist; but, of course, with reduced energies and capital, our progress would be less rapid than if we had had no such impediments to success.

Why, then, you will ask, are not the native claims settled? and if not, let them be restrained from injuring, I may say, ruining the colony. All this might be effected by a word from the local Government; it has always been in their power to settle this matter. A hint to the protectors, to be transmitted to the natives, would have settled it at once; as it is, there is too much reason to believe that a hint of another sort has been given. But even if Government could not settle the matter at once, something provisional might have been done; but no attempt at even anything of this sort has been made. In fact, the ruin of the Company's settlements has been owing solely to the Government. If no Government had existed, or if a Government had existed which had the remotest desire to promote the welfare of these settlements, things would have been very different.





THE WAIRAU MASSACRE.

Determination of Rauparaha and Rangihaeata to resist the survey at Wairau—The surveyors driven off the land and their huts burnt—Warrants issued to arrest the chiefs for arson—Armed force despatched to effect the arrest—Collision with the natives—Retreat of the Europeans and massacre of the prisoners by the Maoris—Action taken in Wellington upon receipt of the news—Correspondence with the Officer Administering the Government—Proclamation by the Protector of Aborigines—Visit of a deputation of Nelson settlers to Auckland to represent the defenceless state of that settlement—Their communications with Lieutenant Shortland—Public meetings at Wellington and Nelson—Arrival of the North Star with Sir Everard Home—Steps taken by the English captain—His visit to Rauparaha—The natives return a stolen boat—Sir Everard Home's report on the massacre and the condition of the European settlements.



AT an early hour on Sunday, June 18, 1848, the Government brig *Victoria* arrived in Port Nicholson from Cloudy Bay with a party of surveyors, and reported a terrible massacre which had occurred in that district. The following graphic description of the massacre, and the causes which led up to it, was taken at the time from testimony given by the survivors, together with all the information which could be collected on the spot, and published in the *New Zealand Gazette* and *Wellington Spectator* of July 1st, 1843:—

“On the 15th April Messrs. Cotterell, Parkinson, and Barnicoat, surveyors, having contracted with the New Zealand Company's agent to survey the lands at Wairau, left Nelson with about forty men, and landed at

Wairau on Tuesday, April 25. Shortly after this, Rauparaha and Rangihaeata being at Porirua in attendance on the Court of Land Claims, made known their determination to prevent the survey from proceeding, and Mr. Joseph Thoms repeatedly stated that he understood from them that they would make a stand at Wairau and lose their lives rather than allow the white men to take possession of that place. Mr. Spain used his influence to pacify them, and obtained a promise from them to do nothing before his arrival. He undertook to meet them there as soon as possible after the adjournment of his Court on the 19th of June. Mr. Thoms said he would take Rauparaha and Rangihaeata in his schooner to his own place in Queen Charlotte's Sound, and keep them there until he received a communication from Mr. Spain. The survey was carried on with some slight interruption from a small party of natives, not resident at Wairau, but collected from all parts of the Straits, until Rauparaha and Rangihaeata arrived with a body of natives on the 1st June. They were brought by Mr. Thoms in his schooner, and landed at Port Underwood, in Cloudy Bay. They visited

Mr. Cave and other settlers, some of whom had resided in that place many years, and declared their determination to burn down the surveyors' houses, and drive them off the land. They began to put their threats into effect by burning down the house of Mr. Cotterell, having first removed his goods, which they restored to him; they then in a similar manner destroyed Mr. Parkinson's house, and compelled all the surveyors to remove to the mouth of the river.

"Mr. Cotterell was then dispatched by Mr. Tuckett to Nelson, to inform Captain Wakefield. An information was then laid before the Police Magistrate, Mr. Thompson, who granted a warrant against Rauparaha and Rangihaeata on a charge of arson. Having been informed that the natives were armed and in great numbers, the magistrate determined to attend the execution of the warrant himself, accompanied by an armed force, and expressed his opinion that such a demonstration would prevent bloodshed and impress the natives with the authority of the law. It is clear, from subsequent events, that no one anticipated any resistance. The men of the labouring class were not armed at Nelson, nor selected as fighting men. They were sent down as a reinforcement to the surveying staff, and on arriving at Wairau, arms were distributed, but up to the last moment no one had any thought of a serious encounter. There were about forty men of the labouring class, most of whom had never handled a fire-lock. They consisted of surveying men and eight boatmen, left at Wairau, to which Mr. Thompson brought an accession of force, consisting of four constables and twelve men, who were engaged as additional labourers in the survey department. Mr. Thompson was accompanied by Mr. John Brook, as interpreter, and the following gentlemen, viz., Captain Wakefield, Captain England, Mr. Tuckett, Mr. Richardson, Mr. Patchett, Mr. Howard, Mr. Cotterell, Mr. Bellairs, Mr. Ferguson, and Mr. Barnicoat. The whole party consisted of forty-nine, of whom Messrs. Tuckett, Cotterell, and Patchett were unarmed, the other gentlemen had nothing beyond two or three pistols and one fowling-piece among them. It appears that the party left by Mr. Cotterell at Wairau had been compelled by the natives to follow him on his way to Nelson, in the Company's large boat, but were met by Mr. Thompson's party, and returned with them to Wairau, some in the boat and some in the Government brig *Victoria*, which brought the Magistrate from Nelson.

"The whole party landed on the 15th and 16th of June, and proceeded, on the afternoon of Friday, the 16th, about five miles up the banks of the river to a wood where they expected to find the natives. Muskets and a cartouche box of ball cartridges with each, were distributed on the Friday evening and Saturday morning, and cutlasses to as many as chose to avail themselves of them. The whole party slept at the wood called *Tau Mautine*. It appears that the movements of the party were watched and reported by scouts, in consequence of which the natives had moved further up the river, and that they were joined in the night by two canoes full of people. They then consisted of about eighty or ninety men, forty of whom were armed with muskets, the rest armed with tomahawks, besides women and children. On Saturday morning, before sunrise, two boats having been brought up the river, the Europeans embarked in them and ascended about four miles further up. They then found that the natives were posted on the right bank of a deep rivulet called *Tua Marino*, about thirty feet wide, not fordable, and flowing into the *Wairau* on the left bank of it. The Europeans advanced and placed themselves opposite to the natives on the left bank of the rivulet, with a hill behind them covered with fern and manuka, and sloping upwards with several brows or terraces. The natives were on about a quarter of an acre of cleared ground, with a dense thicket behind them.

"The police magistrate called upon Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, and requested a canoe to be placed across the rivulet to form a bridge, which was done by the natives. The magistrate with the constables and interpreter and some of the gentlemen crossed over, and entered into a parley with the natives. In the meantime the men on the other side, under cover of a small thicket, were divided into two parties, under the command of Captain England and Mr. Howard. Mr. Thompson, through the interpreter, explained the contents of the warrant. He said that he was the Queen's representative, that he had nothing to do with the land, and called upon Rauparaha and Rangihaeata to surrender; Mr. Thompson was very much excited, and pointed to the armed men. The native chiefs refused to surrender; they said that they would not fight, that they expected the arrival of Mr. Spain and Mr. Clarke, and would have a talk when they came. The warrant was presented to the chiefs two or three times, and on each occasion about sixteen natives, who



Maori Pa at Maketu.

had been sitting, sprung upon their feet and levelled their muskets at the Europeans. Mr. Thompson then ordered the men to cross the river, which they began to do, using the canoe as a bridge, when one of them stumbled, and his piece went off accidentally, but did not kill or wound any one; directly the report was heard, the natives jumped up, and poured a volley amongst the Europeans. The gentlemen attempted then to cross the rivulet by the canoe, and in so doing met their own men which created confusion, and several fell wounded into the water.

"Captain Wakefield called upon his men to retire up the hill and form on the brow. They began to do so. At this moment it is ascertained that the natives were on the point of taking to flight, when Rauparaha, seeing the retreat, excited his men, and raising a war cry they darted across the rivulet and pursued the Europeans, the majority of whom never halted but fled round the sides of the hill and escaped. The gentlemen, who were unarmed, accompanied by a small number of the men, formed upon the hill and laid down to await the arrival of the natives. They then exhibited a white handkerchief as a token of peace, which was understood by the natives. Captain Wakefield then ordered the Europeans to deliver up their arms, which they did, and became prisoners in the hands of the natives. They were standing quietly in a group when Rangihaeata, who had just discovered that one of his wives had been killed by a chance ball, came up and said to Rauparaha, 'Don't forget your daughter.' Rauparaha sat still and consented, and Rangihaeata, with his own hand, put to death the whole of the prisoners. Some of the survivors found their way to the beach through the swamps, and were picked up by whaleboats the same night, others wandered into the mountains and lost themselves several days. The last of these reached Port Underwood on Wednesday, having tasted no food but three turnips, which he picked up on Tuesday. As soon as the natives had perpetrated the deed, they rifled the bodies of a few articles, and retreated to the mouth of the river. They shortly after abandoned Cloudy Bay, accompanied by all the resident natives. On the Saturday afternoon, Mr. Tuckett, and others who had escaped through the low grounds to the beach, set sail for Wellington to procure assistance, and arrived in the night.

"The following is a list of killed and missing:—Killed: Captain Wakefield, Captain England, Messrs. H. A. Thomas, G. R.

Richardson, Patchett, Howard, Cotterell, John Brooke interpreter, William Clanzay, Thomas Ratcliffe, William Northam, Thomas Pay, Coster, James M'Gregor, William Gardner, Ely Cropper, Henry Bomforth, Thomas Tyrrell, Isaac Smith. Missing: Messrs. Mallen (chief constable), Edward Stokes, Thomas Hannam, John Burton. The wounded, who were removed to Wellington Hospital, were: Messrs. Wm. Bomforth, Gapper, Richard Burnett, James Henry Smith, Robert Crawford, Eram or Ramee (a native).

"The first two were landed from the Government brig on the 18th of June, the remaining four on the 27th; three of these, with the native, severely wounded, the other two more slightly. Bomforth's brother Henry was killed, and most of the labouring men who had fallen left widows, and generally large families of children, at Nelson. Poor Bomforth, who has had his left arm taken from the shoulder socket in Wellington, has a wife and six children. He bore his sufferings like a hero, and with his arm shattered and dangling useless by his side, kept up with Mr. Tuckett through many miles of oppressive walking, until they reached the beach and found the whaleboat for their rescue."

Upon receipt of the news at Wellington the Company's Chief Surveyor had an interview with Mr. M'Donough, the Acting Police Magistrate of Wellington, who called a meeting of the magistrates of Port Nicholson. The result of their deliberation was that Mr. M'Donough, accompanied by Mr. Spain, the Land Commissioner; R. D. Hanson, Crown Prosecutor; Mr. Clifford, J.P.; Captain Smith, R.A., J.P.; Henry St. Hill, Esq., J.P. and Sheriff, determined to proceed immediately in the brig *Victoria* to the spot where the affray happened, accompanied by such of the inhabitants of the place as chose to volunteer their services, in order to rescue any of the white people who might be found forcibly detained by the natives, and to offer their efforts as mediators between the natives and the Nelson settlers.

A public meeting was called the first thing on Sunday morning, and seventy volunteers enrolled, to proceed to Cloudy Bay. The brig sailed the same morning, but in consequence of a violent gale from the south-east, she was obliged to anchor for two days, when the mode of proceeding was altered, and a deputation from the bench of magistrates returned in the brig on Wednesday. On their arrival at Cloudy Bay, they found that Mr. Ironside, the Wesleyan missionary, had proceeded with

two boats' companies of whalers to inter the bodies, which they did on the ground where the men had fallen. It appears that the natives afterwards were seized with great terror, and had formed the determination of retiring up the Manawatu, a fortified pa in the interior, there to await the vengeance of the white men, which they fully expected would follow.

The first resolve of the natives after the Wairau massacre was to conceal themselves till night, and under its shadow board the colonial brig, supposed by them to be at Port Underwood, kill all they found on board and then massacre all the Europeans in the Straits. The sanguinary scheme was frustrated by the sailing of the brig for Wellington the evening of the day on which the massacre occurred. The natives afterwards fled in terror across the Straits, dreading the vengeance of the white men, and took up their position in a fortified pa beyond Porirua.

Great consternation prevailed at Nelson when the result of the expedition to the Wairau was made known, and considerable disorganization ensued amongst all classes.

It was not at Nelson only that the effects of the melancholy catastrophe were experienced. The shock it produced reverberated through the whole colony, causing an estrangement between the two races, a condition of affairs but little calculated to strengthen the bonds of intercourse between them, or to promote the advancement of civilization.

A requisition was presented to the Mayor of Wellington (Mr. George Hunter), on Sunday, the 18th of June, 1843, asking him to at once call a public meeting of the citizens to take into consideration the serious position of the colonists in consequence of the Wairau massacre. This meeting was held on the 19th of June, in the Town Hall, Te Aro. After his Worship had stated the object of the meeting by reading the requisition, Mr. Fitzherbert, J.P., opened the discussion by proposing the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. E. Johnson:—"With the recent alarming intelligence from Queen Charlotte Sound, the fact that we are wholly without military aid; that the police force is insufficient, in the opinion of this meeting, for the common police purposes of this borough, and in the present distressing state of uncertainty as to the fate of our countrymen in the unfortunate collision that has taken place with the native population, together with the impossibility of saying how far the present evil may extend, we feel it our duty to unite,

by all means in our power, for the assistance of the legally constituted authorities, in any case of emergency."

The next resolution was moved by Mr. Ross, and seconded by Mr. Lyon:—"This meeting resolve that a memorial be prepared, requesting application to the local Government, for instant and effectual protection to be afforded, to preserve the lives, liberty, and property of Her Majesty's subjects at Port Nicholson; and that the same be signed by the inhabitants, and that an address be prepared to Her Majesty's Government, setting forth our defenceless condition; and that the same be transmitted, with the passed resolutions appended, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, through the Local Government at Auckland; and that a similar statement be forwarded to the Governor of New South Wales, and the same be open to signature in the same manner."

The above resolutions were unanimously adopted, and being confirmed at a meeting held the following day, were forwarded with the following memorial to the Acting-Governor in Auckland and to Sir George Gipps, the Governor of New South Wales. The copies forwarded to New South Wales were accompanied by the following letter from the Mayor of Wellington:—

Wellington, Port Nicholson, New Zealand,

June 20, 1843.

THE HONOURABLE THE COLONIAL SECRETARY,
SYDNEY.

SIR,—As the chairman of a committee nominated at a public meeting of the inhabitants of this borough, and by the expressed desire of such meeting, I have the honour to transmit to you a copy of a memorial addressed to His Excellency the Officer Administering the Government of this Colony, praying for aid and assistance to preserve the inhabitants of this place from the evil consequences which they fear may arise out of a recent misunderstanding and conflict with the native population. The object in view in thus transmitting these papers to you, is to request you will be good enough to lay them before His Excellency Sir George Gipps, and solicit on behalf of the memorialists His Excellency's attention to the prayer of the memorial.

We are aware that it might be deemed improper on our part thus to place before the Governor of a colony separate and distinct in its Government from that in which the petitioners are resident, papers which may seem to require an interposition in the affairs of the petitioners; but we trust you will also be kind enough to state the grounds upon which we have acted, and which we hope will be found sufficient in the mind of His Excellency to justify the step, which might otherwise appear as one taken in opposition to the officer who at present rules in this colony.

We have heard and believe that the whole military force at Auckland at the disposal of the Government does not exceed one hundred men, and we have had late intelligence of the unsettled state of the native population

in the northern districts leading us to apprehend that however much the Officer at present administering the Government of New Zealand may feel desirous to assist us, and of which desire we entertain not the slightest doubt, yet we fear that, circumstanced as he may be at this moment, it will not even be in his power to afford us any aid whatever. Another difficulty also presents itself, which it is not in our power to overcome, in the infrequency of communication between the two settlements, and the impossibility on our parts of procuring any other mode of making our distress known than by the casual opportunity of vessels trading between the ports. Thus we are not only in doubt of the ability to succour, but we are even unable to make our distressed state known to the proper authorities here. Under these circumstances, we have the honour to request you will cause the documents we forward to be laid before His Excellency for his consideration, trusting that he will in his wisdom take such steps on our behalf, in rendering aid to the Government of this colony, as will enable us to receive the succour which our distressed circumstances require.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) G. HUNTER,
Mayor.

The following is the memorial:—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE OFFICER ADMINISTERING
THE GOVERNMENT OF NEW ZEALAND.

The memorial of Her Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the inhabitants of the Borough of Wellington, in the same colony, agreed to at a public meeting, held in the Town Hall here on Monday, the 19th of June, 1843, sheweth—

That your memorialists, induced as they have been by various considerations to immigrate to this colony, have never failed to believe that they carried with them not only the British laws, but the certainty of that support and protection which loyal British subjects always receive from Her Majesty's Government.

Without inquiring into the causes which may have operated upon or prevented the New Zealand Company from fulfilling their contracts, or those which may in like manner have induced Her Majesty's Government to delay its interference, your memorialists presume to lay before your Excellency a simple statement of their difficulties and dangers as they now exist, and they not only strongly hope but they confidently feel that instant steps will be taken to prevent some thousands of Her Majesty's subjects (yielding to none in loyalty and affection) from being left unprotected in a condition in which the British people have never, to the knowledge of your memorialists, allowed even one individual to remain when that protection was required.

Placed as your memorialists are, as colonists, amongst a race of people powerful and confident in their numbers, as yet untaught in the advantages of British law, having customs by which they have long been bound, being rude in their habits and fierce in their passions, and being in most cases both uncontrolled and uncontrollable, we learn with feelings of the deepest regret, and with the most anxious solicitude, that some collision has taken place upon a subject of vital interest to both parties (the right to land and property) between a body of natives and the subjects of Her Majesty, in which the blood of the latter has been shed, some lives lost, and not less than fifty individuals dispersed, and the fate of the majority unknown. We cannot look upon this matter but with horror. The most fearful apprehensions

naturally arise as to the result, while we are at the same time fully sensible of the total absence on our part of the power to effect their rescue. We are informed that those already sacrificed and those for whom we fear, were placed in this peril in the course of their duty and allegiance, when called upon by the local authorities to support Her Majesty's laws, which the native population had condemned. But our apprehensions are not confined to the district in which this lamented collision occurred nor the persons actually engaged; we entertain grounds of alarm for our immediate neighbourhood. A considerable body of armed natives was seen yesterday (19th June, inst.) proceeding to Porirua, a distance of fourteen miles, and considerable excitement and warlike preparations are reported to exist amongst the natives still nearer this place.

Amidst the dangers which thus environ and daily deepen upon us and our families, the storm of which may suddenly burst upon and destroy us, we look round for protection and assistance, and we find none. We have neither military aid to rely upon nor force of any description to interpose between ourselves and possible destruction, nor have we here any authorised person to receive our complaints, direct our movements, or even to sanction the means which at this moment we are driven to adopt for our preservation, such means nevertheless resorted to only under cruelly compelling circumstances, and being wholly intended and offered in aid of Her Majesty's authority, for the support of the laws, and for the preservation of the lives of her subjects.

Your memorialists beg to append to this their appeal the resolutions which the body of the inhabitants of this place have arrived at when met, as they have done, in the hour of danger for mutual support and defence, placing however, as they do, their best means and energies in the hands of Her Majesty's Representative, to be wielded as his judgment may direct. But your memorialists pray that your Excellency will bear in mind that loyal subjects of Her Majesty are in danger, that they appeal to British power and justice for protection, and they trust that, instead of being pointed out as the only subjects of a Queen (whose power is known in all lands) upon whom her care is not bestowed, that by instant and effectual assistance being afforded them it may on the contrary be shown that that protection, when justly due and sought from the British Crown, is not in vain.

Signed by the Mayor and numerous inhabitants.

In July, 1843, immediately after the Wairau massacre, Lieutenant Shortland, the Officer administering the Government after Captain Hobson's decease, issued the following proclamation:—

By His Excellency Willoughby Shortland, Esquire,
the Officer Administering the Government of the
Colony of New Zealand and its Dependencies,
and Vice-Admiral of the same, etc., etc., etc.

Whereas it is essential to the well-being of this colony that confidence and good feeling should continue to exist between the two races of its inhabitants, and that the native owners of the soil should have no reason to doubt the good faith of Her Majesty's solemn assurance that their territorial rights would be respected: Now, therefore, I, the Officer Administering the Government, do hereby publicly warn all persons claiming land in this colony, in all cases where the claim is denied or disputed by the original native owners thereon, from exercising acts of ownership thereon, or otherwise prejudicing the



From a photo, by Burten Bros., Dunedin.

Scene of the Wairau Massacre.

question of title to the same, until the question of ownership shall have been heard and determined by one of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to investigate claims to land in New Zealand.

Given under my hand and issued under the public seal of the colony, at Government House, Auckland, this twelfth day of July, 1843.

WILLOUGHBY SHORTLAND,
Officer Administering the Government

In consequence of this the Company's surveys were at once stopped, cultivation in a great measure ceased, and numerous labourers previously employed by private persons were thrown upon the settlement in a state of destitution.

The Protector of Aborigines, Mr. Clarke, put forth the following address to the Maoris in the *Gazette*, published in their own language:—

PROCLAMATION.

The brig Victoria has arrived from Port Nicholson. The horizon is dark, the day exceedingly dark. News has reached us stating that a conflict has taken place between the natives and Europeans. Some have fallen on both sides. With us both parties are wrong, according to the laws both of God and man. The full particulars we are not yet in possession of. To us they appear both wrong. Blood has been spilled on both sides. It is cause of great regret that the blood of our fellow creatures should be shed.

The natives and the Europeans both agree that the origin of the quarrel (in which twenty lives have been lost) was about the land. Is land more valuable than the life of man? The Europeans of Port Nicholson say that Rauparaha and Rangihaeata proposed that Mr. Spain and Mr. Clarke should settle the case concerning the land; after which they tore up the flags, threw down the poles that had been set up for marks, burnt the surveyor's house, and sent him and his men off the land. This led the surveyor to the residence of the Europeans—to the Police Magistrate, informing him that the natives had not kept their word in leaving the matter to the Commissioner; at which the Police Magistrate and the constables went to take Rauparaha and Rangihaeata to the residence of the Europeans to investigate the case. But Rauparaha and Rangihaeata did not yield to the summons; they would not go. Then the Police Magistrate called the armed men to come forward and arrest them. Just at this time a gun was fired from the Europeans, and a conflict ensued, in which several fell on both sides.

Captain Wakefield, observing this, said, "Cease shedding blood." The Europeans laid down their arms and stood still. Some of the natives did likewise, supposing the conflict to be over. At this time Rangihaeata, as the Europeans say, came up from pursuit, enraged at the loss of his wife, and thereupon slew with his own hand several European gentlemen.

The natives' tale is as follows:—That they had never sold the land; it is their own land. And that they, when they saw the flags and marks erected, supposed that their land was taken from them. They therefore pulled them down in order that the Europeans might know thereby they had not sold their lands or promised to do so. In their estimation it was presumption on the part of the surveyors to erect houses, to cut lines on land that did not belong to them, and they considered they

had a perfect right to do as they pleased with what was growing or standing on their own lands. The surveyors would not listen to their remonstrances, and therefore they burned the hut. They had no intention to fight, nor had they a thought that way; it was the sight of the guns, the firing of the Europeans, and the falling of their friends that roused them, and they call everybody to witness that it was the Europeans who commenced, by killing three natives, and they returned the fire and the struggle began.

But there is one feature in this affair peculiarly bad in the estimation of the Europeans—the conduct of Rangihaeata towards the gentlemen who, it is said, had surrendered, supposing the fight to be over. At his killing them thus the Europeans are horrified. Now the Europeans and natives have for four years lived together very quietly, and in order to continue and maintain that good feeling, the Governor has sent down some troops to prevent the necessity of either Europeans or natives carrying arms. They are alike for the protection of natives as well as Europeans. That promise that was made to you by the late Governor respecting your lands will be strictly adhered to. The Governor says the lands you have not sold shall not be taken from you. Quietly leave your lands to be settled by the Commissioner, who will decide equitably. I am commanded by the Governor to write you this assurance, and call your special attention to his proclamation in another part of this paper.

(Signed) GEORGE CLARKE,
Chief Protector of Aborigines.

The effects of these documents were immediately felt. Dr. Evans, then at Auckland, deputed by the Wellington Magistrates to lay the facts of the Wairau case before Government, thus notices them in a letter to the *Daily Southern Cross*:—"I crave permission at the same time to enter my solemn protest on behalf of myself and fellow settlers against those papers in the last *Government Gazette* relating to the massacre at the Wairau, which have inspired me with horror at the infatuation of their authors. Their tendency I conscientiously believe to be to bring about a war of extermination between the Europeans and the native race."

The *New Zealand Gazette*, writing of Mr. Shortland's proclamation, said, "Had it the power of law its effects would be not only to enable the natives to prevent any further occupation of land, but to require the settlers who have already cleared and cultivated to any extent, however great, to turn off at a moment's notice."

The memorial from Wellington to the Colonial Government was acknowledged in the following terms:—

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Auckland, July 10, 1843.

TO THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF WELLINGTON.

SIR,—I have had the honour to receive and to lay before the Officer Administering the Government the memorial from the inhabitants of Wellington, forwarded by your

letter of 28th ultimo, and in reply I am commanded by His Excellency to convey to you the expression of his deep regret at the disastrous nature of the intelligence contained therein, and at the same time his assurance that every means at the disposal of the Government shall be used for the effectual maintenance of the tranquillity of the town.

With this view, the company of the 96th Regiment quartered at Auckland is under orders to proceed in the Government brig to Port Nicholson, a measure which it is hoped will relieve the memorialists from any apprehensions, and restore that confidence between the natives and the Europeans which hitherto existed.

For the expressions contained in the memorial, and for the offer to place at the disposal of the Government their "best means and energies to carry out any measures which may be deemed advisable on this trying occasion," I have to return to the subscribers His Excellency's best acknowledgments; and I am earnestly to recommend to them a continuance of that forbearance which has, up to the present moment, been attended with such beneficial results in their districts, and a departure from which by a body of the settlers at Nelson has brought about the recent fatal occurrence.

(Signed) WILLIAM CONNELL.

At a public meeting at Nelson, July 22, it was resolved that a deputation should proceed to Auckland to lay before the Government the depositions concerning the Wairau massacre and the sentiments of the Nelson settlers. David Monro and Alfred Domett, Esqrs., were accordingly nominated for the purpose; the confidence of the meeting declared that they would fully represent its views, and a resolution passed that their necessary expenses should be defrayed by public subscription. They sailed to Auckland, and, in an interview with Mr. Shortland, elicited nothing of consequence, but that he was of a decided opinion that the Maoris were amenable to British law.

The following correspondence passed:—

Auckland, August 7, 1843.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE OFFICER ADMINISTERING
THE GOVERNMENT.

SIR,—In accordance with your Excellency's permission, as intimated in the interview which we had with you on Saturday last, we now submit to you in writing a statement of the reasons of our being deputed by our fellow-settlers at Nelson to proceed to Auckland, and of the subjects upon which it would be highly satisfactory to them to receive an assurance of the views and intentions of Government.

The first object of our mission was to carry to the capital, without loss of time, the depositions taken by the magistrates at Nelson, and other documents connected with the deplorable calamity which had befallen that settlement; and though it may appear that a long period of time has elapsed between the occurrence of the disaster and the transmission of the documents connected with it to Auckland, still, when it is considered that ten days elapsed before any account of it at all reached Nelson,—that it was then at least a fortnight before several of the witnesses who had been present in the affray arrived, some by sea and some overland,—that there has been no opportunity for communication with

the capital during that time,—and that it ultimately was necessary to charter a vessel to convey us to Manukau, we trust your Excellency will acquit the settlement of negligence, or of losing time in forwarding to the seat of government what authentic documents they were able to collect upon a subject of such vital importance to the colony.

At the same time that we presented these documents to your Excellency, it was the wish of those who deputed us that we should represent the general opinion of the settlement upon the occurrence, and the light in which it is there viewed.

The depositions which your Excellency has received certainly lay before you the marked facts of the case, and constitute the basis of the opinion which you will form as to the right or wrong of what has been done; but your Excellency must be at the same time aware that the most simple facts often admit of varying shades of interpretation, and that in no case can a just conclusion be arrived at until motives as well as actions are thoroughly understood.

We have no hesitation then in stating that it is the general opinion of the settlers at Nelson that our countrymen who were killed at the Wairau Plain lost their lives in endeavouring to discharge their duty as magistrates and British subjects, obedient of British law, and that the persons by whom they were killed are murderers in the eyes of common sense and justice.

It is not our intention, after the interview with which your Excellency honoured us on Saturday, again to argue the case, but we may be allowed in a few words to recapitulate the main points upon which that opinion is founded at Nelson. They are briefly as follow:—

In the first place, that the aborigines of New Zealand are British subjects and under British law.

In the second place, that they had burned down a house, built by a servant of the New Zealand Company, upon land which it claims to have purchased, and which claim has not yet been proved to be invalid.

In the third place, that a warrant having been issued for the apprehension of the perpetrators of this outrage, its execution was resisted by a large body of the aborigines, with arms in their hands; and that, upon the unfortunate discharge of a gun, by accident, on the side of our countrymen (no orders to fire having been given), they fired upon those who were endeavouring to put the law in execution, and shot several of them.

In the fourth place, that the majority of our countrymen having fled, those who remained laid down what arms they had and surrendered themselves prisoners, and that, after a lapse of some time, unresisting, and without the power of resistance, they were savagely and deliberately massacred.

As to the motives which induced our late lamented Police Magistrate to issue the warrant, we conscientiously believe them to have been none other than those of duty.

As to the imputed charge of rashness and want of deliberation which we have heard advanced, we may observe that the Police Magistrate had the advice of three other magistrates, and their unanimous concurrence. And we may further mention that the question was one which had not then for the first time presented itself: it had months before been examined and deliberated upon. Upon the occasion of a similar outrage having been perpetrated by Rangihaeata at Port Nicholson, and a warrant for his apprehension having been refused, Mr. Thompson, in conversation with one of us, expressed his opinion that such conduct was calculated to weaken the influence of British law upon the native mind, and to lead to the belief of impunity in the commission of still further outrages.

And we cannot but observe now, that, had that former offence of his been dealt with in a decided manner, as in law and justice we conceive it should have been, this dreadful calamity might never have occurred, by which so much life has been lost, so many men of the highest moral and intellectual rank have miserably perished, the relations between the two races rendered, to say the least of it, precarious, and the civilization of New Zealand undoubtedly thrown back.

In stating what we have done above, we are aware that we shall be met by the argument that it is not for us to prejudge the case, or to decide upon the legality of what has passed, or to determine the offence of which anyone has been guilty: such questions belonging to the courts of law, and for their consideration alone. But your Excellency will allow us to suggest that there are cases of such a nature, and evidence often of such a kind, that the public mind comes at once to a decision, without waiting for the more formal conclusions of the law. The case before us is one of these: and while everyone would most heartily deprecate any active step taken upon such a decision, and be contented that law and justice should take their course, still we should be imperfectly fulfilling the mission with which we are intrusted, did we not make known to your Excellency the light in which the conduct of the aborigines, on this occasion, is viewed by the settlers at Nelson, who feel that the enormity of their crime is so distinct that the vengeance of the law should certainly overtake them, and confidently expect that they will be brought before its tribunal as soon as a sufficient force shall be collected to render its mandates irresistible.

The settlers of Nelson look forward with great anxiety to the steps which the Local Government shall adopt. They have observed with indignation an attempt on the part of the Government representative at Port Nicholson to screen the aborigines, at the same time that he threw blame upon the British, by a public statement at variance with the facts of the case, and directly opposed to the evidence of one of our most respectable settlers at Nelson (Mr. Tuckett), which had been taken by him before his public statement was made.

We hope, however, to be enabled to convey to them, on the part of your Excellency, an assurance that the case shall not be prejudged, that impartial justice shall be done, and that the penalties of the law shall certainly overtake those whom its verdicts shall pronounce to be guilty.

Another object of our deputation is to represent to your Excellency the unprotected state of our settlement; but we are spared the necessity of enlarging upon this point by the promptitude with which your Excellency has dispatched the half of the troops at your disposal to Cook Straits. We trust, however, that, considering how much the settlers of Nelson are dispersed—some in the Waimea, others at the Motueka, others again in Massacre Bay—engaged in agricultural pursuits and otherwise, Major Richmond will consider it expedient to station a certain portion of the force under his direction at Nelson.

We have but one other subject to bring before the notice of your Excellency. Several of the constables who lost their lives at the Wairau have left behind them wives and children, now utterly destitute. These men were acting under the orders of the Police Magistrate, and of course in no wise responsible. It is confidently trusted that the Government will make some provision for the widows and children of those who have lost their lives in its service.

We have the honour to remain, etc.,

(Signed) D. MONRO, J.P.
ALFRED DOMETT.

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Auckland, August 9, 1843.

TO D. MONRO, ESQ., J.P., AND ALFRED DOMETT, ESQ.

GENTLEMEN,—I am directed by the Officer Administering the Government to acknowledge the receipt of your statement, dated the 7th instant, of the reasons of your being deputed by your fellow-settlers at Nelson to proceed to Auckland, of their opinions upon the lamentable occurrence at Wairau, the light in which it is viewed by them, and of the subjects upon which it would be satisfactory to them to receive an assurance of the views and intentions of the Government relative to the deplorable calamity which has befallen the settlement.

His Excellency received with deep concern the intelligence of an outrage not only attended by a fearful loss of human life, but calculated to impair the confidence which has hitherto subsisted between the two races, and indirectly to retard the prosperity of the colony. For the irreparable loss the settlers at Nelson have sustained, in so many, so highly, and so justly valued lives, His Excellency desires me to convey to them his deep and heartfelt sympathy.

For the recent bloodshed, I am to observe, an awful responsibility has been incurred. What is the degree of criminality of those concerned in the fatal conflict, and on whom that criminality chiefly rests, are questions on which no opinion can be expressed, as the transaction may become the subject of judicial inquiry; but, whatever may be crime, and who may be the criminals, it is but too clear that the event we must all deplore has arisen from several parties of surveyors, without the knowledge or concurrence of the Local Government, proceeding to take possession of and to survey a tract of land, in opposition to the original native owners, who have uniformly denied the sale of it.

With a view to prevent the recurrence of such an evil, and that no reason may be given to the New Zealanders to doubt the good faith of Her Majesty's solemn assurance that their territorial rights as owners of the soil should be recognised and respected, His Excellency has caused a proclamation to be issued warning all persons claiming land in this colony, in cases where the claim is denied or disputed by the original native owners, from exercising acts of ownership on or otherwise prejudicing the question of title to the same, until the question of ownership shall have been heard and determined by one of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to investigate claims to land in this colony.

For the information of the settlers at Nelson, I am desired to state that one of Her Majesty's Commissioners had appointed the end of June last to investigate claims to land in the valley of the Wairau, and, but for the recent fatal collision, all claims in that district would in all probability at this moment have been disposed of.

His Excellency would avail himself of the present occasion to remind the settlers of Nelson and the colonists generally of the principles upon which the British Government undertook the colonization of this country. That the Queen, in common with her Majesty's predecessor, disclaimed for herself and her subjects every pretension to seize upon the islands of New Zealand; that, by the treaty of Waitangi, her Majesty has guaranteed to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their lands; and that, in the royal instructions, under the sign manual, her Majesty has distinctly established the general principle that the territorial rights of the natives as owners of the soil must be recognised and respected.

With reference to the statement contained in your communication, that the natives "had burnt down a

house built by a servant of the New Zealand Company, upon land which it claims to have purchased, and which claim has not yet been proved to be invalid," I am directed by his Excellency to say, that he feels himself called upon to remind you that, with regard to all lands in the colony acquired under any other title than that of grants made in the name and on behalf of her Majesty, her Majesty's Government have determined "that the title of the claimants should be subjected to the investigation of a Commissioner to be appointed for that purpose;" that, by virtue of the provisions of the Land Claims Ordinance, all lands which have been validly sold by the aboriginal natives are vested in her Majesty as demesne lands of the Crown; and that, with reference to the claims of the New Zealand Company to land in this colony, by the terms of an agreement entered into between the Company and her Majesty's Government, they are to have assigned to them, subject to the investigation of the Commissioner, in consideration of past expenditure, land in blocks of a prescribed size and figure, to be selected by them, under the sanction of the Local Government; and that they forego and disclaim all title, or pretence of title, to any lands purchased or acquired by them in New Zealand, other than the lands so to be granted to them.

His Excellency deems it proper now to inform you that the New Zealand Company has not selected any block of land in the valley of the Wairau, nor has the Local Government yet received any intimation that it is the intention of the Company to select a block in that district.

A detachment of the 96th Regiment has been despatched to Port Nicholson, and placed at the disposal of Major Richmond, to be employed by him in maintaining peace in the Southern District. His Excellency has, however, great satisfaction in being able to assure the settlers in the south, that he sees no ground to apprehend any unprovoked aggression from the native population.

In conclusion, I am instructed to say that no time has been lost in supplying the vacancies in the several important Public Offices occasioned by the late deplorable catastrophe; and the settlers of Nelson may confidently rely on all means in the power of the Local Government being used to promote the advancement of that settlement. It will scarcely be necessary for his Excellency to give the assurance you require, "that the case shall not be prejudged, that impartial justice shall be done, and that the penalties of the law shall certainly overtake those whom its verdict shall pronounce to be guilty."

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient servant,
(For the Colonial Secretary)

WILLIAM CONNELL.

The opinion the inhabitants of the Cook Straits settlements entertained concerning the action of the Government may be gathered from the following. At a public meeting at Wellington it was unanimously resolved:—

That this meeting considers the accounts of the late lamentable affair at Wairau published by the Auckland Government and its representatives as incorrect and unjust; that it is not true that that affair was merely 'a contest between armed settlers from Nelson and a body of natives,' nor that 'both parties were in the wrong,' but that the evidence in the hands of the Government at the time those false accusations were published proves

distinctly that it was an act of resistance to the Queen's authority, and a savage massacre of those who were lawfully and officially engaged in maintaining it; and that this meeting agrees with the inhabitants of Nelson, in their expressions of disapprobation at all attempts to gloss over or palliate the savage enormity of the crime committed.

That this meeting considers 53 soldiers a totally insufficient protection for the settlements in Cook Straits, or even for Wellington alone; and that this meeting is of opinion that a wise and judicious policy (and, in the end, an economical one) would have suggested a force of at least 500 men, which would have enabled the Local Government both to protect, and to open by their means a road through the interior of the country, the utility and importance of which cannot be disputed.

At a public meeting held at Nelson on the 20th of September, to receive the report of the deputies to Auckland, it was unanimously resolved:—

That this meeting considers that the statements put forth by the Local Government with regard to the cause and nature of the late massacre at the Wairau are erroneous; and views with the strongest disapprobation the course of proceeding adopted by it, as both unjust to the memory of those who fell and most pernicious to the general interests of the colony. And

That this meeting does not consider that the stationing fifty soldiers at Wellington is any protection to the settlement at Nelson; and that this settlement may still be regarded as in the same shamefully and totally unprotected condition in which it has always hitherto been left by the Government.

The memorial to Sir George Gipps was at once responded to, and he immediately dispatched H.M.S. *North Star*, 28 guns, under the command of Captain Sir Everard Home, to Auckland, with 50 men of the 80th Regiment on board, under command of Captain Best. This frigate had her full complement of blue-jackets and marines, and was amply provided with ammunition, provisions, and all necessary stores. On her arrival, Mr. Shortland ordered her to proceed southward, touch at Wellington, and "show herself along the coast." The *North Star* arrived at Wellington on August 31st, and was received with a salute from the Volunteer battery, and flags were flying everywhere.

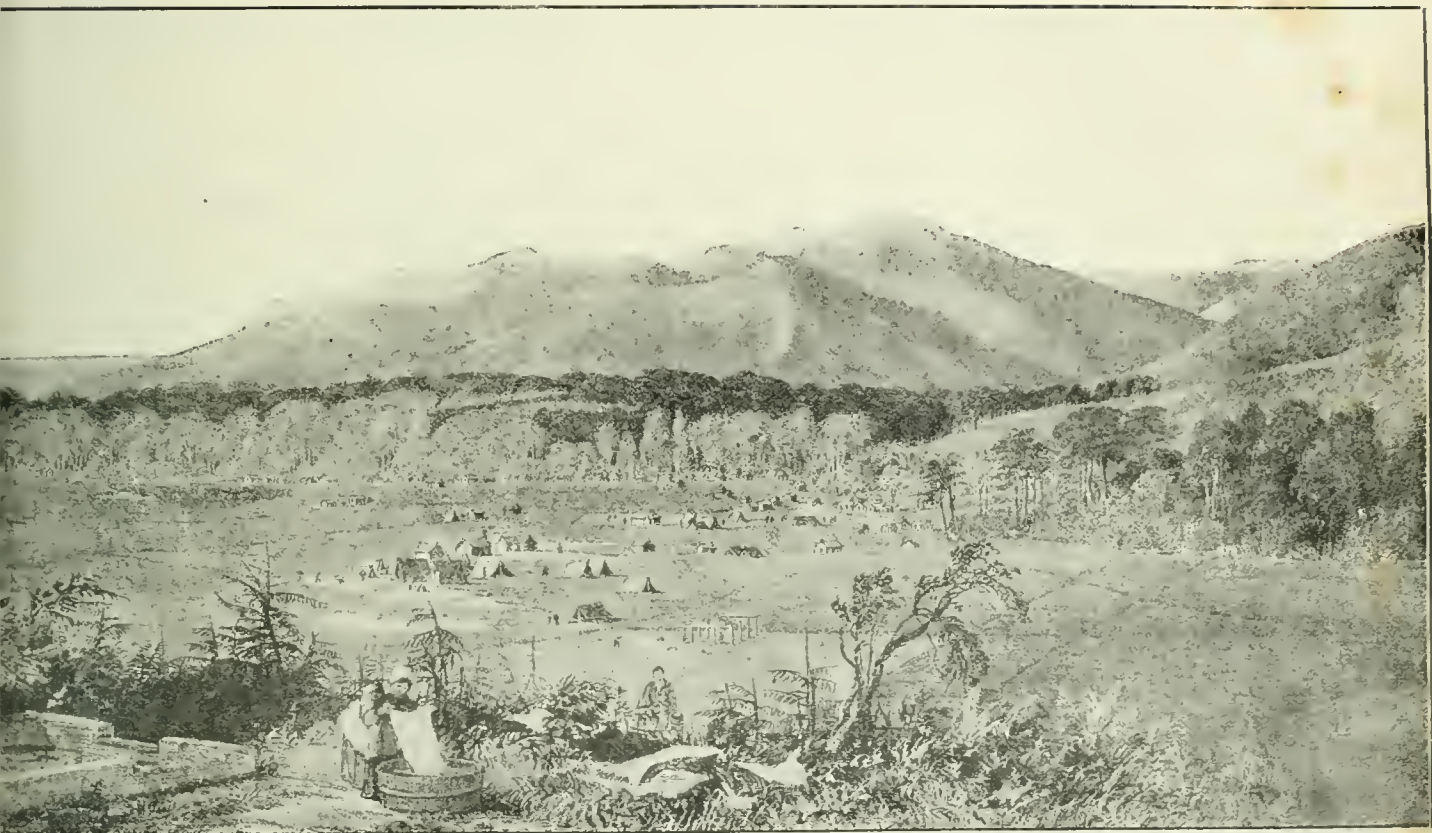
The natives at this time were very unsettled and violent in their conduct at the Hutt, Porirua, and in fact in the Port Nicholson district generally.

An accident prevented the captain, Sir Everard Home, from communicating with Major Richmond, the officer in command at Wellington, for four days.

Sir Everard, in his report to the Acting Governor of his proceedings on the coast, says Major Richmond had received various reports of attacks meditated by the natives under Te Rauparaha at that place; that the

Malvern Hills Valley of the Matur

Mountains towards the Pecorous River



*The Eol Pond
(Site of Mont Market)*

*House of
Rev C W Saxton*

Brick Kiln

Little Sactand

EARLY SETTLERS UNDER CANVAS

chief was at a pa not more than fourteen miles from Wellington with between five hundred and one thousand of his tribe, fighting men; that the chief Taiaoroa, from the Middle Island, had joined Te Rauparaha, and having been an ancient enemy of his, had made peace; that the pa at Porirua was fortified and every preparation made for an attack on the town of Wellington.

"I told him in answer that I could do nothing, and that in my opinion all that was necessary was for the ship to remain where she was. I, however, wrote a letter to Te Rauparaha."

Here follows the letter from Sir Everard Home, which created considerable surprise among the settlers:—

FRIEND RAUPARAH,.—It has come to my knowledge that you are collecting the tribes round you because you expect that I am going to attack you. Those who told you so said that which is not true.

It was to keep peace, and not to make war, that I came here. You know, that where many men meet together, and continue without employment, they will find something to do. They had best go home.

About this time Mr. Edward Jerningham Wakefield says (Vol. ii., 428), "On my return (from Otaki) I found that serious news had come in from Nelson by a whaleboat sent on purpose.

"The natives were making active use of Mr. Shortland's proclamation at various places. At Motueka, Mr. Tuckett described himself as having been protected by the resident natives from threats against his life by some strangers of the Kawhia tribe.

"Several settlers had received distinct warnings at about the same time from different natives that an attack was very likely to be made upon the settlement.

"The white labourers, who were in excess at Nelson, and employed in large numbers by the New Zealand Company on the roads, had acquired the habit of very slack work. Upon a ganger and inspector being appointed to report upon how much less they did than they ought, they assaulted these officers and their time-keepers with stones, put one of them into a ditch, and seemed likely to proceed to further extremities."

"Upon the first receipt of these reports," Sir Everard says, "I was requested to detach a portion of the troops under my command to Nelson, not to repel any attack expected from the native population, but to restrain and bring to order about three hundred English labourers which the New Zealand Company had employed on their works. Such a request I considered required no answer. Having

now recovered, and from all I could learn from the most sound authorities that there was nothing to be apprehended, I had made up my mind to return to Sydney.

"Major Richmond had requested me to wait the arrival of Mr. Clarke, the Sub-Protector of Aborigines, who could give me the last and best account, as he was to visit all the pas. He, on his return, confirmed all that I had been led to believe to be true; but Mr. Clarke is a very young man."

Sir Everard was further confirmed in this idea by Mr. Macdonough, who had gone up to Taranaki in the brig soon after Major Richmond's arrival in Wellington, and had returned on horseback. "He came," continues Captain Sir Everard Home, "having visited all the pas, and confirmed the statement of Mr. Clarke. Of this gentleman I had opportunities of seeing a great deal, and was much struck with his zeal and good feeling for those for whom he is employed, and the sound judgment by which he regulates his conduct."

Judging from these pacific reports, Sir Everard Home fixed a day for sailing for Sydney. But Colonel Wakefield eagerly remonstrated with Major Richmond and urged the absolute necessity of making a demonstration, at least, in the Strait. He also repeatedly applied for the recovery of the Company's boat. This was a boat belonging to the New Zealand Company which the natives had taken at the Wairau massacre and had refused to give up.

Mr. White, Police Magistrate at Nelson, wrote to Major Richmond. Sir Everard Home, on perusing these letters, changed his mind and determined to proceed to Nelson. He states: "As I could be of little use there alone, Major Richmond said that he would accompany me. I then proposed going first to Mana, near to which island is the pa of Porirua, there to see Te Rauparaha, to tell him all that was said of him, and to require him to explain himself the circumstances, and to see how things were: how far fortifications had been carried, the number of people assembled, and the number of canoes collected. The Major then proposed that the boat taken after the unfortunate affair at Wairau, and hauled on the beach near Porirua, should be recovered. He sent Mr. Clarke on foot to let the tribe know that a ship was coming, and to prevent, if possible, the departure of the chiefs Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata.

"We sailed next morning, the 5th October, and anchored the same afternoon under

Mana. Shortly after rounding the point and opening the island, a canoe passed from Mana to Porirua with three persons in her. One of them we heard afterwards was Rangihaeata. As soon as the ship anchored I landed, attended by Major Richmond and Captain Best (in command of the detachment on board the *North Star*). We first went to the whaling station, or great pa, where we found Mr. Chetham, who had been sent on to join us. We also soon after met Mr. Clarke. He informed us that Te Rauparaha had left that morning at daylight for Waikanae, which must have been a voluntary movement, as no person knew our intentions till the Strait was entered. We immediately went round to the pa at which the tribe was established. Here we found no one on the beach to receive us; and having landed, walked to the huts, where we found a few persons sitting together. Rangihaeata, they said, had fled to the bush. Te Rauparaha was at Waikanae; and, finding nothing could be done, we returned on board."

"That same afternoon," Mr. E. J. Wakefield says, "I reached Porirua just as the man-of-war's boat was putting off, and after Mr. Clarke and Mr. Chetham (the Clerk of the Bench) had gone on to the northward. As I rode through the steep potato-grounds leading off the beach into the woods towards Pukerua, I saw on either side of the path about two hundred natives, who had run from the village, sitting on the skirts of the bush, ready to disappear in case of any offensive operations. Rangihaeata was sitting in the midst of one of the groups. Some of them called to me, but I rode steadily on, as I had no knowledge of the intentions of the expedition. I slept at Pukerua, and soon after starting in the morning saw the frigate come under all sail round the point, making for Kapiti. Having a message to deliver to Mr. Hadfield, I rode up to his house at Waikanae just as she was coming to an anchor off Evans' Island. But

a crowd of natives sitting round the gate told me that Rauparaha was with Mr Hadfield, and he came and received the letter outside the door. I went on to Otaki."

Sir Everard Home says, "We were received by the Rev. Mr. Hadfield, a missionary, and a gentleman of high character and great intelligence, who, living in the pa amongst them, knows every movement, for none could take place without his knowledge. He at once declared all the reports to be without foundation. Having walked to his house, which is in the pa, we proceeded to his school-yard, and the chiefs Te Rauparaha and Rere (chief of the tribe inhabiting the pa of Wai-

kanae) came accompanied by about fifty men. I then stated to the chief all that was reported of him, and asked him what he had to say to contradict it. He replied that, far from wishing to continue the quarrel with the Europeans, which had been commenced by them and not by him, his whole time was occupied in travelling up and down the coast endeavouring to allay the irritation of the natives, and to prevent any ill consequence arising from the provoking language and threats with which they were continually annoyed by the Europeans passing backwards and forwards. That for himself he believed them to be lies invented by the white men, having been as-



Te Rangihaeata.

(From a drawing by K. L. Sutherland, R.N.)

sured by the Police Magistrate that no steps would be taken until the arrival of the Governor or the pleasure of the Queen was known. This account I have received from Captain Best, who was present, and understands the language.

"He also declared that they all stood in fear of the white men, and asked why I had come if it was not to fight with and destroy them, for they had been told that was my intention. I told them that the Queen's ships went to all parts of the world, and that my object was to preserve peace rather than make war; and he was advised to believe no reports

which he might hear, but to inquire into the truth of them of Major Richmond, through Mr. Clarke or Mr. Hadfield. The affair of the Wairau was in no way touched upon. After this the assembly broke up, and Te Rauparaha being sent for to Mr. Hadfield's house, he was asked to write a letter to the principal person at Porirua desiring him to give up the Company's boat, which had been taken at the Wairau, when called for. He said that he had little influence there, but that he had all along wished the boat to be returned; for as long as it remained in their hands it would be a bone of contention and must cause trouble."

"Rauparaha asked if the boat were given up whether the quarrel would be considered as terminated. Major Richmond replied that was a question he could not answer, but that however he behaved about it he would have the credit of it; he was the chief, and that the Government looked to him. Rauparaha accordingly wrote the letter,"—which here follows:—

Go thou my book to Puaha, Hoepa, and Watarauhe. Give that boat to the chief of the ship; give it to the chief for nothing. These are the words of Te Rauparaha. Your avarice in keeping back the boat from us, from me, Mr. Hadfield, and Mr. Ironside, was great. This is not an angry visit; it is to ask peaceably for the boat. There are only Mr. Clarke, Mr. Richmond, and the chief of the ship; they three who are going peaceably back to you, that you may give up the boat.

This is my book.

(Signed)

TE RAUPARAH.
CLARKE.

Furnished with this document, they returned to Porirua; lay at anchor all the next day, being Sunday; and on Monday morning went ashore, and were assisted in launching the boat by forty natives, all in "the greatest good humour." The North Star now proceeded to Nelson, arriving there the same evening.

As the fact that no warrant had been issued against the two chiefs implicated in the murder had more than once been pleaded in excuse of Government supineness by its officers, that this objection might be removed an application was made for such warrant to the Nelson Police Magistrate while the frigate was there. Mr. Fox, as Chairman of the Committee of Safety, was the applicant. The Police Magistrate said he could not recognise such a body in that court. Mr. Fox accordingly consented to apply in his private capacity. The Magistrate requesting fresh evidence, that of Joseph Morgan was again given. Mr. White declined granting it, though acknow-

ledging a sufficiency of evidence to justify it, on the plea of not having sufficient power to execute it. Mr. Fox suggested that the assistance of the North Star frigate and the troops on board that vessel might be obtained. Mr. White was afraid he could not obtain that assistance; as, however, he did not wish to prevent the issuing of a warrant, if his brother magistrates thought it ought to be issued, he consented to adjourn the hearing till the following day, when probably some of the local magistrates might be upon the bench. On the following Thursday Mr. Fox renewed his application before D. Monro, G. Duppa, C. A. Dillon, and J. S. Tytler, Esqrs., justices of the peace. After some further consideration, the bench determined that the evidence already before them was sufficient, and a warrant was accordingly issued, signed by the above-named magistrates.

The assistance required was refused. Nor were the inhabitants generally any more successful. The following memorial, numerous signed, was presented to Sir Everard while at Nelson:—

TO CAPTAIN SIR EVERARD HOME, Bart., C.B., Commander of H.M.S. North Star.

Nelson, October 10, 1843.

SIR,—We, the undersigned inhabitants of this settlement, beg leave to call your attention, as a British naval officer and commander on the Australian station, to our present position.

The population of this settlement at present amounts to about 3,000 souls, who emigrated to this country after it was declared a colony of the British Crown, and naturally expected that protection which the Crown of England affords to its subjects.

It is unnecessary to allude to the melancholy events which have been the cause of your visiting us, further than to state that, at the time of their occurrence, this settlement was, and has since remained, till the period of your arrival here, without any other protection than its inhabitants (previously unaccustomed to military preparations) have afforded to themselves.

Before the massacre of our fellow-countrymen at the Wairau, the semi-barbarous and warlike tribes in our vicinity generally speaking conducted themselves in a peaceful manner, and seemed to believe in the justice and in the power of the British law; but, since that melancholy occurrence, emboldened by a successful resistance to it, and their innate ferocity roused by the shedding of human blood, they have shown a temper which cannot be regarded even by those least disposed to alarm without serious apprehension.

Within the last month, natives from the neighbourhood of Nelson, as well as natives from distant parts of the country, have threatened the lives of several of our fellow colonists, and have even proceeded to acts of violence, openly repudiating any appeal to British law. Without any pretence to proprietorship, within the very limits of our town, they have cut down our timber, entered enclosures, helped themselves to the crop, and shaken their tomahawks at those who remonstrated with them.

Under such a state of things, our community—harassed continually with new alarms, and compelled to turn its attention from the promotion of its peaceful interests to preparations for the defence of life and property—has been kept in a state of feverish excitement, which has destroyed all feeling of security, checked the enterprise of the settlers, and which, if unallayed, cannot but prove ruinous to the settlement.

We look anxiously for the arrival of the recently-appointed Governor of the colony, confident that he will use rigorous measures for our protection, and the general advancement of our prosperity. But an interval must necessarily elapse, in which, if left in our hitherto unprotected state, our interests will materially suffer, and which we must look forward to with the greatest anxiety.

reasserted until the presence of a sufficient physical force shall make it evident both to the native and to the European that its obligations cannot be disregarded with impunity.

We earnestly request you to afford us that protection (the necessity of which must be so apparent to you), either by the presence of your frigate in our neighbourhood, or by leaving a portion of the force on board of it in this settlement.

Sincerely trusting that you will accede to our request, we have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient, humble servants.

To which this reply was returned :—



From a sketch by a member of the Surveying Staff.

View in Nelson District in April, 1843.

As subjects of the British Crown, governed by the usual executive officers, taxed to a heavy amount for the maintenance of the Government, and at all times ready to pay implicit obedience to British law, we conceive ourselves entitled to protection. And we contrast with feelings of surprise and pain our situation here, undefended and prohibited from defending ourselves, with the condition of fifty subjects of the French nation at Akaroa, living in perfect security under the constant protection of a vessel of war.

Humanity to the natives, no less than justice to British subjects, demands the presence of a protecting force. The law at present is powerless, nor can its authority be

TO DR. MONRO, Justice of the Peace, Nelson.

Her Majesty's Ship North Star, off Nelson,
October 13, 1843.

SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 12th, and one of the 10th instant, signed by several of the settlers of Nelson, calling my attention to certain matters of immediate importance to the settlement, and requesting me to meet a deputation from them for that purpose, which has this day taken place; I beg to observe that the instant it was believed that protection was necessary, aid was sent. On the closest examination, and on inquiry of persons really to be depended upon, it was found that the cause of fear was groundless.

I beg also to state that the troops on board were sent on the express condition that they were not to be landed, on any account, except for the preservation of the lives and properties of the British subjects, on an attack being threatened by the natives; and having no idea that such an event is at all likely to take place, I shall return with them to Sydney.

Having no civil jurisdiction, I shall immediately forward to the Governor a copy of the letter which accompanied your communication, as the matter it contains is within his province. I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. EVERARD HOME, Captain.

Sir Everard Home visited during two days the pas of Motueka and Wakapuka in company with Major Richmond, Captain Best, and Mr. White. "Having now seen for ourselves," pursues Sir Everard, "all the points from which any attack was to be expected, and having found all the reports of preparations making by the natives to be entirely false in every respect, the next morning, the 13th, Major Richmond and myself attended a meeting of a portion of the settlers at their request."

The meeting was well attended. The settlers were much hurt at the determination of Sir Everard Home not to land the troops.

With reference to the warrant against Rauparaha and Rangihaeata for murder, Sir Everard Home in his report states:—"It appears that, mistaking my functions as a captain of a man-of-war, they imagined that I was bound by law to enforce any act authorised by warrant from two magistrates, and accordingly, on the arrival of the ship having fifty soldiers on board, a warrant was made out for the apprehension of Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, and it was supposed that I should have been honoured with the execution of it. Understanding this, I commenced by explaining to them how far my authority really did extend; that troops were put on board on the express condition that they were on no account to be landed except for the preservation of the lives and properties of the British subjects, and that I should on no account do anything which was contrary to what my own judgment told me was right. I left them, being requested to state my opinions in writing. On the following morning I sailed for Port Nicholson, where I arrived on the 16th of October, and left that place on the 21st of the same month, arriving at Auckland on the 10th instant."

Sir Everard Home continues his report:—"From all that I have been able to see, I am of opinion that none of the settlements in the

parts of New Zealand which I have lately visited, have anything to fear from the natives, so long as they are fairly dealt with. At Nelson a force is wanted, not to repel the attacks of natives, but to restrain and keep in subjection the English labourers brought over by the New Zealand Company, who have, I believe, been in open rebellion against their employers more than once. At that place, also, the general feeling appears to be more to revenge the death of their friends than to wish impartial justice to be done; and vengeance and revenge are words that I have heard used when speaking of that affair."

Mr. Clarke, jun., having been requested by Major Richmond to give his opinion of the feeling of the natives towards the European population, wrote:—"I have the honour to inform you that I did not observe an unusually large assemblage of natives at any of the above-mentioned places (Porirua, Waikanae, and Otaki), nor have I the slightest suspicion of their meeting with hostile intentions. On the contrary, Te Rauparaha and the principal chiefs repeatedly assured me that no effort should be wanting on their part to preserve peace, and prevent the occurrence of anything that might lead to a collision between the two races. Under these circumstances I cannot perceive that there is any necessity for the further detention of Her Majesty's ship North Star in Port Nicholson, as far as the aborigines are concerned."

After the occurrence of the Wairau massacre, while communicating with the Governor of New South Wales, the people of Nelson had also memorialized Sir Eardley Wilmot, Governor of Van Diemen's Land, who promptly despatched the Emerald Isle with 100 soldiers. But Captain Nicholson, the officer in command of the troops, had orders from his military superiors not to disembark them unless he found the settlers in actual collision with the natives. This not being the case, the ship sailed directly. Some of the settlers, dissatisfied with these proceedings, conceived a notion of applying to the French frigate, then cruising in the New Zealand seas. Major Richmond was asked if he would consent to this application. He replied, "He should consider it a stain on the British arms."

In consequence of the massacre at Wairau, the inhabitants of Wellington formed an armed association for the purpose of protecting the town. This association was dis-

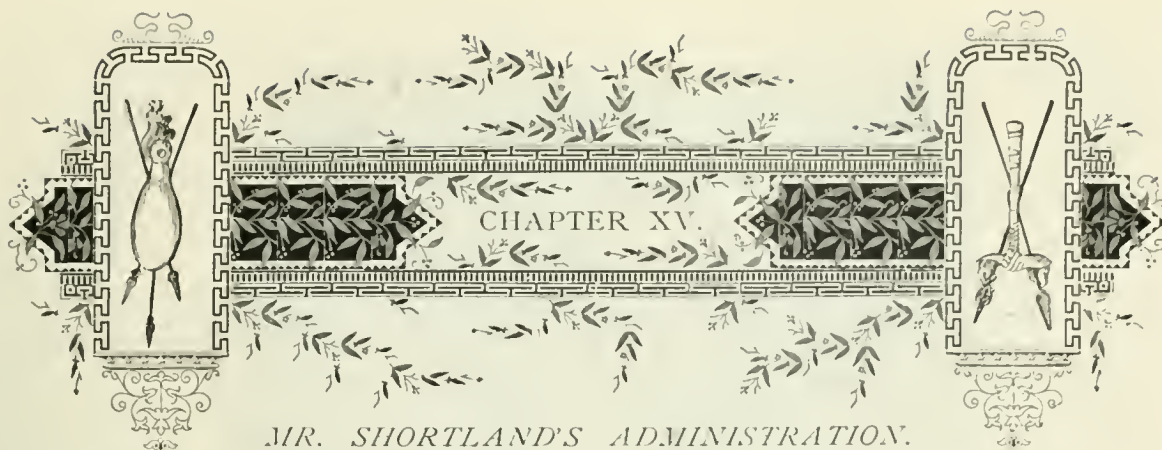
banded by Major Richmond, who had been despatched to Wellington in the capacity of Chief Police Magistrate by the Acting-Governor. The proclamation issued by Major Richmond ran as follows :—"Whereas divers persons in the Borough of Wellington have unlawfully assembled together for the purpose of being trained and drilled to arms, and of practising military exercises. Now I have it in command from his Excellency the Officer Administering the Government, to give notice, that if any person whatever shall, henceforth, so unlawfully assemble, for the purposes aforesaid, or any of them, in the Borough of Wellington, or elsewhere, in the Southern District of New Ulster, the assemblage of such persons will be dispersed, and the persons so unlawfully assembling will be proceeded against according to law. Dated this 26th July, 1843.—M. RICHMOND, Chief Police Magistrate." On the following day, however, an explanation was published to the effect that the term "unlawful" had been used inadvertently, there having been no desire to reflect upon the action taken by the residents prior to the arrival of the military force from Auckland.

The inhabitants of Wellington addressed a petition to the Queen in which they represented that the settlers in the New Zealand Company's settlements had contributed at the rate of £12,000 a year towards the expenses of the local government and almost the whole of it had been expended at Auckland. That the British population of the Cook Strait settlements numbered 10,000, while those in the northern part of the island were only about 2,500, and they claimed that the Cook Strait settlements were entitled to have an adequate proportion of the military force residing among them.

The Wairau massacre attracted the attention of Europe, and created interest in the minds of men who had never previously thought about the colony. It completely stopped emigration to New Zealand, and called forth the sympathy of people in different parts of Great Britain. At Paris a proposition was made to commence a subscription to enable the unfortunate settlers to return home.

The following description of Nelson in the early part of 1843 is from a letter written by a member of the surveying staff to a friend in England. The letter was dated Massacre Bay, April 17th, 1843 :—"In answer to your question about land, houses, etc., I should say that at least two-thirds of the inhabitants of Nelson have a garden; there have been quite sufficient vegetables grown this summer for the supply of the town. I cannot exactly say how many houses there are in Nelson; the labouring classes generally make mud houses, but the greater part of them make a *toitoti* (grass) house, when they first land; and when they fix upon where they intend to live they make a good mud house. The gentry have mostly built wooden houses, and some of brick. I think it would be no exaggeration to say that there are 300 acres under cultivation in the settlement, both town and country. — is doing very well. I think when my time is up with the Company that I shall join my capital to his, and farm. We catch wild pigs here: they are very excellent. Pigeons are also very plentiful; we can go out, and in half-an-hour bring home sufficient to make a dinner for two dozen men."

Another settler writing from Port Nelson under date April 27th, says :—"We have had a most delightful summer; indeed, the fineness of the weather is really monotonous; the luxuriance of the production of the soil is quite interesting. I have had a good crop (although a small one) of French beans in seven weeks, from seed. Upon the whole, the settlement is thriving, although many do not find colonising what they anticipated; in spite of climate, etc., it is something different from a mere picnic, especially to those who have never before been upon their own resources. I am still much gratified with my occupation, and feel no doubt about the establishment of this settlement contributing in no small degree to bettering the condition of many thousands of our fellow creatures. It is now two years since we left England; it hardly appears to me as many months, if I do not look round the country and see what has been done."



MR. SHORTLAND'S ADMINISTRATION.

End of Mr. Shortland's administration—Dejection of the New Zealand Company's settlers—Agitation against the Government—Letter by Mr. William Fox to Lord Stanley on the condition of the colony—European and Maori population in August, 1843—A Maori dispute at Wellington—Severe earthquake at Wanganui—Condition of the settlement at New Plymouth—Disturbances caused by the Taranaki natives—Indignation meeting at Nelson—Meeting of the New Zealand Company's labourers at Wellington—Feeling in Wellington with regard to the land claims—Appointment of Captain Fitzroy as Governor—Meeting at Wellington to welcome the new Governor and memorialise the acting Governor on the subject of the land claims—Auckland public opinion on the Wairau massacre—Arrival of sheep, horses, and mules—Current prices of stock—Overland journeys of the Bishop and Chief Justice—The Wellington Corporation dissolved—Protests against convict immigration—The New Zealand Society of London—Captain Fitzroy's arrival.

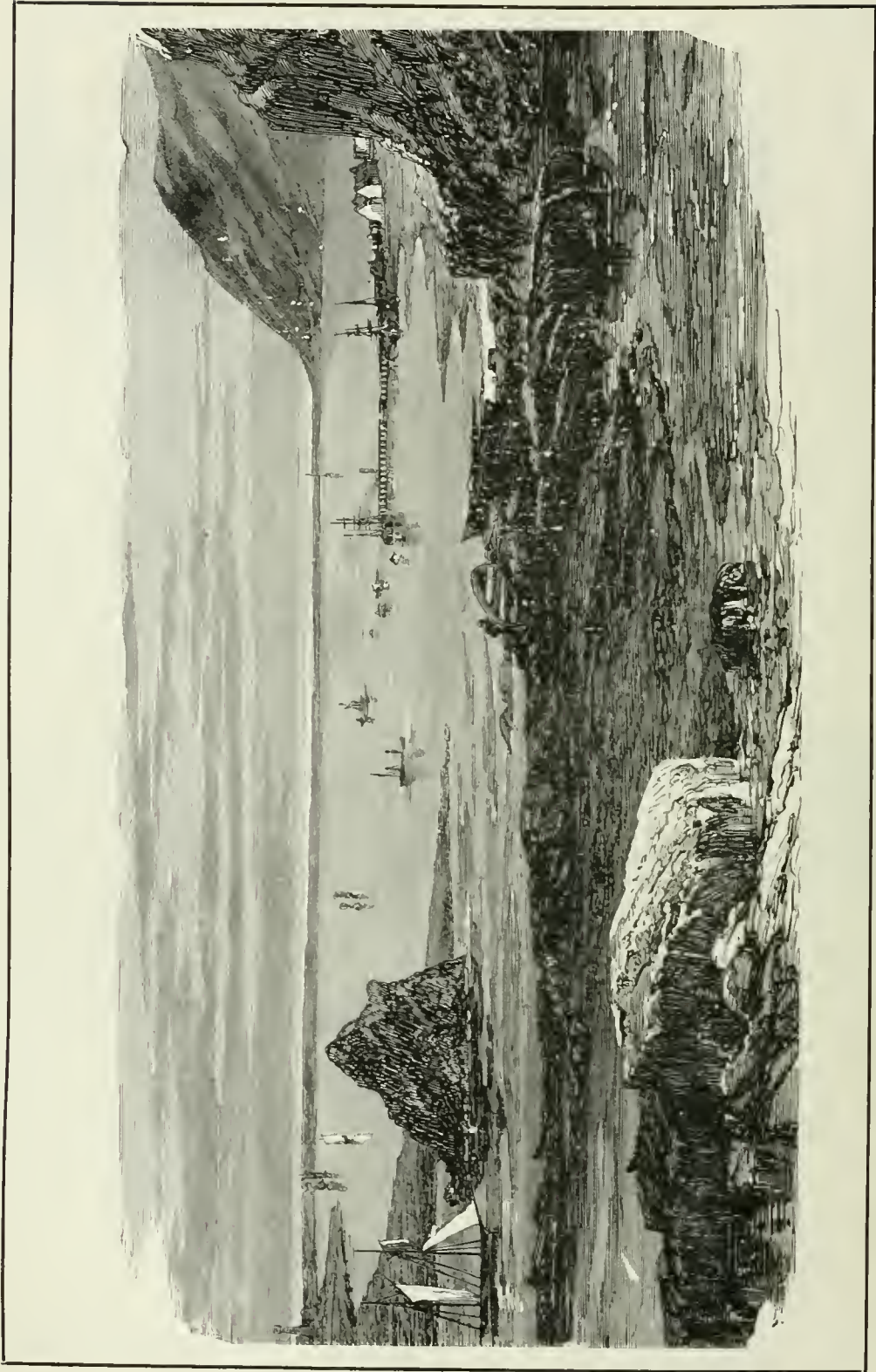


MR. SHORTLAND did as little as he could during the remainder of his Acting-Governorship, which ended on the 26th December, six months after the Wairau massacre. This unfortunate massacre is the only remarkable event to be recorded during his temporary administration.

The fighting at Tauranga which he had so nearly provoked, was happily averted, thanks to the determined opposition of Mr. Swainson (Attorney-General) and the commander of the forces. Mr. Shortland, if left alone, would have probably pursued the quarrel to extremities, even, as it must have been, to the serious danger of the colony. In other respects he did as little as possible, and evidently regarded his position as strictly provisional. He was not popular among the settlers, having a quarter-deck manner, and quarter-deck views of government and public affairs. The Legislative Council was not called together during his tenure of office, although it had not met during the last year of his predecessor's life. Mr. Shortland, dissatisfied with the countenance which Governor Fitzroy accorded to

those of the colonists who had most strongly opposed his own administration, resigned the office of Colonial Secretary soon after Fitzroy's arrival. Subsequently he was appointed Governor of the island of Nevis, in the West Indies, and ended his career by settling on a property which he possessed in Devonshire.

The New Zealand Company's settlers were very dejected during the inaction that marked the closing period of Mr. Shortland's administration. The press of that period took a very desponding view of the position of the colony. The Company's settlers, as will be seen from the following article taken from the *New Zealand Gazette and Spectator* of July 12th, 1843, attributed this state of affairs almost entirely to the maladministration of the Government at Auckland. The view was an extreme one, and so far partial that the writer omits to note the undoubted influence on the prosperity of the colony of the serious land disputes between the New Zealand Company and the natives, as well as with the European purchasers to whom the Company had sold land in London on the chance of obtaining possession in New Zealand. The writer says: "The deplorable condition in which this settlement is in the fourth year of



Entrance to Nelson Harbour.

its existence, compared with what was expected to have been its state by this time by those who founded it, is a fact to which it is impossible to shut our eyes. We have looked around on every side, and we have conversed and inquired everywhere, in the hope of ascertaining the true cause of the failure of these expectations, and we have come to the conclusion that one cause, one fundamental cause exists, the removal of which can alone afford us a hope of recovering from our present depressed condition. That cause is, and has been all along, the Auckland Government; and we do not hesitate to say, that though we may struggle on under its baneful influence, and after years of suffering, become a stable and valuable colony, yet that nothing could tend more to shorten the period of our calamity and to revive the sunken vitality of our community, than a total, immediate, and final separation from the Auckland staff.

"How different was our condition, how different our prospects, during that short period previous to interference of the British Government, when we first established ourselves on these shores, before our amicable relation with the Natives was disturbed, or our pecuniary resources drained into a distant Treasury. And how easily traceable are all the subsequent evils which have accrued to us, to the mischievous and wicked misgovernment under which we have laboured. We were then a happy little republic, governed as far as government was requisite, by officers of our own appointment, or still more by our mutual good feeling towards each other; and whatever taxes it might have been desirable to impose would have been expended in local improvements and the advancement of our own prosperity. We are now the subjects of an absolute Colonial Monarchy, inspected and supervised by a deputed staff of paid authorities, and an armed vessel comes around every two months to collect a tribute from us, which is carried away to be expended in a distant place, and which recent accounts show to be the only regular resource on which the Government can rely.

"Let the men of Wellington remember what their expectations were when they left their native land, how bright a prospect was open to their view, how ardent their hopes, their energy how vigorous; let them look at the realisation of their hopes, and the fruit of their expectations, and then say what is due to those whose interference and maladministration have dashed the promised cup from their lips.

"We would do nothing hasty, nothing rash, nothing illegal, nothing which might bring those who do it within the reach of the laws against sedition; but we would call to mind that systematic, determined legal method of agitation, which has effected so many political reforms in the country from which we came out, and we would never cease to press with all the urgency, with all the force we could muster, for such redress as we conceive ourselves entitled to. Never imagine that any redress will come but from ourselves. 'Who would be free himself must strike the blow.' If ever we hope to have redress we must up and demand it, insist upon it, and cease not to demand and insist till we obtain it. To rest our hopes upon the correspondence of the directors of the New Zealand Company with my Lord Stanley, or imagine that the representations of what our Governors call the venal press of Wellington will do anything for us, is folly. Some plan must be devised by which the true position and the past history of these settlements may be brought in the plainest possible manner before parliament and the throne. We must no longer suffer ourselves to be soothed and deluded by soft speeches, or conciliatory visits; we must no longer soothe and delude ourselves with the idea that a new Governor will put all things straight; we must resolutely and like men look the matter in the face, and, without hesitation or delay, seek a remedy more certain than these soothing and delusive hopes. If we do not, we shall, beyond all question, sink into a mere pork and potato colony; no man of sense who can get away will remain among us, and no man of capital will come among us. We wish to create no panic, to tell before their time no startling truths; we say nothing but what every man in this place has said to himself, and many have said to their neighbours. Why should we fear to speak of what stares everyone in the face?

"Some Government officer will say we select a bad time for our agitation. We say we select the best. We select the moment when the fruits of misgovernment are most apparent; when we are smarting under immediate suffering; when the ingredient of bloodshed fills up the measure of the iniquities of our Governors, bloodshed arising from the miserable unprotected state in which they have left us."

This article is instructive as exhibiting the tone and spirit of the time. Men's minds were confused by the conflict of interests and

variety of statements. Their blood was heated, too, by the recent deplorable massacre. The immediate effect of this and similar articles was to turn upon the Government the wrath that might otherwise have been largely poured upon the New Zealand Company, whose recklessness in land buying and land selling were certainly largely to blame for the disasters suffered by the infant colony.

It is so desirable to have a clear idea of the different views held as to the cause of the critical condition of the colony at this time, that we take the following extracts from a letter addressed, at the end of June, 1843, to Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, by Mr. W. Fox (now Sir W. Fox). Mr. Fox was then editing the *Wellington Spectator* and had resided for nearly twelve months in the colony. He succeeded Captain Wakefield as the Nelson agent of the New Zealand Company, having been appointed to that office by Colonel Wakefield on the 22nd August. Mr. Fox wrote as follows:—

"MY LORD,—I have the honour to forward to your Lordship the Supplement to the *New Zealand Gazette* of the 26th instant, containing a reprint of two accounts of the late massacre at Wairao, and other documents which have been promulgated in consequence of that event.

"So great a calamity cannot but excite a deep interest in England, and lead to inquiries relative both to its origin and to the causes which have so greatly retarded the progress of this colony. Having resided in it for nearly twelve months, and possessed the ordinary opportunities of observation, I may, perhaps, be allowed to express to your Lordship my opinion upon these points.

"The primary cause, both of the recent calamity and the general depression of this colony, appears to be the non-settlement of the land claims. The settlers on the shores of Cook's Straits have as yet been permitted to occupy but a very few acres, and the officers of the local government have expressly declined interfering in their favour. The consequence has been that very little production has taken place; the settlers have lived upon the produce of Sydney and Valparaiso, and the capital has been drained out in return.

"With whom the blame of the delay in settling the land claims rests, seems a proper subject for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. It is said that in the Auckland district upwards of six hundred claims have been disposed of, while in Cook's Straits and the neighbourhood, where I need not inform

your Lordship five-sixths of the settlers are, not one claim has yet been adjudicated upon.

"The delay would have been comparatively innocent had the local government acted in a manner diametrically opposite to what it has done. If, instead of maintaining the natives in opposing the occupation of lands, which they never occupied themselves, the Government had insisted upon the settlers being permitted to occupy them provisionally, till the claims might have been settled, full justice would have been done to both parties: the capital and energy of the settler would have been kept alive, and a population much more numerous than exists here at present, might have been in the full realisation of the advantages they promised themselves on leaving home.

"After the impression which your Lordship must have received of the favourable dispositions of the natives towards the first settlers, and their aptness for civilization, it may appear strange that they should have prevented the settlers from obtaining possession of their lands. Had they been left to the influence of their own feelings and interests, they would, in all probability, have welcomed the settler, and been satisfied with the advantages he brought along with him in return for the land. But other influences have affected them, among which the most prominent has been that of the missionaries.

"The missionaries live apart from the white men: their homes are among the natives, whose spiritual instructors they are. Their interests are all identified with those of the natives, they have none in common with the settler. The sincere members of their body dread the approach of civilization, fearing lest it should be accompanied by the vices of old societies; the insincere tremble for the existence of their spiritual dominion, or temporal advantages. The societies from which they have emanated did, as is well known to your Lordship, oppose every impediment to the first attempts at colonization, and they only withdrew their open opposition when it ceased to be attended with a hope of success. The individual missionaries partake of this feeling, and it is probably not weaker in the very scene of their discomfiture than it was manifested at home. Of the nature and depth of their prejudices, sufficient evidence is to be found in the reports of the Parliamentary Committee on New Zealand.

"Their influence, pernicious as it is generally believed to have been, may appear to be beyond the control of the Government. It is,

however, important to be alluded to in explanation of past events, and it is connected intimately with one department of the local government. The Chief Protector of the Aborigines was a missionary catechist; the Sub-Protector of the southern district of this island, a mere boy, is his son: that both are deeply imbued with the spirit of the bodies to which they belong, and have exercised a most injurious influence on the prospects of the settlers, is the received opinion."

Mr. Fox then refers to the distance of Auckland as the seat of government, and complains that what he styles the "Auckland Government" had "abstracted" from Cook Strait a revenue at the rate of upwards of £12,000 in one year. Herein we see the beginning of the rivalry that so long existed between these two embryo cities. Mr. Fox complains also that of the £12,000 taken, little more than as many hundreds had been returned. The rest was evidently spent in maintaining the Government of the colony, to the expense of which England was also contributing largely, and which must have been met wherever the seat of government might be. Mr. Fox then summarises the position from his point of view:—

"There are, no doubt, other causes contributive to our present condition; but those to which I have adverted appear to be the chief. The want of land, the source of all production; the hostile influence exercised over the mind of the natives; the distance of the seat of government; the abstraction of our revenue and its expenditure at a remote settlement; together with the inefficient state of the executive local administration—seem to contain the germs of a very fruitful harvest of misery and disappointment.

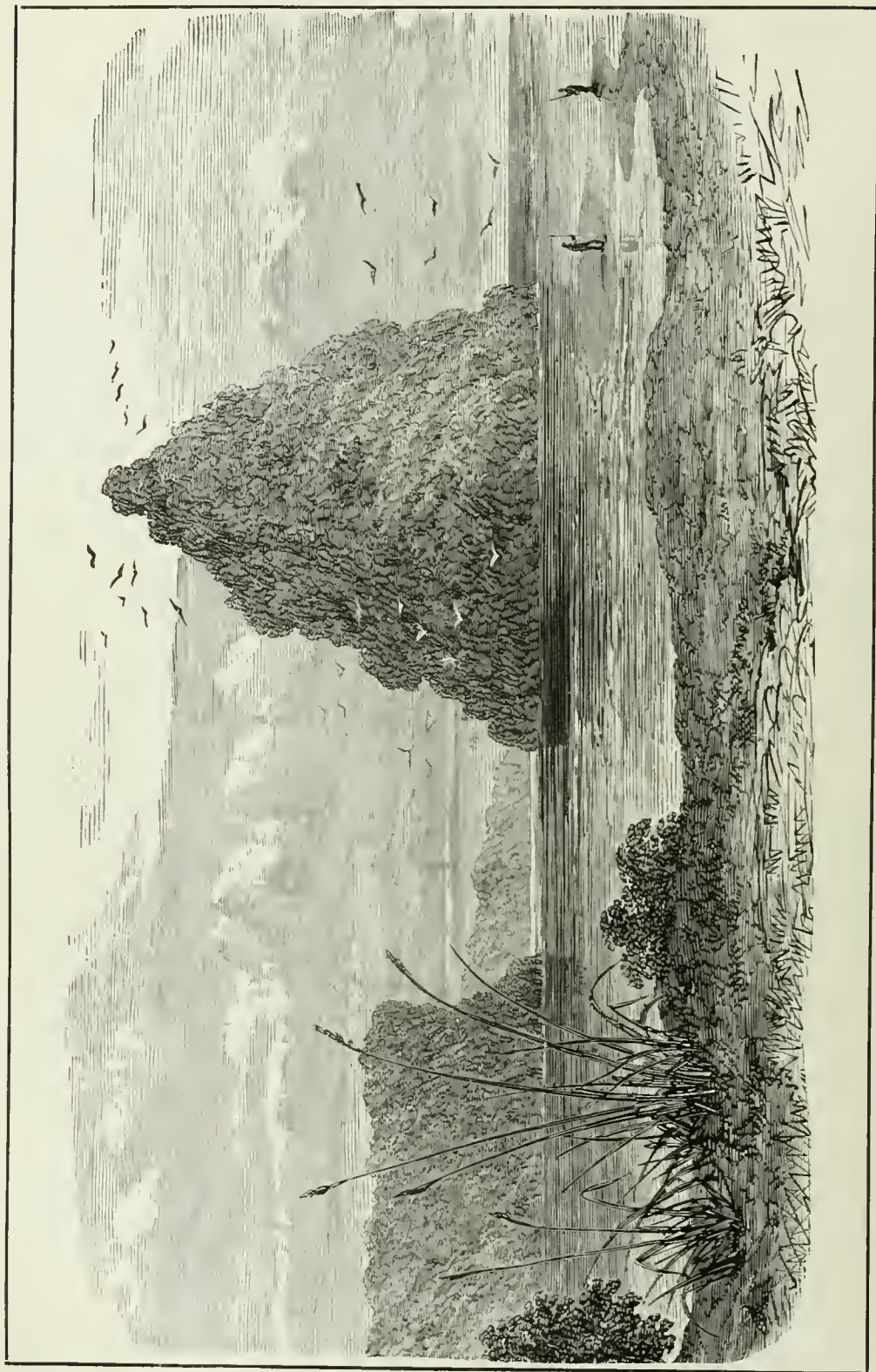
"Some of these evils might possibly have been removed, or even prevented, had the settlers possessed a voice in the Legislative Council. The present constitution of that body entirely excludes popular opinion. Its members are the Governor, the Colonial Secretary, Colonial Treasurer, Attorney-General, and the three magistrates whose names stand highest on the commission,—a position which they assume or descend from at the pleasure of the Governor."

The last reference to the constitution of the Legislative Council is significant of the discontent that had always been felt with the mode of government as a Crown Colony—a discontent that grew in intensity and did not cease till the proclamation of the Constitution of 1852.

The European population of Wellington and its vicinity, on the 31st August, 1843, was nearly 3,800. At Petre, on the Wanganui, there were also 192 settlers. At Manawatu, Otaki, and elsewhere on the coast there were about 150. The number of shore-whalemen at the various stations dependent on Wellington, in the beginning of 1844, added 500 to the above numbers. The European population of Nelson at this time was 2,942. Of these, 1,805 resided in town, and 1,137 were rural settlers. That of New Plymouth was 1,090, of whom 690 resided in the town and 400 in the country. The European population of the more northern settlements, at Auckland, the Bay of Islands, and their dependencies, was estimated at about 4,000 at the end of the previous year (1842). The disparity in the location of the native population was very marked. On Cook Strait and in its neighbourhood there were only about 8,000, while it was estimated that 80,000 to 84,000 were scattered along the coasts and in the interior of the rest of the North Island. The whole native population of the Middle and Stewart's Islands was not estimated at more than 7,000 or 8,000.

A case occurred at this time which created much stir in Wellington and added to the growing ill feeling between the two races. On the 28th of August, when Mrs. Cameron was the only one of the family at home, a native entering the house, took by force a large piece of printed cotton. Mrs. Cameron remonstrated and endeavoured to take the print from him. The native struck her and her screams attracted the neighbours. A baker living close by came to her assistance and sent for a constable. The native went to the Pipitea Pa, only a few yards away. He gave up the print to the constable, but the latter was maltreated by the natives who came to the assistance of the thief. The decision of the Magistrate next day, when the case was brought before him, "created great dissatisfaction throughout the community." It was also complained that Mr. Clarke, jun., (the interpreter), treated the offence very lightly, and told the Chief Police Magistrate that it was a very trifling affair. The constable who had suffered stated, however, that he had been nearly killed in the affray. Major Richmond, after hearing the case, told the Maori he might go, "but if ever he did anything of the kind again he would be fined for it."

On July 8th the Wanganui settlers were alarmed by an earthquake shock of a severe character. It was a novel experience, and



Mouth of the Wanganui River.

added to the gloomy feeling caused by the massacre at the Wairau, and the generally depressed condition of the colony. Mr. E. G. Wakefield, who was present, gives the following description:—"The day had been dull and calm, and a little heavy rain had fallen about noon. After this the wind breathed lightly up the river, and then shifted in a sudden squall to north-west, with some more rain. After this squall a curious mist drove swiftly up the river from the sea, such as I had never seen before. It was in a light, thin stratum, about sixty feet above the ground, and did not extend either to the level of the river or the top of the hills. Then the mist cleared away, and the afternoon became warm and fine at about three. Two hours afterwards a sudden waving motion of the earth commenced from the direction of Taranaki, accompanied by a low rumbling noise. The motion continued to increase in force, with occasional wriggles, for about half a minute, and it was at least two minutes before it was entirely quiet. The people ran out of their houses, which were rocking and bending, being most of them built with very elastic poles and light tied roofs. Some were running to the hills, some to the water; but the motion was just enough to make your footing feel too insecure to run, and some people told me it made them turn sick. The Wanganui river was covered with bubbles; and a man who was standing at the bank, up to his ankles, washing a shirt, told me the water had suddenly risen to his knees, and then gone down again. In the morning some cracks were found in the mud flat between high and low water mark, five or six feet wide, and one hundred yards long, and one or two smaller ones on the bank close to the water. As they had filled up with mud we could not tell how deep they had been at first. Some of them, however, were still six or eight feet in depth."

The settlement of New Plymouth was reported, on the 30th September, 1843, to be in a flourishing condition. The reports said that "Captain Davy had entered into a contract for the erection of a malthouse and brewery. A flour mill was also in course of erection. The natives, however, were evincing signs of being troublesome by cutting down timber on property owned by European settlers, and annoying those settlers who were not in a position to resist them. In some instances the natives were checked. Mr. Law, a passenger by the *Phœbe*, was visited by some Maoris, one of whom menaced him with

a tomahawk, but Mr. Law, a strong and resolute man, used him so roughly that he was glad to fly, and the visit was not repeated."

The native troubles at New Plymouth led to a public meeting, which was held on the 15th September. The published accounts describe it as having been called "in consequence of the continued and increasing annoyance of the natives, and their endeavours to prevent Europeans from settling on the land, and to take into consideration the propriety of forwarding a memorial to the Government on the subject."

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

1. That this meeting views with apprehension the conduct of the native population in resisting the settlement of the Europeans on their lands.
2. That a memorial stating our present situation as settlers, and praying for protection, be forwarded to the newly appointed Governor for New Zealand.
3. That a committee consisting of the following gentlemen—J. Flight, Esq., W. Hales, Esq., J.P., J. G. Cook, Esq., J.P., Mr. Chilman, G. Cutfield, Esq., J.P., and S. Gillingham, Esq., be appointed for the purpose of drawing up the memorial, and that they be requested to meet once a fortnight, to adopt such measures as they may deem advisable to forward the objects of this meeting.

Dr. Munro and Mr. Domett, who had proceeded to Auckland to lay before the Government the evidence relating to the Wairau massacre, returned to Nelson, and a public meeting was also held there on September 23. It is thus reported in the *Nelson Examiner*:—

"Mr. McDonald, sheriff, having taken the chair, briefly stated the object of the meeting. In alluding to the correspondence between the deputation and the officer administering the Government, he expressed his regret that the several important questions put by the former had not been answered. It appeared to him that the only reply the Government would condescend to give was a proclamation, which they had all seen, with a long tail affixed to it by Mr. Clarke, telling how dark the heavens had become, not because twenty-two of our countrymen had been murdered, but because seven of the Maoris had fallen. The chairman concluded by saying that, notwithstanding his appointment, he would at all times express his opinions fearlessly and openly, whether they implied censure on the Government or otherwise. Freedom of thought and speech was one amongst the many privileges of Englishmen, which he felt no disposition to part with under any circumstances.

"Dr. Munro (one of the deputation) had but

little to say beyond what had already appeared in the published correspondence. In short, it had been found useless to ask any questions of the Government, as they answered all that were put to them by saying the subject must not be prejudiced. The only satisfactory reply obtained in a three-hours' interview with the officer administering the Government was an admission on his part that the Maoris were British subjects—an admission the more important, as it is understood that a difference of opinion on that subject exists amongst the various members of the Government. He (Dr. Munro) thought it would be unnecessary, on the present occasion, to read the correspondence alluded to, as it had already appeared in the *Nelson Examiner* of last week; but there was another document, which had not yet been published, explanatory of some allusions in the memorial which appeared obscure to the officer administering the Government, which document he requested Mr. Domett might be allowed to read.

"Mr. Domett, before commencing, begged to remind the meeting that several important circumstances had transpired (particularly the evidence of Morgan) since the departure of his colleague and himself, with which they were unacquainted. And with respect to the question of the land claims, it would be recollected that they could only argue on the facts or assertions of the officer administering the Government, not being then acquainted with the counter assertions of the Company's Agent, or his refutation of the Government's charges. These facts would account for their statement of their fellow colonists' views being less strongly and convincingly put than it otherwise would have been. He then read the document referred to, and concluded by corroborating the statement of Dr. Munro, as to the utter hopelessness of getting any satisfactory information from the Government.

"The following resolutions were carried unanimously:—

1. That we have heard with the warmest approval and satisfaction the account of the operations of the late deputation to Auckland, and that we hereby beg to return them our most grateful thanks for their exertions on the occasion.

2. That this meeting refers with feelings of the highest satisfaction to the admirable and well-reasoned exposition of the sentiments of the settlers of Nelson made in the communication dated August 16, and addressed to his Excellency the officer administering the Government, for transmission to the Colonial Secretary, in further explanation of the views of the memorialists.

3. That this meeting considers that the statements put forth by the Local Government, with regard to the cause and nature of the late massacre at the Wairau, are

erroneous; and views with the strongest disapprobation the course of proceeding adopted by it, as both unjust to the memory of those who fell, and most pernicious to the general interests of the colony.

4. That this meeting does not consider that the stationing fifty soldiers at Wellington is any protection to the settlement of Nelson; and that this settlement may still be regarded as in the same shamefully and totally unprotected condition it has always been hitherto left by the Government.

5. That this meeting hereby expresses its total want of confidence in the persons at present at the head of the Government, from a conviction that they are unfit to administer the same to the honour of the British Crown and the general benefit of the colony.

6. That the resolutions adopted at this meeting be forwarded to the officer administering the Government, and that he be requested to transmit the same to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

"Dr. Monro wished, before the meeting separated, to relate an anecdote of the person who administered the Government. In the course of an interview which he and his colleague had had with Mr. Shortland, they reminded him that the late police magistrate had received the approbation of the Government for his conduct at Massacre Bay, when the natives, about nine months ago, attempted to stop the surveys and drive away the settlers. His Excellency was for a moment staggered, but replied, 'Ah! that was not a question about land; it was about coal!'"

Three weeks later a meeting of a different nature was held in Wellington, being called by the large number of persons brought out as labourers by the New Zealand Company under engagement to find them employment, which engagement the Company had not kept. The meeting was held on the 16th October, on the Te Aro Flat, and the following resolutions were carried unanimously:—

1. That the alarming condition of the labouring classes in this settlement imperatively requires on their part the most strenuous exertions to maintain the means of subsistence, during the depressed and cheerless state of the colony, to prevent the well-disposed and industrious workman from becoming a pauper or felon in this distant land, to procure food for himself and family, as the cry of bread from a hungry family is an irresistible appeal that no man of humanity, however well disposed, can tamely resist.

2. That the majority of the working population of this settlement having received a positive assurance from the New Zealand Company, of the excellent arrangements made by them to prevent distress or pauperism occurring in their settlements, by providing employment for any person in want of the same; this meeting conceive from the Company's published statements throughout Great Britain of their intended generous provision in favour of the destitute emigrants, that unless their principal agent carries out the alleged benevolent intentions of the Company, that the poor emigrants, however deserving of consideration and kindness, have been made the dupes of a trading company.

3. That a deputation be formed to wait upon Colonel

Wakefield to ascertain if that gentleman will carry out the intentions of the New Zealand Company by relieving the present necessities of the poor labourers in this colony, by employment on the roads, or a supply of rations until employment can be obtained elsewhere by those truly in need of the same.

4. That a committee be formed of working men to conduct the proceedings of their fellow-workmen, and that they adopt every means in their power to obtain redress by peaceable and orderly means.

5. That this meeting also adjourn to Monday next, at the same time and place, to report progress and proceed as circumstances may require.

From this it will be seen that while the land claimants were blaming the Government as the cause of their trouble, the labouring men were as loudly blaming the New Zealand Company, whom they charged with breaking faith with them. The difference was probably caused by the fact that the land claimants could only look to the Government to put them in possession. The Company could not do so. The difficult position of the Government as guardians of Maori interests, as well as European, will be easily understood. Dr. Evans on a visit to Auckland from Wellington on July, 1843, had been represented as saying that the Company's settlers were disgusted at having been "entrapped into the purchase of what had not been alienated by the natives." The doctor indignantly denied this report in terms so expressive of the feeling of the time that we give them from his letter. He wrote: "What I have uniformly said was that the settlers were disgusted at the delay in settling the land claims, and that they would have sought their remedy against the Company, but that they considered the Government more to blame than the Company, as having created the difficulty by means of its interference with the natives. I have never doubted of the ultimate prosperity of the settlement at Port Nicholson; and I *have* said 'that, if I left it, one object would be to drag our local government to the bar of public opinion, in the mother country.'" Looking back upon this, it is manifest that the Company and its settlers overlooked the important point that the Government was bound by treaty to see the natives as well as the Europeans treated with strict justice. It was responsible also for the bloodshed and trouble sure to have followed an unjust policy, and which the colonists could certainly not have faced without very great help from the Home Government, as was afterwards too well proved.

On the 13th of September, 1843, the first intelligence was received of the appointment of Captain Fitzroy, R.N., as the new Governor.

The news was brought out by Mr. F. Dillon Bell, who arrived in the ship *Ursula*. Mr. Bell had been employed in the office of the Company in London for some time before his departure, and was well acquainted with what was being done in connection with the Company in London. The appointment was not well received by the settlers in Port Nicholson. They had read the evidence given to the Parliamentary Committee by Captain Fitzroy in 1838, and considered that it displayed a feeling that would probably lead him to take the side of the natives in their land disputes with the Company. Captain Fitzroy was an officer of high professional reputation and of high personal character. He had been at the Bay of Islands in 1835 as captain of the surveying brig *Beagle*, Charles Darwin being with him, as naturalist on the voyage. Captain Fitzroy was also a Member of Parliament when appointed Governor of New Zealand. No time was lost by the settlers in preparing for his reception. A public meeting was called at Wellington on the 5th of October to prepare an address of welcome to the Governor, and at the same time to prepare a memorial to the acting Governor, on the subject of the land claims. The meeting is thus reported:—

"W. Fitzherbert, Esq., J.P., having been called to the chair, the chairman addressed the meeting, explaining briefly the objects for which they had met, namely, to consider the propriety of addressing the new Governor of these islands, Captain Fitzroy, on the present critical position of the settlements in Cook Straits, and praying for his immediate attention thereto, and also to adopt a memorial in accordance with a resolution to this effect passed at a late meeting, addressed to his Excellency the officer administering the Government, praying for his assistance to settle the land claims.

"Mr. Stokes, after a few remarks referring to the late unfortunate events at Wairau, and the present state of the colony in consequence of the aggressions of the natives, and the land claims still remaining unsettled, proposed the following memorial to Captain Fitzroy, which was seconded by Dr. Dorset, and carried unanimously:—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY ROBERT FITZROY, ESQ., CAPTAIN IN HER MAJESTY'S NAVY, GOVERNOR AND VICE ADMIRAL OF THE COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND, AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, ETC., ETC.

We, the inhabitants of Wellington, hail with peculiar satisfaction the approach of your Excellency to the shores of New Zealand, to the Government of which important colony your Excellency has been appointed by our most

gracious Sovereign; and we earnestly hope to receive from your Government that protection and assistance of which we so much stand in need. Our present situation is most precarious; our settlement has now been formed more than three years, and we are still unable to obtain possession of our lands; our fellow colonists have been inhumanly massacred; and we are painfully conscious that, under existing circumstances, we hold our lives and property only by sufferance of the natives. We therefore entreat that our situation may obtain from your Excellency, at the earliest opportunity, that attention and consideration which, from its urgency, it so imperatively requires; that, as loyal and devoted subjects of Her Majesty, we may receive that protection which is the birthright of every British subject; that your Excellency will be pleased to institute a judicial inquiry into the late most painful and unhappy events; that the dignity of the law may be asserted; that equal justice may be rendered to all parties; so that peace and prosperity may, through the wise and judicious measures to be adopted by your Excellency, be established in these islands on the firmest basis.

"Mr. E. Johnson, in proposing the memorial to the officer administering the Government, observed that it was in accordance with the resolution of a late meeting, and alluding to the question of the land claims, said it had been so often before the public of late that it was unnecessary for him to say more on the subject. Seconded by Captain Rhodes and carried unanimously.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY WILLOUGHBY SHORTLAND, ESQ.,
THE OFFICER ADMINISTERING THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND.

We, the undersigned inhabitants of Wellington, intreat that your Excellency will take such immediate steps towards the final settlement of the land question, and the disputes between the colonists and natives, as may be within the power of the Local Government.

It may be hardly necessary to remind your Excellency of the recent unhappy and most disastrous events to which it has been our painful duty on various occasions to call the attention of your Excellency; but we may be permitted to state that every day increases the difficulty of our position, every delay renders it more precarious, and we feel that, unless your Excellency will interpose the authority of the British Government to place us in secure undisturbed possession of our lands, it will be impossible for British subjects much longer to maintain themselves in these districts.

An urgent petition from the Port Nicholson settlers for military aid, after the Wairau massacre, had been sent to Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales. Writing in reply, on July 28, His Excellency informed the Mayor of Wellington, through whom the memorial had been sent, that he had conferred with the Lieut.-General Commanding the Forces, and Captain Sir Everard Home, R.N., who was about to proceed to New Zealand in his ship the *North Star*. "I am directed to inform you," added the Governor's Secretary, "that under an offer from Sir Everard Home, and with the concurrence of Sir Maurice

O'Connell, a military party has been embarked on board that vessel; with the understanding, however, that they are to be brought back to Sydney in the *North Star*, and not landed in any part of New Zealand, except their services be absolutely required for the protection of the lives of Her Majesty's subjects." This letter was laid by the Mayor before the Committee of Safety that had been appointed by the settlers, and the following resolutions were carried unanimously:—

1. That an application be made by this Committee to the Chief Police Magistrate, to issue a warrant for the apprehension of Rangihaeata and Rauparaha, for the murder of Captain Wakefield and others at the Wairau.

2. That the Chairman and Secretary be requested to take the advice of some legal gentleman, in respect to the manner in which the application to the Police Magistrate for the warrant should be made, and that he be furnished with authority to apply for the same.

3. That the Chairman be requested to solicit Captain Sir Everard Home, C.B., R.N., to continue at Port Nicholson, in consequence of information having reached this settlement of an assemblage of Natives at Porirua, distance only twelve miles from the town of Wellington, for the purpose of conferring with Rangihaeata, who is daily despatching messengers to all parts of the coast, to solicit the combination of other chiefs.

4. That the Chairman be requested to convey to Sir George Gipps, the thanks of the settlers of Cook's Straits, for the promptitude with which he has attended to their memorial in despatching a force for their protection.

Reference has been made to Dr. Evans' contradiction in Auckland of certain statements attributed to him when there. It is pleasant to find the same gentleman shortly afterwards very fairly addressing a public meeting on the subject in Wellington. The meeting was called on the 14th October to provide for the erection of a memorial to those who fell at the Wairau massacre. In the course of his speech Dr. Evans said "he felt satisfaction at finding that the resolution placed in his hands was not confined to the inhabitants of Wellington or the neighbouring settlements, but extended to all parts of the island. He was glad of this opportunity of disabusing the public here of the impression that the people coincided with the local government in their feelings of hatred and malice towards this settlement. He had nowhere heard the important questions arising out of the massacre of Wairau argued in a more calm and enlightened spirit than among some of the private citizens of Auckland. They differed from us in some fundamental principles, relating to the disposal of waste lands and the mode of acquiring territory from the natives by the Crown, and on other matters; but on this subject they took enlarged views, and freely confessed that they

saw nothing but the question of 'whether the Queen's Government was to be established in these islands *de facto* and *de jure* or not.'

The Nelson settlers lost no time also in preparing for Governor Fitzroy's administration, and dispatched to Sydney for presentation to him on his arrival there the following memorial, which fully explains their views:—

We, the undersigned magistrates and others resident in the settlement of Nelson, beg leave to offer our most sincere congratulations to your Excellency on your having arrived so far on your journey towards the colony over which you are about to preside. We look forward with great anxiety to your final arrival on those shores which you formerly visited as a scientific explorer, and feel confident from your Excellency's high reputation as a man, and as a distinguished naval officer, that, under your administration of affairs, we shall enjoy all the blessings of an impartial, fostering, and vigorous Government.

Your Excellency will doubtless by this time have heard of the melancholy event which occurred in June last, in the Wairau Plain, not far from this settlement, by which our late police magistrate, several magistrates of the territory, and other individuals, twenty-two in all, lost their lives in an ineffectual attempt to arrest two native chiefs, on a charge of arson. Nearly five months have elapsed since this dreadful event happened, and, during this time, nothing has been done towards a legal investigation of the matter.

We would earnestly entreat of your Excellency to take such steps as may lead to the apprehension of the parties concerned in it, and to a full examination before the tribunals of the law, of the measure of their guilt.

We would also entreat your Excellency to take steps to afford this settlement military protection. Our numbers now amount to about 3,000. We have been settled here a couple of years; but, during the whole of this time, we have had no protection, either military or naval, with the exception of a visit from the North Star frigate upon one occasion, for two days.

Our population, horror struck by the dreadful events of the Wairau Plains, have been constantly agitated by reports of threatened attacks by the aborigines, and in the absence of any regular force, we have been obliged to expend considerable sums of money in preparing defences, lest such reports should have turned out to have any real foundation, of which at one time there appeared to be much probability.

We beg leave also respectfully to call your Excellency's attention to the total absence of titles to land in this settlement. Many of us purchased and paid for our land in England, three years ago, but no possession of any land so purchased has been given, nor is any prospect held out to us that this will shortly be done. We need not point out to your Excellency how ruinous such a state of affairs is to this settlement, how subversive of confidence, and calculated to be the source of constant confusion and disputes, both as regards our own countrymen and the aborigines.

We look forward with confidence to your Excellency's arrival in this colony, as likely to be shortly followed by a settlement of the question of land claims, and by justice being done to those who emigrated to this distant country, having purchased land from a company, acting under the sanction of a charter from the British Government. We trust that, before long, your Excellency will take the earliest possible opportunity of visiting us personally, and make yourself acquainted with our condition and wants.

Coming to the end of 1843, and looking over the records and newspapers of the period, there are a few other items worth mention. The first is the arrival of the brig *Bee* from Sydney in Twofold Bay on December 5th, with nearly six hundred sheep, imported by Mr. Clifford (now Sir Charles) to stock a sheep station taken up by him in the Wairarapa Plains. It was the first sheep station established there and the forerunner of what became so rapidly the chief industry of the young colony.

The arrival of the barque *Glencairn* is also recorded, from Valparaiso. She brought 57 mares, 4 asses, and 62 mules, imported by Mr. Stokes. The mules, it was hoped, would prove most useful in packing to the interior over the roadless country. The mares and asses were to form a mule breeding establishment. This does not seem to have been very successful, if we may judge by the small number now in the colony. Cattle and horses were also brought from Sydney. Two lots sold on November 18th, 1843, in Wellington, seem to have brought very low prices; eleven cows realised altogether only £49 16s., and twelve averaged less than six pounds each. No reason for these low prices is given. The reporter seems to treat them as the market prices of the time, and merely observes that these barely pay freight and will leave the original cost a total loss to the shippers. Both cattle and sheep were, however, exceedingly cheap in New South Wales at this time so that the loss would not be much.

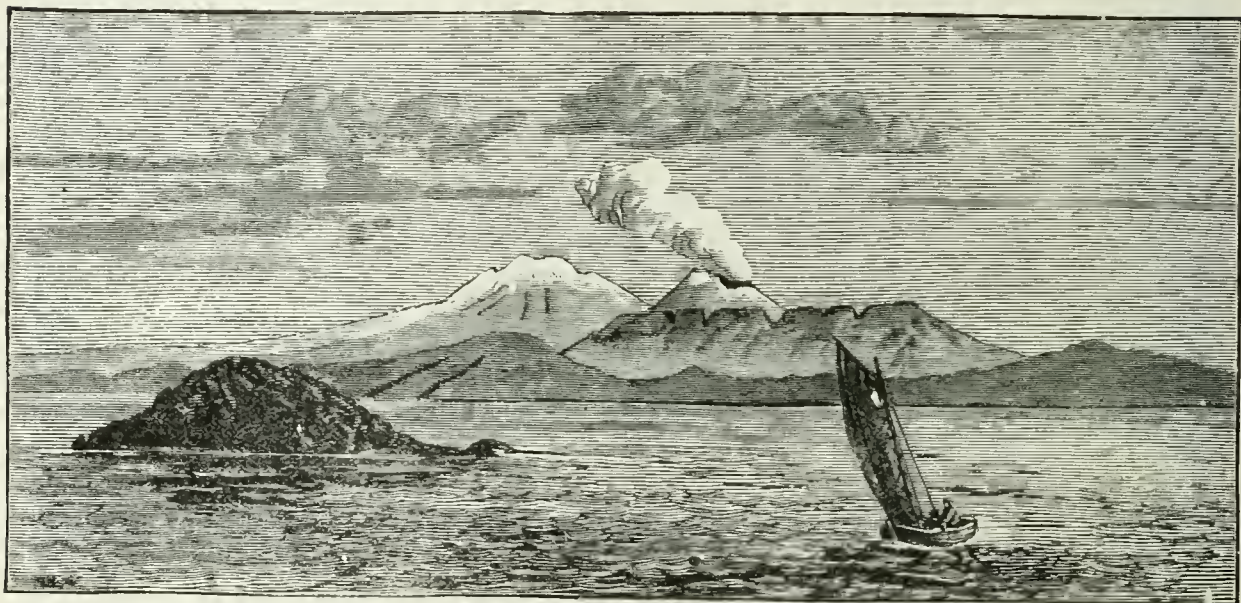
On November 20th the arrival of Bishop Selwyn at Petre (Wanganui) is also recorded. His Lordship had come overland from Auckland via Taupo, no small undertaking, and to be done only on foot or in canoe for the greater part of the way. The Chief Justice (Sir W. Martin) left Wellington a little before this, returning to Auckland also by way of Taupo. Mr. St. Hill went with him. Long and tedious as must have been the journey, that by sea in the miserable coasters of the period could not have been less so. Probably to many it would have been far more trying than any land journey could be.

On December 4 of this year, "William Greyton, Esq., Mayor of Wellington, called a meeting of the Aldermen for the purpose of finally settling the affairs of the late Corporation." The Home Government had disallowed the Ordinance creating the Corporation, which ceased to exist. It was finally decided to seal up all books, papers, and other documents, together with the public seal itself, and deposit them for security in the Union Bank of

Australia. So ended the only local self-governing body that then existed in New Zealand.

The Auckland settlers were at this time also making indignant remonstrance against the arrival of a number of boys sent out from the Reformatory at Parkhurst. They came in the ship *Mandarin*, from London, via Hobart Town, and were regarded as an attempt to begin a system likely to end in convicts of a more confirmed type. To this, the settlers in all parts of New Zealand were determined to offer the most strenuous resistance. The offer to send convicts was openly made by Earl Grey a few years later, and promises of great pecuniary expenditure in connection with

several other passengers. Mr. H. S. Chapman (afterwards a judge of the Supreme Court) and his family, and many others since well known as old settlers here, were in the same vessel. Governor Fitzroy was received at Sydney with addresses of welcome and memorials from persons interested in New Zealand. The Wairau massacre, of course, occupied a large space in the representations made to him. The causes of trouble and the remedy were laid before him, according to the views held by the different parties then contending in New Zealand. The evil effects of this calamitous event were, however, plain and admitted by all. It had created a great sensation, not only in England but in France,



Tengariro, from Lake Taupo.

them were made. The firmness of the settlers was unshaken, and New Zealand was saved from this calamity, one of the greatest perhaps that could have been inflicted upon it with so large a native population. It may not be out of place here to recall the fact, that to the existence of these natives and their savage reputation, was owing the immunity of New Zealand from this evil as far back as the end of the previous century, when convict stations were first established in these seas.

Meanwhile Captain Fitzroy arrived in Sydney towards the end of November in the barque *Bangalore*, of 877 tons, having with him Mrs. Fitzroy and three children, and

with which the Akaroa settlement was a connecting link. In the nature of things the most exaggerated reports had gained currency and an entire stop was put to immigration for the time. The year 1843 closed with the arrival of the *Bangalore* at Auckland with the Governor. The good feeling that had so long existed in Auckland and in the north between the natives and the Europeans continued happily undisturbed, but Governor Fitzroy landed on the 26th December, with the colony in the state of unrest and depression which we have depicted. Natives and settlers were both looking forward anxiously to the policy which he might, with his absolute power, see fit to pursue.

CHAPTER XVI.

GOVERNOR FITZROY'S ADMINISTRATION.

Condition of the colony when Captain Fitzroy arrived—Despondent feeling among the settlers—Measures passed in the first session of the Legislative Council—The Governor's visit to Wellington—Description of his first levee—His rebuke to Mr. E. J. Wakefield—Mr. Wakefield's account of the incident—Meeting with the natives at Port Nicholson—The Governor's visit to Nelson and proceedings there—Interview with Rauparaha and Rangihacata—Rauparaha's account of the Wairau massacre—The Governor's assurances—Mr. E. J. Wakefield's vindication—Feeling of antagonism among the settlers towards Governor Fitzroy—Address and memorial to the Governor and his reply—Various interviews with settlers in Cook Strait—The Governor's return to Auckland—Great Maori meeting at Remuera—Account of the proceedings.



WHEN Governor Fitzroy arrived the colony was suffering severely from the difficulty of getting land from the natives in the Auckland settlement, and from the uncertainty and disputes in connection with the lands sold by the New Zealand Company to their settlers. The flax trade had fortunately sprung into sudden activity, and the results of the whaling season had been satisfactory at all the large and numerous stations along the coasts of both islands. The New Zealand Company, aided by contributions from the settlers, was making roads to open up the country from Wellington to Karori, Porirua and the Hutt. But the Treasury was empty. The Government was without money or credit, and its debts amounted to more than one year's revenue. There were no means of paying the salaries, which were long in arrear. The most pressing and ordinary demands on account of the Colonial Government could scarcely be met. Various local laws, urgently required on account of the frequent disputes between settlers and natives, had been too long deferred, the Legislative Council not having been assembled for nearly a year before Captain Hobson's death, nor at all

during Mr. Shortland's subsequent administration.

Captain Fitzroy arrived at Auckland on the 23rd of December, 1843, but the formal landing in his capacity as Governor took place on the 26th. As he stepped ashore he called out to the little crowd of settlers who had gathered to welcome him, "I am come among you to do you all the good I can." After Mr. Shortland's resignation of his position as Colonial Secretary, Dr. Sinclair, a surgeon in the navy, who had accompanied Captain Fitzroy to investigate the natural history of the country, was appointed to that office.

All the addresses to the new Governor from the various settlements were in tone and purpose similar to those already described. They teemed with expressions of distress and dissatisfaction. The inhabitants of Auckland, after congratulating the Governor on the safe arrival of himself and his family, gave a painful picture of their settlement. They referred to the bankruptcy of the local government; the great amount of its debts in a community so small, and the privation and misery necessarily occasioned by non-payment. They spoke of the suspension of land sales and immigration; the destruction of the once flourishing commerce of the country; the semi-starvation to which many of the

immigrants were reduced; the prostration of the settlers generally, and their desire to leave the colony unless an immediate change for the better could be brought about.

Among the special causes to which this state of things was attributed were the non-settlement of the land claims of the original settlers, and the discontent which was spreading among the natives. The address went on to state that with them "our relations, we believe, can never be placed upon a secure basis until their full rights as British subjects are conceded to them; more particularly the power of selling their land to whom they please—a power which they ardently desire to possess, and to which their intelligence, as well as their natural rights, entitle them." The restrictions on trade by Custom-house regulations and duties are complained of bitterly. To the want of punctuality in the payment of salaries and the other obligations of the local government, is attributed much inconvenience and loss of credit to individuals, and great injury to the community. Another grievance was "the recent importation of juvenile delinquents from the penitentiary of Parkhurst."

The addresses from Wellington and New Plymouth breathed the same spirit of depression, mingled with alarm at the general tone and manner of the natives, and particularly in respect to disputes about land claims.

In the Kororareka address it is stated: "The country has become beyond example one general scene of anxiety, distress and ruin, so that property has lost its value, personal security has been at stake, and happiness has almost ceased to exist." The causes alleged were, the unsettled state of the old claims and the imposition of Customs duties. The latter had driven away whalers and both the native and European trade depending upon them. They had destroyed agricultural enterprise by the ruin of the market for every kind of produce.

To all the addresses His Excellency returned suitable replies and assurances of profound sympathy. Appointing Mr. H. S. Chapman an additional Judge of the Supreme Court to help Mr. Justice Martin in the necessary work, he at once convened the Legislative Council for a short session. A Land Claims Amendment Bill, a Jury Bill, and a Supreme Court Bill, urgently required, were quickly passed, and the Council was adjourned on the 13th of May, 1844, till the following April.

Prior to this session, however, His Excellency had paid a visit to the centre of trouble

in the South, where the feeling between European and native had been much embittered by constant land disputes and the deplorable events at the massacre. His Excellency left Auckland in H.M.S. *North Star* and arrived in Wellington on the evening of the 26th January, 1844. A notice was immediately sent on shore that a levee would be held by the Governor on the next day (Saturday) at two o'clock. On landing the Governor was greeted with cordial acclamations of welcome from a large assemblage of colonists.

The levee was held in the "long room" of Barrett's Hotel. It gave rise to so much curious correspondence and public animadversion that we give a contemporary account in full:—

"Although averse generally to being present in public assemblies I made a point of appearing on this occasion," says Mr. Wallace in his journal, "among the rest of my fellow colonists. While present I was observant of all that was passing around me. I made no effort to gain admittance to the audience room, and have therefore no knowledge of what transpired for the first five or ten minutes. After I had passed on I stood some ten minutes a little way beyond the Governor. No mode of egress was provided, and the room became a good deal crowded. At this period Mr. Clifford was presented, and the Governor entered into a tolerably long conversation with him. It appeared to me that in this dialogue the Governor was a good deal excited. I heard him say, 'I have sent for Mr. Wakefield,' an expression which appeared to have elicited some observation of Mr. Clifford's. After Mr. Clifford had retired, which he did by moving back upon the company that stood opposite the Governor, some natives made their appearance. These individuals seemed to attract the attention of Captain Fitzroy most particularly. His manner seemed intended to show that he considered the natives worthy of his special solicitude. On leaving the room I had various conversations with different persons, all of whom were unfavourably impressed by Captain Fitzroy. I was not present when the colonel (Wakefield) made his appearance, and I was not cognizant of the conversation which took place between Captain Fitzroy and Mr. E. J. Wakefield."

Mr. E. J. Wakefield, in his *Adventures in New Zealand*, vol. ii. pp. 505, 6, 7, 8, gives a long description of this levee. He says:—"E Tako and one or two other inferior native

chiefs were then presented to him (the Governor). He shook hands with them, and treated them with marked courtesy. He then called upon Mr. Clarke, junior, to interpret to them that they might rely upon it that their lands should not be taken from them unjustly, but that they must assist the magistrates to prevent the natives from doing wrong; that he approved most completely of all Mr. Clarke had done as protector, and would support him to the utmost in the very arduous duties which he had to fulfil.

"Several settlers, and among others Colonel Wakefield, were then presented to him by Major Richmond, and he addressed a few short words of usage to some, and only bowed to others. I followed as soon as I could extricate myself from the crush, and handed my card to Major Richmond. I had made my bow and passed on with the crowd on the other side, when the Governor called me back by name. I returned and stood in front of him, when he used nearly the following words, with a frown on his face and the tone of the commander of a frigate reprimanding his youngest midshipman: 'When you are twenty years older you will have a great deal more prudence and discretion. Your conduct has been most indiscreet. In the observations which I made to this assembly just now, I referred almost entirely to you. I strongly disapprove and very much regret everything that you have written and done regarding the missionaries and the natives in New Zealand. I repeat that your conduct has been most indiscreet.'

"On Monday I wrote to request a private interview, which was granted me for the following afternoon. On Tuesday I had the interview with the Governor which I had requested. His private secretary and Major Richmond were in the room. The police magistrate rose to retire, but His Excellency desired him to remain.

"He began by telling me that had he not imagined that I was about to leave town immediately after the levee, he would have taken a less public opportunity of expressing his disapprobation of my conduct.

"His Excellency referred to letters published in the *New Zealand Journal*, remarking 'that they were filled with sneers and sarcasms levelled at the missionaries, and that I had shown myself, in thus writing, a decided enemy to their proceedings and to religion. His Excellency assured me with great regret, that I had, by these writings and my general conduct in setting an example to

the natives, obtained for myself the name of the 'Leader of the devil's missionaries!' at Sydney and elsewhere."

His Excellency informed Mr. Wakefield that his name would be struck off the Commission of the Peace and that "although this would appear in public as a simple reduction in the number of the magistrates of the territory, it was his duty to inform me in private.

"I just managed to tell His Excellency that I had always intended to resign my commission as a magistrate, on account of his conduct to me at the levee, as I felt that under such marked censure I could not claim in that capacity any respect either from native or from white man."

This treatment of Mr. E. J. Wakefield was made so much of at the time, and created so strong a feeling against the Governor at starting, that it may be fairly regarded as a State affair. The impression created, and afterwards carefully fostered, was that the Governor was so excitable as to be often scarcely of sound mind—that he was greatly prejudiced against the settlers and leaned strongly towards the natives. His subsequent proceedings at Waikanae lent too much countenance to these statements and were made the most of by those opposed to him. There can be no doubt, on looking back calmly, that Captain Fitzroy was anxious to help the settlers in every way that did not involve injustice to the Maoris, and that he sympathised with them very strongly in the unfortunate position in which they were placed.

On the Tuesday (30th January), the Governor addressed a large assemblage of natives. The following was the account published in the papers at the time:—

"His Excellency opened the proceedings by describing his appointment, and the powers of his office. He stated he would not allow of injustice either to native or settler; and that he purposed settling the land question finally as quickly as possible. He described the nature of the Royal prerogative in relation to mercy, and stated that it was deputed to Governors. He took the opportunity of his first visit to exercise that prerogative, by releasing from gaol a native and two Europeans. He told the natives not to suppose by this act that he considered the native to have been unduly punished. On the contrary, he deemed his sentence lenient. He approved highly of Mr. Clarke's proceedings, and stated that he had appointed Mr. Forsaith to assist Mr. Clarke, and to act when Mr. Clarke

might be absent. He spoke most favourably of Dr. Fitzgerald's labours, and stated that he would endeavour to provide Dr. Fitzgerald with increased means of being useful to the native population. He stated that education amongst the Maoris would receive his best attention; and every effort would be used to provide the means of their education, and that of the children of the emigrants. In reply to a request from the natives to have lands suited to their wants set apart for their use, he stated that their desire should be complied with; but that they must not interfere with the settlers, or attempt to turn them off their lands, otherwise they would be punished as Europeans would be if they acted in that manner towards the natives."

While in Wellington the Governor, in conformity with instructions authorising him to appoint some person to represent the Local Government more fully in Cook Strait, appointed Major Richmond (the Police Magistrate there, and formerly Government Resident at Paxo, in the Ionian Islands) to be Superintendent of the Southern Division, with a salary of £600 a year, and the title of His Honour. The term Division was chosen in preference to district, as more comprehensive. It included all the territory named in the Supreme Court Ordinance, to which the appellation of division applied.

From Wellington the Governor proceeded to Nelson to inquire into the Wairau massacre. His Excellency, soon after his arrival there, rebuked the magistrates who signed the warrant for the arrest of Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, and told them that the warrant which led to the massacre was informal. This rebuke, coming from so high a functionary at a time when the colonists were mourning the death of their fellow-settlers, produced a deep sensation. Several magistrates immediately resigned their commissions.

Mr. George White, who had been appointed by Acting-Governor Shortland, after Mr. Thompson's death at the Wairau, to act provisionally at Nelson as Police Magistrate, asked to be released from his duties. The appointment was therefore conferred by the Governor on Mr. Donald Sinclair on the following day.

On his way back from Nelson to Wellington, Governor Fitzroy called at Waikanae. He had a meeting there with Rauparaha concerning the Wairau conflict. After hearing Rauparaha's statement of the causes that led to it, His Excellency announced that there was no intention on the part of the Government to

avenge the death of those who had fallen. Much excitement was caused, and many opinions were expressed about the justice of this decision. It would have been folly and madness for the Governor to yield to the clamour of the settlers, and proceed to try the chiefs for the death of the victims of that sad catastrophe. Their apprehension, even supposing the English had the power to effect it, would have exasperated all parties still more, and probably led to the most disastrous results.

The conciliatory policy adopted by the Governor to check the hostile feeling rapidly increasing between the two races in the Southern settlements, was no doubt the best course that could have been taken under the circumstances. Unfortunately, the natives were apt to regard it as cowardice. Not to avenge the dead was, according to their notions, weak and incomprehensible. This was unknown to Captain Fitzroy, otherwise he could have claimed, and ought to have claimed, the Wairau as compensation for the death of his countrymen. The Maoris would probably have ceded it to him on this ground without demur.

The Imperial Government subsequently approved of the action taken by Governor Fitzroy to settle this unhappy affair, and Lord Stanley, in a dispatch dated November, 1844, says in regard to it:—"I am of opinion that, in declining to make the Wairau conflict a subject of criminal proceedings, you took a wise though undoubtedly a bold decision."

At Waikanae, where the meeting was held on the 12th February, the Governor had been joined by his Honour the Superintendent of the Southern Division (Major Richmond), the Sub-Protector of Aborigines, and the Assistant Police Magistrate of Wellington. These gentlemen left Wellington on February 10th and were in time to attend the meeting, which was also attended by the Rev. Octavius Hadfield, the resident missionary at Otakei. The North Star arrived again in Wellington on the 16th February, on which date the Wellington newspaper published the following short account of the meeting:—

"Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata werethere. The former had about five hundred followers and the latter fifty. His Excellency addressed the natives. He introduced himself as the representative of Her Majesty. Upon hearing of the Wairau massacre at Sydney he felt inclined to bring down warships, troops, and fire-ships, but upon reflection he had determined to come to New Zealand and inquire

into the subject. With that view he had visited Port Nicholson, Nelson, and Waikanae. He had heard the white man's statement and he had heard the Maoris' statement. He had decided that the white man was wrong, but that the natives in killing their prisoners were guilty of a great crime. White men never killed their prisoners. He would protect the natives. He had come to New Zealand to do so. He advised the Maoris to place confidence in his justice. He introduced Major Richmond as his representative, and told the Maoris to appeal to his representative, the missionaries, and the Protectors of Aborigines if on any occasion they felt aggrieved. He invited the chiefs and natives to meet him at Port Nicholson, where he proceeded to settle the claims to land in this district. This is the report of the interview, but of course we cannot vouch for its accuracy."

Subsequently the following narrative was published by the Nelson papers. The event was historically of such interest and importance that we publish the narrative in full:—

"On Monday, the 12th February, 1844, His Excellency Governor Fitzroy, accompanied by Sir Everard Home, captain of H.M.S. North Star, Major Richmond, Mr. Commissioner Spain, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Forsaith, and several officers belonging to H.M.S. North Star, landed at Waikanae. His Excellency and suite were received on shore by the Rev. Octavius Hadfield, Messrs. Symonds, G. Clarke, and a large body of natives, who to the number of three hundred and upwards, soon assembled in a large open enclosure within the pa. His Excellency commenced by reading the following address:—

"I salute you, chiefs and elder men: I wish you health, may peace be among you, I am glad to see you. I rejoice to meet you here; I have much to say to you, many important things. I have heard of all that has been done, some things good, but some very bad. When I see your church, the work of your own hands, and when I hear from your true friend Mr. Hadfield what progress you have made in Christian knowledge I rejoice greatly, but when I hear of the evil that has been done by some of you, I can hardly believe it can have been done by any of the same people, so bad it is in my sight.

"I have heard of all that has happened at the Wairau, according to the European account, and it has grieved my heart exceedingly. I now ask you to tell me your story, that I may compare the two and judge fairly; when I have heard your account of that dark

day I will reflect, and then tell you what I shall do.

"The bad news I have heard about killing the white men so cruelly at the Wairau, after they had ceased fighting and had trusted to your honour, has made my heart very dark, has filled my mind with gloom. Tell me your story, that I may compare it with the other, and know the whole truth.

"When I first heard of the death of my friends, of the Englishmen who fell at Wairau, I was very angry and thought of hastening here with many ships of war, with many many soldiers, and several fire-moved ships (steamers). Had I done so your warriors would have been killed, your canoes would have been taken and burnt, your houses and pas would have been destroyed, for I should have brought with me an irresistible force.

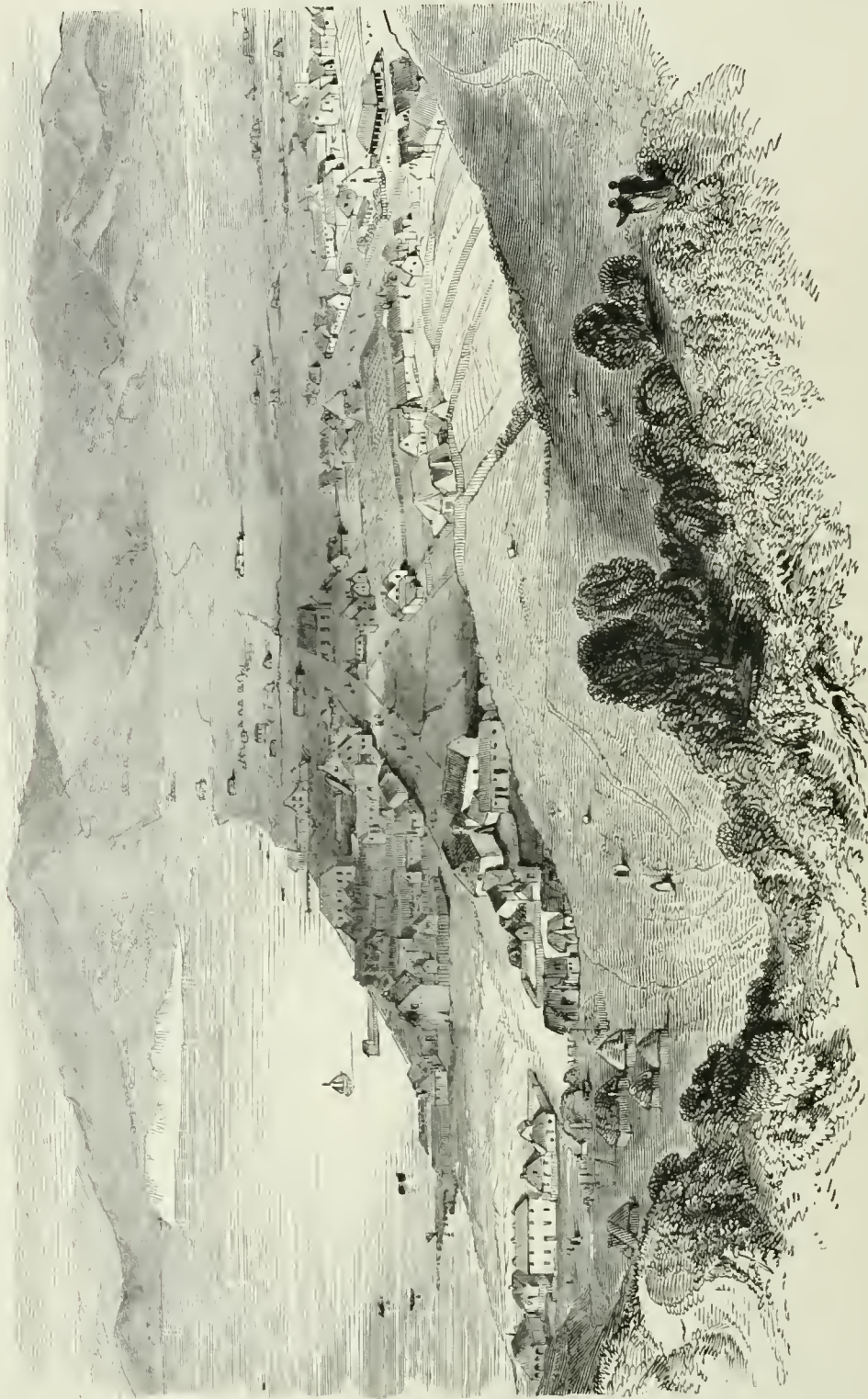
"But these were hasty, angry, unchristian thoughts. They soon passed away. I considered the whole case. I saw that the English, even by their own account, were very much to blame, and I saw how much you had been provoked. Then I determined to put away my anger, and come to you peaceably. Let me now hear your story.'

"Mr. Clarke interpreted the foregoing address.

"Rauparaha then rose, and several voices from among the crowd of his countrymen requested him to speak out that they might all hear. He said:—

"There was no evil intended in the commencement of this affray. Land is the foundation of all our troubles; the Europeans say it is theirs, but who says so besides themselves? The Tory came to Port Nicholson, and that was the commencement of the evil. We heard of the sale of that place by Warepori and Puni; Warepori was smoking his tobacco and wearing his blankets *alone*; we never agreed to it, payment was made but we never received it. Thus grew the seeds of evil; who authorised Warepori to receive his payment? Who authorised him to do it privately? Why did he not call the people together and pay them all?

"The Tory anchored off Kapiti. Colonel Wakefield wanted to buy all the land.' (Here Rauparaha mentioned the names of several places.) 'But all which I sold was Blind Bay and Massacre Bay: I and Tungia sold those places, and Warepori and Puni sold Port Nicholson. The land which I sold to Colonel Wakefield I sold myself; I did not consult anybody. Colonel Wakefield then went to Taranaki, and when he returned he



Te Aro Flat, Wellington, in 1846.

laid claim to all the land: nothing was said concerning Wairau until now he claims it.

“‘There was no adequate payment made, all I received was’—(here he commenced enumerating articles, but was told that he need not go into these details). Rauparaha continued—‘I wish to enumerate these, because Colonel Wakefield says “the Maoris are holding back the land which I have paid for.” Porirua also is claimed by Colonel Wakefield, but Rangihaeata will never consent to sell it. Now I come to Wairau.

“‘Wairau was taken away by Thompson and Wakefield (meaning Captain Wakefield). When we heard they were surveying the land we went to Nelson to forbid their doing so; we went to Captain Wakefield’s house; he said, “I must have Wairau.” I said, “No.” He replied, “I must have it.” I answered, “No, you shall not have it.” He said, “If you do not give it up, you shall be tied up in this manner.” (Here Rauparaha, to explain his meaning of the threat held out by Captain Wakefield, put his hands in the position of a person handcuffed.) Rangihaeata said, “I will not give up Wairau, neither will I be taken prisoner by you.”

“‘Captain Wakefield then said, “We will shoot you.” I answered, “Well, what matter if you do, we shall lose our lives, but Wairau shall not be taken.”

“‘After this interview at Nelson, Captain Wakefield sent over some more surveyors, amongst whom was Mr. Cotterell. We heard that the survey of Wairau was nearly finished. Puaha went to tell them to desist, but they would not; Puaha returned to Porirua and told us so.

“‘We then arose; the chiefs and old men went on board a schooner, and the young men in canoes to Cloudy Bay. We stayed at Te Awaiti (Queen Charlotte Sound) some time, and then went to Wairau. We pulled up until we saw Mr. Cotterell. We then brought all their goods, etc., down to the mouth of the river. Our slaves and the Europeans were engaged in moving the things. Then we pulled up to the wood and saw Mr. Barnicoat. Told him we had come to fetch him. He had no boat, so we took him and his things on board my canoe and conveyed him to the mouth of the river, having burnt the huts which they had erected. The Europeans then left Wairau for Cloudy Bay, thence to Nelson. We were up the river planting. After this Mr. Tuckett arrived with some people to survey. I went to him and said, “Come, Mr. Tuckett, you must go.” He said,

“I must survey the land.” I replied, “No, you shall not,” and brought him down to the mouth of the river. I asked Mr. Barnicoat to remain with me till the boat came for him. The boat with Mr. Tuckett had gone to Nelson.

“‘We continued our planting till one morning we saw the *Victoria* (Government brig). Then were our hearts relieved, for we imagined that Mr. Spain and Mr. Clarke were come to settle the question of our lands. Being scattered about at different places on the river, we took no further notice, expecting a messenger to arrive from Mr. Spain and Mr. Clarke; but a messenger came up to say that it was an army of “Pakehas,” and that they were busily engaged in cleaning their arms and fixing the flints of their guns. They met Puaha and detained him prisoner. They said where are Rauparaha and Rangihaeata. Puaha said up the river. They answered, “Let us go.” Puaha was glad to hear them say this, as he was afraid they would kill him. He afterwards watched his opportunity and ran away and came to us. A messenger had before come to tell me that Puaha and Rangihaeata had been caught by the Europeans. Afterwards Rangihaeata and Puaha arrived, and we consulted what we should do. I proposed going into the bush, but they said, “No, let us remain where we are; what have we done that we should be thus beset?”

“‘The Europeans slept some distance from us, and after they had breakfasted came on towards us in two boats. We remained on the same spot without food; we were much alarmed. Early in the morning we were on the look-out, and one of our scouts, who caught sight of them coming round a point, called out “Here they come.” “Here they come.” Our women had kindled a fire and cooked a few potatoes that we had remaining, and we were hastily eating them when they came in sight. Cotterell called out, “Where is Puaha?” Puaha answered, “Here I am, come here to me.” They said again, “Where is Puaha?” Puaha again saluted them. Cotterell then said, “Where is a canoe for us to cross?” (Rauparaha here described the manner of their sitting down, some on one side, some on the other.) Thompson, Wakefield, and some other gentlemen crossed over with a constable to take me, but the greater number stopped on the other side of the creek. Thompson said, “Where is Rauparaha?” I answered, “Here.” He said, “Come, you must come with me.” I replied, “Where?” He said, “On board the *Victoria*.” I replied,

"What for?" He answered, "To talk about the houses you have burned down." I said, "What house was it I burned down? Was it a tent belonging to you, that you make so much ado about? You know it was not; it was nothing but a hut of rushes. The materials were cut from my own ground, therefore I will not go on board, neither will I be bound. If you are angry about the land let us talk it quietly over; I care not if we talk till night and all day to-morrow; and when we have finished I will settle the question about the land." Mr. Thompson said, "Will you not go?" I said, "No;" and Rangihaeata, who had been called for, and who had been speaking, said so too.

"Mr. Thompson then called for the handcuffs and held up the warrant, saying, "See this is the Queen's book, this is the Queen to make a tie Rauparaha." I said, "I will not listen either to you or to your book." He was in a great passion; his eyes rolled about and he stamped his foot. I said I had rather be killed than submit to be bound. He then called for the constable, who began opening the handcuffs and to advance towards me. Mr. Thompson laid hold of my hand. I pushed him away, saying, "What are you doing that for?" Mr. Thompson then called out "Fire." He called out once, and then Thompson and Wakefield called together "Fire." (On being asked which of the gentlemen it was who gave the command to "Fire," Rauparaha answered Thompson gave the word of command, but Wakefield recommended him to do so.) The Europeans began to cross over the creek, and as they were crossing they fired one gun. The women and children were sitting round the fire. We called out, "We shall be shot." After this one gun they fired a volley, and one of us was killed, then another, and three were wounded. We were then closing fast; the Pakehas' guns were levelled at us (here he described by comparison the distance between the contending parties). I and Puaha cried out, "Friends, stand up and shoot some of them in payment." We were frightened because they were very close. We then fired; three of the Europeans fell. They fired again and killed Rongo, the wife of Rangihaeata. We then bent all our energy to the fight, and the Europeans began to fly. They all ran away, firing as they retreated; the gentlemen ran too. We pursued them and killed them as we overtook them. Captain Wakefield and Mr. Thompson were brought by the slaves who caught them to me. Rangihaeata came running to me, crying out "What are you

doing, your daughter is dead. What are you doing, I say?" Upon which some heathen slaves killed them (Rauparaha here particularly mentioned that those who killed the prisoners were to use his own literal expression "devils" not missionaries, meaning heathen natives), at the instigation of Rangihaeata; neither Puaha nor the Christian natives being then present.

"There was no time elapsed between the fight and the slaughter of the prisoners. When the prisoners were killed the rest of the people were still engaged in the pursuit, and before they returned they were all dead. I forgot to say that during the pursuit, when we arrived at the top of the hill, Mr. Cotterell held up a flag and said, "That is enough, stop fighting." Mr. Thompson said to me, "Rauparaha, spare my life!" I answered, "A little while ago I wished to talk with you in a friendly manner, and you would not, now you say save me, I will not save you."

"Rauparaha continued—"It is not our custom in war to save the chiefs of our enemies. We do not consider our victory complete unless we kill the chiefs of our opponents. Our passions were much excited, and we could not help killing the chiefs."

"Rauparaha then sat down.

"His Excellency the Governor said, 'I thank you for the relation you have given me. I shall now carefully consider the whole matter, and give my decision in a short time.'

"After a silence of about half an hour, His Excellency rose and addressed the natives as follows:—

"Now I have heard both sides; I have reflected on both accounts and I am prepared to give my decision. I, the representative of the Queen of England, the Governor of New Zealand, have made my decision, and it is this. Harken chiefs and elder men to my decision.

"In the first place the English were wrong; they had no right to build houses upon land to which they had not established their claim, upon land the sale of which you disputed and on which Mr. Spain had not decided. They were wrong in trying to apprehend you who had committed no crime. They were wrong in marking and measuring your land in opposition to your repeated refusal to allow them to do so, until the Commissioner had decided on their claim. Had you been Englishmen, you would have known it was very wrong to resist a magistrate, but not understanding English law, your case was different.

"Had this been all, had a struggle caused the loss of life in the fight, wrong and bad as

it would have been in the sight of God, I could not have blamed you so much as the Englishmen. The very bad part of the Wairau affair, that part where you were so very wrong, was killing unarmed men who had surrendered—who trusted to your honour as chiefs. Englishmen never kill their prisoners; Englishmen never kill men who have surrendered. It is the shocking death of these unfortunate men that has filled my mind with gloom, that has made my heart so dark, that has filled me with sorrow. But I know how difficult it is to restrain angry men when their passions are roused. I know that you repent of your conduct, and are now sorry that those men were killed; and my decision is that, as the Englishmen were very greatly to blame, and as they brought on and began the fight, and as you were hurried into crime by their misconduct, I will not avenge their deaths. In future let us dwell peaceably without distrust. I have told you my decision, and my word is sacred.

“I will punish the English if they attempt to do what is unjust or wrong; you chiefs must help me to prevent the natives from doing any wrong, so that we may live happily in peace—helping and doing good to one another—no man injuring or encroaching on his neighbour, but buying and selling freely as each may desire, with the consent of the other, but not unwillingly. By such means we shall receive mutual advantages. The natives must not interfere with Englishmen who have settled on land fairly purchased; the English shall not encroach upon land which the natives have not fairly sold. No pa, nor cultivation, nor burial ground shall be encroached upon or touched by any Englishmen, except by the general desire of the natives to whom it belongs; where there is any mistake or doubt about boundaries of purchase, appeal must be made to law. The law will see justice done, and I will be responsible for its execution, by properly qualified persons.

“Recommending you to the advice of your true friends the missionaries, the protectors, and the officers of the Government, I now bid you farewell, and wish you all health and the blessing of God.”

“Mr. Forsaith interpreted.

“His Excellency then introduced Major Richmond to the assemblage, and through the interpretation of Mr. Clarke, said—‘Friends, this is the Superintendent of the Southern District; he will act in all cases during my absence in the same manner as I should act myself, and I wish you to look to

him for advice and protection, and he will also give you any information you may wish to obtain on subjects connected with your welfare.’ Mr. Commissioner Spain was then introduced by His Excellency, who said—‘You may place implicit confidence in the fairness and impartiality with which Mr. Spain will investigate asserted claims to land, and decide upon the nature of alleged purchases. He will also have authority to inquire into cases where it may be necessary to make arrangements for a further payment as compensation, where it is fairly due.’

“His Excellency and the gentlemen with him then rose and left the meeting, bade farewell to Mr. Hadfield, and returned on board the *North Star*.”

On the 21st February the same paper published a long and ably-written letter addressed to the Governor, by Mr. E. J. Wakefield, in reference to the “severe and unmerited rebuke” which His Excellency “had been pleased to address to him” at the public levee. The letter was in effect a vindication—and, it will be now felt, a complete one—of his right to publish in the fullest form his opinions on the subjects to which His Excellency had referred with most severity. He defended his conduct as a Justice of the Peace, and invited and challenged the fullest inquiry. Reasserting the opinions expressed in his letters, Mr. Wakefield added—“I am proud to acknowledge the sentiments contained in them as those which I hold in public as well as in private. And I feel bound to remind your Excellency that in all free countries, and especially in the British Dominions, the liberty of expressing his own opinions is one of the most precious privileges of every, even the meanest, subject of his sovereign.”

This controversy with Mr. E. J. Wakefield arrayed many against the Governor at starting. Politically it had the effect of bringing out in stronger colours the antagonism between the people and a despotic Government which is inherent in the system of a Crown colony. A cool, calm, and conciliatory man may do much to soften or temporarily cover this antagonism. Governor Fitzroy, high minded, sympathetic, kindly, and anxious to do what was right, was, unfortunately, neither cool nor calm in temperament, while his training had been confined to the very different duties of a naval officer.

This meeting, and the Wairau massacre generally, exercised so great an influence on the subsequent career, as Governor, of Captain Fitzroy, that it is desirable to record the most full information respecting it. The proceed-

ings at Nelson, on the Governor's arrival there on his way to Waikanae, are, in this light, of great interest. An address and a long memorial were presented to him, which it is needless to print, as the Governor's reply treated each paragraph separately. Our account is taken from the report in the *Wellington Spectator* of the day. A deputation of working men is also referred to in the report. This was a deputation complaining of the New Zealand Company, which was charged with breaking their engagements, on the faith of which the men had come to New Zealand.

"His Excellency said he had a few remarks to make before he read his replies to the address and memorial. Much as the inhabitants of Nelson might deplore the loss of their friends at Wairau, there was no person who was not a relative that could more deeply lament their melancholy fate than himself. The late respected, and deservedly respected, agent of the Company had been his shipmate; and he never knew an officer for whom he entertained a higher respect than he did for Captain Arthur Wakefield. It was his duty, however, to look to the circumstances which led to the unhappy event, and on so doing he could not approve the conduct of those who sanctioned the proceedings out of which it arose. But he felt deep and inexpressible shame at the behaviour of his countrymen who, when the deadly struggle had commenced, however improperly, basely deserted their leader in the moment of danger. If they had behaved as our countrymen usually did under similar circumstances, he felt assured that we should not have to deplore the loss which was now so severely felt. His Excellency expressed regret that several magistrates and gentlemen of this settlement should entertain very erroneous views respecting the occurrences at Wairau. Great allowance was certainly to be made for feelings arising from the loss of friends so highly esteemed, but they were not justified in suffering themselves to be hurried into courses which the law could not sanction, nor those placed in authority above them approve of. With respect to a judicial inquiry into the proceedings, His Excellency said he had not yet determined what he should do in the matter. Some remarks also fell from His Excellency respecting the aborigines, which would lead to the supposition that the natives were, at least in the estimation of His Excellency, an oppressed people, and standing so much in need of peculiar

protection that his chief business in New Zealand was to shield them from the aggressions of his countrymen. This is not the place nor have we the room to discuss this matter now; but we may be allowed to remark that, if instead of listening to the insinuations of interested persons, His Excellency had consulted the records of even those partial tribunals, the Police Offices in the southern districts, he would there have found more than sufficient to refute this very erroneous opinion, and enough to impress an unprejudiced mind with the conviction that the reverse is at present the actual relative position of the two races, at least so far as the inhabitants on the shores of Cook Strait are concerned.

"His Excellency then read, in a very distinct and impressive manner, the following replies to the address and memorial:—

Nelson, February 7, 1844.

GENTLEMEN,—I beg to offer you my thanks for your congratulations on my safe arrival on these shores.

To assist in removing some of the difficulties under which you labour, and to promote the advance of the interests of all who are connected with these islands, will be my earnest endeavour.

I thank you for the kind wishes you have expressed for the health and happiness of my family and myself: and

I have the honour to remain,

Gentlemen,

Your faithful servant,

ROBERT FITZROY,
Governor.

HON. CONSTANTINE DILLON, J.P., Nelson
(For the inhabitants of Nelson).

Nelson, February 7, 1844.

GENTLEMEN,—I have attended carefully to the suggestions and requests which you have thought it advisable to make, and I am happy to find that all the subjects to which you have referred have already had my full consideration.

Inquiries into the circumstances of that fatal catastrophe which occurred in June last have been made and are still in progress. Deeply do I deplore that dreadful affair, in which twenty-two of our countrymen, some of whom were our own personal friends, perished so wretchedly.

In deciding on the line of conduct to be pursued in a matter of such grave and general importance, I should not seek for advice, nor could I expect to find unbiassed opinions, among those whose personal feelings have naturally been so much excited.

Every one must be fully aware of the vital importance of settling the claims to land; and I will yield to no person in anxiety to effect their peaceable and just settlement.

In answer to your inquiry respecting the position of the natives of New Zealand, I have to inform you that they are British subjects, and are entitled to all the consideration and protection due to the subjects of the Queen of Great Britain; but that they are not in every respect amenable to the laws of England.

The majority of the native population of New Zealand are as yet ignorant of our legislative code. It would be oppressive, unjust, and unchristian to exact a rigorous obedience to unknown laws. By slow degrees, the influence of civilization attendant on good example, and the general propagation of Christianity, united to the gradually increasing application of our laws, will work the desired effect, and bring the whole population under sufficient control.

The important and responsible office of Protector of Aborigines is one of the most difficult to fill properly, because a combination of natural and acquired qualifications is required, which are rarely united in the same individual. I shall endeavour to select the best qualified persons I can obtain for those indispensably necessary appointments.

It is very gratifying to me to hear that, in your estimation (notwithstanding all the difficulties of their position), "they have not done anything wrong." The Judge of the Supreme Court for the Southern Division of New Zealand (in which Nelson is included), is now at Wellington, in the full exercise of his judicial authority.

It is intended to substitute Courts of Requests for the existing County Courts.

Individual interest must give way to the general welfare in matters of legislation, as well as in other respects. Whenever the circumstances of the colony will admit of reference to all the settlements previous to passing any ordinance, such reference will be made; but, in urgently pressing cases, those members who more particularly represent the distant settlements will be expected to attend to their interest.

That the Legislative Council may always have at least two members connected with, or immediately interested in the Southern Division of New Zealand, will be my particular care.

You have been rather misinformed as to the expenditure of the public money at Nelson.

Less than £3,000 per annum has been contributed by Nelson; while the expenditure in that settlement alone, during 1843, has been about £2,300, and the sum estimated for 1844 is £3,300.

At the settlements of Cook's Straits and Akaroa, more than eleven thousand pounds of public money were expended in 1843, and about twelve thousand pounds are estimated to be the expense in 1844. These sums do not go to Auckland at all: they are paid by the Bank at Wellington, or by the Collectors of Customs.

I am an advocate for free trade in a young country such as New Zealand; but I am not yet prepared to propose so sweeping a change.

Government will render some assistance to the widows and families of those who fell at Wairau; although the charge of doing so ought to fall on the New Zealand Company.

No more pardoned offenders from Parkhurst will be sent to New Zealand previous to my report on the subject reaching England. That report will not be in favour of receiving any more such youths; but how far it may have weight is of course uncertain.

When I left England, it was not the intention of Her Majesty's Ministers to augment the military force in New Zealand; and I was specially desired not to allow any subdivision of the small detachment in this colony.

It appears to me that, if the settlers treat the aborigines with justice, kindness, and charity, they need not fear a serious collision between the races.

I remain, &c.,

ROBERT FITZROY,
Governor.

"A brief conversation ensued between His Excellency and the Hon. C. A. Dillon, when His Excellency retired for the purpose of giving the magistrates a private interview, which was of considerable duration. We are unable to report what passed, as the meeting was private, but we understand that His Excellency informed the four gentlemen who signed the warrant for the apprehension of Rauparaha and Rangihaeata that he should omit their names from the next list, and that three of them immediately tendered their resignation.

"In the evening His Excellency went on board, but was again on shore on Thursday morning, and gave interviews to several private individuals. Mr. McDonald, J.P., who had returned from a country excursion but the previous evening, on becoming acquainted with what had transpired, likewise tendered his resignation. Although he had not signed the warrant alluded to, yet, having acted throughout with the other magistrates, he felt himself implicated in the censure. In the course of the day His Excellency received a deputation from the working classes, and, after a patient hearing, promised to inquire into their complaints, and see them the following day.

"On Friday His Excellency, after transacting private business, again saw the deputation from the working classes. He assured them that he would endeavour to promote their interests in every possible way, so long as they conducted themselves with propriety, but cautioned them against any act of turbulence or misconduct. The deputation thanked His Excellency, and promised to use their best efforts with their fellow workmen.

"His Excellency afterwards met the natives at present in Nelson, consisting chiefly of visitors from Waukapuaka and a few from Massacre Bay. After shaking hands with the chiefs Emano, Ereno, and Paramatta, his Excellency said that it was the desire of his Sovereign to benefit their condition by promoting their spiritual and temporal welfare, and that he would do so to the utmost of his power. He was prepared to support them in the just occupation of their land, and to see they were not deprived of their pas and cultivated lands, nor of any land which had not been legally sold. His Excellency also told them that he should take equal care that his own countrymen suffered no molestation from them—it was his wish to do justice to both races—and endeavoured to impress them with an idea of the mighty and irresistible power

which England, if necessary, would send to his assistance.

"The chiefs were then invited to confer with His Excellency. After a short pause, Paramatta rose and, in a brief conversation with His Excellency, expressed his desire to sell land, and claimed payment for Waikatu (Nelson) and the Waimea. The Rev. C. L. Reay, who sat with His Excellency, immediately assured him that this was the first time he had ever heard the validity of the sale of those places denied; that, on the contrary, they (pointing to the natives of Waukapuaka, of whom Paramatta is a chief) had often admitted, when in conversation with him, that it had been fairly sold. His Excellency told them that the present was not the time to investigate those matters, but that, as soon as Mr. Spain and Mr. Clarke had completed their labours in Wellington, they would immediately visit Nelson and investigate and settle the claims in this district.

"The following gentlemen were then admitted to an interview—Messrs. Fox, Jollie, Macshane, Heaphy, Otterson, Greenwood, White, Elliott, Tuckett, Stephens, Fearon, and Budge. The interview had been solicited, to learn the views of His Excellency on several important matters affecting the colony, and we state with pleasure that on this occasion the fullest information was readily given. On the subject of the Wairau massacre, and of bringing the murderers to justice, His Excellency stated at some length the difficulties which beset the question, and that, in his own estimation, our countrymen had brought the calamity on themselves by their illegal conduct.

"We regret to say that His Excellency gave but little reason to hope that any judicial inquiry into the matter would take place. It was his intention to visit Waikanae on his way to Wellington, and, with the assistance of the Rev. Mr. Hatfield, make further inquiries among the natives engaged in the unhappy affair. It was also his intention to assemble the chiefs, make them acquainted with the power he possessed of calling to his aid an irresistible force in a just cause, and warn them of the consequences to themselves of committing further outrages on Europeans.

"His Excellency gave the strongest assurances that the land claims should be speedily settled, and that settlers should then receive every protection the law could afford to insure them peaceable occupation. He admitted that it was desirable that a small military force should be permanently stationed

here, and would strongly urge the subject on the Home Government; but he was strictly forbidden to subdivide that which was at present in the colony.

"His Excellency had evidently entertained the idea that the people of Nelson were unfavourably, if not uncharitably, disposed towards the natives. This impression, we have reason to think, has been removed. The uniform forbearance and very general kindness with which they have been treated by the inhabitants of Nelson, even since the event which might have been expected to generate less charitable feelings, would indeed be ill required by such a misapprehension of the sentiments and conduct of the settlers.

"At the close of a long interview, the impression left on the minds of all present was, that, although his Excellency differed with many on some questions, he would carry out honestly and fearlessly whatever measures he deemed necessary for the public good, and that the prosperity of the colony was his chief aim."

The Governor returned to Wellington, and, after assisting the agent of the New Zealand Company (Colonel Wakefield) to complete the purchase of disputed land in that neighbourhood, proceeded to Auckland, where the meeting of the Council was to have taken place in April. This was deferred, as the Maoris had called a great meeting of the tribes to be held at about the same time at Remuera, in the immediate neighbourhood of Auckland. This meeting was regarded as a demonstration on the part of the Maoris to prove their strength and union in face of the constant loud threats published and spoken against them in various quarters at the time; ostensibly it was a return feast to other tribes, and the following is Governor Fitzroy's account of the meeting, which he visited in due state. He was accompanied by numerous officers and officials, and escorted by Putini, son of a Waikato chief second in influence only to Whero Whero. Other Maori chiefs joined his escort, and he rode to Remuera, where seventeen tribes had gathered. The powerful Waikatos mustered eight hundred strong, and were the givers of the feast. As the Governor appeared in sight a shout of welcome arose, and the nearest tribes danced and brandished their weapons in unison. Dismounting, the Governor shook hands with the chiefs near him and saluted others generally. Ceremony enforced a pause, while it was doubtful what tribe he should first visit. His Excellency's narrative proceeds:

"It was, however, quickly decided that Te Whero Whero and Wetere, as givers of the feast, should be visited first, and that I should go round the encampment, taking each tribe in local succession, without regard to relative influence or numbers. Some chiefs were in European clothes, some had gay scarfs, while some wore only a large wrapping mat, a mantle, or a blanket.

"After the circuit of the encampment a sham fight took place. The adverse bands occupied hills, a mile apart. With muskets glittering in the sun, their tomahawks and clubs waving in the air, they stamped their wild war dance, and then, alternately, rushed thundering down the slope. Halting as one man in front of their opponents, each party again defied the other in dance, and shouts, and yells. Then one body, the strangers, fled up the hill, halted, danced, rushed down again at their utmost speed, and again halted, like soldiers at a review, at the word of their chief, within pistol shot of the adverse party, who were crouched to receive them with spears, the front ranks kneeling, the mass behind, about forty deep, having muskets and other weapons in readiness. Each body consisted of about eight hundred men, in a compact mass, twenty in front and forty deep, their movements absolutely simultaneous, like well drilled soldiers. The lines along which these bodies ranged were crowded by natives, by English, by women of both nations, and by children, as if it had been a racecourse. The sight was indeed remarkable. It was wonderful to see women and children gaily dressed, wandering about unconcernedly among four thousand New Zealanders, most of whom were armed, many utter strangers as well as heathens.

"Some Christian natives took no part in the sham fight, but with their missionary teachers approached, unarmed, the spot where the warrior bands had halted. There they sat down and listened to the speeches of welcome and good feeling, which continued till near sunset. The orators walked 'to and fro, among or in front of their party, sometimes running or jumping, seldom standing still.'

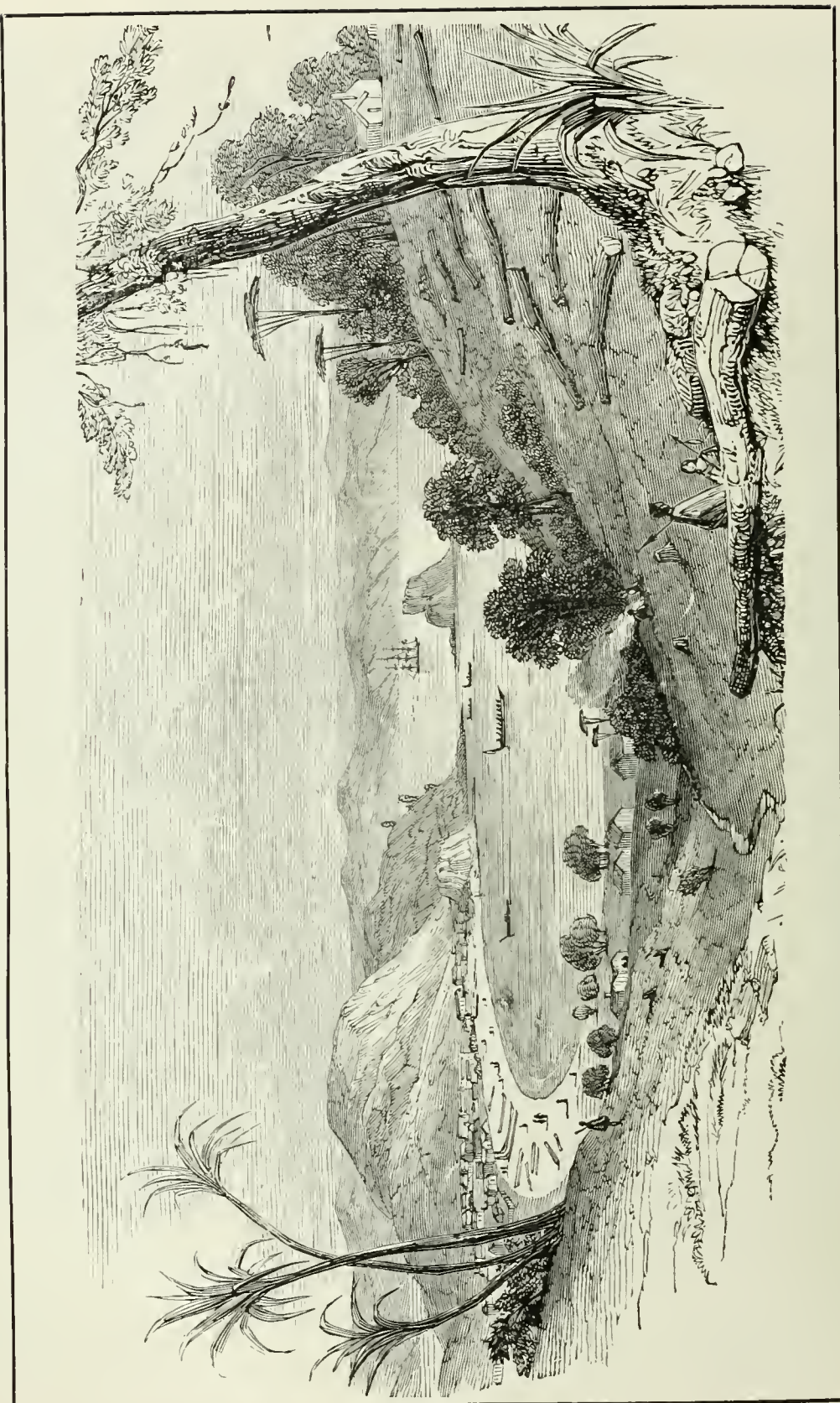
"Then came the division of the feast. One long shed was covered with blankets, of which the Waikatos presented more than one thou-

sand to their visitors. Sharks of various sizes and potatoes were hung up and stored in settled divisions, and at a given "signal from Te Whero Whero one general attack commenced, and each party vied with the other in carrying off quickly to their encampment the portion of blankets, sharks, and potatoes which had been allotted to them by the liberal Waikato. The great majority of the English who were present, not less than a thousand, including women and children, returned in small straggling parties at various times with as much confidence as if they had been returning from an English fair. I heard of no instance of misconduct or rudeness, neither was there any theft or even pilfering."

On the following day, Sunday, many of the Christian natives attended divine service in Auckland, while the heathens looked on; but the majority of the Christians attended divine service conducted by missionaries at Remuera.

On Monday, at daylight, the gift potatoes were borne on the backs of the Maoris to Auckland for sale. At eleven o'clock Governor Fitzroy formally received the chiefs at Government House. About two hundred attended. Te Whero Whero was at the Governor's right hand. After a short speech of salutation, returned by two of the chiefs, they waited for the Governor to address them. After a pause he suggested that the chiefs should discuss any matter in which he could advise or assist them.

The question of the sale of land was then talked over. The Governor made a long speech on their friendly gathering. Several chiefs addressed the meeting. "Wiremu Nera, of Whangaroa, then spoke. Admitting that the New Zealanders had been wicked before the missionaries taught them Christianity, he said they were now improved, and had sought the guardianship of the Queen. They were anxious that their lands should be secured to them so that a check might be put upon the English urging them to sell those lands which they could not part with." Thus it was that the Maoris always feared the loss of their lands, while the settlers were worried and disheartened by the want of suitable land for occupation and cultivation.

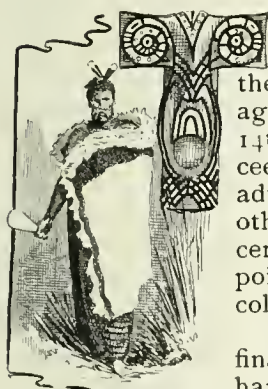


Kororareka Beach, Bay of Islands, 1844.



NATIVE TROUBLES.—HEKE'S WAR.

Financial embarrassment of the Government—The Governor waives the Crown's pre-emptive right to purchase land—Native difficulty at Wellington—A fatal duel at Wellington—The whaling industry—Sheep farming—Rescue of a Maori prisoner at Auckland—Growth of Maori discontent at the Bay of Islands—The Governor authorises a loan—Increase of Customs duties—A paper currency authorised—The Taranaki Maoris resist Mr. Spain's award—Heke cuts down the flagstaff at Kororareka—Prompt measures by the Governor—The flagstaff re-erected and troops withdrawn upon Waka Nene's assurances—The penny-an-acre proclamation—Customs duties abolished and a property-tax imposed—Letter from Heke—More native troubles—The Governor sets aside Mr. Spain's award at Taranaki—The New Zealand Company protest against Governor Fitzroy's policy—Heke cuts down the flagstaff a second time—Retrenchment in Government expenditure—The flagstaff re-erected and shod with iron—The Governor sends to Sydney for troops—Heke sacks Kororareka—Flight of the inhabitants to Auckland—Measures adopted for the protection of Auckland—Excitement in other parts of the colony—Waka Nene puts a native contingent in the field—Collision between Heke and the friendly natives—Defensive measures at Taranaki—Bishop Selwyn and Te Rauparaha—Proclamation by Governor Fitzroy—Martial law proclaimed at the Bay of Islands—Troops take the field—Attack on the pa at Okaihau—Letter from the Governor to Colonel Hulme.



THE Maori meeting at Remuera being over, the Legislative Council again assembled on the 14th of May. Before proceeding further, it will be advisable to take note of other events that had recently occurred and of other points in the history of the colony.

The bad state of the finances distressed and harassed the Governor very seriously. In April, 1844, he reported to the Secretary of State that he would be obliged, at once, to issue debentures of

£1, £5, £10, and £50 respectively, bearing interest at 5 per cent., and to be paid to the creditors of the Government as a negotiable recognition of the money due to them. On the 26th of March, 1844, in order to pacify the Maoris, a proclamation had been issued waiving the Crown's right of pre-emption over certain Maori lands. Restrictions and regulations were published to guard against speculative purchases, or undue monopoly, and a fee of ten shillings per acre was to be paid to Government by the purchaser in consideration of the privilege and the Crown grant that he would hold. In all cases one-tenth of the land in each block sold was to be reserved as an endowment for the original owners. This waiver was in-

tended as a concession to the Maoris, who were continually urged by speculators to offer land to the Governor which they well knew he had not the funds to buy. The Maoris, who were in distress through the falling off in their trade with ships calling at the Bay of Islands, had acquired many new wants and were becoming deeply dissatisfied. They were unable to understand a Governor wanting money, and attributed his refusal to buy to other causes. The condition of the colony was such that very soon the ten shillings per acre was found to prevent any sales being made, and the Maori discontent was revived. They were being impressed also with the idea that to refuse them the right to sell their land as they liked, was treating them as slaves. Curiously enough they were supported in this view by the Aborigines' Protection Society in London. Hence, a few months later, and after open disturbances at the Bay of Islands, to which we shall presently refer, the Governor issued another proclamation (10th October, 1844) reducing the ten shillings to one penny. The restrictions were made more rigid, but they were disregarded on all sides. Officers in the employ of Government, as well as Legislative Councillors, became active purchasers.

As illustrating the uneasiness in the minds of settlers in the south with reference to Maori intentions and deeds, we find a letter in the *Wellington Spectator* of 10th July, 1844, from Mr. E. J. Wakefield, in which several alarming statements are made. The letter was replied to promptly by the chief Wi Tako, afterwards and for many years a member of the Legislative Council. In it he refers at length to Mr. Wakefield's letter, which need not, therefore, be reprinted. Wi Tako wrote:—

This is my *korero* to you. In consequence of the statements of Mr. Wakefield which have been printed in that newspaper, perhaps you will be kind enough to print my *korero* also, and let all the pakehas hear it.

Mr. Wakefield has stated that Moturoa and I made arrangements to attack the pakehas of this place, if the punishment of Haerewaho had been great, and that we (the natives) sent messengers to Te Rauparaha—that Te Rauparaha told him this. I ask Mr. Wakefield to *name* any of these messengers,—let me hear. If he cannot tell the names, it is without foundation; the natives of Port Nicholson never heard this report. This is one of the unfounded statements about the Maoris.

Here also is another erroneous statement, that two Europeans have been killed by the natives,—that one was killed on the hills (at the back of the town) by the man who was killed at the Pakuao,—that the axe (with which the European was killed) is now in the possession of his father, and that the other was killed at the valley of the Hutt. I would ask, what are the names of the pakehas who were killed? Tell us that we and the Europeans also may know. If they have been killed, could the fact

have been concealed from the pakehas? Did you not ask Te Rauparaha the names of the parties? Why did you not tell the magistrates? There is no father (or uncle) of Parata (the native murdered at Pakuao) alive—he has no relative opposite Mana.

I am considering, sir, whether these statements are correct or false. Did he learn them from Te Rauparaha, or are they his own? I cannot imagine that Te Rauparaha made them to him. I know, Mr. Wakefield knows too, that Te Rauparaha would not speak quietly to him, because he has not yet been reconciled to him. The root of this evil-speaking against Moturoa and myself appears to me to be this. He told Mr. Spain the unfair payment for the land; the reason why Puni is so good is this, he gave the land to the pakeha. I ask you pakehas, what did the Queen tell you? Did she say to you, "Go to New Zealand and fraudulently take away the land of the natives?" You say No. Then why do you encroach upon lands that have not been fairly purchased?

I have one word more, and then shall finish my *korero*. Mr. Wakefield says that the natives make use of Christianity as a cloak to hide what is bad; if a man takes off the cloak you will see the evil. Perhaps this is true, and I say to Mr. Wakefield and all the pakehas, Take off your cloaks that we may see the goodness of your hearts to the natives. Want affection for us! Before, you used to speak kindly to us. Now, you have thrown aside your cloak. That is all. From your friend, WI TAKO.

It is easy to understand how readily rumours would gain credence in the excited state of the public mind at that time, and in presence of the overwhelming strength of the natives if at all united against the colony. It is easy also to appreciate the difficulties of a Governor called upon to subject suddenly tribes of warlike and half civilized people to the enactments and forms of British law, to which, as British subjects, they were technically liable. This was the course demanded by the New Zealand Company and many of its settlers. Force alone could have given it effect, and, except from England, that force could not be found.

The colonists had brought with them the duelling customs of the day, and several duels took place. The last, and most fatal, occurred at this time and is worthy of notice as illustrating the customs that then prevailed. It took place in what is now Kumutoto Street, in Wellington—then a valley running from the hills to the beach, and in a state of nature. The newspaper report is as follows:—

"On Monday, the 26th February, 1844, a meeting took place, in Wellington, between W. V. Brewer, Esq., and H. Ross, Esq., both members of the legal profession. The quarrel originated in some legal difference which arose in the County Court. Upon the first exchange of shots Mr. Brewer was seriously wounded; he was immediately conveyed to a friend's house. During the first few days it was hoped that his life was safe, but appearances after-

wards became unfavourable, and on Monday last, about six in the evening, Mr. Brewer breathed his last. A coroner's inquest was in consequence summoned yesterday, which after hearing the evidence of several witnesses, was adjourned until to-morrow, at one o'clock.

"The inquest which was held in consequence of the late fatal duel, terminated on Thursday, setting forth, as its verdict, that the evidence did not prove by whom the wound was inflicted. This melancholy duel affords us an opportunity, of which we feel we are bound to take advantage. Distress and bereavement to several estimable families is the first consequence of this unhappy event, and for what possible good?"

The extent of the whaling industry in 1844 is shown by the following table of various stations in the Middle Island, and the yield of oil during the previous season. Of this oil, 150 tons were sent to the Bay of Islands, for shipment thence, with the oil produced on the coastal stations in the North Island, or that had been left by ocean whalers to be sent to England, America, and Sydney. Of the remainder, 230 tons were sent from Wellington to Sydney, and 910 tons to England direct. The following account is taken from the *Wellington Spectator*. Hence the return was confined to the districts in communication with Wellington, and does not include the northern part of the North Island.

Fisheries and Owners.	Boats.	Men.	Tons.
East Cape, Webster ...	2	15	7
Mawou, Babington ...	2	15	6
Table Cape, Dorsay ...	4	30	6
Mainfield ...	2	15	6
Waikopopu, Ellis ...	4	35	120
Mahia, Lewis ...	3	35	43
Wairarapa, Wade ...	4	35	23
Porirua, Toms ...	2	15	35
Taranaki, Ridgway ...	4	35	7
Kapiti, Jillett ...	5	40	130
Jones ...	4	38	78
Stewart ...	1	7	20
Long George ...	1	7	5
Maua, Fraser ...	3	30	50
Queen Charlotte Sound, Toms ...	4	35	15
Cloudy Bay, Wright ...	3	27	40
W. E. and J. H. Wallace	3	27	40
Lewyn ...	3	27	40
Kaikoura, Fyfe ...	4	40	130
Bank's Peninsula, Price	3	27	160
Woods	3	27	35
Waiokowiti, Jones ...	1	6	15
Otago, C. W. Schultze ...	2	12	0
Moeraki ...	2	12	15
Bluff and Jacob's River, Jones ...	8	80	200
Chatham Islands, R. D. Hanson	3	27	15
Susannah Ann, schooner ...			25

85 734 1,290

In sheep farming considerable energy was

also shown at this period. Settlers in the northern districts of the North Island, where native grasses were available, began to agree directly with the Maoris for its occupation. Such agreements were not recognised by the law, and on the 30th of March, 1844, a notice was issued in Wellington by the Superintendent, Major Richmond. He warned all such persons that these transactions "will not be sanctioned or recognised by the Government," and that they can only end "in the loss and disappointment of the parties concerned." He also warned them that such dealings would have "a decided tendency to obstruct and retard the settlement of the very important questions in the course of adjudication between the Government, the New Zealand Company, and the aborigines."

This notice was of no avail, and sheep stations were established in the Wairarapa in 1844, the first being by Messrs. Clifford and Vavasour (afterwards Sir Charles Clifford and Speaker of the House of Representatives). They were quickly followed by others, and by the end of 1845 no less than twelve were taken up and occupied. Sheep were obtained from many sources, but the most curious to note, at this time, is the export of one hundred from New Plymouth towards stocking a station taken up by Mr. Duppa in Nelson.

In the North, the land not being naturally grassed, this embarrassment did not exist. The feeling there between the settlers and the natives had been always friendly, and their interests less conflicting. Under the ten shillings per acre proclamation land in the neighbourhood of Auckland was being purchased from the natives by settlers and brought under cultivation. Two examples of the results obtained from these transactions are given by Mr. W. Brown in his work on New Zealand, and are worth reproducing. He introduces them with the remark that "neither of the gentlemen was a practical agriculturist; the one being a banker and the other an officer of engineers; so that practical farmers might fairly be expected to have done the work more efficiently, besides saving the expense of their own labour. The land is within three miles of Auckland; and was purchased in the month of April, 1844, immediately after the liberty was given to the natives to sell their land, the purchaser paying the Government fee of ten shillings per acre in addition to the sum paid to the native owners of it:—

Auckland, 12th December, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—You having requested me to furnish

you with an account of my expenditure, and other information which I might be able to give you from personal experience of farming in New Zealand, I have enclosed herewith a detailed account of my outlay in purchase of land, seed, etc. I have set my whole expenditure for labour in one item, but I think it well to mention the prices paid for the several kinds of work.

For a ditch and bank, with a hurdle fence at top, I paid 1s. 6d. per perch. The ditch is four feet wide at the top, nine inches at the bottom, and three and a half feet deep. Thus a farm twenty-eight chains long, and twenty chains wide, which would contain fifty-six acres, would cost, to fence in this way, £28 16s., something less than 10s. 4d. per acre. I have about this quantity enclosed.

I erected three whares (native built houses) for my workmen on my land, for which I paid the natives 30s. each. They are eighteen feet long, by twelve feet wide, and partitioned off to form two rooms. I had further to pay for two small sashes, and ledge door, with hinges, etc., and cost 25s. for each whare.

I endeavour to pay my workmen by the job, but when employed on day work I pay them 2s. 6d. per day. Each of them has a piece of land for a garden, and, living near a wood (being part of my farm) their firewood costs them nothing. I frequently employ the natives, who work readily for 1s. per day. I shall this season employ them to stump and clear about thirty acres of land.

I have this year sown about twenty-five acres of wheat upon land that had been previously cropped with potatoes by the natives. This land was not cleared, the wood having been cut and burned down, and the potatoes sown between the stumps, in the usual way that they cultivate their land.

I sowed my wheat on this land after merely clearing the potato haulms, and chipped in the seed with hoes. This work was performed with native and European labourers, and cost 10s. per acre, and I paid £1 additional to the man that sowed the wheat. The crop is very fine; I think it will average forty bushels per acre; but, not having time to attend to the harvesting, etc., I sold it to a baker in Auckland for £120, and he takes all risk of the crop, bears all expenses in reaping, etc., and leaves the straw for my use. The price obtained for the wheat, I am told, is very low; but, for the above reason, I thought the first loss the best. I have also sown about one acre of oats, a small patch of Irish flax, and a little barley, which are all doing well.

Before closing this letter, I think it proper to remark, that I could not have got my crops in so cheap if the land had not been previously cultivated by the natives; but many others have done the same as myself in purchasing and cropping; and all over the country lands that have been under similar cultivation are open for sale.

I am well convinced that a careful person, with £300, could purchase land and live well on a farm in New Zealand, though a capital of £1,000 or more would be much better. My whole outlay, from the date of my purchasing my farm, which contains eighty acres, viz., 2nd April, 1844, to this date (12th Dec. 1844), has been £153 18s. 10d. My crops the first year will exceed the outlay, thus leaving my farm, which is much improved, and two-thirds fenced in, clear profit.

I remain, my dear Sir, yours faithfully,

GEORGE GRAHAM.

WILLIAM BROWN, Esq., etc.

Account of expenditure referred to:—

Expended on the purchase of land from natives ...	£80 0 0
Government fees on do. ...	14 11 8

Surveying, etc. ...	£8 0 0
Seed wheat 31½ bushels ...	13 12 0
Labour, etc., in fencing, draining, sowing wheat, and erecting three workmen's whares ...	37 15 2

Total outlay ... £153 18 10

Sold the wheat for ...	£120 0 0
Say for straw, etc. ...	25 0 0
Oats, etc. ...	7 10 0

£152 10 7

Auckland, 19th December, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—Knowing as I do the interest you take in all matters connected with the produce of the country, I beg to give you the result of an experiment I made to grow wheat upon the lands I bought from the natives in April last.

You may rely with confidence upon this statement as correct, because I had everything to pay for, and all moneys that I paid I charged to the wheat.

I selected thirty acres as a suitable extent to try the experiment upon, which cost ...

Pre-emption fee to Government ...	£30 0 0
Pre-emption fee still to pay ...	6 0 0
Paid fencing in thirty acres ...	9 0 0
Paid for seed wheat ...	19 9 0
Paid for preparing the ground, and putting in the seed ...	19 12 5
Paid for building a house for overseer ...	20 4 7
His pay until wheat is reaped ...	3 8 9
	12 0 0

Total cost ... £119 14 9

Sold the produce as it now stands on the ground at £5 2s. 6d. per acre ...	153 15 0
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Which shows a clear profit of ... £34 0 3 after paying all expenses, and leaving the ground fenced in, and a house upon it. I may add, that a practical man could have done it much cheaper, and, of course, would have a greater profit.

Wishing you a pleasant passage to England, and soon back again,

I remain, dear Sir, yours very truly,

D. DILWORTH.

WILLIAM BROWN, Esq., etc.

The good feeling between the natives and the settlers in the vicinity of Auckland at this period stood in marked contrast to the relations existing between the two races in the neighbourhood of the Cook Strait settlements, and even the discontent of the natives at the Bay of Islands was entirely with the Government, regarding its Custom-house and other measures as the cause of all their trouble. The old wild spirit of the natives broke out, however, in Auckland, in one case when a petty thief was condemned to three months' imprisonment for stealing a cap from a shop there. He was forcibly taken out of the dock by the natives in the Court and taken

to the pa at Orakei. There was great excitement among the townspeople and others as to the possible result. The Governor was in Wellington on his first visit (February, 1844), and Major Bunbury was acting as his deputy. He proceeded with the Police Magistrate and a small party of the military to Orakei. The chief Kawau agreed to go back with him, but his people would not allow him to leave. Not wishing to cause bloodshed, Major Bunbury returned and resolved to wait the arrival of H.M.S. North Star. Happily the trouble was averted by the voluntary return of the prisoner Te Manaia. Te Kawau asked pardon of the Governor on his return from Wellington. He was wisely allowed to escape with a severe lecture on the enormity of his offence in the eyes of the pakeha, however small it might seem in that of the Maori not yet able to comprehend our customs, or appreciate our system of punishments at law.

In the early months of 1844 it became evident that the discontent of the Maoris at the Bay of Islands was increasing. It was said to be fermented by foreigners resident at the Bay, but that could only have been a secondary cause, at the worst. The primary cause must be sought in the changes that had, as we have shown, made the Maoris of the Bay worse off instead of their condition being improved by the annexation to Great Britain. The British flag was pointed out to them as the symbol of subjection and the cause of their trouble, and they began to centre their dislike on the flagstaff from which it flew. Hone Heke, a high-spirited young chief who had been educated at the Mission School and was married to the daughter of the great Hongi, became their leader. Numerous meetings were held, and he went about the country with large parties of armed natives in his train. They remained on good terms with the settlers as a whole. Their discontent was with the Government, but much uneasiness naturally prevailed. An influential chief, Marsh Kawiti, joined Heke and added greatly to his strength and took part with him in all proceedings to the close of the war.

The Council met in Auckland on the 14th May. The Governor, harassed by rumours of native disturbance in so many directions, was more than all troubled by financial difficulty. At the beginning of 1844 the floating debt of the colony was £24,000. The revenue for the coming year was estimated at only £20,000. The establishments were already reduced to the scale authorised by the Secretary of State at the close of 1843. This revenue would be

inadequate to meet two-thirds of the authorised expenditure, and the Governor was strictly prohibited from drawing bills on the British Treasury to cover deficiencies.

The Colonial Treasurer was instructed, in order to afford temporary relief, to negotiate a loan for £5,000, the amount then due for arrears of salaries and current accounts. It was found, however, that the Bank's funds were nearly exhausted, and the Treasurer could only effect an arrangement for £2,000 at 12½ per cent., with a probability of £2,000 more being forthcoming at a future period at the same rate. This was in anticipation of a sum of £7,545, to be voted by the Imperial Parliament as usual in aid of the colonial revenue for the year.

A new Customs Tariff Bill was passed increasing the duty on spirits from 4s to 5s per gallon. The whole duties levied in 1884 were:—Wines, 20 per cent. *ad valorem*; ale and beer, 15 per cent.; tobacco, 1s per lb.; cigars and snuffs, 2s per lb; firearms of all kinds, 30 per cent.; all other goods, except live animals, specie, and personal luggage, 5 per cent. This tariff, which increased the duties already in existence, and on which the only new tax was on firearms, met with determined opposition in Council, and protests were entered by some of the non-official members against an increase. They cried out for a reduction of expenditure, but the cry was unavailing, as the establishment authorised by the Colonial Office could not be altered without its previous sanction. As to the Maoris it was the Customs regulations compelling ships to frequent only authorised ports, and to ship or land articles at definite places, that they complained of more than the duties that were levied. A strong desire for free ports and no Customs duties, was then raised. Smuggling also rendered the Customs duties very unprofitable. They had only yielded £10,000 and cost £4,000 to collect in 1843, and in 1844 a still more unsatisfactory result was anticipated.

As a further measure of relief, an Ordinance was passed authorising the issue of debentures from five shillings upwards, bearing an interest of five per cent., and making them legal tender. A new currency was thus created, although strictly prohibited to Governors. Governor Fitzroy adopted it in sheer despair. A Bill was also passed to enable municipalities to be formed in districts containing not less than 2,000 people. Other measures of interest were considered, and the Council was not prorogued till the 18th July.



From a photo by Angus.

Hone Heke.

The issue of debentures as legal tender was a grave responsibility. The waiver of the Crown's pre-emptive right was also in contravention of the Act of the Imperial Parliament by which colonial land sales were then regulated, and which prohibited the sale of any at less than 20s. per acre. Among many in the southern districts the waiver was denounced as directly injurious to their settlements, founded on the principle of a high price for land to form a fund for supplying labour and public works. It was sure to meet on this account, and did meet, with denunciation from the New Zealand Company in London. In addition to these causes of anxiety came the inevitable delay in communicating with the authorities in London, and their neglecting to supply the military aid which the Governor so much needed. This was afterwards attributed by the Colonial Office to the imperfection and irregularity of Governor Fitzroy's own representations. Now there came also news of alarming disturbances at both the Bay of Islands and New Plymouth. The latter were caused by the loudly expressed determination of the Maoris to resist the award of Mr. Spain, who had decided that the New Zealand Company were entitled to 60,000 acres in that district for purchases made from the resident natives, while the objectors were still prisoners and slaves in the Waikato and elsewhere. The slaves had since been voluntarily liberated by their captors, and had returned to their old land. They refused to recognise the sale, or the right of those who had sold during their absence. In the Bay of Islands the alarm was greater, for the flagstaff had been cut down by Heke, and that was an act demanding prompt and complete redress.

The immediate cause of this last trouble was the Maori wife of a European named Lord, who quarrelled with another woman of Heke's tribe and called her chief (Heke) "a pig." This was in June, and to avenge this insult he paid Mrs. Lord a visit, took some of her husband's property in Maori fashion, and carried off Mrs. Lord as a prisoner. The husband, also following Maori custom, arranged for the redemption of his wife by promising Heke a cask of tobacco. The tobacco was not forthcoming, and after waiting some time Heke returned to Russell with 130 followers. Finding that Lord was unable to give the promised tobacco, the chief and his friends decided that the other Europeans should (again according to Maori custom) be made to pay Lord's debt. They, of course, refused to comply. The natives then resolved to help themselves. They

commenced by taking some meat from a butcher's shop, and several live pigs belonging to various persons. Next day they broke into the house of Mr. Caffer. On remonstrating he was informed that if he resisted they would cut off his head and was threatened in other ways. About the middle of the day Archdeacon Williams and the Native Protector came to Russell. Mr. Williams had a long conversation with the natives on the impropriety of their conduct, and gave Heke a bag of rice and some sugar as *utu*. Heke promised not to molest the Europeans during the next day, Sunday. On Monday, at about two o'clock in the morning (July 8), the Maoris commenced firing their muskets, and at daylight proceeded to the flagstaff. Heke's people included Christians and heathens, and the Christian prayer of love and mercy mingled with the wild chants in honour of Tumata-uenga, their old god of war. Then his followers danced the war dance, cut down and burned the Kororareka flagstaff, and carried away the signal balls. The resident natives of Russell were absent at the time, but returned on Monday morning after the others had retired.

On Heke's march homewards, after cutting down the staff, he visited at Waimate a missionary's only son who was dying. Bidding the boy farewell, he turned to the father and said: "Brown, we must leave your boy with God; if He suffers him to live it will be good, if He takes him to heaven it will still be good." This chivalrous mode of commencing war made the Governor regard it as the more serious. There were only ninety soldiers of the 96th at Auckland, but fortunately a merchant ship, the Sydney, was lying there. H.M.S. Hazard also arrived very opportunely next day.

The Governor was prompt. The Sydney was chartered and sent to the Bay with thirty men and a subaltern, and thence she was to go to Sydney to ask for help. The Governor left Auckland himself in the Hazard two days after the Council had risen. After making temporary arrangements at the Bay, he passed on to Taranaki. He remained there four days, and on the 3rd August held a meeting at which he pacified the natives by informing them that no steps should be taken to give effect to Mr. Spain's award till he had himself looked into the question. Thence he went to Wellington, where all being quiet he stayed but a few hours, and arrived again in Auckland on the 19th August. Next day he sailed again for Russell, hoping

to meet the Sydney there with troops from Sydney, and taking with him Colonel Hulme, Captain Bennett, R.E., and a further small detachment of fifteen men. With the Governor went also Bishop Selwyn and the Chief Protector of Aborigines. The colonial brig Victoria was also sent to the Bay. The Hazard arrived at the Bay on the 25th August and found the Sydney there with 150 of the 99th Regiment, two guns, and three months' provisions. The troops had landed and were encamped near Russell.

An advance could not, however, be readily made. There were no roads and the country was reported by the engineer officer as impracticable for cannon or for the necessary cart traffic with ammunition and supplies. The forest through which they must pass would also afford excellent cover and ambush for the enemy. To guard against these dangers and to keep open their communication a very much larger force would be required. Under these circumstances the soldiers were again embarked and taken to Kerikeri. This was a much more convenient point from which to march beyond the Waimate, and follow Heke up, if necessary, to his own place at Kaikohe.

Waka Nene and other undoubtedly friendly chiefs here intervened. They begged the Governor not to move further lest all the natives should take alarm and make common cause with Heke. They frankly told the Governor that they agreed with Heke, as did all the Bay Maoris, about the grievances of which he complained. But they would trust the Governor to relieve them, and would undertake to keep Heke from doing mischief if the soldiers were withdrawn. In token of their obligation they offered twenty muskets and twenty tomahawks and agreed to re-erect the flagstaff. The Governor was glad to avoid further operations in the face of so many dangers to the colony, and the offer of the friendly chiefs was accepted. The troops were sent back to Sydney. The flagstaff was put up again, and the Governor returned to Auckland, where he arrived on 7th September and lost no time in calling his Council together.

The Council met on the 19th September. The first measure was to redeem the promises made to Waka Nene and other chiefs at the Bay of Islands. The fee per acre payable on the purchase of Maori land was reduced from ten shillings to one penny. The Ordinance abolishing Customs duties and substituting a graduated property and income tax was passed on the 28th September. The

Governor was an ardent supporter of the then new doctrines of free trade, and expressed his pride at being able to place New Zealand in the van of progress in that respect.

Mr. William Brown, one of Auckland's earliest settlers, a member of the Legislative Council, and author of "New Zealand and its Aborigines," comments in glowing terms upon this change in the system of taxation. He says: "Those interested in the welfare of New Zealand will regard the establishment of free trade as a most glorious achievement, reflecting on Governor Fitzroy the highest praise." According to Mr. Brown the beneficial effect of substituting another form of taxation for Customs duties was immediately felt: "Scarcely a few weeks had elapsed before a change had taken place at the Bay of Islands, in the additional number of whalers calling there for supplies, a source of great profit to the merchants. Under the old system the port had almost become deserted, as it is well-known that these vessels will not go to places where they are interfered with by Customs regulations, if they can possibly avoid it."

The "Property Rate Ordinance," passed to replace the repealed Customs Ordinance, provided as follows:—

"Property Rate imposed.—On and after the 1st day of November next, there shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid, in manner hereinafter mentioned, in respect of all property and net yearly income within the colony of New Zealand, a yearly rate, according to the scale in the schedule hereunto annexed.

"What Property liable.—Property liable to the rate hereby imposed shall comprise every description of property, whether real or personal; and for the purposes of this ordinance, the value of such property shall be taken to be the marketable value thereof at the date of the return hereby required to be made in respect thereof.

"Income what, and how estimated.—Income liable to the rate hereby imposed shall comprise the net yearly profits of any trade, business, or profession; rents arising from real property, interest on money lent, pay, salaries, annuities, pensions, and every other description of income whencesoever or from whatever source the same respectively may be derived; and for the purpose of this ordinance, the amount of such income shall be taken to be the probable amount thereof for the year following the date of such return.

"Composition may be made.—In lieu of the

rate hereby imposed, it shall be lawful for any person liable for the payment of the same, to make a composition for such rate by paying the yearly sum of £12."

The schedule was as follows:—"When the property or income, or both taken together, of any person, shall not exceed £50, nil; £100, duty £1; £200, £2; £300, £3; £400, £4; £500, £5; £600, £6; £700, £7; £800, £8; £900, £9; £1000, £10; composition, £12."

These changes in the law had been so quickly made by the Governor in Auckland, that it was impossible for any remonstrance to come in time from the southern districts, where they were viewed with great dissatisfaction. The Legislative Council was itself closely divided respecting these changes, and the estimates were vigorously opposed by those members who desired retrenchment instead of taxation. The consequence of the southern settlers having been thus precluded from a voice in the passing of this measure was, that they gave no assistance in collecting the tax, but rather encouraged its evasion in every way.

Heke wrote in September to the Governor from Kaihoke:—"Friend the Governor, I write you to come to me. Will you come? Do come and do not be angry. It is by the lips of the Europeans that the late proceedings were increased and aggravated. In what way can we extinguish the evil?" He entreated him to come or to write, and said he had not attended the meeting when the Governor was at the Bay to make peace, because he feared that a quarrel with Waka Nene and other natives would result from his going. The Governor answered on 5th October in very kind terms, and said that he hoped to go to the Bay before long to see his old friend Davis and others, and would then be glad to meet Heke and "talk quietly." It may also be noted that, in a dispatch of 21st October to Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Governor sent the above information, and incidentally stated that the latest dispatch he had received from his Lordship was dated 18th April, *i.e.*, six months previously.

Again there came news of disturbance at the Bay of Islands. This time it was because of a Maori woman, living with a European at Kawakawa, having her finger cut by the policeman in a struggle to arrest her husband in which she interfered. The constable was armed with a cutlass, and her finger was hurt accidentally. She was a woman of rank, and *utu* was indispensable according to Maori

etiquette. They seized some horses belonging to other settlers, and the most alarming rumours were current. This was early in October. On the 23rd October some natives broke into the gaol at Russell, and stole two muskets, four pistols, and two cutlasses, and an attempt of the sheriff to recover the stolen property was unsuccessful. The Maoris in both these cases yielded on expostulation by Europeans and missionaries whom they knew, but much excitement was in the meanwhile created.

On the 25th November the Governor held a meeting at Taranaki, to which place he had come after settling the disturbance at the Bay. He informed the settlers and natives that he had decided not to give effect to Spain's award. The Company should have 3,500 acres close to the town. This would afford ample land for present wants, and the Maoris had agreed to relinquish all claim to it for £350 worth of goods, to be supplied to them by the Company. He waived the Crown's right of pre-emption over the remainder of the 60,000 acres, and was sure that the Company could buy it all up gradually within three or four years for £3,000.

Colonel Wakefield refused to accept this smaller block, and insisted on the maintenance of Mr. Spain's award. The Governor was resolute, holding that the true owners had not forfeited their right by absence, and could not be ousted because others had sold the land which did not belong to them. The settlers, cooped up in their small block, resented his action greatly. The ill feeling that had already grown up in Taranaki between the two races was much increased.

On the 19th December, 1844, the Governor wrote to the Secretary of State that the colony had improved in all respects, excepting in the financial position of the Government. He reported that Rauparaha and Rangihaeata had accepted from him, in Wellington, the compensation of £400, previously refused, and had promised that the valley of the Hutt should be given up entirely to the Company for its settlers. "Peace and good-will prevailed at Taranaki" among the Maoris, we must presume, for the Europeans were clearly dissatisfied. At the Bay of Islands affairs "were less satisfactory," and the Governor urged that more troops should be at once sent to him. He laid stress on his anxious position, and was then without dispatches from London later than the middle of the previous April, eight months from the date at which he was writing.

Meanwhile the powerful Company was loud in its complaints in London. A strong memorial went home from the landowners in Port Nicholson, who had bought at a high price from the Company, and believed that the penny-an-acre proclamation would attract all their labour and mean ruin to them. They charged the Governor with immature and precipitate resolutions, and with acting contrary to the Treaty of Waitangi, and being wrong and impolitic in other ways. They denied the reality of the danger from the natives which the Governor cited as one of his motives for action. They believed such danger to have been purely imaginary, and gave many other reasons for their dislike of a Government which gave public land with such prodigality to some, while the enormous expenditure of the Company and its settlers, at least a million sterling, had not yet entitled them in the eyes of the local Government to a single acre. The memorial also stated that in consequence of this policy of the Governor's, "landed property has suffered a sudden depreciation, and the working classes have been seized with a fever of excitement at the prospect of dispersing themselves through the country, as the owners of estates purchased at the rate of some trinket or bauble to the square mile."

So ended the year 1844. Its successor was to be eventful. On the 8th January, the Governor issued a proclamation offering £50 each for the delivery to the Resident Magistrate at Russell of the chiefs Parehoro, Mata, and Kokore, for "an act of depredation by the Kawakawa tribe, for which sufficient atonement had not been made." Also, "for flagrant robbery with personal violence at Matakana, by the Whangarei tribe." On 10th January, Heke cut the flagstaff down a second time. He did this quietly, for Waka Nene's people, who were in charge, did not think it right to spill blood "about a bit of wood." They therefore offered only verbal resistance, which Heke and his people disregarded.

The alarm was now great. The Governor offered, on 15th January, a reward of £100 for Heke's apprehension. Heke resented this very bitterly. He moved about with a large number of armed followers, keeping the district in great alarm, while declaring that he had no quarrel with the settlers, but only with the Governor. Again troops were sent for from Sydney, and their arrival was anxiously expected. Unfortunately, great delay occurred. It may be that

the Governor of New South Wales, Sir George Gipps, remembering the abortive result of the despatch of troops in hot haste only six months before, thought the present position not more serious. At all events, the high prices asked by shipowners for a charter were refused, and considerable time was thus lost.

The Legislative Council met in March, during this suspense. The rest of the colony continued tranquil, but there was of course great anxiety lest the rising among the Maoris should spread. The estimated expenditure for the year 1845-6 was £26,000, being ten thousand pounds less than that of the previous year, and £30,000 less than it had been in 1842-3. These reductions were large, and showed that the Government was administered with economy. The revenue, however, had not improved. The Customs duties had been abolished, but the property tax was so unproductive as to scarcely cover the cost of collection.

Fifty soldiers were sent from Auckland. The flagstaff was re-erected, and shod with iron sheets to render any further attempt at cutting it down more difficult. A block-house was also erected for its protection, and H.M.S. Hazard remained on guard at the Bay. Heke was very indignant at the reward offered for him, and considered it was offering to buy him like a pig. He threatened that in four months he would be in Auckland with 2,000 men, and cut down the flagstaff there also. In Wellington the settlers held meetings to form themselves into volunteer corps, in case of risings in their own neighbourhood. At these meetings the Governor was denounced in unmeasured terms. In Nelson and Wanganui similar meetings were held; and in Taranaki the excitement was keenest of all. The Government, fearing collision in the existing excitement, refused to sanction the movement for volunteering. Upon this the Justices of the Peace took it upon themselves to authorise the persons named on certain rolls, sent to them by committees elected for the purpose, to arm and drill themselves under officers also therein named.

On the 22nd March, the Council being still in session, three large ships were signalled. All relied upon them being the anxiously expected ships with troops from Sydney. The excitement was intense when their real character was ascertained, for they were H.M.S. Hazard, the American corvette St. Louis, and the English whaler Matilda, filled with refugees from Russell, which had

been sacked and destroyed by the Maoris on the 11th. All Auckland was soon busy in providing food and shelter for the refugees, as well as hospital accommodation for the wounded. In the evening of the same day H.M.S. North Star came in from Sydney with the first of the troops, two hundred of the 58th Regiment. Next day came a small transport with fifty of the same regiment. The soldiers were landed and encamped for the defence of Auckland, as the most alarming rumours were current. It was afterwards known that Heke really intended attacking Auckland, but was deterred by two reasons. The first was a message from Waka Nene that he should now fight with him, and the second, that the Maoris were busy digging kauri gum, for which there had suddenly sprung up an active demand. They did not wish to have any fighting till this was over, and therefore did not gather to Heke's call in sufficient numbers.

The first official information of the disaster at Russell was conveyed in the following letters:—

GEORGE BECKHAM, POLICE MAGISTRATE, TO THE GOVERNOR.

I have the honour to inform your Excellency that about four o'clock this morning the town was attacked on all sides by a party of about two thousand armed natives.

The small-arms men and marines of H.M.S. Hazard, under the command of Captain Robertson (who, I am sorry to say, is dangerously wounded), endeavoured to drive them back, but in consequence of the block-house being surprised and taken, his party were obliged to retire into the stockade in the town.

Soon after a simultaneous attack was made, and a heavy fire was maintained on both sides for three hours, when the assailants were repulsed, and retired to the hills where they remained.

At one o'clock, the magazine in the stockade unfortunately exploded, and several persons were severely hurt and contused. The greatest portion of our ammunition being exhausted by this fearful circumstance, it was deemed advisable to embark the inhabitants and troops, and evacuate the town, which was then immediately stormed by the natives, who are now busily engaged plundering.

I am sorry to say that the casualties on the part of the Europeans have been very great.

The greatest praise is due to the officers and crew of H.M.S. Hazard for their conduct on this occasion.

LIEUTENANT PHILPOTS, OF H.M.S. HAZARD, TO GOVERNOR FITZROY.

11th March, 1845.

I have the honour to inform you that the forces have had a severe encounter with the natives this day, in which Acting-Commander David Robertson was wounded in several places, I fear mortally, and Acting-Lieutenant David Morgan was slightly wounded.

Our party consisted of about one hundred and fifty individuals. The whole of the naval and marine forces belonging to the ship behaved in a manner that elicits my warmest approbation. The place could have been

maintained, had not the block-house, the key to our position, been surprised and taken in the morning.

At about one o'clock the magazine in the stockade was blown up, wounding several persons, and the ammunition being completely expended, I deemed it advisable to order the inhabitants to embark.

Many of the land forces have been severely wounded, and some killed, the particulars of which I have not as yet been able to ascertain.

This dispatch has been written in extreme haste, owing to my anxiety to see the women and children shipped on board the different small vessels that I have been able to obtain.

The whole of my attention is at present directed towards preventing the ship from being surprised this evening, which it is the intention of the natives to attempt.

GEORGE PHILPOTS,

Lieutenant in command during the illness of the Acting Commander.

List of killed and wounded in this disastrous affair:

H.M.S. Hazard.—Sergeant Macarthy and Alexander May, Royal Marines, killed; William Lovell, John Love, F. Minnikins, and William Dandy, seamen, killed; Commander Robertson, dangerously wounded; Lieutenant Morgan, slightly wounded; and about fifteen others wounded.

66th Regiment. William Giddens, Henry Ireson, George Jackson, and William Miller, killed; James Durop, William Gutteridge, and Thomas Weeton, severely wounded; William Morris and William Scott, wounded.

Civilians.—Torre, Esq., solicitor, commander of the Dolphin, schooner, killed by explosion of the magazine; Thompson, Government boatman, and one of the seamen of the Victoria, killed; Mr. Abraham, dangerously wounded; Mr. Polack and several others, severely hurt; Lieutenant Barclay, fell on his face.

The captain of the U.S. corvette St. Louis was gratefully thanked by all, and Lieutenant Philpots wrote as follows:—

Auckland, March 17th, 1845.

SIR,—I cannot allow the St. Louis to quit this harbour without returning you the most sincere thanks of our officers and ship's company for the assistance you rendered us in taking off the sick and wounded from the beach at Russell (Kororareka) on the 11th inst., while exposed to a heavy fire from the Maoris, and also for the general attention you have evinced towards us.

I must further offer you my personal thanks for having relieved me of the responsibility of bringing here one hundred and fifty inhabitants of Kororareka.

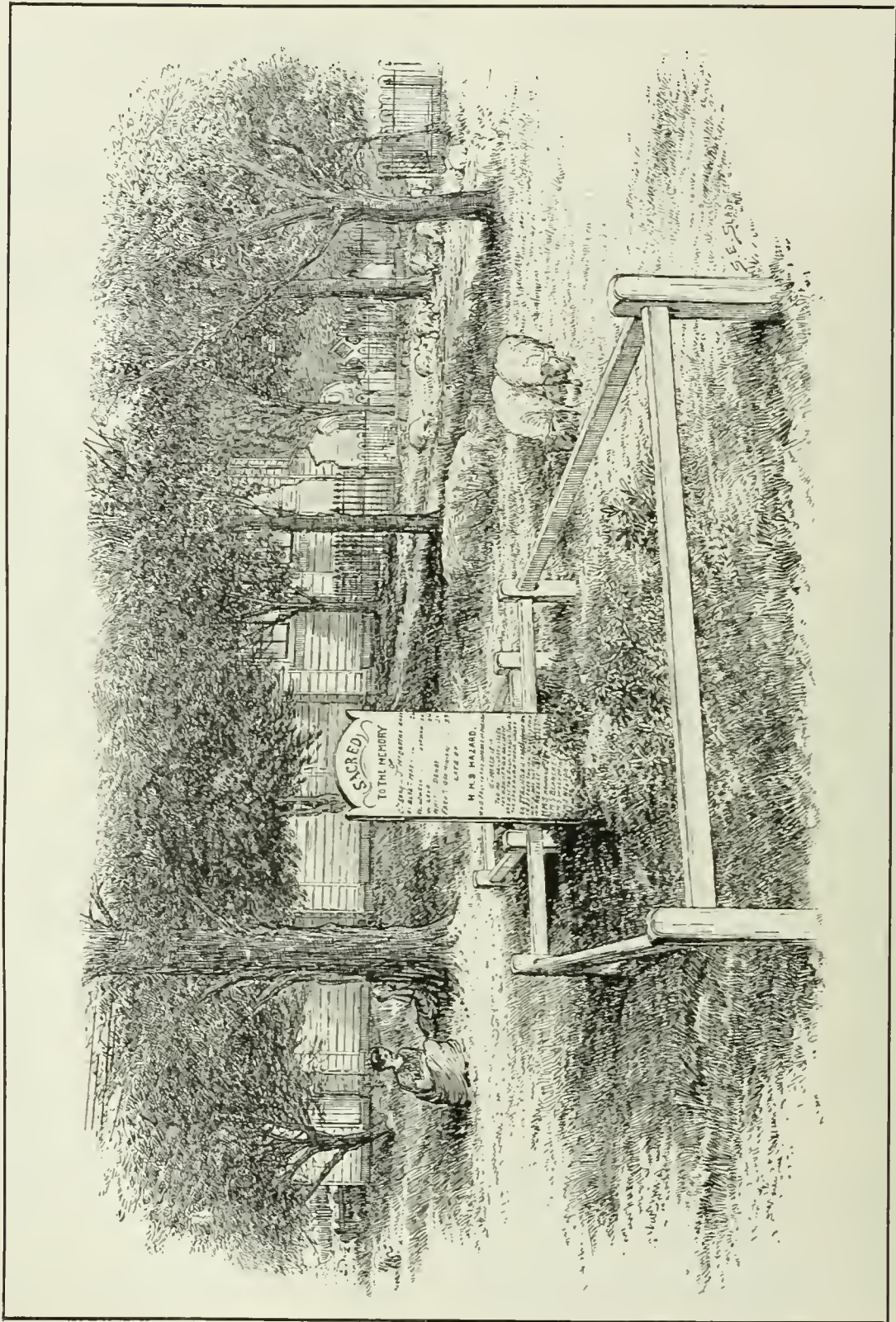
Before concluding this letter I feel bound to allude to a statement which has gone abroad, of your having declined rendering me assistance when requested to do so. At the time that I applied to you for aid I was under the impression that you had promised to land one hundred and fifty men, should we be hard pressed. That impression was formed merely from what I had casually heard in the stockade and on the beach. Had I had time to weigh the matter maturely I should have perceived the impossibility of your acceding to my solicitations, as it was clearly contrary to the principles of international law.

I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE PHILPOTS,

Lieutenant in command during Commander's illness.

To Captain McKEEVER, U.S. ship St. Louis, Auckland,



Graves of the British sailors killed at Kororareka.

To this account we may add, from "Thomson's Story of New Zealand," that there were only two military officers in charge of the small detachment of soldiers—a lieutenant and an ensign—"both of whom were afterwards tried by court-martial for the loss of the block-house. The lieutenant was honourably acquitted, and the ensign, a mere boy, was reprimanded for withdrawing his detachment from the block-house without orders. Most of the soldiers were recruits, and superstition caused them to dread savage more than civilised foes."

Another unpublished account, written at the time by an eye-witness, and placed at our disposal, is also worth giving. Too much light cannot be cast on this event, which will always be memorable in New Zealand history: "Hone Heke cut down the flagstaff for the third time. Troops were again sent for, and the *Hazard*, sloop-of-war, arrived in the Bay of Islands. The Government engineer put up a block-house to protect the flagstaff which was to be re-erected. The great folly was again committed of wishing to do things without the necessary means of support.

"Native courage was so undervalued as to have given rise to a belief that as soon as one or two men were killed they would run away, and the war be at an end. Notwithstanding the great danger to which the out-settlers were exposed by the erection of another flagstaff until timely notice should be given to come in, and the expected forces should have arrived, nothing would satisfy the officers of the *Hazard* but its being immediately set up. Officers and men volunteered their services, and it was forthwith erected. But the presence of a ship of war was very far from intimidating the natives. They began their operations by robbing Messrs. Black and Green of all they could carry away. They then robbed Mr. Benjamin Turner and Captain Wright.

"The gunboat of the *Hazard* was sent to recover two horses beyond Pomare's pa, but the boat's crew were fired upon. One seaman was slightly wounded, and the pinnace returned to the ship after firing three guns and wounding one native in the wrist.

"On Friday, the 7th inst., warlike demonstrations on the part of the natives induced the commander of the *Hazard* to send the pinnace to cut off some canoes, and she fired three guns at a small one containing Hone Heke and two of his people, but this did no damage, and she returned without a trophy.

"During these warlike occurrences a second

block-house was erected on an eminence above Mr. Polack's, but in selecting this spot for the purpose, it seemed to have been previously determined that the upper one should on no account fall into the hands of the enemy. A third and lower defence was erected around Mr. Polack's house, formerly the Russell Hotel, where the greater part of the property in the town was carried, and where the majority of the females and children took up their nightly quarters. All these arrangements were made on the assumption that the upper block-house was impregnable. A gun brought from the Sir John Franklin was placed on the hill behind the Catholic Bishop's house, and three or four men put there to guard it all night.

"The male residents of Russell had been formed into a 'Civic Guard,' and for upwards of a week did duty, working hard almost every day and keeping guard at night. During the week several alarms were given at various hours of the night, natives being seen in different quarters. During all this time the inhabitants were busy removing their goods to Mr. Polack's house, where the amount of property must have exceeded £10,000.

"On one occasion Lieutenant Philpots, on horseback, rode with a young midshipman, whom he called his aide-de-camp, to ascertain if the natives were robbing at Mr. Ben. Turner's place. They were both taken prisoners, but much to the surprise of every one, they were released by the Maoris with the trifling loss of a pistol.

"On Saturday Hone Heke sent word that the inhabitants might rest quiet on the Sunday, but might look for him on the Monday; but on the Monday many persons were of opinion that he had given up the intended attack, as natives were seen driving cattle on the beach at Paroa Bay. Two shells were fired at them without effect.

"Tuesday, the 11th, was an eventful one for the natives, and a most ill-omened one for the people of Russell. At break of day several shots were fired on the hill behind Bishop Pompallier's; a seaman was shot dead, and the natives took possession of the gun. The captain of the *Hazard* led the charge beyond the church, and received several severe musket wounds. The engagement now became general, the troops in charge of the upper block-house came out, it is supposed, to repulse the enemy, and were driven down the hill, the block-house and flagstaff being taken possession of without the firing of a single shot. After this the natives planted a

flag of their own (a red shirt on a long stick). The Hazard threw several well-directed shots at the upper block-house, but failed in destroying it. The second block-house, having a battery of three guns, commanded by Mr. Hector, fired a number of rounds and a well-supported charge of musketry, but did little execution. Whilst this was going on the natives cut down the flagstaff, notwithstanding its being thickly cased in iron, and shouted triumphantly.

"At this period the fortunes of war were decidedly against the whites. The upper block-house was taken, and the natives taking themselves to some old entrenchments on the slope of the hill commanding the second block-house, had every chance of a destructive fire on the whites, and it was here that most lives were lost by the Europeans. Had the natives rushed upon that post they might have brought the cannon to bear on the population assembled within the stockade erected around Mr. Polack's, and the slaughter would have been most awful; but in everything the natives did it was evident that their object was the downfall of the flagstaff, and not the destruction of the whites, for at this momentous period a flag of truce was observed upon the upper hills, from which the natives had taken down their red one, and Mrs. Tapper and her children, who were said to have been killed by the natives, were brought down and delivered to the Europeans unhurt; Tapper, who had charge of the flagstaff, having been badly wounded in the back whilst at the second block-house.

"This act, so honourable to the natives, caused the temporary cessation of hostilities, but when the firing was resumed it became evident that neither the guns and mortars of the Hazard, nor the guns and musketry of the second block-house and battery, could dislodge the natives, who were fairly in possession of the town. In this state of affairs the females were brought away from Mr. Polack's house and carried on board the sloop of war Victoria and several small craft, during which the natives did not fire a single shot at them. Scarce had the females and children evacuated the house when a loud explosion was heard, and the house which they had just left, and in which it appears that a quantity of ammunition was placed, blew into the air, burning and wounding several persons severely. One female had her thigh broken, and Mr. Taw, acting as mate to the schooner Dolphin, was much disfigured and badly wounded.

"This awful explosion gave a sudden turn

to the events of the day. All idea of resistance seemed to be abandoned, and the seamen and troops, the civic guard, and everyone connected with the town, repaired to the boats, which hastened to receive them, and embarked on board. Meanwhile the wings of Mr. Polack's house had caught fire, and a great amount of property was consumed. No sooner had the sailors and soldiers, together with their civic brothers in arms, left the beach than the natives turned their attention to the property left at their mercy, and forthwith began plundering on all sides.

"At this critical moment a large English whaleship, the Matilda, anchored in the bay, and to this vessel a great number of the houseless sufferers were removed from the Hazard and the Victoria.

"Several persons now availed themselves of the cessation of hostilities to endeavour to save their furniture and goods, and ventured on shore, where an extraordinary scene was passing. Natives and Europeans, without molesting each other, might be seen carrying off goods from the same houses, the one carrying off what they could of their own, and the others whatever they coveted. In this way the town might be said to be nearly sacked, the natives having the best of it, and carrying off vast quantities of goods, while others were busy in loading horses with property, which they carried off unmolested. The loss in houses and property during this memorable day must have exceeded £50,000, and two-thirds of the inhabitants were left without a change of clothing, and all most probably without a home, as there was but little chance of their finding their houses standing should they ultimately wish to return to Russell.

"Notwithstanding the warlike attitude of the civilians, it is a remarkable fact that scarcely a shot was fired by them, and it is so far fortunate, as the natives would, in all probability, have rushed down upon them from the heights of Maiki (on which stood the obnoxious flagstaff), and the carnage would have been terrible.

"Everything seemed to tend to a fatal result; the Hazard had got but little ammunition to spare, and it does not appear that a single Maori was hurt by her guns. In the impregnable block-house, which was to have been defended by a force of twenty-one men, there was not a day's provisions or a keg of water. The second block-house had neither food nor water, and was exposed to the galling fire from the two ridges on the right and left; and for the multitude at Mr. Polack's and

within the stockade not a single day's provisions had been provided, so that the whole population were exposed to the fire of the natives and the horror of famine."

Heke had placed a guard to protect the churches and buildings of the two missions—that of the Church of England and the Roman Catholics—which were thus saved from the general destruction. A few small detached houses were also saved. Thus ended the sacking of Kororareka, to which had been of late years given the name of Russell, really belonging to the block of land bought by Captain Hobson from Mr. Clendon, to establish the town which he then intended should be the seat of government. Bishop Selwyn, who had come up in his cutter the *Flying Fish*, took on board all the settlers that he could, and moved about with Archdeacon Henry Williams among the Maoris, burying the dead of both races, and attending to the wounded without molestation. The scene was extraordinary, and showed the Maoris in a light more favourable than any in which they had previously been placed.

Baron de Thierry, writing in 1848, states :— "Very noble was the conduct of the victorious natives, in full excitement at the fall of Kororareka, when they hoisted a flag of truce to bring down the wife and daughter of Tapper, the signalman. They murdered Wing's half-caste girl, when locked for protection in the white girl's arms, but saved the white woman and her daughter, that they might show that it was against the soldiers and sailors they were fighting, but not against the settlers. Indeed they proved this in an eminent degree, for many families, in various parts, who might have been cut to pieces with impunity, remained unharmed, and when firing ceased from the *Hazard*, and Bishop Selwyn went ashore to assist the wounded and bury the dead, some of the inhabitants who had taken refuge on board the vessels in the harbour ventured on shore in hopes to save some of their property. The natives with the utmost good humour allowed them to help themselves to what they could collect, they, too, making up huge bundles which they carried to the natives in the rear, both parties scrambling for what they could obtain without exchanging an angry word."

The arrival of the refugees in Auckland, and the rumours of Heke's intention to attack that city, naturally caused intense excitement there.

Out-settlers, dreading a war of races, congregated about Auckland. Several colonists left the country, and property could be bought

at a nominal price. Britomart barracks were entrenched and two block-houses built. A militia ordinance was hastily passed, and three hundred men were trained to arms. Fort Ligar, an earthwork near the Roman Catholic Chapel, was thrown up, and the windows of St. Paul's Church were barricaded. The Governor was now convinced that war alone could bring about peace. Despatches were sent to Australia for more troops and ammunition. On the 22nd April, 1845, the Legislative Council was prorogued. The Governor proclaimed that the war was to be conducted with justice and mercy. Mr. George Graham, of the Royal Engineers, who had been in the colony since 1840, accompanied part of the 80th Regiment to the Bay of Islands, and erected a temporary barrack there.

The following extracts from publications at the time show the excitement that also prevailed in other parts of the colony :—

On April 5, "Mr. Barton and Mr. Forsaith returned from the Wairarapa to Wellington, having induced the chief Wereta, who was concerned in the robbery of Mr. Barton's station, to give up the stolen property. Wereta made a cession to the Crown of a large block of land in the district as an atonement for his violence."

At Wellington "a public meeting was held at Barrett's Hotel on March 29, by adjournment from Mr. Clifford's house, Mr. Clifford in the chair. The chairman explained at some length the proposed arrangements, namely, to divide the town and settlement into districts, to swear in special constables, to organise them as an active force, and to appoint places of refuge in each district, which were to be fortified, for the safety of the women and children in the event of attack. In the course of his observation he stated that Major Richmond was very desirous of doing all in his power, on the part of the Government, to provide for the protection of the settlement, and would sanction such measures as might be deemed necessary by the inhabitants to secure this end. A Committee was formed of the magistrates of the district and the following gentlemen :—Major Hornbrook, Major Baker, Major Durie, Captain Sharp, Mr. Compton, to co-operate with His Honour the Superintendent (Major Richmond), and the military authorities. The Committee held their meeting at Mr. Davis's Saloon, Lambton Quay, Mr. Clifford presiding. A series of resolutions were passed sympathising with the refugees from the Bay of Islands, and strongly condemning the action of the

Government for allowing matters to drift into the position in which they were. The following resolutions were adopted:—That the destructive policy so long acted upon by the Government of this colony has nearly ruined all the settlers, and that in consequence they have it not in their power to do more than contribute to the temporary support of the Bay of Islands refugees; that we, as colonists, hold the Mother Country responsible for her colonial policy, inasmuch as we have no power of interfering with it.' A petition to Parliament was also agreed upon, and an appeal made to the British public for subscriptions. The New Zealand Company and others interested in the welfare of the colony residing at home were requested to support the application to Parliament.

"Nothing," say the reports, "could exceed the energy and determination of the settlers on this occasion. Immediately on Mr. Clifford's leaving the chair, the magistrates commenced swearing the settlers in as special constables, and upwards of one hundred were sworn in in the course of the evening. Morning and evening drill had been steadily practised during the last week at Thorndon and Te Aro, and the number of volunteers assembled in the evening at both places has seldom been less than two hundred and fifty. Fortifications were thrown up with vigour, and the utmost enthusiasm prevailed. The Superintendent and Magistrates issued an address to the inhabitants on the position of the settlement arising out of the transactions in the North (Bay of Islands). The address concluded:—'The Superintendent and Magistrates would impress upon their fellow-settlers the importance of maintaining those peaceful relations with the natives which, in spite of numerous provocations, have been preserved unimpaired for upwards of five years. No excuse should be furnished to the natives for any act of hostility at the present juncture. They rely with confidence upon the good sense and good feeling of the settlers to avoid all occasion of strife.'"

Waka Nene lost no time in performing his promise to the Governor, and pursued Heke, whose attack upon Kororareka he regarded as upon himself. He had undertaken to prevent Heke doing mischief, and now energetically sought to punish him and Kawiti. Assembling all the force he could, Waka Nene at once moved into the country to which Heke had retired. The following letter written three weeks after the sacking of Russell was

from the Rev. A. Chapman, a Church of England missionary of old standing, to his friends in Auckland, and appeared in the *Southern Cross*. Mr. Chapman wrote:—

Waimate, April 3rd, 1845.

DEAR FRIENDS,—I arrived here on Wednesday evening. I found all the roads blockaded, and could not proceed. Heke and his force had gone the day before, and taken a dray and bullocks to draw a great gun they had taken from Kororareka with them to the stone pa. They commenced action on the plains, between the pa and the bush. The road leading to Hokianga was crowded with Heke's men, so that I could not pass. Nene and Repa with the chiefs of Hokianga were strongly posted in front of the bush, where they had got their pa. Repa with his party decoyed them on and opened fire. They retreated. Heke rallied his men until they got nigh to Nene's pa, and a heavy fire commenced on both sides. Heke retired with the loss of one man and five wounded. Nene lost by accident one man before the action commenced, and one wounded in the hand. The Rev. Mr. Burrows rode out to see Nene's brother, and to know whether he would return by the North Star. He refused until the matter was settled. The balls fell round him in all directions, but he returned quite safe. To-morrow we expect will be the great day. Nene is getting reinforcements every day. They are in high spirits, with the colours flying on their pa. Heke seems afraid to lead his men, but leaves it to others. I and others were standing on the high hill Pukanui, watching the whole of his proceedings with glasses. It is the prayer of every European here, that the worthy Nene and Repa, with other chiefs and their valiant men, will gain the victory over their rival Heke, and restore peace.

A. CHAPMAN.

The Rev. Mr. Burrows, who is here referred to, has published his diary kept during these days. It is a most valuable record of events, and throws a strong light on the thoughts and customs of the Maoris then fighting for and against us. Mr. Burrows moved about freely and saw all that was going on, being much respected by the Maoris, among whom he had worked for the previous five years.

At New Plymouth a public meeting was also held on the 10th April, in which men of both races took part, for many of the Maoris were strongly inimical to Heke and Kawiti and their action. The magistrate was asked to authorise the formation and arming of a volunteer corps, and the following memorial was adopted and sent to Governor Fitzroy:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We, the undersigned inhabitants of the district of Taranaki, in public meeting assembled, feel the urgent necessity, in consequence of the generally excited state of the native population throughout the Northern Island, of again representing to your Excellency the peril to which the settlement is exposed from its totally unprotected state. Whilst measures are in progress for forming and disciplining a volunteer corps or militia, the condition of the Taranaki settlers may become one of the most pressing difficulty. In the meanwhile we feel it a duty so imperative as to become an act of self-preservation, to call upon your Excellency to afford us efficient military protection. We are aware

that in other parts of the northern island where, from their superior numbers, the settlers are better able to protect themselves, your Excellency has thought fit to sanction a body of regular soldiers; and we are at a loss for a reason why the inhabitants of New Plymouth should not have that aid to which their contributions to the support of the general Government entitle them. We need not remind your Excellency that the payment of taxes entitles the community to the protection of the Government; and we found our application for the immediate presence of regular troops as well upon the fact that Taranaki has, through various sources, paid its full proportion of the expense of government, as upon the inherent right of loyal subjects in every part of the world to protection from the Crown and its representatives.

Numerous signatures were immediately appended to the memorial; also several persons signed the resolution for defraying the cost of a stockade, etc. It was announced that six gentlemen had undertaken to "mount" and "horse" one of the pieces of artillery (a six-pounder) for the defence of the settlement. The Police Magistrate engaged to supply ammunition. A considerable number of volunteers offered their services, and a meeting was called for the 14th inst. to decide upon the means of erecting a stockade and block-house. Mr. Protector Donald McLean explained to the Maoris the object of the proceedings of the Europeans with the assurance that they were strictly defensive.

As indicative of the feeling of the time, we may here mention that very great indignation was expressed in Wellington because Bishop Selwyn had taken Te Rau-paraha to the house of the Rev. Mr. Cole, a clergyman of Wellington, to stay there during a visit made by that chief to the city. Major Richmond, the Superintendent, and the Sub-Protector, Mr. Forsaith, had gone to Porirua and provided for his safe escort to Wellington. The Bishop had publicly refused to shake hands with Rangihaeata, and shown to the natives his horror of the massacre at Wairau on every occasion. But he refused to recognise Rauparaha as responsible for it, and did no more than his clear duty in providing for the safety of that chief on this occasion. The outcry got up against him was bitter. Its expression was of the most lamentable kind, but treated by him without the least notice or remark.

The Government issued the following proclamation on the 26th April:—

PROCLAMATION.

All natives of the Bay of Islands or its neighbourhood who are desirous of peace, commerce, and friendship with Europeans, and the maintenance of the Queen's just authority, while benefiting by her protection, are hereby called on and required to separate themselves in a few

days from the ill-disposed natives, and to gather round their own chiefs, under the British flag, either at their own places, or round the mission station, which will be secure places of refuge.

During the continuance of war, no natives may approach the ships or soldiers, or encampment at the Bay of Islands, wherever placed, without having a missionary or a protector, with a white flag with him, lest the soldiers should mistake friends for enemies, and fire upon them in error.

All boats and other property taken away from Kororareka by plunderers must be forthwith given up to persons duly authorised to receive the same.

Martial law at the Bay of Islands was also proclaimed on the same day. This was immediately followed by the despatch of three hundred troops under Colonel Hulme, who had also fifty volunteers from the Kororareka refugees, formed into a company under Mr. Hector, who had so well held the one gun battery to the last at the defence of Kororareka. They arrived at the Bay on the 28th April. H.M.S. North Star was lying there, and at once shifted her berth to opposite the entrance of the Waitangi river, where the troopships also anchored.

On the 29th they moved to the Kawakawa river, and arrived off Pomare's pa about midnight. A flag of truce was flying at the pa which was answered by a white flag from the ship. The troops were disembarked, and Pomare seized and brought off as a prisoner. This was done to save bloodshed, as it was believed he intended fighting, but it was regarded on all sides as both wrong and a blunder. Pomare was kindly treated and sent to Auckland, but quickly released, with a present of a boat as *ulu* for the capture. Fortunately he does not appear to have borne any malice for the wrong thus done to him.

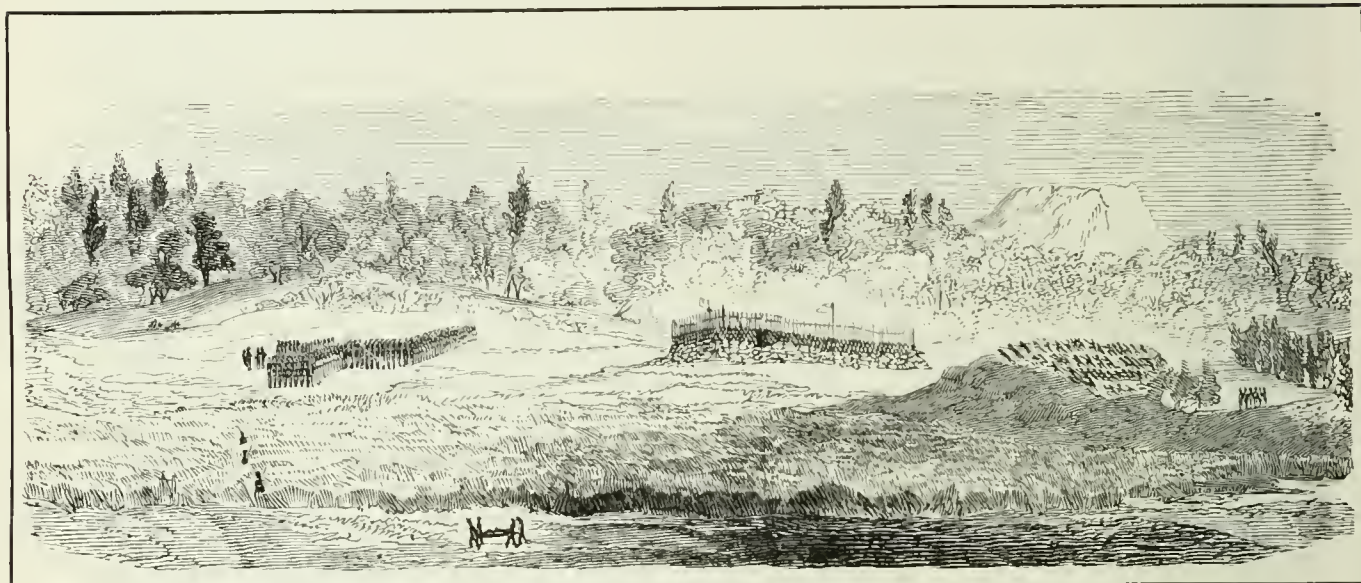
Next day the troopships were taken to Paihia, and Nene came on board to concert measures for attacking Heke. H.M.S. Hazard had also by this time come from Auckland, and the whole of the vessels anchored "between the Favourite Shoal and Kent's Passage." On the 3rd May they began disembarking the troops on Onewara beach, adding to them a naval brigade of 108 men from the ships of war. They were joined by Maoris under Nene, and the march began along the banks of the Kerikeri. They halted at Mr. Kemp's place, and were delayed there on account of the wretched weather.

Thence they moved through a dense forest by a track previously cut to Nene's pa, where they camped in huts of nikau palm put up by the Maoris for their reception. After this they reconnoitred Heke's pa at Okaihau, and

found it extremely strong, being defended by three separate palisadings of heavy timber and a stone wall with a ditch inside.

On the 8th May they moved to the attack. The rocket party took up their position, and commenced a well-directed fire on the pa, but the rockets did no effectual damage. The small arm men of the North Star and Hazard, the Royal Marines, and the light companies of the 96th and 58th Regiments took up their positions on three sides of the pa, from which a heavy fire was opened upon them by the Maoris. A party of natives under Kawiti, behind a breastwork on the brow of the hill about 150 yards from the pa, also opened fire on the troops.

Kawiti's men within sixty yards of our position on the brow of a hill, in ambush, under cover of some brushwood. We immediately poured in a volley and charged them. The rebels in the pa observed this, hoisted the English red ensign and a red flag on separate staffs, and a party of about one hundred and twenty sallied out from the pa and attacked the small party placed under the breastwork to keep up the fire on the pa. The men sent to attack Kawiti saw this, and having routed him, returned to assist those in the breastwork. Heke's men seeing this, retreated into the pa. In about an hour Kawiti resumed and held his old position. He was charged and routed with great loss, and did not appear again.



From a sketch by one of the officers.

The attack on Heke's pa at Okaihau.

Kawiti's people were driven out and their breastwork served as a protection to the attacking parties, who had to wait the firing of the rockets before the attack could take place. A sharp fire was kept up by our party on the pa, which was as sharply returned. The attack as at first intended was deemed impossible to be carried into effect. It would have entailed a sacrifice attended with the most serious consequences to so small a force. It was found impossible to make any decided impression with small arms, and the Lieut.-Colonel's first idea of taking the pa by assault proved impracticable. About noon one of Nene's party, a fine, gallant fellow, discovered

A heavy, destructive fire was kept up till four o'clock. The order for joining the main body was then received. A party from the reserve advanced to cover the retreat, which was effected in good order, with only one killed and three wounded. The firing on both sides ceased at five o'clock, when the troops and natives returned to Nene's encampment.

During the day the whole of Waka's and other friendly tribes were with the main body, ready to act in the event of Heke's retreating to the forest. They did good service in bringing off our wounded men under a heavy fire within half musket shot of the pa. The troops remained at the camp all Friday, preparing

stretchers for the wounded. They marched to the Kerikeri on Saturday, and on Sunday embarked. Too much praise cannot be given to the natives in every way. They procured food for the troops and assistance in carrying the wounded. Our losses in these fights were very heavy. The following is a list of the killed and wounded:—Soldiers 58th and 90th regiments: 13 killed, 30 wounded; seamen and marines, 2 killed, 11 wounded. The native loss was also very heavy, being estimated at the time in killed and wounded at 200. But this was no doubt much in excess of their real loss, as they were under cover most of the time.

Colonel Hulme and a few troops returned with the wounded to Auckland. The remainder of the force occupied Kororareka. At Auckland the inhabitants were in daily expectation of hearing that the enemy's stronghold had been demolished, and their amazement cannot be described when they saw the haggard looks and worn-out accoutrements of the soldiers, and learned that fourteen brave men were left dead before Heke's untaken pa. As this was the second time the troops had returned to Auckland after defeat, a feeling of subdued resignation, visible on the faces of all the citizens, spread among the people.

The consternation following this unexpected defeat was great. People had expected the Maoris to retreat at once on being attacked. It was now clear that they would prove an enterprising and brave foe, and that their rude pas were not, as fortresses, to be despised. The lesson was a severe one, for we lost many brave men who did all that men could at Okaihau. The Governor now began to prevent ammunition and arms reaching the enemy, and for this purpose proclaimed, on the 19th May, the whole coast between Wangarei and Wangaroa in a state of blockade. On the 3rd June the blockade was extended along the remainder of the coast as far as Mangonui. All intercourse was forbidden with the natives within these bounds.

The following letter was sent by the Governor to Colonel Hulme, thanking him and the troops for their services at Okaihau, and

expressing his sense of the good result that would follow :

Government House,
Auckland, May 8th, 1845.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters, dated the 1st, 7th, 9th, 12th and 17th inst. giving a detailed account of your military operations, in consequence of the instructions contained in my letter of the 26th ultimo.

Allow me to offer my hearty congratulations on the satisfactory results of your exertions, and those of Her Majesty's forces, under your immediate command, or zealously co-operating.

The rebels are beaten and dispersed, their pa or fortification, impregnable to musketry, trebly stockaded with walls, embankments and ditches, is abandoned to the loyal natives.

The leaders, Heke and Kawiti, have fled to the woods, and their remaining followers are few in number. Their loss has been great. More than fifty were killed in action with your forces, and about one hundred and fifty were wounded.

Several chiefs of notoriously bad character are among those whose lives paid the forfeit of their destruction of the settlement of Russell (or Kororareka).

From the information hitherto received, I am inclined to believe that the beneficial effects of your expedition are greater, and would be more lasting than you would now suppose.

The gallant behaviour of Captain Denny and the light company of the 50th, the exemplary conduct of the brigade of seamen and marines under Captain Johnson, and the complete unanimity between the English and the loyal natives, have caused sensations never to be forgotten.

I have no hesitation in asserting that mutual good feeling between the two races has been much increased by these proceedings, that each holds the other in greater respect, and a more kindly intercourse will be the consequence. But these desirable results have not been effected without serious loss on our side, which I lament deeply. Fifteen killed and thirty wounded are on our list, a large number out of those actually engaged.

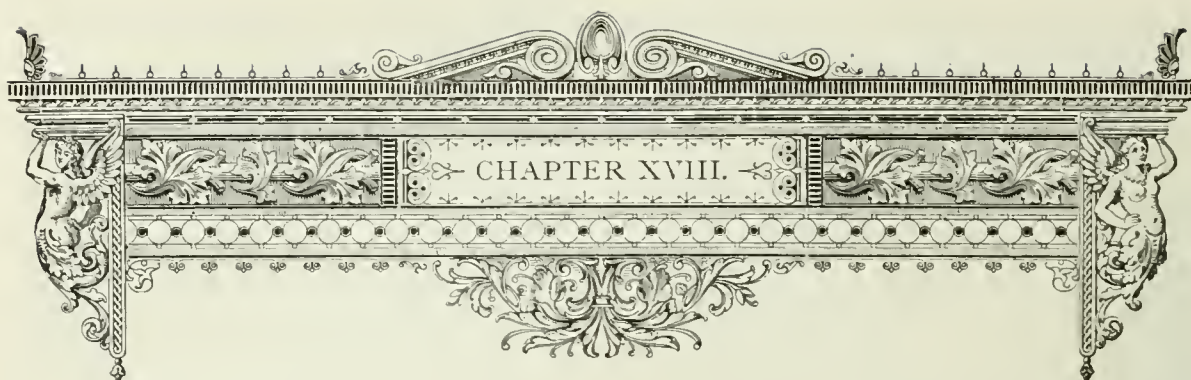
I do not for a moment lose sight of the difficulties and extreme risk which you encountered in such bad weather, without means of transport, without tents, without guns, and by no means certain how far the natives said to be friendly would act up to their professions.

On behalf of the colonists, the officers of the local Government, and myself, I now beg to offer you, and, with yourself, Major Bridge and the officers and men under your command, my very cordial and earnest thanks for the public service rendered so willingly, and with so much zeal, at the most critical period that has yet occurred in the existence of the colony.

I have the honour to be, etc.

ROBERT FITZROY,
Governor.

Lieutenant-Colonel HULME, commanding the troops,
New Zealand.



THE CLOSE OF GOVERNOR FITZROY'S ADMINISTRATION.

Arrival of more troops under command of Colonel Despard—Attack on the pa at Ohacawai—A disastrous repulse—Colonel Despard's dispatches—List of killed and wounded—The Maoris excited by Heke's victory—Debate on New Zealand affairs in the House of Commons—Governor Fitzroy recalled and Captain Grey appointed Governor—Fall of Ruapekapeka and end of Heke's war—Governor Fitzroy's policy—Comments by Baron de Thierry—Conclusion.



AFTER the fight at Okaihau the Maoris remained in possession, but had suffered such serious loss that they determined to seek a stronger position before a second attack could be made. Heke sent for the Rev. Mr. Burrows, and buried the dead Europeans with reverence—an action unexpected by the soldiers new to the country, and which gained for him and his people a respect that after acquaintance strengthened. Meanwhile Waka Nene and his people carried on against Heke the usual guerilla Maori warfare. On the 12th June, in one of these encounters, Heke was wounded in the thigh and disabled for some time. The erection and defence of the new pa, the site of which was fixed at Ohacawai, devolved therefore on his friend Pene Tawhai. This pa was situated nineteen miles from the Bay of Islands, and seven miles from the Waimate mission station. It was put up with great rapidity, but made unusually strong, and occupied an excellent position. On each side there was a thickly-wooded ravine, and in the rear stood a dense forest. Here the Maoris awaited further operations on

the part of the troops, fighting constantly in the meantime with our Maori allies.

More troops arrived from Sydney under Colonel Despard, who, as senior officer, took the command. The new commander was an old soldier who had seen service in India. On the 16th June the whole of the forces were assembled at the Kerikeri, where they halted for the night. They consisted of 520 soldiers, 30 sailors from H.M.S. Hazard, and 80 volunteers from Auckland. They had four of the Hazard guns, and after nine days of difficult and tedious marching were before Ohacawai on the 25th June. The attack began next day, but the cannon (twelve pounders) made no impression. A few days later another party of the Hazard's men arrived with a thirty-two pounder, which proved more effective. On the 1st of July, in spite of the strongly-expressed opinions of Waka Nene, and the adverse opinion of the officer of Engineers, Colonel Despard ordered an assault.

A storming party was formed of 160 soldiers under Majors Macpherson and Bridge, with 40 sailors and volunteers under Lieutenant Philpotts, of H.M.S. Hazard. The result was a disastrous repulse. In vain the brave men threw themselves against the palisades. They were shot down by the Maoris behind, and in ten minutes 107 were lying dead or disabled before the pa. For ordering this attack, in the face of such hopeless difficulties, the

Duke of Wellington thought, as Commander-in-Chief, that Colonel Despard should have been tried by court-martial, if one of due rank could at that distance have been assembled.

In spite of his heavy losses, Colonel Despard was induced, by the information as to Maori customs of war given to him by the Rev. Mr. Burrows and by the persuasion of friendly chiefs, not to quit his camp. As they anticipated, the Maoris from the pa did not attempt to molest him, being satisfied with having killed so many of the enemy with so little loss to themselves. More ammunition came up for the thirty-two pounder, and fire was reopened on the 9th July. Next evening the Maoris evacuated the pa, leaving some of the noisiest of their dogs tied up to deceive the besiegers into the belief that they were still in occupation. At daylight the pa was occupied by our troops. Colonel Despard's dispatch to the Governor was as follows:—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR FITZROY, AUCKLAND.

From the Camp before Heke's Pa, 2nd July, 1845.

SIR,—It is with much more regret than I can express that I have to acquaint your Excellency that an attempt was yesterday made by the troops under my command, in the afternoon, to carry the fortification or pa of Heke, without success, and we were repulsed with heavy loss. The particulars will be forwarded to you with as little delay as possible.

I enclose herewith a list of wounded. Many of the latter, I am sorry to say, are severe and dangerous. It is impossible to say too much in praise of the bravery and good conduct of both officers and men.

I have the honour to be, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

H. DESPARD,

Colonel Commanding the Troops.

The following is the subsequent account referred to, and also dated 2nd July:—

SIR,—Annexed is a detailed account of the action that took place between the troops under my command and the rebels, in the early part of the forenoon of yesterday, as also our assault on the pa and our repulse, which took place in the afternoon afterwards.

Finding the guns which I had brought with me from Auckland inefficient for breech-loading, from the very defective carriages, as they frequently upset from their own firing, I requested Captain Johnson, of H.M.S. Hazard, to send me one of his heavy guns, which was accordingly brought up to camp, a distance of fifteen miles land carriage, over most execrable roads, with great labour and difficulty, on the 30th; and during that day a platform was erected on the side of a hill on the right of our position, the top of which hill was occupied by our ally, Waka Nene, and his tribe. A sergeant's guard of the 58th Regiment was also there to protect a six-pounder that had been placed there with a view to raking the enemy's position. The Hazard's gun opened its fire about 10 o'clock a.m.; and while the attention of everybody was occupied in observing its effects, a sudden attack was made on this position from a very thick wood close in its rear, and Waka's people were driven from it.

I was in the battery halfway down the hill when this attack was made, when I instantly ordered up a party of the 58th Regiment under Major Bridge, who gallantly charged up the hill so as to turn the enemy's left flank, and regained the position with the loss of only one man.

This attack showed me the necessity of coming to an immediate decision, and I accordingly determined to attack the pa by assault in the afternoon, as soon as the few shot brought up from the Hazard (twenty-six in number) were expended, which I expected would so loosen the stockades as to enable the men attacking them to cut and pull them down. In pursuance of this resolution, a storming party was ordered to parade at three o'clock p.m., for this purpose, and I issued instructions for its guidance, as detailed in the accompanying memorandum. The parties for the attack were enabled to advance to within sixty to one hundred yards of the point of attack and there remain unperceived by the enemy in a ravine under cover. When the advance was sounded, they rushed forward in the most gallant and daring manner, and every endeavour was made to pull the stockade down. They partially succeeded in opening the outer one, but the inward one resisted all their efforts, and being lined with men firing through loop-holes on a level with the ground, and from others half way up, our men were falling fast; that, notwithstanding the most daring acts of bravery and the greatest perseverance, they were obliged to retire. This could not be effected without additional loss in the endeavour to bring off the wounded men, in which they were generally successful. The retreat was covered by the party under Lieut.-Colonel Hulme, of the 96th Regiment, and too much praise cannot be given to that officer, for the coolness and steadiness with which he conducted it under very heavy fire.

I must here remark, that the hatchets and axes, as well as the ropes for pulling down the stockade, and the ladder, were all thrown away or left behind, by those appointed to carry them; and to these circumstances I attribute the main cause of the failure.

I trust that it will not be thought that the character of the British has been tarnished on this occasion. One third of the men actually engaged fell in the attack, and during the eight days that we have been engaged carrying on operations against the place, one fourth of the whole strength of British soldiery under my command (originally not exceeding 490), have been either killed or wounded.

From Lieutenant-Colonel Hulme I have received every assistance during the whole of these operations, independent of his gallant conduct in covering the retreat. Major Macpherson, of the 99th Regiment, who led the principal attack, and was severely wounded, also deserves every praise for the daring manner in which he led his men to the assault, and though slightly struck on the left breast at the commencement, he gallantly persevered till struck down by a serious wound. Equal praise is also due to Major Bridge, of the 58th Regiment, for the coolness and steadiness with which he led his men to the attack, and his perseverance till called off. Where every individual has behaved equally well, it seems invidious to particularize names, but I cannot avoid mentioning the unwearied toil, zeal, and energy displayed by Lieutenant Wilmott, of the Royal Artillery, in conducting that department with the most inefficient means. Captain Marlow, Royal Engineers, and his department gave me every assistance in their power, while labouring under the same inefficiency of means as the artillery. I must not omit either to mention the able assistance and the active zeal that has been displayed by Lieutenant and Adjutant Deering, of the 99th Regiment (Acting-Major
wwl

of Brigade), whether under fire of the enemy, or in conducting the necessary details. The three officers with Major Macpherson's party were all either killed or wounded — Captain Grant, Lieutenant Beatty (who volunteered the forlorn hope), and Ensign O'Reilly. The volunteers from the New Zealand Militia, acting as pioneers, under Lieutenant Figg, deserve to be mentioned, and that officer himself has undergone unceasing toil of the most harassing nature with zeal and energy. Lieutenant Wood and the Militia Volunteers for the Artillery deserve to be included in this commendation.

"Captain Johnson, of H.M.S. Hazard, has given me the most unwearied assistance in every possible way, from the commencement of our operations, by sending up supplies of all sorts, even from his own ship, when stores were deficient. The seamen and marines of H.M. Navy have always borne the same character for bravery and intrepidity wherever they have been employed, and the few, eighteen in number, that joined this expedition from H.M.S. Hazard, have nobly supported the same character. Lieutenant Philpotts, R.N., fell when endeavouring to force his way through the stockade.

I have the honour to be, your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

H. DESPARD.

Lieut.-Colonel 99th Regiment and Colonel on Staff in New Zealand.

To His Excellency ROBERT FITZROY, Governor, etc., Auckland.

P.S.—The wounded are doing well under the able care and constant attention bestowed on them by Dr. Paine of the 58th, and Dr. Galbraith of the 99th Regiments.

Camp, Heke's Pa,
3 a.m., July 11, 1845.

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you that the pa is in our possession.

Offensive operations against it were resumed yesterday and continued till night, and would have been again resumed this morning, but the enemy evacuated the fortress during the night, fearing to stand another assault. I was made acquainted with the circumstance about midnight, but pursuit was then useless, and, from the nature of the country through which the retreat lay, thick wood and no road, an attempt at it would have probably been attended with unnecessary waste of human life. I now anxiously wait your Excellency's further instructions and am very desirous to get the troops under better cover before the rainy weather again commences.

I have the honour to be, etc., etc..

H. DESPARD,

Colonel commanding the troops
in New Zealand.

To His Excellency Governor FITZROY, etc., Auckland.

P.S.—The body of Captain Grant, of the 58th, which was missing, has been found. It had been buried outside the pa, where he fell, and was not mutilated.—H. D.

The following is a list of the killed and wounded on the 30th June and 1st July.

Her Majesty's ship Hazard. — Killed: Lieutenant Philpotts, one seaman and one private Royal Marines. Wounded: Two seamen.

Her Majesty's 58th Regiment. — Killed: Capt. Grant, Sergeant Halliday, Sergeant Morrow, Sergeant Andrew Wilson, Corporal William Stewart; privates Croft, Davis, Punchard, Morton, Fisher, Claxton, Anderson, Doherty, Leich, Molloy, Reynolds, Payne, Sutton, Goodram.

Wounded: Sergeant-Major Moir, Sergeant Geo. Brown, Sergeant Sims, Corporal Watkins; privates McQuin, MacGregor, Brain, Smith, Mitchell, Curran, Eagan, Morris, Carpenter, Byrns; Light Company — Ennis, Fleet, Breeson, Mapleston, Murphy, Lucas, Menis, Moll, Nowlan, Robinson, Gran, Tully, Hodgeskins, White, Latin, Hopkins, Tyson, Duffy, Findlay, Delamore, O'Callaghan, Burnett, Mitchell, Armstrong, Nowlan; J. Peace, McKinnon, Grenadiers.

Her Majesty's 96th Regiment. — Killed: Privates William Cure, William Stimpson, James Smith, William Wagstaff. Wounded: Corporal Edward Seymour, private John Walsh.

Her Majesty's 99th Regiment. — Killed: Grenadiers — Sergeant Thomas Todd; privates Martin Moran, John Hill, William Watson, William Pope, John Macrath; Light Company — George Mahon, John Noble, James Hughes, John Eaton, Patrick Hicken, Henry Mosely, James Stocks, Benjamin Heath. Wounded: Grenadiers — James Crane, Hugh Dowse, Jacob Edmonds, Michael Farran, Robert Hughes, Henry Spencer, William Swan, Hector McCormick; Light Company — Sergeant Maly Thomas, Sergeant Bradley Martin, privates William Bridges, Thomas Crawley, David Mark, Thomas Camins, Andrew Duncan, Patrick Flinn, Duncan Murray.

Auckland Militia Volunteers. — Wounded: Morris, Alexander, Sullivan, Beard, Browne, Dent, and Rily (since dead).

A contemporary writer says:—"Colonel Despard's despatch gave great offence, particularly his postscript respecting Captain Grant and his careless allusion to the brave Lieutenant Philpotts." From the conflict of Okaihau, the New Zealanders learned that they were no match against disciplined troops in the open field, and strengthened their pas, which, with much wit, they denominated their best allies. Heke, in the hour of victory, wrote two letters to the Governor about peace, which were full of war and insult. In one letter he said, "If you make peace, do not bear malice against your enemy. Cæsar, Pontius Pilate, Nebuchadnazzar, Pharoah, Nicodemus, Agrippa, and Herod were kings and governors; did they confer any benefit, or did they not kill Jesus Christ." So boastful were many after Okaihau that they attacked our native allies, and Heke then received the bullet in his thigh, which prevented him taking an active part in the next campaign. Meanwhile the Governor, although lamenting that the enemy had discovered their strength, was fully roused to the critical position of the colony."

Dr. Thomson, surgeon of the 58th Regiment, gives, in his admirable *Story of New Zealand*, published in 1858, a very interesting account of the operations in this short campaign. Of the night of the 1st July, after the repulse at Ohaeawai, he writes:—"Never did British troops pass a more dreadful night than the troops before Ohaeawai after this unsuccessful assault. Huddled together, in constant expectation of an attack, they could not shut

their ears to the groans of the dying, the moans of the wounded, and the shrieks of the captured soldier of the 99th Regiment, who was tortured every half-hour inside the pa with burning kauri-gum and red-hot irons. Unfortunately the night was still, not a leaf stirred in the forest, and his screams of 'Oh, my God!' with yells and roars of the war dance, drove the soldiers frantic."

We quote this, but it is only right to add that subsequent inquiry has cast great doubt on the torture referred to, which has always been regarded by the Maoris as a mistake, caused by the songs and shouts of the heathen among them in the pa. It must also be admitted to be quite inconsistent with their behaviour on other occasions during this war.

Throughout the fighting in the North, the Southern settlements, though kept uneasy by repeated threatening rumours, remained undisturbed. But their discontent grew at the absence of land titles and the position taken by Governor Fitzroy in connection with these and other matters. A public meeting was held at Wellington on the 20th August, with Mr. Clifford in the chair, and Dr. Featherston and Mr. Fitzherbert as the chief movers of resolutions. A petition to the Queen, drawn up by Mr. Domett, was then adopted, and fully set forth the position from their point of view. In its purport the petition was, however, only an able *résumé* of the facts in connection with the Company's settlers, their complaints of the seat of government being so far away, and of Governor Fitzroy's administration generally, to which we have already referred. The petitioners asked for the Governor's recall, but that had been already decided upon in London two months before the petition was signed in New Zealand.

The New Zealand Company in London con-

tinued its contests with the Colonial Office, while its agents and settlers in New Zealand were unceasing in their attacks on the Governor of the colony. The Colonial Office and the Governor maintained that the rights of the Maoris to their land and the Treaty of Waitangi should be rigidly respected. The Company held that these rights were non-existent unless beneficial use or occupation could be also proved. Their purchases had been made on the assumption that the true benefit to the Maoris was not in the immediate price received by them, but in setting aside for their permanent benefit one-tenth of all

the lands bought from them. To get possession in this way and to hand over to their settlers all the land not occupied by the Maoris, and to trust to those settlers and the British Government to maintain them in possession, was the only policy open to them after the first initial wrong of selling the land in 1839 in London before they had acquired possession of it in New Zealand.

Their influence in Parliament was great, and enabled them often to make terms with Ministers which no less influential Company could have succeeded in enforcing. Their co-operation in effecting the colonisation of New Zealand was at last openly accepted by the Government, and Gov-



Sir George Grey, K.C.B. in 1858.

ernors gave them all aid, short of seizing for them disputed Maori lands. Without giving them summary possession of such lands, the aid rendered was, however, of little value. The Company exhausted its funds, and in 1843 sought and obtained from Lord Stanley a supplemental charter, empowering them to borrow and raise at lawful interest any sum or sums not exceeding £500,000 upon the security and credit of any portion of the subscribed capital of the Company not called up, and of the profit of the undertaking, and of the lands,

tenements, hereditaments and other property for the time being of the Company. Being unable to raise this sum in the money-market, the Company reported to the Government in February, 1844, that their funds were exhausted, and asked for a loan of £100,000, which they proposed to borrow from the public.

The Government declined to afford them any assistance, excepting on certain conditions, of which the directors were not in a position to avail themselves. Shortly afterwards the Company was compelled to suspend its operations in the colony in consequence of these pecuniary difficulties. The suspension caused great depression in all their settlements. In order to remedy it, in the case of the Company's labourers in the Nelson settlement, the resident agent, Mr. Fox (afterwards Sir W. Fox), induced them to settle on the land, so that they might have some food of their own raising. Labour by piece work was also allotted to them in forming roads near such land. This employment, however, soon ceased, and great distress followed. Food of every description became so scarce that seed potatoes which had been in the ground a fortnight were dug up to appease hunger. For months many never tasted bread, but were forced to eat wild greens, and in some instances rats, to relieve the cravings of hunger.

Some of the immigrants found means of leaving the settlement. Many of those who remained were forced to abandon the land they had commenced cultivating, and work for those of the land purchasers able to employ them. The wages were small and, in many instances, had to be taken out in just such goods as the employers happened to possess, and at their own prices. Yet such is the selfishness of human nature that many of the Company's land purchasers complained that faith had been broken with them. They had bought from the Company on condition that their purchase money was to be partly spent in sending out labourers to work for them. These labourers were now being placed by the Company's agent on their own land, and the original purchasers would thus be deprived of their services through the act of the Company, which they denounced as injurious and unfair. The Government came at last to the Company's aid, and by a large advance enabled it to resume operations.

The Governor, after the capture of Ohaeawai, was compelled to wait for more troops before attempting to attack the new pa put up by

Kawiti at his own place, Ruapekapeka, or the Bat's Nest. This pa was more difficult of approach and much stronger than Ohaeawai. Thus affairs remained for the concluding four months of Governor Fitzroy's rule after the capture of Ohaeawai.

Heke and Kawiti had not been brought to terms. The former warrior, being fond of epistolary correspondence, employed himself in writing letters to the Governor; the latter was occupied in building pas. Heke's hatred of Europeans, Kawiti's ancient feuds with our allies, and Governor Fitzroy's conditions of peace, kept them hostile. To both chiefs death was preferable to relinquishing the lands of their fathers, one of the Governor's terms of pardon. They were still in high spirits, and all over the country they obtained much sympathy. Te Heu Heu, the great Taupo chief, told Mr. McLean he considered Heke in the right, and that the English were an insatiable people, desirous of conquering all nations. The inhabitants of remote villages in the interior often sat up until daylight, in expectation of messages from the seat of war, and none of the conflicts lost anything in splendour from the distance the news was carried. Heke rose high in the estimation of his race. The first warrior who had fought against England's trained soldiery, he stood forth as the deliverer of his country. His personal appearance was dignified and prepossessing, and his connections were not unworthy of his position.

In June, 1845, a debate, lasting over three days, took place about New Zealand in the Imperial Parliament. The New Zealand Company was strong in Parliament and its friends were loud in its defence. The Company was as strongly denounced by Admiral Rous and others. The Government, at the opening of the debate, announced that a dispatch had already been sent to Governor Fitzroy recalling him for having broken the Royal instructions and the irrevocable policy of the Government by waiving the pre-emption on Maori land and creating a new currency. In other respects the dispatch was most kindly worded; but it fell heavily on the Governor, as it arrived just at a time when, strengthened by the arrival of large reinforcements, he hoped to strike a decisive blow and end the Maori war. It was at the same time announced that his successor would be Captain Grey, then Governor of South Australia, where his administration had been very successful. Captain Grey had before been known as an Australian explorer and as the writer of a letter on the best mode

of dealing with native races. This letter was thought of so highly that the Secretary of State sent it in 1840 to Captain Hobson for his guidance in dealing with the natives in New Zealand.

On the 14th November, 1845, Captain Grey arrived in Auckland, having come from Adelaide in the East India Company's war steamer *Elphinstone*, placed, with a detachment of the Company's Artillery, at his disposal. Captain Fitzroy, who had gone through so many trials and so much trouble, felt keenly his supersession just as he hoped, with the greater force at his command, to retrieve the losses of the past. But he tendered to his successor the fullest information and most cordial assistance which Governor Grey warmly acknowledged in his own first dispatches.

His Excellency Captain Grey landed officially on the 18th under salutes from H.M. *North Star* and *Racehorse*. He at once instituted vigorous measures to bring the war to a close and place the disorganised finances of the country on a better footing. During the first month after his arrival he called in the Government debentures then circulating, paying part in cash and making the balance a fixed loan at eight per cent. He stopped the private purchase of native lands, restoring the Crown's pre-emption. Feeling that the prestige of the Imperial forces must be established by a victorious campaign, he cut off all negotiations with Heke and Kawiti, stopped the sale of arms, issued a proclamation warning all natives that those who did not render active aid, whenever an opportunity arose, would be regarded as hostile, and caused regular rations to be issued to the Maori contingent under the chief Tamati Waka Nene.

A force numbering 1,173 was now available, and with the co-operation of the native allies, active operations were commenced against Kawiti's pa at Ruapekapeka. On the 1st of January, 1846, the British forces established themselves in a strong stockade, in the middle of a wood, distant about four hundred yards from the pa, and in which, subsequently, were mounted two thirty-two pounders, and four small five and a half inch mortars, and the wood in front of the guns being cut down, the western face of the pa was exposed to their fire.

On the 2nd instant Kawiti made a sortie from the pa for the purpose of turning the flank of the stockade and destroying it before it was finished; but Nene and our allies drove

them back, killing four and wounding several of the enemy. The British troops were not engaged in this affair, at the particular desire of the loyal native chiefs. After the sally from the pa another small stockade, but more advanced, about 100 yards from the pa, was erected, mounting one 18-pounder and one 12-pound howitzer for the purpose of destroying the south-west angle of the pa. The main camp was distant about half-a-mile from the pa, situated on a ridge, surrounded on all sides by thick woods. In front of the camp were three guns with an apparatus for throwing rockets.

On Saturday, the 10th January, all the batteries being completed, a general fire was commenced from the whole of them, for the purpose of effecting a breach, and rockets were likewise discharged, in order to annoy the enemy within the pa. Towards evening, the outer works showed the effects of the guns, and three breaks were made.

An assault was then contemplated by the commanding officer, and two hundred of the troops were told off to lead the attack. During the afternoon a great number of natives had been seen from the battery to enter the pa stealthily in small parties; and it was very clear that the natives within the pa were considerably reinforced, and also that they were well prepared, anticipating an assault. The chief Mohi Tawhai remonstrated with the commanding officer, asserting that it would be sacrificing the lives of brave men to attempt the assault on that evening; and that by continuing the breaching, the object would be accomplished in a few days. The troops were then ordered back to the camp.

On the following morning, Sunday, the 11th January, about twelve of Nene's natives, with William Walker, his brother, approached the breaches to reconnoitre, and not perceiving or hearing any natives within the outer stockades of the pa, they entered, and as soon as they found they were unopposed, conveyed signals to our forces in the batteries, when the sailors and troops rushed forward into the pa, before Kawiti's natives, who were outside the pa engaged at their *karakia* (worship), could re-enter. As soon as they ascertained that they had thus, by negligence, lost possession of their stronghold, they commenced a heavy fire on our troops from the woods and from the back parts of the pa, but the numerical strength of the European forces and native allies, in addition to the protection afforded by the internal defence of the pa, rendered all attempts unavailing, and if our troops and

seaman had remained within the pa instead of rushing out to contend with the natives in the woods, very few casualties would have occurred. After continuing the fire, in order to carry off their killed and wounded, the natives retired into the woods to a pa, about three miles distant, recently erected by Heke (who joined Kawiti on Saturday afternoon) as a place of refuge for Kawiti, in case he should be expelled from Ruapekapeka. The loss of the European forces was twelve killed, of which number nine were seamen and marines, and thirty wounded, inclusive of seventeen seamen and marines. The native rebels suffered a loss of twenty-five killed, as correctly as could be ascertained. Within the pa no ammunition or provisions were found. The former had been divided among them on the Saturday evening, anticipating the attack, and they had been subsisting on fern-root alone for some time previously.

The following are Colonel Despard's despatches describing the operations:—

Camp at the Ruapekapeka,

Kawiti's Pa, January 11, 1846.

SIR,—It is with extreme satisfaction that I have the honour of acquainting your Excellency that Kawiti's stronghold, or pa, at the Ruapekapeka was this day carried by assault by the force under my command, after a bold and most determined resistance on the part of the enemy, who continued the action long after he had been driven from the fortress; but the ardour and intrepidity displayed by the British force of every description, as well as our native allies, overcame every obstacle, and after three hours' hard fighting the enemy was obliged to fly, and dispersed in different directions.

The detail of this attack, as well as that of the preceding day's cannonade, shall be laid before your Excellency with the least possible delay.

I greatly regret to add that our loss on this occasion has been heavy, as will be seen by the enclosed list of killed and wounded; but when the extraordinary strength of the place assaulted is taken into consideration, I am only surprised it has been so small.—I have, etc.,

H. DESPARD,

Acting-Colonel on the Staff commanding the Troops.

To His Excellency Governor GREY.

Return of the killed and wounded of the force under the command of Colonel Despard, 99th Regiment, Acting-Colonel of the Staff during the assault on Kawiti's pa on the 11th January, 1846.

H.M.S. *Castor*.—Killed, 7 seamen; wounded, 10 seamen and 2 marines.

H.M.S. *North Star*.—Killed, 1 marine; wounded, 2 seamen, including Mr. Murray, midshipman.

H.M.S. *Calliope*.—Killed, 1 marine; wounded, 1 marine.

H.M.S. *Racehorse*.—Wounded, 1 seaman.

H.E.I.C.S. *Elphinstone*.—Wounded, 1 seaman.

H.M. 58th Regiment.—Killed, 2 privates; wounded, 10 privates.

H.M. 99th Regiment.—Killed, 1 private; wounded, 1 private.

Volunteer Pioneers.—Wounded, 1 private; also 2 during the previous operations. One since dead.

Officer wounded.—Mr. Murray, midshipman on H.M.S. *North Star*, severely, but not dangerously.

Camp before the Ruapekapeka,

January 12, 1846.

SIR,—In my letter of yesterday, I had the satisfaction of acquainting your Excellency of the fall of Kawiti's pa by assault on that day, and now I proceed to communicate the detail.

On the morning of the 10th instant, our advanced batteries being completed (one within 350 yards and the second about 160 yards off the pa), a general fire was commenced from all the guns with a view of opening a breach in the place, and several rockets were thrown in at the same time for the purpose of drawing the enemy out. The fire was kept up with little intermission during the greater part of the day, and towards evening it was evident that the outer works on those parts against which the fire was directed were nearly all giving way; but the numerous stockades inside, crossing the place in different directions and composed of much stronger timbers, were scarcely touched. Towards evening our fire slackened, and was only continued occasionally during the night to prevent the enemy attempting to repair the breaches that had been made.

On the following morning, the 11th instant, no person being observed moving within the pa, a few of our native allies, under a chief named William Waka, a brother of Tamaiti Waka Nene, went up to the place for the purpose of observing whether or not the enemy had evacuated it. This party entered the breach unopposed, which being perceived from the nearest battery, a party of one hundred men of the troops, under Captain Denny, was pushed up rapidly, and, together with the natives, gained the inside of the stockade before they were perceived by the enemy, who at the time were sheltering themselves from the fire of our guns on a sloping piece of ground in one of their outworks. Our parties had scarcely gained the inside when they were noticed by the enemy, and a heavy fire of musketry instantly poured in upon them. The stockades, however, now became our protection, and strong reinforcements being immediately brought up from the camp, possession of the place was secured in spite of all the efforts of the enemy to drive us back, being obliged to retreat and shelter himself in a wood opposite the east face of the pa, where the trees being extremely large and forming complete breastworks, many of them having been cut down previously and evidently purposely placed in a defensive position, he was enabled to maintain a heavy fire against us for a considerable time, until a doorway in that face having been broken open, the seamen and troops rushed out and dislodged him from his position. He, however, still continued to keep up a fire from the woods, but more with a view to cover his retreat, and enable him to carry away his wounded men, than with any expectation of renewing the contest.

The attack commenced about 10 o'clock, a.m., and all firing had ceased about 2 p.m. The extraordinary strength of this place, particularly in its interior defences, far exceeded any idea I could have formed of it. Every hut was a complete fortress in itself, being strongly stockaded all round with heavy timbers, sunk deep in the ground, and placed close to each other, few of them being less than one foot in diameter, and many considerably more, besides having a strong embankment thrown up behind them. Each hut had also a deep excavation close to it, forming a complete bomb-proof, and sufficiently large to contain several people, where at night they were

perfectly sheltered from both shot and shell. The enemy's loss has been severe, and several chiefs on their side have fallen; the numbers I have not been able to ascertain as they invariably carry off both killed and wounded when possible. Several of the former were, however, left behind; and it has been decidedly ascertained from a wounded prisoner that the chief Heke had joined Kawiti in the pa on the afternoon preceding the attack.

As your Excellency has been an eye-witness to our operations, and I may say actually engaged in the assault, it may be thought unnecessary to draw your attention to those persons who had a greater opportunity of distinguishing themselves; but the satisfaction I feel in recording the obligation I am under to those persons, makes me persevere in doing so. To the officers, seamen, and marines from Her Majesty's ships, for their extraordinary exertions in dragging the guns over steep hills and through difficult and thick woods, as well as for their distinguished bravery in action, the service on this occasion is greatly indebted. To Captain Graham, of H.M.S. *Castor*, for his co-operation and the readiness with which he afforded every possible aid and assistance since his arrival. To Captain Sir E. Home, who had previously been the senior naval officer, and who, not only on the present occasion, but on all former ones, has used the most strenuous exertions to forward all the objects of the expedition. To Commander Hay, of H.M.S. *Racehorse*, who commanded the whole of the seamen attached to the force, and who greatly aided our operations by his personal exertions and example, not only during the assault, but in all the previous difficulties we had to encounter. To Lieutenant Otway, of H.M.S. *Castor*, commanding the small armed seamen. To Lieutenant Falcon, of H.M.S. *Castor*; Lieutenant Bland, and Mr. Nopps, master of H.M.S. *Racehorse*; and Lieutenant Leeds, H.E.I.C.S. *Elphinstone*, who all directed the fire of the guns with such precision and excellence; and to Lieutenant Egerton, of H.M.S. *North Star*, who directed the rockets, much of our success is to be attributed.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Wynyard, commanding the 58th Regiment, I feel the greatest obligation. His advice was of the utmost use to me on many occasions, and his personal exertions, whenever an opportunity offered, as well as his gallantry during the assault, were most conspicuous. To Captain Reid, commanding the flank companies 99th Regiment, and Captain Langford, Royal Marines (attached), much praise is due. To Captain Marlow, Royal Engineers, for his exertions in constructing the batteries; Captain Matson, 58th Regiment, who acted as Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General; and Lieutenant Wilmot, Royal Artillery, who directed the mortar battery, great praise is also due. I have also derived great assistance from the services of Lieutenant O'Connell, 51st Regiment, A.D.C. to Lieutenant-General Sir Maurice O'Connell, and acting Major of Brigade to this force. And I must not omit to notice in very strong terms the indefatigable exertion of Captain Atkins and his small corps of Volunteer Pioneers, whose conduct and services during the whole operations have been of the greatest advantage.

Every kindness has been shown to the wounded men by Doctors Kidd and Pine, the senior medical officers, and all the medical officers, both naval and military, and I have reason to be satisfied with the exertions of the Commissariat Department under D.A.C.G. Turner. The wounded men are generally doing well, and the only officer among them, a young midshipman of H.M.S. *North Star*, Mr. Murray, whose ardour carried him too far when the enemy were driven from the woods.

I have now only to express the peculiar satisfaction I feel that your Excellency has had an opportunity of personally witnessing the toils and difficulties that were encountered, and the cheerfulness with which every part of the force exerted itself to overcome them, and I beg to express my own sincere thanks for the advice and observations that you have occasionally been kind enough to favour me with during that period.

I should also wish to draw your Excellency's notice to Mr. Edward Shortland, who was prevailed upon to act as my interpreter, and who rendered me many important services while acting in that capacity.—I have the honour to be, etc.,

H. DESPARD,

Acting-Colonel on the Staff commanding the Troops.

To His Excellency Governor GREY.

Kawiti now sued for peace, and his petition for clemency being strongly backed by Tamati Waka Nene, the Governor issued a free pardon to all who had been engaged in the rebellion, and permitted them to remain in possession of their lands. Heke pined away, and died of consumption in 1850, aged forty-two years. Kawiti died four years later of measles at the advanced age of eighty. The peace cemented at the close of Heke's war proved to be a permanent one, leaving no root of bitterness, for the friendly relations between the settlers in the districts north of Auckland and the Maoris have never since been disturbed. A good understanding was preserved throughout all the subsequent wars in the central and southern districts of the North Island. Tamati Waka Nene received a well-deserved pension of £100 a year, which he lived to enjoy until 1871, while his brother Patuone, who had been the friend of the early missionaries, and remained true to the European settlers until the time of his death, was granted forty acres of land at Lake Takapuna, near Auckland, where he settled with a number of followers, and lived upon a pension of £20 a-year, supplemented by the proceeds of the sale of the produce raised in the settlement.

At Wellington and Nelson the news of Governor Fitzroy's recall was received with public rejoicings. Bonfires were lighted, and at Nelson a public dinner and tea was attended by nearly all the settlers. In the evening, three effigies of the Governor, the Chief Protector and the Attorney General were paraded and burnt. His unpopularity with the New Zealand Company and settlers was unavoidable, for it was impossible for any Governor to perform his duty to the natives as well as to the Europeans of those days, and in the position in which the New Zealand Company had placed its settlements, without conflict. Governor Fitzroy was hasty and excitable, and these were his greatest faults. His

character was of the highest, and his ability as a naval officer and man of science was unquestioned. Placed at a critical time in a new position as a civilian, and with force entirely insufficient for the support of his authority, failure was to a certain extent inevitable, the more so with one accustomed from his training to rely on force and to have his will obeyed. Nevertheless, his honourable character impressed the Maoris with a confidence in our justice which stood the colony in good stead during subsequent years, when their support and good feeling were invaluable.

Some interesting comments on Governor Fitzroy's policy and the position of Auckland after the close of Heke's war have been left on record in an unpublished manuscript by Baron de Thierry. He observes: "Captain Fitzroy, finding how much the concentration of settlers near the capital would promote the growth of the settlement and the advantage of most of the settlers, availed himself of the disgust felt by the vexatious proceedings of the Government towards the claimants, and proposed the exchange of their country lands for allotments put up at exorbitant rates in and near Auckland. The settlers, finding that, in consequence of the removal of the seat of government to the Waitemata, all their hopes of a market were defeated, and that their situation had become so much more desperate since the assumption of British authority, began to remove, giving up their abodes and cultivated grounds to commence life in a town, or to cultivate their suburban or country grants. Then it was that the obstinacy of the Governor brought on the outbreak of the natives. I, by advice of Captain Fitzroy, who wrote to me on the subject, and compelled by the warlike movement in the midst of which we found ourselves involved, decided on leaving all we had been striving for, and arrived at Kororareka at the period of the greatest excitement. My family witnessed the battle of Kororareka, balls flying in all directions over our heads, and together with all the other unfortunate persons who chanced to be at Kororareka, we sailed on the night of that wretched day and proceeded to Auckland. Now, again, was the bitter cup of the unhappy refugees filled to overflowing; nearly everything had been lost in Kororareka, and in an infant town like Auckland they were thrown friendless and ruined. Some little was done for the poorest in the shape of rations, but almost all

those who had exchanged their lands were compelled to sell their Crown grants for such sorry consideration, that numbers sold for £3 or £4 that for which they could now get from £90 to £100, and in some cases more. Kororareka, once the proposed capital, was now a mass of ruined chimney-stacks, the natives having, in their warfare, spared no buildings save the residences of the Roman Catholic and Protestant clergy, and their respective churches. The northern districts, by far the most fertile and promising of this island, now became gradually depopulated of white settlers, and the long contest with the insurgent chiefs completed the work which the unfortunate policy of the Government had already so ably commenced.

"The inpourings from the northward, after the battle and destruction of Kororareka, greatly swelled the population of the capital, but such was the panic by which the whole community was struck in consequence of that disastrous event, that landed property became a mere drug—most people expecting that ere long Auckland would share a similar fate. Large accessions to our military force by degrees restored the long-lost feeling of security, and the value of property again revived, and has continued to increase in an extraordinary degree. Captain Fitzroy's concentration plan began to tell to great advantage and the population of the capital and of its suburbs rapidly augmented, until a sudden check was given to its progress by the Penny-an-acre Proclamation. Land speculation once more became the order of the day, and all who had money to spare, or who could in any manner raise funds, again aimed at large landed possessions and dreamt golden dreams of future wealth. The effect of these renewed land speculations was such as might have been expected, and many persons returned to the bush comforting themselves for the loss of society by the hope of acquiring tracts which could be cut up and resold at large profit at a future time.

"It must be borne in mind that Auckland is an open town, and is accessible on all sides to the natives. Being built almost entirely of wood and in the frailest manner, a single incendiary could, with the assistance of a smart breeze, reduce the capital to a heap of ashes in the course of a single hour. The utter improvidence of the Government and the merchants in not placing the primary necessities of life in safety, to guard against the not impossible occurrence of a *coup-de-main*, has left us perfectly open to danger. A



Maihi Parone Kāwiti. *

capacious barrack wall is certainly now (1848) in the course of erection, and with due warning the population of the town could, when it is finished, fly for protection, but where would all that Auckland contains of goods, provisions and furniture be stowed away? No-where, of course, for in the hour of danger it would have to be left behind. At Kororareka the population was about 500, and there were ships enough to carry them away; but with a population of 6,000, and few ships, flight would be impossible, and to defend the barracks for any length of time against a determined attack would be equally impossible, first, because provisions would not hold out, and secondly, and especially, that as there is not water enough in the Albert Barracks for the troops, there would not, of course, be enough for 6,000 additional souls. Then, again, suppose food and water could be obtained in sufficient quantities, and supposing that there should be notice enough of an outbreak to enable the townspeople to remove their goods to the barracks—suppose these impossibilities to be possible—what would become of the population, the soldiery, and the pensioners, with their families, in so limited a space as the Albert Barracks, without lodging or any chance of escape from the infuriated natives, to settle again and rebuild another town? But towns cannot be built without materials, and in case of an outbreak with the natives, timber cutting would be put an end to, and the procuring of building material would be perfectly impossible. Meeting the question in every light imaginable, it must be clear that we are completely at the mercy of Maoris, and they know full well that it is the case. There is nothing of all that I have pointed out that they do not often repeat to the whites, and they very often and very earnestly tell them what they would do in case of ill usage from our people. That they have not done so is owing to two reasons. They benefit greatly by their intercourse with us, and they know that war would ultimately be as fatal to them as to ourselves. Yet, like children, they will quarrel at times with their bread and butter, and happen what may they

* Maihi Parone Kawiti was the son of the old warrior who, after the fall of Kororareka, threw in his fortunes on the side of Heke's rebellion. The younger Kawiti had commanded one party of natives at the destruction of Kororareka. After the death of his father in 1854 he became the principal chief and survived until 1889, living in peace and contentment at his native settlement near the Bay of Islands, and maintaining up to the time of his death the most friendly relations with the whole of the European settlers. The portrait given on page 718 was taken about a year before his demise,

know we can neither deprive them of their provisions, nor of the material to make their native garments. They are at home, we in a country which is not our own. That Her Majesty possesses troops enough to exterminate every native on the Island is beyond refutation, and that the power would be in a great measure used if we were cut off, is to be supposed, but that would be but small comfort to the thousands who would have lost their lives in the first struggle, and what the ultimate gain would be is not very clearly to be demonstrated.

"Peace with the natives is by far the best and safest policy, and to have peace and perpetual good understanding it is only necessary to treat them as British subjects, and not as a conquered people. Leave them in possession of their own, take nothing from them without their consent, be firm with them, but let that firmness be tempered with justice and mercy, and let us in our intercourse with them remember that we owe them much good feeling for their temperate and friendly conduct towards our race. We are living in a town containing a scattered population of six thousand souls, scarcely a window being fastened at night, no, not with so much as a nail, and nearly all the shops and stores without shutters. There is not a night in the year but that a few natives might plunder the merchants and rob the inhabitants, yet we sleep in unbroken security, as though our dwellings were inaccessible. Since I have been in New Zealand I have never fastened a window, and our doors have remained unbolted for weeks together. The feeling of security is so great that if we ever hear of a robbery we at once say that no native has done it, and in saying so we are almost invariably right. The study of the Government should be to cement by every possible means this feeling of confidence between the two races, certain as it is that ultimately we must prove the greatest gainers. Let us have cheap land and Europeans may spread far and wide, certain that if they are not the aggressors the natives will seldom molest either them or their property, their herds or their flocks.

"The fecundity of the soil is rendered so great by the beauty of the climate and the certainty of abundant rain, that agriculture holds out the certainty of large and never-failing returns; it is but by mismanagement that crops fail in this country. How soon and how abundantly the heaviest clay lands may be brought to bear their crops is really astonishing, and as soon as a better system of

farming shall become more widely understood and practised, we shall be surrounded with farms, and shall eventually be able to provide for all our wants. 'What will New Zealand grow?' is not a question which any one well acquainted with the country will ask; the question really is, 'What won't New Zealand grow?' All the vegetables and fruits of Europe grow admirably here, and as far as eating goes, we may look forward to the greatest plenty. The large importations of cattle, horses and sheep from New South Wales, by which our stock has been augmented, will ultimately lead to the most important results. In the year 1838, good bullocks could not be imported for less than £30 to £35 each, but now (1848) young beasts may be bought at auction for from £4 to £7 and £8 each; good horses from £20 to £30 each, and sheep from 8s. to 10s. each. The cattle shipping trade is carried on now very much like the slave trade, scarcely any attention being paid to the preservation of the stock. The mortality is consequently very great, and the sum total of animal agony suffered in the course of a twelvemonth must be horribly great. A great cattle holder from New South Wales assured me that, previous to his departure for New Zealand, he had contracted for the delivery to him at Sydney of 800 head of fat cattle at 18s. per head, and sheep at 1s. As to the sheep, there was nothing extraordinary in it, as for a long while whole flocks were sold at 6d. a sheep. They have now risen a great deal and good ewes are worth 5s. In New South Wales the slaughter of sheep and cattle for the sake of the tallow and skins is going on to an incredible extent, and I have heard of even fine stock horses being killed for the same object. It will be a very long while before we can live as cheap as our friends in New South Wales, yet meat has fallen considerably. Three years ago beef and mutton sold at 1s. per lb., but either may now (1848) be bought in Auckland for 6d. per lb. retail, which, to a family, is scarcely as cheap as pork at the present rate, 4d. per lb.

"We now pay 5d. the two pound loaf of best bread, and 4d. for ration bread, which is very high considering our capabilities for raising more than we can consume. The natives are not only becoming great growers, but also great consumers of wheat. The number of steel mills which they purchase is truly astonishing, and in another year or two there will not be a tribe in New Zealand without its steel mill. The natives have purchased more than £1,000 worth of mills

within the last year. This is a sure indication of civilization. In the Hokianga upwards of 800 bushels of fine wheat were last summer raised by the natives for sale to the Europeans, above their own consumption. At Hokianga the Roman Catholic priest has erected a powerful tide mill, working a fine pair of French burr-stones for the use (at a small toll) of both races; and that important article, bread, which so few have hitherto been able to afford in that district, will soon be cheap and plentiful. It will hardly be credited that at one time we were paying at Hokianga £100 per ton for flour.

"The natives are very fond of horses and own a large number, and many of them have cattle, but few, as yet are breeders of sheep. That they will eventually turn their attention to the growth of wool I firmly believe, and when a few leading tribes have flocks of sheep all the others will be anxious to obtain them. As a pastoral country none can be superior to New Zealand. Sheep do remarkably well here providing they are housed under rough sheds at night. They suffer considerably by lying out, and are moreover (which is by far the greatest drawback from the vast number of dogs which roam about at night in quest of food. These half-wild animals, which are bred in immense numbers by natives and Europeans, commit fearful destruction amongst the sheep, and render it almost impossible to allow them to lie out at night. With proper precautions, however, sheep may be easily sheltered from the inclemency of the weather, and from the dogs."

"The amalgamation of the races," Baron de Thierry goes on to observe, "was a favourite vision with Captain Fitzroy when Governor of New Zealand, but let us hope that it will never be attempted. Before New Zealand became a possession of the Crown, most of the male settlers were dispersed about the country, and formed connexions with native women, who were always treated in the character of slaves rather than wives. Miserably clad, and never allowed to eat with their husbands (as by the usages of the country they considered them), these poor creatures tilled the ground, and did the chief part of the hard labour, which should have devolved upon the man. This sort of connection was often of great use to the white man, who was considered under the especial protection of the woman's tribe, and the allies of her people, and generally the woman, was a chief in her own right, sometimes owning slaves, and at all times being able to procure cheap and

oftentimes gratuitous labour. White women were then scarce in New Zealand, and they were but little calculated to perform all the servile and hard labour to which the native woman was invariably subjected. A sort of forced amalgamation was the consequence, but strange as it may appear the number of children arising from it was inconceivably trifling. The fact is sufficient without my attempting to account for it. Such, however, is the case. That crossing the races produces fine subjects may be observed with all grown half-castes, who, particularly the females, are far handsomer than their native mothers, but how fearful is this amalgamation in its consequences! These half-castes, generally brought up by their mothers with a total neglect of their morals, and by the father with a total neglect of their improvement, derive none of the advantages of the white parentage, whilst they inherit all the vices of their mother race. Morals of the lowest degree ill-fit them for wives of respectable white men, and it is remarkable that whilst white men live with and marry Maori women, on account of the influence which they obtain from their alliance, the half-castes cannot get husbands, and as they know full well that by marrying native men their children return to the native cast, they prefer a life of profligacy—which is almost always their portion. Barefooted, and bareheaded, these degraded beings, some of whom are remarkably good-looking, live with the Maoris in their miserable way, and are lost to the better feelings of their sex.

"The land exchange and concentration measures of Captain Fitzroy, both of which did the out-settlers great good, and but for the Kororareka outbreak would have raised

many from comparative poverty to comfort, lessened in a great degree the number of men living in the bush, or in native settlements with native women, and the more white females arrive the more will this mode of life become out of fashion. To keep each race in its proper sphere is by far the most certain way to raise the character of the New Zealander, for however benevolent philanthropists may work to benefit the native race, I am convinced it can never be done by amalgamation. Indeed, amalgamation is but a one-sided question at best, for surely no white man would wish for the retrogradation of his colour, or to see his daughter or sister, or female relative in any degree, married to a Maori man. A person in high station asked a young lady some five or six years ago, 'How would you like that young chief for a husband?' 'How would you like him for a son-in-law?' was the happy reply. The gentleman said no more. To amalgamation of interests I am a decided advocate, and I would be delighted to see the natives in full enjoyment of all that can bind the two races in community of interest and tend to their mutual welfare."

The close of Heke's war appears a specially suitable point at which to break off our story of "The Early History of New Zealand." The history of later times is not less interesting than that which has been recorded in these pages. Whether it shall be continued in the form that has been adopted in this work must depend to a large extent upon the appreciation displayed by the people of New Zealand for a narrative of New Zealand history, aiming primarily at a complete and impartial record of the facts, from which the student may draw his own conclusions.





FOUNDATION OF CANTERBURY AND OTAGO.

Position of the New Zealand Company—Purchase of land at Otakou—Foundation of a Presbyterian Free Church settlement—The Canterbury Settlement founded.

BEFORE giving an account of the foundation of the above settlements, under the auspices of the New Zealand Company, it will be as well to describe the position of the Company and its relations to the Government. They were fully discussed in an article published in the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* of June 24, 1843, in which year the first steps for the settlement of Otago and Canterbury were taken.

The concluding paragraph of this article shows very clearly the views of the Company and its settlers at that time. It urges three courses, the last and preferable in their opinion being, "if properly followed up by the display of a sufficient civil and military force," to insist upon the natives accepting the tenths set aside for them as reserves, "as the true and only consideration" for the land claimed as purchased from them by the Company. So direct a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi, of which the ink was scarcely yet dry, was of course repudiated emphatically by the Imperial Government.

It was on this basis that the Company also proposed subsequently (in 1845) to divide New Zealand into two distinct colonies. The northern portion of the North Island was to be governed as a Crown colony, with its numerous natives. The Treaty of Waitangi was therein to be recognised and to prevail. The rest of New Zealand, including all the Company's settlements in the North Island, and the whole of the Middle and Stewart Islands was to be formed into a separate colony, to be called Victoria, and handed over to the administration of the Company. In this colony of Victoria the Treaty of Waitangi was to be of no effect. All the land was to be vested in the Crown, and by it transferred to the Company, on conditions of settlement

and of permanent endowments for the natives. The Maoris in Victoria would be comparatively few, but the Government in England refused to recognise their weakness as a justification for breaking faith. They determined that the Treaty applied to them also, and should be faithfully adhered to. This resolution was just in itself and wise to all. It is quite evident that had the proposals of the Company been listened to the Maoris in the north would also have taken alarm and a very bitter struggle have been precipitated. This proposal to establish the separate colony of Victoria was made by the Company to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London, on 5th May, 1845. The following is the article referred to:

"The early proceedings of the Company were very public. Their position, intentions, and actions were fully developed and discussed before Parliamentary Committees, and nothing material appears to have escaped investigation. No man who had any dealings with that Company needed to have remained in ignorance upon any point which could be of importance in the transaction of his business. No man can be said to have become connected with them otherwise than with his eyes open.

"In the land orders relating to the first settlement (the one before us is dated August, 1839), there is a note in these words—'It is understood that Her Majesty's Government intends to institute an inquiry into the titles of British subjects to the lands in New Zealand, but the directors are not aware that the title to the Company's lands will be found in any manner impeachable.' In the body of the land order also is the following clause:—'The Company are not to be considered as guaranteeing the title against the results of any proceedings of or under the authority of the British Government or Legislature, or in any other manner, except as

against their own acts and the acts of those deriving title under or in trust for them.'

'What the Company thus forewarned their purchasers of, soon came to pass. The British Government did interfere, and on the 6th of February, 1840, entered into the Treaty of Waitangi with several of the chiefs of New Zealand. By this treaty the chiefs yielded to Her Majesty the Queen of England, 'all the rights and powers of sovereignty which they respectively exercised or possessed, or might be supposed to exercise or possess over their respective territories, as the sole sovereigns thereof;' and they also yielded to Her Majesty 'the exclusive right of pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof might be disposed to alienate, at such prices as might be agreed upon between the respective proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them on that behalf.'

'On the 18th November, 1840, Government made proposals to the Company, which were immediately accepted by it. After providing for the manner in which the previous expenditure of the Company was to be calculated, the proposals contain the following clauses, among others:—'When the amount of the above expenditure shall have been ascertained, the Company shall be secured by a grant from the Crown to them under the Public Seal of the Colony, of as many acres of land as shall be equal to four times the number of pounds sterling which they shall be found to have expended in the manner and for the purposes above mentioned. The Company forego and disclaim all title or pretence of title to any lands purchased or acquired by them in New Zealand, other than the lands so to be granted to them as aforesaid, and other than any lands which may hereafter be purchased or acquired by them from the Crown, or from persons deriving title from the Crown. The Company having sold or contracted to sell lands to various persons, Her Majesty's Government disclaim all liability for making good any such sales or contracts: it being nevertheless understood that the Company will from the lands so to be granted to them as aforesaid, fulfil and carry into effect all such their sales or contracts.'

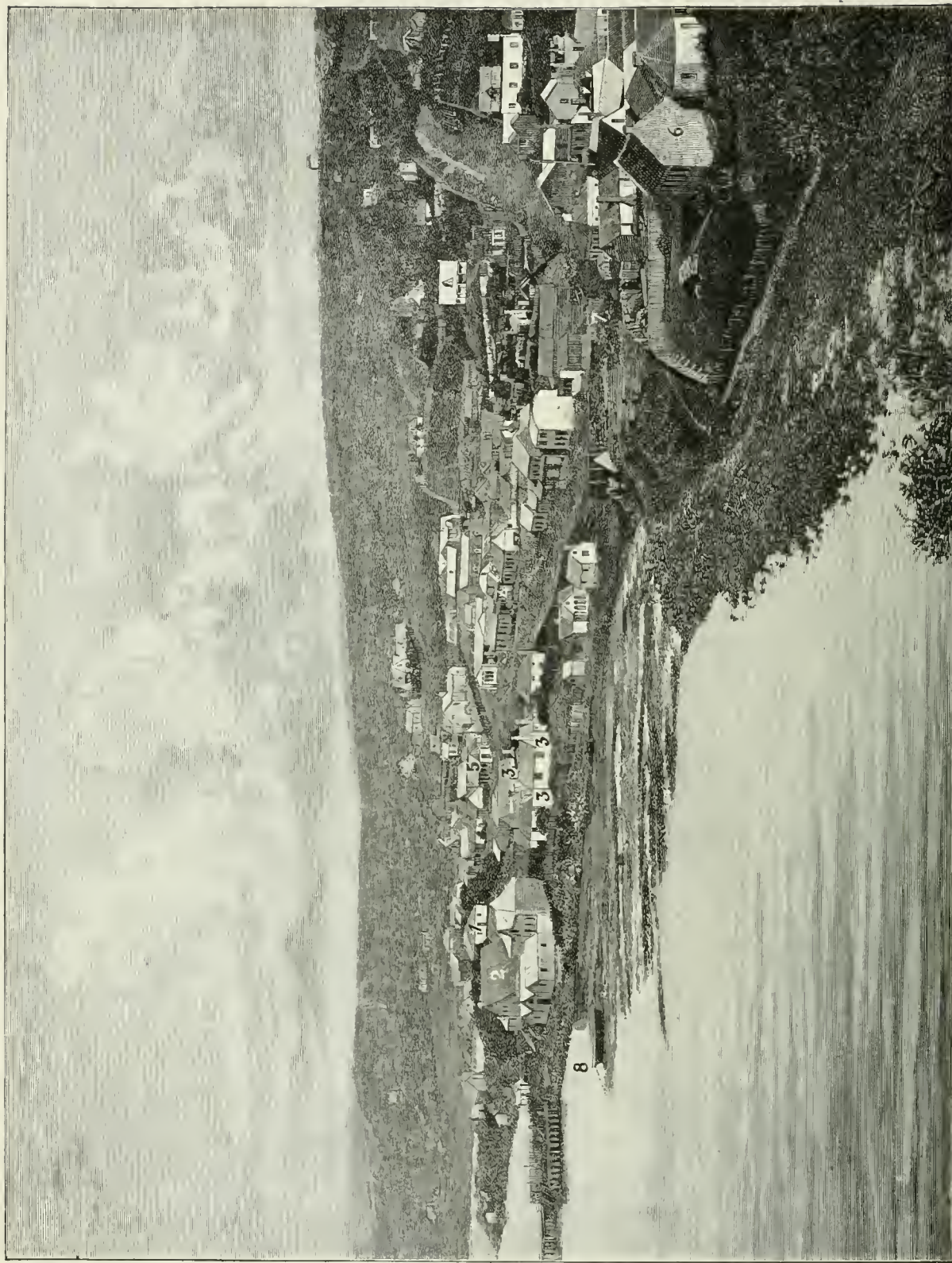
'What interpretation a court of law might put upon this contract we are of course unable to say; but looking at the whole of the extracts which we have made (and we believe they contain everything pertinent to the question), we must say that we see nothing which tends to show that the conduct of the

Company had been otherwise than straightforward, and nothing that would throw upon them the onus of making any further payment to the Natives. They gave an ample warning to purchasers on the face of the land-orders of the possibility of Government interfering. It did interfere; and by the Treaty of Waitangi, through which it obtained the right of pre-emption, it said to all British subjects, and the Company among the number, 'Your purchases from the natives are void, and whatever land you buy in New Zealand you must buy of us.'

'Then by the subsequent contract it refers to the expenditure made by the Company and says:—'In consideration of this outlay we secure to you a certain quantity of land, only requiring in return that you shall not pretend to have obtained your title through the natives, and that out of the land so secured to you by us you shall fulfil your contracts already entered into, and that henceforward you shall purchase no land in New Zealand from any body but ourselves, or those to whom we have sold it.'

'Such is the substance of the extracts which we have given above; they seem to us to provide most particularly against any original dealings between the Company and the natives, nor can we find a single word in these documents, or in any other to which we have access, which would lead to the idea that in addition to the outlay made by the Company previously to the date of the contract, and which is expressly stated to have been the consideration for it, they were also to buy the land from the natives and pay them some further price for it. The Government assumes the right of being the only seller of land in New Zealand; it then contracts with the Company for the sale of some of that land to them; and on the face of the contract it treats the price as already paid; it makes it to consist in the past outlay of the Company; and we cannot help thinking that the Company is entitled to call upon Government for that security of the land which the contract promised, without paying a farthing to any one else.

'The idea of remunerating the natives by money payments has always been repudiated by the Company from the earliest stage of their proceedings. In the evidence taken before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1840, Mr. E. G. Wakefield says: 'The Company instructed the agents whom they despatched to New Zealand to pay but little attention to the subject of the first considera-



From a negative in the possession of F. A. Coxhead. Dunedin.

Dunedin in 1858-9.

1. Dr. Burns' Manse; 2, Johnnie Jones's First Store; 3, Provincial Government Buildings; 4, Site of Wain's Hotel, Princes Street; 5, Brown's Store, corner Stafford and Princes Streets (first Post Office); 6, First Presbyterian Church and School; 7, Corner High and Princes Streets (Mercer's corner, opposite Grand Hotel); 8, Present site of "Star" Office, outside of which there are now three streets, railway line, goods sheds, station, yards and wharves for shipping.

tion money for the land, because they regarded all payments which had been made by missionaries and others as little more than nominal; and they laid down a plan of reserves which they hoped in the long run would become a very valuable consideration. Those reserves,' he adds, 'were then estimated to sell in London for very nearly £30,000. This matter was fully explained to the natives before any purchases were made, and this is considered the only true consideration for the land.'—Rep. Com. on N.Z., 1840. * * *

"It must be remembered, that the sum at present proposed to be paid to the natives only covers a very small part of their claims. It extends neither to the Taranaki district, nor to the Company's possessions in the Middle Island, nor, as we are informed, does it affect the pas, potato grounds, and other parcels of land of which the natives are in actual occupation; claims in respect of all these would have to be subsequently satisfied, and where such claims would cease it is impossible to say. Besides which it would, we fear, prove utterly useless to make any payment at all. The nature of the savage, wasteful of his own, and greedy of what another possesses, would soon exhibit itself in fresh demands. It is vain to hope to buy off such claimants; like the taste of blood to the young wolf, it creates the appetite for more; it has been tried in numerous instances, and has always been found to increase not assuage the thirst for exaction.

"Nor would the hope of the philanthropist who looks to benefit the natives by such payments be fulfilled. The money, if it all reached them, and none stuck to Haji Baba's scales, would be of no permanent use. Its amount when distributed would be contemptible; and if this escaped the maws of the harpies who generally smell out such a prey, it would pass almost instantaneously into the hands of the shopkeepers, and a temporary supply of blankets and tobacco would be all that the Maori would obtain for it.

"Yet, if in spite of its not being legally or morally due from any one (unless from Government); in spite of the uncertainty of its pacifying the natives; in spite of its being no real or lasting benefit to them;—if in spite of all this, somebody must put his hand gratuitously into his pocket, why is the Company to be the sufferer? A vehement outcry is made on behalf of the land-owners, their anxiety to quit the town and proceed to cultivation is proclaimed, their importance as a large body is heralded, and the contemptible amount of

the sum required is dilated on; if there be no affectation in all this, why do not the land-owners themselves, anxious as they are to get on their land, important as they are in numbers, combine for the common purpose, and by pledging their land, raise the contemptible sum? It may be said that this would be difficult. Have they tried? Have they taken any steps towards such a course? Let them put their own shoulders to the wheel before they call upon the Company to make a heavy outlay, which it seems would fall just as reasonably upon themselves.

"We see, however, no reason at all why either the Company or the land-owners should make any such sacrifice. As we have already hinted, if there is anything due, it is due from Government. It is Government which has placed us in our present dilemma by its acknowledgment of the independence of the natives, by attributing the rights of civilized states to a tumultuous body of ignorant savages—a thing unheard of before in the history of nations. It is Government, we say, which has brought us into our present difficulty, it is Government which must get us out.

"Three methods of effecting this seem open. First, let Government make such payments to the natives as may satisfy all claims, present or future; or secondly, let it admit its error, retrace its steps, deny the native independence, and rest its own title on the right of discovery; or thirdly, let it insist upon the natives accepting the reserves as the true and only consideration for what they have nominally surrendered—for a mere nominal surrender it is to give up their dog-in-the-manger opposition to our occupation and enjoyment of those fertile districts which they themselves never have nor ever would have cultivated. This last seems to us the proper course; and if properly followed up by the display of a sufficient civil and military force, it would compel the natives to make room for the progress of civilization, and prevent them imbuving their hands in any more English blood."

This was the condition of affairs when a settlement in New Zealand was projected by an association of lay members of the Free Church of Scotland to purchase land from the New Zealand Company with whom negotiations were opened in London. The colony was to be named New Edinburgh. When Governor Fitzroy was in Wellington on his return from the visit to Waikanae in 1844, Colonel Wakefield had received instructions to prepare for this settlement in the Middle



Etched by T. Allen.

River Avon.

Forty-mile Beach.

Part of the Great Plain (Canterbury Settlement), in 1850.



East Shore of Victoria Harbour.

From a drawing by Wm. Fox,
Sumner Road

Mr. Gooley's House
and Immigration Barracks.

"Charlotte Jane,"

"Randolph,"

"Sir George Seymour.

"Cressy."

Harbour of Lyttelton, Dec. 27, 1850.

Showing passengers landing from the "Cressy."

Island. Neither the Company nor the Government as yet possessed the necessary land there. The Government was without money to purchase, and Governor Fitzroy being anxious to assist the project, waived the Crown's right over 200,000 acres, which the Company was to purchase from the natives under the supervision of an officer to be appointed by the Government. Mr. J. Jermyn Symonds was accordingly appointed, and was to act under the direction of Major Richmond, the Superintendent of the Southern District.

On the 27th March, 1844, Col. Wakefield wrote to Mr. Symonds that Mr. Tuckett, the Company's chief surveyor, was authorised to charter the *Deborah*, of 120 tons, and proceed with him to make the purchase for the new settlement in Otakou—a name then applied vaguely to the southern portion of the East Coast of the Middle Island. The disputes between Mr. Tuckett and Mr. Symonds were numerous and fill pages of the *Blue Books*. Mr. Tuckett had been warned by Major Richmond not to take any steps that would alarm the natives and lead to a second calamity like that which had so recently occurred at the Wairau, in which Mr. Tuckett had been engaged in the same capacity. Very angry letters passed between Tuckett and Symonds during the voyage. The latter refused to allow any survey till an agreement had been made, and insisted on the boundaries being clearly understood by the natives concerned. The former persisted in his surveys at various places without this precaution, and charged Mr. Symonds with being impracticable and obstructive. Other grounds of dispute arose, and Mr. Symonds returned by another vessel to Wellington, after prohibiting Mr. Tuckett from taking further action. The vessel in which Mr. Symonds returned to Wellington was the *Scotia*, and after being three weeks there he went back in the same vessel, with Mr. Daniel Wakefield, commissioned by Col. Wakefield to act for the Company.

The *Deborah* had looked into Port Cooper (now Lyttelton), and proceeded thence to Waikouaiti. Mr. Tuckett finally selected the harbour and country now known as Otago, and on the 10th December, 1844, Governor Fitzroy was able to report to Lord Stanley that "the Otakou purchase" had been made by Mr. Symonds, who had acquitted himself speedily and successfully of a very difficult duty. After this came the disturbances in the North and the burning of Kororareka. The project with all other immigration was stopped

till confidence was restored. Then proceedings were resumed, and the sectional survey ordered by the New Zealand Company. The site agreed upon between the Otago Association and the Company is described as "Otakou in the Middle Island of New Zealand, in the land purchased from the natives by Colonel Wakefield under the sanction of the local Government in July, 1844." Captain Cargill, who possessed the confidence of the Association, and in whose favour it had passed a resolution on the 16th May, 1845, was appointed by the New Zealand Company to be its resident agent in the settlement on the same salary as its first resident agent in Nelson.

The following "Notice to Surveyors" was issued in Wellington on the 14th February, 1846:—

Tenders are required for the Survey of above 100,000 acres of Land (the greater part unwooded) at New Edinburgh (Otakou), at prices respectively per acre, upon such quantity as shall be laid out in ten-acre or in fifty-acre sections. The contractor will be required to execute the survey himself, and to specify the name of any surveyor he may wish to employ as an assistant; also to give security for himself and assistants that they will not erect or occupy any house upon the land purchased for the settlement previous to the arrival of the emigrants and the distribution of the ten acre sections. The locality of the lands to be surveyed, the conditions of the contract, and further particulars, may be ascertained of the New Zealand Company's Surveyor at Otakou, to whom the tenders are to be delivered on or before the 30th of March, 1846.

The lowest tender will not necessarily be accepted.

W. WAKEFIELD.

Principal Agent of the New Zealand Company.

And another "Notice to Labourers," warning them that they were not to proceed to Otakou in the expectation of procuring employment from the New Zealand Company without first obtaining a positive engagement. "No one will be employed by the Company's surveyor there who shall erect or occupy a house on land purchased by the Company for the New Edinburgh settlement previous to the distribution of sections." This notice was, no doubt, to prevent squatters settling on the land and acquiring a right from the Maoris or complicating arrangements with them.

Still the war went on in New Zealand and some time elapsed before the Otago Association took active measures to colonize the settlement. On public confidence being quite restored in 1847, an influential meeting was held at Glasgow, to give publicity to the principles on which it was to be founded. It was announced at the meeting that the

proposed settlement was to comprise 144,600 acres of land, divided into 2,400 properties. Each property was to consist of sixty acres and a quarter, to be divided into three allotments, namely, a town allotment of a quarter acre, a suburban allotment of ten acres, and a rural allotment of fifty acres. The price of the land to be fixed in the first instance at forty shillings an acre, or £120 10s. for a property. Priority of selection to be determined by priority of claim. The money realised was to be appropriated as follows:—Three-eighths for emigration, two-eighths for roads, one-eighth for religious and educational purposes, and two-eighths to the New Zealand Company for land.

The necessary surveys were completed by the Company's officers in April, 1847, and the preliminary expedition, under the direction of Captain Cargill, sailed for Otago in December 1847, arriving there in March, 1848.

Otago languished for the first years of its existence. The Association did not succeed in selling the land for which it had bargained with the New Zealand Company. Few immigrants were sent out after the first arrivals, and the Otago Association closed its career in 1852, upon the surrender of its charter by the New Zealand Company. The latter event occurred in 1837, nearly a year before the passing of the Constitution Act for the colony. By that Act the colony was divided into six provinces, of which Otago was one, with its own Provincial Council and Executive, subject to the General Government of the colony. The change was welcomed by the colonists with great joy and the province began to make rapid strides, accelerated enormously by the discovery of rich goldfields in its interior in 1861.

CANTERBURY was founded strictly in accordance with the Wakefield theory of selling land at a price that would produce a fund for the importation of labour, the endowment of schools and churches, and the making of roads and bridges. In Otago this system was not adopted, and the hilly nature of the country first settled rendered it unsuitable. The level Canterbury plains seemed better suited to the system, and there it was the basis of the Association formed in connection with the New Zealand Company to effect a settlement of Church of England people. The Association originated in 1843, and Governor Fitzroy was anxious that it should form its settlement in the Wairarapa Valley. This too was delayed by the Native disturbances till 1847, when—as we are told by Mr. Alexander

Mackay in his official summary of the history of the colony (November, 1871)—it was revived. The active exertions of Mr. John Robert Godley led to the incorporation of the Canterbury Association in November, 1849, under a ten years' charter. The land was to be bought from the New Zealand Company from the original block of 400,000 acres bought by Mr. Symonds in 1844, and to be resold in sections by the Association at 60s. per acre. Two-sixths were to be appropriated to the maintenance of the Church of England and its schools, two-sixths to immigration, one-sixth to surveys and other expenses, and one-sixth to go to the New Zealand Company.

In July, 1848, Mr. Thomas, who had been in New Zealand recently as a settler, was sent out by the Association as its agent and chief surveyor with instructions to act in concert with Governor Sir George Grey and Bishop Selwyn in selecting a site. Mr. Godley went out with the party who arrived at Port Cooper in April, 1850. In the month of December of the same year the first body of colonists arrived, and before the end of 1851 two thousand six hundred colonists had disembarked.

An Act empowering the Canterbury Association to dispose of certain lands in New Zealand was passed in the 13th and 14th years of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, the management of which they retained up to the year 1852, at which date they lost their charter, in consequence of their inability to pay the New Zealand Company the proportion of the land fund originally agreed on. The directors of the Association attributed their failure to the insufficient quantity of land sold. Millions had been expected from this source, but only thousands were realised, and to this and overrating the ability of the party to which they belonged to form a perfect ecclesiastical organization, the failure was attributed.

The Association's operations were continued till 1851, when Canterbury gladly obtained the control of its own internal affairs as one of the provinces created under the Constitution Act of that year. The New Zealand Company had previously bought out the claims of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company at Akaroa, and the province made rapid strides. The discovery of gold in the neighbouring province of Otago drew off its population for a time, but it soon shared in the general progress caused by those discoveries, and became populous and prosperous with its great extent of readily cultivated land and naturally grassed country.

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF

DISCOVERERS, VISITORS, WHALERS, TRADERS

AND

EARLY RESIDENTS

FROM 1642 TO THE END OF 1839

After which date New Zealand became a British Colony.

J.P., after a name denotes the early appointed Justices of the Peace. W.M., Wesleyan Missionary. C.M.C., Church Missionary Catechist. * Denotes that Settlers bought land from the natives. The place of residence in many instances relates to the district in which the settler resided at a period subsequent to the time at which he first came to the country.

YEAR.	NAME.
1642	Tasman, Abel Jansen
1740	Rangatute (a Maori Tradition)
1769	Cook, Captain James
	De Surville
	Banks, Sir Joseph
	Solander, Dr.
1770	Furieux, Captain
1772	Marion du Fresne
	Crozet (second in command of Marion's expedition)
1773	Cook, Captain (in all four visits)
1774	
1777	
1777	Cruise, Captain
1791	Broughton, Lieutenant (discovered Chatham Islands)

YEAR.	NAME AND DISTRICT.	RESIDENCE.
*1839	Abercrombie, C., River Piako	Sydney
*1839	Abercrombie, P., Coromandel	"
*1838	Abercrombie, W., Gt. Barrier	"
*1839	Auten, Rev. T., River Piako	"
1836	Alexander, Wm.	Bay of Islands
1839	Ames, James, 'Star of China'	Kapiti
*1839	Anderson, J.	Hokianga
*1839	Angus, Robert	"
1839	Arthur	Queen Charlotte Sound
1836	Ashwell, B., C.M.C.	Bay of Islands
*1839	Atherton, F., Tutu Kaka ...	Kororareka
1836	Augur, Robert	Bay of Islands
*1837	Baker, Charles, Bay of Islands	Kororareka
*1838	Baker, John	Bay of Islands
1836	Baker, Chas., C.M.C., 'Patriot'	"
	Baker, Benjamin 'Patriot' ...	"
	Baker, John 'Patriot'	"
*1833	Baker, William, Bay of Islands	Whangaroa
1837	Banks, G.	Auckland
*1830	Barrett, Richard, Sugar Loaves	Queen Charlotte Sound
*1839	Bateman, Thos.	Bay of Islands

YEAR.	NAME AND DISTRICT.	RESIDENCE.
1836	Bawn, Charles, 'Patriot' ...	Bay of Islands
1836	Bayman, J. H., 'Patriot' ...	"
*1839	Beadon, George, River Piako	Sydney
	Beasley, Henry, 'Patriot' ...	Bay of Islands
	Bedgood, John, 'Patriot' ...	"
1832	Bell, George, 'Minerva' ...	Island of Mana
1836	Benderson, Henry, 'Patriot' ...	Bay of Islands
	Bennier, John, 'Patriot' ...	"
	Bennington, Thos. J., 'Patriot'	"
1836	Best, John, 'Patriot'	"
*1832	Bell, George, Island of Mana	Dundee
1838	Bellingham, M.	Auckland
*1839	Bergham, J., Mongonui	Bay of Islands
1837	Berry, Rebecca, 'Ventures' ...	"
1839	Blagon, V.	Auckland
	Blenkinsopp, Captain	Cloudy Bay
1838	Blomfield, Jane	Auckland
1836	Bluire, K.	Auckland
1837	Boulton, E., 'Samuel Cunnard'	Kapiti
1836	Boulton, Thos., 'Success' ...	Queen Charlotte Sound
1839	Bolton, Edward	Wellington
1836	Boon, Robert, 'Aurora'	"
1836	Bowyer, Francis, 'Patriot' ...	Bay of Islands
*1827	Bowyer, F.	Hokianga
1836	Boyle, H., 'Patriot'	Bay of Islands
	Braue, James G., 'Patriot' ...	"
1839	Brooks, John, Interpreter ...	Cloudy Bay
*1830	Browne, G.	Mercury Bay
*1838	Brown, J., Otako	Sydney
1836	Brown, Rev. Alfred N.	Bay of Islands
	Brown, W. F.	"
*1836	Bruce, James, Foveaux Straits	Sydney
1839	Bumby, Rev.	Mangungu
*1839	Busby, James, Bay of Islands and Whangaroa	Bay of Islands
1836	Bullen, Rodger K.	"
	Buller, Rev. James	"
	Burgess, Thomas	"
1823	Butler, Rev. J. G., Ch. R.P.	"
1836	Butler, Captain Thos.	"

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

YEAR.	NAME AND DISTRICT.	RESIDENCE.	YEAR.	NAME AND DISTRICT.	RESIDENCE.
1815	Butler, Rev. J., Bay of Islands	—	1839	Doddrey, Robt.	Wellington
1836	Button, Henry	Bay of Islands	1839	Dodson, E.	Auckland
1838	Callnan, J.	Auckland	1836	Dodson, Wm.	Bay of Islands
*1837	Cassidy, Thomas	Hokianga	1839	Dorset, John, M.U. ...	Wellington
1836	Campbell, Robert	Bay of Islands	*1839	Downing, H., River Piako ...	Sydney
1837	Carbon, J.	Auckland	1836	Dunman, Henry P.	Bay of Islands
1839	Caree, C.	Cloudy Bay	*1836	Edmonds, J. C.	Bay of Islands
1837	Carter, B.	Auckland	1834	Edmonds, S.	Auckland
1839	Caskill, S. A.	"	*1839	Egitt, E.	Hokianga
*1839	Chadwick, E.	Hokianga	1836	Egerley, John	Bay of Islands
*1839	Chambers, H., Hokianga ...	Sydney		Eggart, Samuel	"
*1839	Chambers, H., Kaipara ...	"	1836	Ellis, W.	Auckland
*1838	Chapman, R.	Hokianga	1839	Ellison, Thomas	East Coast
1836	Chapman, Henry	Bay of Islands	*1839	Elmsley, T., Kaipara ...	Sydney
	Chapman, J., C.M.C. ...	"	1837	Elmslie, Arthur, Queen Char-	—
1839	Chappers, E.M., captain 'Tory'	—		lotte Sound	
*1839	Christie, W. H., River Thames	Sydney	1838	Eming, T. P.	Auckland
	Churchill, Capt. Lord, Frigate	to Bay of Islands	1837	England, C.	"
	'Druid'		1839	Evans, Thomas, Evans Island	Kapiti
*1839	Clarke, G. F., Green Island ...	Sydney	1833	Evenson, Christian, a ship's	Queen Charlotte Sound
*1838	Clayton, G. I.	Bay of Islands		carpenter	
*1839	Clayton, G. T., Waitemata ...	"	1836	Fagan, John	Bay of Islands
1836	Clarke, Geo., C.M.C.	"	1827	Fairburn, E.	Auckland
	Clarke, Geo., jun.	"		Fairburn, John	Bay of Islands
	Cleland, J. W.	"	1836	Fairburn, W. T., C.M.C. ...	"
	Clemstow, Edward	"	*1836	Fairburn, R., Waitemata ...	Thames
*1834	Clendon, Capt. J. R., of the	"		Farrow, James	Bay of Islands
	'Fortitude'			Fell, John	"
*1831	Cochrane, D. B.	Hokianga		Ferari, Dominick	"
*1838-9	Cooper, Daniel, Hawke's Bay,	Sydney	1839	Ferguson	Cloudy Bay
	Cape Turnagain, and Akarna		*1835	Fishwick, E.	Hokianga
*1839	Cooper, D., Island of Kapiti ...	"	1836	Flatt, John, C.M.C.	Bay of Islands
1839	Cooper, H.	Auckland		Florence, Thomas	"
1839	Cooper, W., Blind Bay	Sydney	1837	Flugent, H., Louisa	Mana
1836	Cooper, Thos.	Bay of Islands		Fogarty, John	"
	Cook, Chas. John	"		Fowler, John	Bay of Islands
	Cook, W.	"		Fox, John	"
	Coker, George	"	1839	Fraser, Alexander } Kapiti and Mana	
1839	Cottis, G., only man left of the	—		Fraser, Thomas }	
	Franklin Fleet		1836	French, 'Coromandel' ...	Bay of Islands
1836	Cowie, John	Bay of Islands		Gage, George	Bay of Islands
1835	Colenso, Rev. Wm.	"		Gales, Thomas	"
1838	Connolly, W. C.	Auckland		Gardiner, William	"
*1839	Cormack, W. C., Waikato ...	Sydney		Gardner, George	"
*1839-40	Cormack & Co., River Thames	"	*1839	Goodser, J. F., Blind Bay ...	Sydney
	and Piako River		*1839	Gordon, C. M., River Piako ...	"
1837	Couper, W. 'Samuel Cunard'	Kapiti	1769	Gore, Lieutenant, 'Endeavour'	"
*1839	Crawford, J. C., Cape Farewell	Sydney	*1838	Green, G., Otako and Akaroa ...	"
1838	Creighton, F.	Auckland	*1839	Green, G., Island of Ahamatara	"
1836	Curtis, W. H.	Bay of Islands	*1838	Green, George, Mistaken Bay	"
				and Foveaux Straits	
*1831	Dacre, R., Whangaroa	Sydney	1769	Green, Mr., 'Endeavour'	—
*1839	Dalziel, A., Waitemata	Auckland	1836	Graham, Thomas	Bay of Islands
1818	Darby, J.	"	1839	Grahame, S.	Auckland
*1824	Davies, J., Bay of Islands ...	Waitemate		Grant, John	Bay of Islands
*1824	Davies, Richard, Missionary	Queen Charlotte Sound		Gravatt, Nelson	"
	Teacher, Bay of Islands			Green, W. T.	"
1836	Davey, Charles	Bay of Islands		Greene, Willman	"
	Davies, Henry	"		Greenhill, Peter	"
	Davies, Robert	"		Greenaway, George	"
	Davies, Wm., M.A.	"		Greenaway, James	"
1831	Davis, Charles O.	"		Greig, Alexander	"
1837	Davis, T.	Auckland		Grenville	"
1836	Day, Dr., 'Coromandel' ...	Bay of Islands	*1839	Greenhill, R., Bream Bay ...	"
1838	Dayncoud	Wellington	1827	Guard, John, Queen Charlotte	—
1837	Deane, W.	Auckland		Sound and Cloudy Bay	
*1826	Delaitte, Hokianga	Sydney	*1839	Guard, J. and Co., Admiralty	Sydney
1832	Dennington, F.	Auckland		Bay	
1837	De Thierry, Richard	"	1836	Hadder, Henry	Bay of Islands
1837	De Thierry, Chas. R.	"		Haggey, George	"
1839	Dieffenbach, Dr., Naturalist,	N.Z. generally	*1839	Hanson and Co., Coromandel	Sydney
	N.Z.C., Port Nicholson and	Bay of Islands		Harbour	
1836	Didsbury, Geo.	Bay of Islands			
1839	Dingwall, A.	Auckland			
	Dinney, John	Bay of Islands			

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

III.

YEAR.	NAME AND DISTRICT.	RESIDENCE.	YEAR.	NAME AND DISTRICT.	RESIDENCE.
	Hardman, Thomas ...	Bay of Islands		Love, Daniel ...	Queen Charlotte Sound
1839	Harpe, J. ...	Auckland	1830	Love, John ...	"
1834	Harrie, E. F. ...	"	1836	Lowden, James ...	Bay of Islands
1839	Harris, W. ...	"	1834	Landry, C. ...	Auckland
*1839	Harvey, Michael ...	Bay of Islands		Lynch, Peter ...	Bay of Islands
	Hawke, Samuel, Kaipara ...	Sydney	1839	MacDonnell, Lieutenant	Mangungu
	Hawkes, George ...	Bay of Islands	*1839	Macnee, J. W., Kaipara	Sydney
	Hawkes, George ...	"	*1829	Mair, G., Bream Bay ...	Bay of Islands
	Hawkins, James ...	"	1836	Mair, Gilbert, J.P. ...	"
	Hawson, Henry ...	"	1830	Mair, R. ...	Auckland
1839	Hay, W., Admiralty Bay ...	Sydney	1819	Marrell, J. ...	"
	Heaphy, Chas., draughtsman to N.Z. Co. Came in 'Tory'	New Zealand	1839	Mariner, Mr. ...	Mangungu
	Heberley, 'Werser' ...	Queen Charlotte Sound	*1827	Mariner, R. ...	Hokianga
1836	Heberley, James, first pilot...	Wellington	1836	Markoore, M. ...	Auckland
1839	Hesketh, Henry 'Success' ...	"	1830	Martiner, Richard ...	Bay of Islands
1823	Hickson, T. W. ...	Auckland		Martiner, Matthew ...	"
1836	Holtham, Richard ...	Bay of Islands	1839	Marriner, W. A. ...	Auckland
	Honey, James ...	"		Marman, John ...	"
	Howland, James ...	"	*1835	Marmon, J. ...	Hokianga
1839	Hoare, Joseph ...	Nelson	1815	Marsden, Rev. S., B. of Is.	Sydney
1834	Hugel, Baron, visitor to Waimate in H.M.S. 'Alligator'		1830	Marshall, E. ...	Auckland
*1839	Hulbert, T. ...	Poverty Bay	1839	Martin, Mr., Pilot ...	"
1836	Hull, George ...	Bay of Islands	1832	Mathews, R. ...	Auckland
	Hunt, Robert ...	"	*1838	Matthews, Rev. J. ...	Kaitia
*1830	Hunt, Robert ...	Hokianga	*1839	Matthews, Rev. R. ...	"
			1834	Maunsell, Rev. R. ...	Auckland
1839	Ironside, Rev. Samuel ...	Cloudy Bay	*1837	Maxwell, T., Waitemata and Motu Tapu	Waiheke
			1836	Meurant, E. ...	Bay of Islands
1836	James, John ...	Bay of Islands	*1839	Mellon, T., Waitemata ...	Matakana
1830	Jackson, James ...	Queen Charlotte Sound	1836	Minshall, Hugh ...	Bay of Islands
*1836	Jellicoe, H. ...	Hokianga	1769	Monkhouse, Mr., 'Endeavour'	—
1837	Jenkins, W., 'Louisa' ...	Mana	*1837	Moore, J., Port Adventure ...	Sydney
1839	Jenkins, Robert ...	Wellington	1836	Monk, Jack ...	Bay of Islands
1837	Jillett, Robert ...	Kapiti		Monro, H. ...	"
1800	Joll, Mary ...	Auckland		Monro, S., M.D. ...	"
*1839	Jones, John and Co., Kawia and Waingaroa	Sydney		Monro, W. ...	"
				Montefiore, John S. ...	"
*1830	Jones, R., Tauranga ...	"		Morgan, Rev. John, C.M.C. ...	"
*1839	Joyce, T. ...	Bay of Islands	1839	Motion, W. ...	Auckland
1836	Johnson, James 'Success' ...	"		Mullins, W. ...	Bay of Islands
	Johnson, Thomas ...	"	*1839	McCaskill, L., River Thames	Sydney
1836	Johnston, Wm. ...	"	1836	McDairmid ...	Bay of Islands
	Jones, Samuel ...	"	*1839	McDonnell, R., River Piako	Sydney
	Jones, Thomas ...	"	1829-41	McDonnell, Lieut. Thos., R.N., came twice, in 'Lady Flora' and 'Jane'	Bay of Islands
1839	Jones, Thomas, 'Success' ...	Wellington			
			1839	McGee, C. ...	Auckland
1822	Kane, E. ...	Auckland	1837	McGonagle, J. ...	"
1836	Kelly, Thomas ...	Bay of Islands	*1839	McGregor, A., River Piako	Sydney
*1831	Kelly, J. ...	Hokianga	1836	McGurdy, B. ...	Bay of Islands
*1836	Kemp, J., Whangaroa	Keri Keri	*1839	McInnes, A., River Piako	Sydney
	Kemp, James, C.M.C. ...	Bay of Islands	*1839	McKay, G., River Piako	"
	Kemp, James, jun ...	"	1838	McLachlan, William ...	Otago
1839	Kenee, W. ...	Auckland	1839	McLaren, James ...	Port Hardy
	King, John, C.M.C. ...	Bay of Islands	*1839	McLean, J., River Piako	Sydney
	King, Wm. Spencer ...	"	*1839	McLer, H., Whangaroa	Kororareka
*1836	King, J., Bay of Islands	Kororareka	1836	McLeod, J. A. ...	Bay of Islands
1816	King, J. W. ...	Bay of Islands		McLeod, Hugh ...	"
*1836	King, P. H., Whangaroa ...	"		McNamara ...	"
	Knight, Samuel M., C.M.C. ...	"			
	Knocks, John J., 'Minerva' ...	Island of Mana	1836	Neal, Capt. Thos., 'Coromandel'	Bay of Islands
*1839	La Court, J. B. ...	Hokianga			
*1839	La Court, J. H. ...	"	*1839	Newton, G., River Piako	Sydney
1834	Lambert, Captain, H.M.S. 'Alligator'	Visited Bay of Islands	1828	Nicholas, W. T. ...	Auckland
			1834	Nicholson, D. ...	"
1836	Lander, John, 'Aquillain' ...	Bay of Islands	1830	Nicolls, John ...	Kapiti
1836	Lawson, Robert ...	"	1832	Nicoll, John, 'Caroline'	Cloudy Bay
1837	Leed, R. ...	Auckland	1836	Nickell, R. W. ...	Bay of Islands
*1839	Lewington, W., Waitemata ...	Bay of Islands		Nisbit, Benjamin ...	"
1836	Lewinton, A. L. W. ...	"			
	Lewis, John Henry ...	"		Oakes, H. R. ...	"
1838	Lockley, W. ...	Auckland		Oakes, W. ...	"
1836	Lomerston, F. R. ...	Bay of Islands	*1839	O'Brien, J., Hokianga	Sydney
*1839	Lord, E., Kaipara ...	Sydney	1836	O'Brien, M., 'Patriot'	Bay of Islands

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF THE

Founders of the British Colony of New Zealand

COMMENCING JANUARY, 1840, ENDING DECEMBER, 1845.

NOTE.—This list shows the year of arrival when procurable, name of pioneer, ship in which each party arrived (as far as can be ascertained), and the locality.

J.P., after a name denotes the early appointed Justices of the Peace. Many settlers who located at Port Nicholson removed to other parts of the colony.

There has been considerable difficulty in procuring a correct list of the early settlers owing to the loss or destruction of many of the records of the New Zealand Company, and also in consequence of no record of names (particularly of the emigrants) being traceable at the Custom-house. It must be observed that the settlers were continually changing their place of residence, and in many instances removed to other parts of the colony, so that the "locality" set opposite to their names must be understood to be the "locality" where they were recorded in the documents referred to, and where at one period of their residence in the colony they were located.

Every endeavour has been made both publicly and privately to make the list of pioneers as complete as possible, and if any names are omitted the fault must be attributed to the parties themselves or their relations, who have not taken advantage of the request made to furnish the required information.

YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
1842	Abbott, Edward, 'London'	Wellington	1841	Alexander, G., 'Mandarin'	Wellington
	Abbott, Frederick Sedwick	Ahuriri		Alexander, Jas. ...	Wanganui
1841	Abbott, J. M. D. ...	Wellington	1840	Alexander, Jas., 'Martha Ridgway'	"
	Abbott, William ...	"		Alexander, J., 'Martha Ridgway'	Wellington
	Abetrombie, C. W. ...	Auckland			
1843	Aberdeen, John ...	"	1840	Alison, A. ...	Auckland
1842	Abraham, Charles ...	Wellington	1843	Alkyns, 'Mandarin' ...	Wellington
	Absolam, Wm. ...	Otahuhu, Auckland	1841	Allan, John, 'Lady Nugent'	"
	Acourt, James ...	Lower Hutt	1843	Allarton, Edward ...	Auckland
	Achieson, J., 'Maria Theresa'	Wellington	1842	Allen, Eli, 'Birnian'	Wellington
	Adams, Alex. Percy ...	"		Allen, Fredk. Kenneth ...	"
1843	Adam, John ...	Auckland	1841	Allen, George ...	"
1841	Adams, Captain, 'Harrington'	Wellington	1840	Allison, C. ...	Auckland
1843	Adams, H. H. ...	Auckland	1844	Anderson, Andrew ...	Wellington
	Adams, John ...	Wellington	1842	Anderson, A. ...	"
1844	Adams, S. A. ...	"	1843	Anderson, Edward ...	"
1843	Adamson, J. P. ...	Tamaki, Auckland	1845	Anderson, D. ...	Auckland
	Adamson, Wm. ...	Wanganui		Anderson, James ...	"
1843	Ade, George ...	Wellington		Anderson, James ...	"
1842	Addis, T. ...	Auckland		Anderson, John ...	Wellington
1845	Aggers, J. ...	"		Anderson, John ...	Nelson
1840	Aitchison, Oliver, and family, 'Jane Gifford'	"	1842	Anderson, John ...	Nelson
	Aitkin, James ...	Waiwatu River	1840	Anderson, Patrick ...	Tamaki, Auckland
	Alder, Samuel ...	Nelson		Anderson, Samuel ...	Wellington
	Alderson, 'Mandarin'	Wellington		Anderson, Thomas ...	"
1840	Aldred, Rev. John ...	" and Nelson		Anderson, William ...	"
1843	Aldwell, Wm. ...	Auckland	1842	Andrew, H. ...	Auckland
1840	Alexander, A., 'Martha Ridgway'	Wellington		Andrew, Robert ...	Tamaki, Auckland
1842	Alexander, Alex. ...	Wanganui	1842	Andrews, Charles, 'Bolton'	Nelson
	Alexander, Alex. ...	Ahuriri	1840	Andrews, George ...	Wellington
1841	Alexander, E. Ann, 'Cath. Stuart Forbes'	Wellington	1841	Andrews, H. J. C., barque 'Stains Castle'	Auckland
			1842	Andrews, William, 'Bolton'	Nelson

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
	Ancoyl, Mr., 'Exporter'	Wellington	1843	Bagnal, M.	Nelson
	Angell, Joseph	"	1844	Bailey, E.	Auckland
1842	Anmisking, G. L.	Auckland	1840	Bailey, Mrs. C.	"
1844	Ansell, T. F.	"	1841	Bailey, Mr., 'Antilla'	Wellington
1842	Allan, Miss, 'Martha Ridgway'	Nelson	1840	Baillie, Mrs. Gordon, 'Oriental'	"
1840	Allen, Jabez	Wellington		Bain, John Watson	Auckland
1841	Allen, John, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1842	Bames, I. B.	New Plymouth
	Allen, John	Wellington	1840	Baird, Helen	Auckland
1840	Allen, John	Waipa, Auckland		Baird, James	Wellington
	Allen, Thos., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1842	Baird, John	"
	Allen, W., 'Amelia Thompson'	"		Baird, Mrs., 'Deborah'	Nelson
1840	Allen, William, 'Cuba'	Wellington		Baird, Samuel C.	Auckland
	Allen, William	"		Baird, Thomas	"
1842	Allen, W., 'Exporter'	"		Baker, Arthur	Wellington
1841	Allington, 'Arab'	"		Baker, Ebenezer	Auckland
1843	Allison, James, M.D.	"	1841	Baker, George, 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington
1842	Allom, Alb. Jas., 'Brougham'	"		Baker, Henry	"
1843	Alright, 'New York Packet'	"	1840	Baker, J. G.	Auckland
	Alsopp, Thomas V.	Waiorongomai	1844	Baker, James	Wellington
1840	Alsodorf, Baron Charles Von, 'Adelaide'	Wellington	1841	Baker, John	"
1841	Alsodorf, Walter Harry	"		Baker, John Thos. Townsend	"
	Ames, James	"	1842	Baker, R. K.	Auckland
1843	Amoss, G. F.	Wanganui	1840	Baker, Rich., Major, 'Aurora'	Wellington
1840	Anderson, Archibald, 'Bengal Merchant'	Wellington	1843	Baker, Thomas, Esq.	"
1843	Anglinia, Mr.	"		Bales, 'Coromandel'	Wellington
1841	Ankatell, 'Gem'	"		Ball, Alfred	"
	Annear, James	"	1841	Ball, Richard	Wellington and Wanganui
1843	Apjohn, 'Mandarin'	"	1843	Ball, Thomas, T.	Wanganui
	Appleyard, Henry	Auckland	1842	Bampton, George	Nelson
1841	Archer, 'Ullswater'	Wellington		Banks, John	Wellington
	Archibald	"	1843	Banman, Rev. J., missionary	Wellington
	Arcourt, George	"		Bannatyne, W. M.	"
1842	Ariken, George, 'Indemnity'	Wellington		Bannister, Edwin	"
	Armstrong, Robt.	"	1840	Bannister, John	"
1840	Arnold, T.	Auckland		Bannister, Robt. Elijah	"
	Arrowsmith, 'Gem'	Wellington		Bannister, Wm.	"
1841	Arrowsmith, H. G.	"		Bannister, Wm., jun.	"
	Arthur	"		Barb, Thomas	"
1843	Arthur, David	Auckland		Barber, Thomas	"
1842	Ashbolt, Thos.	Wellington	1843	Barber, James	Tamaki, Auckland
	Ashdown, Geo.	"		Barber, Richard	"
1843	Asher, A.	Auckland		Barber, Thomas	Wellington
1843	Asher, M.	Wellington		Barham, David	"
1844	Ashton, C. T.	"	1842	Bargent, Edward, 'Clifford'	Nelson
1842	Ashwoth, barque 'Tuscan'	Auckland	1842	Barlthrop, H., 'Indemnity'	"
	Atchieson, Fredk.	Wellington		Barnard, Alfred	"
	Atkin, Wm., barque 'Tuscan'	Tamaki, Auckland		Barnes, James	Wellington
1841	Atkinson, Henry	Wellington	1840	Barnes, Richard A., 'Martha Ridgway'	"
1844	Atkinson J. Campey	"	1843	Barnes, Wm.	"
1843	Atkinson, 'Ursula'	"		Barnes, Wm., jun.	Karori
1842	Attwood, Capt., 'London'	"		Barnes, Wm., jun.	"
1842	Aubrey, A., 'Essex'	Wellington and New Plymouth	1842	Barnett, Lewis	Nelson
	Aubrey, C., 'Essex'	Wellington and New Plymouth	1843	Barnett, R.	Wellington
1841	Aubyn, R. S., J.P., 'Jane'	Wellington		Barnett, Reuben	"
1843	Austin, Robert	Epsom, Auckland	1842	Barnett, Wm., 'Thos. Harrison'	Nelson
1841	Autridge, Charles, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1842	Barnicoat, J. W., 'Lord Auckland'	"
	Autridge, J., 'Amelia Thompson'	"	1841	Baron, Mr., 'Autilla'	Wellington
1840	Avery, Miss E. Bolton	Wellington	1842	Bar, John, 'Prince of Wales'	"
	Avery, George	"		Barr, Wm.	Onehunga, Auckland
	Avery, Thomas	"		Barraud, F. P., 'Northfleet'	Wellington
1841	Avery, Thomas	"		Barrett, John	"
1842	Baber, J., barque 'Tuscan'	Auckland		Barrett, Richard	"
	Baber, Richard K., 'Tuscan'	Tamaki, Auckland		Barrett, William	"
1843	Bachelor, Alfred	Auckland		Barriball, Charles	Auckland
1841	Bacon, Wm.	"	1842	Barron, George	Wellington
1842	Badman, Samuel, 'Clifford'	Nelson	1840	Barrow, Charles, 'Aurora'	"
	Baggardley, James	Wellington		Barrow, James, 'Aurora'	"
				Barrow, Stephen	"
			1842	Barrow, Thomas	"
			1840	Barry, Edward	Auckland
			1840	Barry, John, 'Aurora'	Wellington
				Barry, Richard, 'Aurora'	"
				Barry, Wm., 'Aurora'	"

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

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YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
1843	Barry, Wm. ...	Akaroa	1843	Bentley, James...	Wellington
	Barstow, R. C. ...	Tamaki, Auckland		Bentley, John ...	"
	Bartlett, George ...	Wellington		Benton, Timothy ...	Karori
	Bartlett, John ...	"		Bernie, Ebenezer ...	Tamaki, Auckland
	Bartlett, Nathaniel ...	"	1844	Berry, J. G. ...	Auckland
	Barton, James ...	"		Berry, Percival ...	Wellington
	Barton, John ...	"		Best, Wm. ...	"
1840	Barton, Rich., J.P., 'Oriental'	"	1840	Bethune, Kenneth, 'Cuba'	"
	Barton, Richard I. ...	"	1842	Betts ...	Nelson
	Barton, Wm. ...	"		Betts, A., 'Indemnity'	Wellington
1841	Bassett, Wm., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth		Betts, Henry ...	"
1840	Bassett, Wm., 'Duke of Roxburgh'	Wellington		Bevan, Edward ...	Ohau
	Bates, John ...	Onehunga, Auckland	1841	Bevan, George, 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington
	Batkin, T. C., 'Slaina Castle'	New Plymouth		Bevan, Thos., 'Lady Nugent'	"
1842	Batt, John, 'Olympus'	Nelson	1843	Beveridge, James ...	Epsom, Auckland
1843	Batten, George ...	Wanganui		Bias, Daniel Ikin ...	Wellington
1841	Batten, G. B. ...	Wellington		Bicknell, John ...	"
	Batten, John ...	"		Bicknell, Joseph ...	"
1842	Baty, Jacob, 'Clifford'	Nelson	1841	Biddell, W. ...	"
1841	Bayly, Arthur, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1842	Bidman, J. ...	"
1841	Bayly, Daniel, 'Amelia Thompson'	"		Bidmead, Jonathan ...	"
	Bayley, Jas., 'Amelia Thompson'	"	1840	Bidwell, C. R., 'Hope'	"
	Bayley, Is., 'Amelia Thompson'	"		Bidwell, J. Carne ...	"
	Bayley, Thomas, 'Amelia Thompson'	"	1845	Bield, J. ...	Auckland
	Bayley, Thomas, jun., 'Amelia Thompson'	"	1841	Billing, Wm., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
	Bayley, William, 'Amelia Thompson'	"		Bills, Frederick ...	Wellington
	Beachin, Geo., 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington	1840	Bills, W., 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"
1842	Beaghey, W. H. ...	Auckland	1842	Binns, George ...	Nelson
1843	Beamish, Richard, 'New York Packet'	Wellington	1842	Binns, George, 'Bombay'	Wellington
	Beard, John ...	"	1843	Bird, J. ...	"
1840	Beardmore, Dr., 'Coromandel'	"		Bird, John ...	"
1843	Beaumont, Robert ...	Auckland	1842	Bird, Reuben, 'Fifeshire'	Nelson
1841	Beckham, Thomas, J.P. ...	"		Bird, William ...	Wellington
	Beddington, William ...	Whangarei	1840	Birley, 'Tyne'	"
1842	Bee, Francis ...	Wellington	1842	Birnie, 'Prince of Wales'	"
1842	Beit, John N. ...	Nelson		Bishop, James ...	"
1841	Belymy ...	Akaroa		Bishop, Joseph ...	"
	Bell, 'Gem' ...	Wellington		Bishop, Wm., 'London'	Nelson
1843	Bell, Charles ...	"	1843	Black, Alexander ...	Auckland
	Bell, Sir F. Dillon, 'Ursula'	" and Nelson		Black, Andrew ...	Wellington
1840	Bell, H. Gordon, 'Lady Lilford'	"	1840-2	Blackett, John, Vacht 'Albatross'	"
1842	Bell, J., 'Exporter'	"	1842	Blake, George Henry ...	Wellington
1840	Bell, J., 'Lady Lilford'	Nelson		Blake, Richard ...	"
1845	Bell, J. ...	Auckland	1841	Blathwayte, G. W., 'Arab'	"
	Bell, James ...	Wellington	1843	Bleakley, George ...	Auckland
	Bell, John ...	"	1840	Bligh, J. W., 'Earl Stanhope'	Wellington
	Bell, Samuel ...	"	1841	Blomfield, R., 'Mandarin'	"
	Bell, William, 'Birman'	"		Bluett, Mr. ...	"
1842	Bell, W. F. ...	Auckland		Bluett, Wm. ...	"
1841	Bell, Wm. G. ...	Wanganui	1840	Blyth, David, 'Martha Ridgway'	Wanganui
1842	Belliars, Eugene ...	Nelson		Blythe, James, and family, 'Martha Ridgway'	"
1841	Benar, J. H. ...	Wellington		Bobbington, J. C., 'Phoebe'	Masterton
	Benge, David ...	"	1843	Bobbington, J. G. ...	Wellington
1842	Benge, John, 'Olympus'	"		Boddington, Edn. ...	"
	Benge, Nicholas ...	"	1843	Boddington, James, 'Phoebe'	"
	Benkenstein, Fred. Augustus ...	"		Bolland, Rev. J. ...	New Plymouth
1843	Bennett, George ...	Mechanics' Bay, Ak.	1842	Bolton, Edwd., 'George Fife'	Nelson
1840	Bennett, Geo. White, 'Cuba'	Wellington	1841	Bolton, F., 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington
	Bennett, John ...	"	1842	Bolton, Frederick ...	"
1843	Bennett, Lieutenant, R.E. ...	Auckland	1843	Bolton, Frederick ...	"
	Bennett, Thomas ...	Wellington	1843	Bond, J. ...	Auckland
	Bennett, William ...	"	1840	Bond, P. ...	"
1841	Benson, George ...	Auckland		Bond, Wm. ...	Wellington
	Benson, B. J., 'Catherine Stuart Forbes'	Wellington		Bonfield, Patrick ...	Auckland
	Bentley, Henry ...	Karori	1844	Boon, Alfred ...	"
				Booth, James ...	Wellington
				Booth, James ...	Wanganui
			1842	Boswell, J. ...	Auckland
			1843	Bottomley, W. S. ...	Wellington
			1842	Boulcott, Almon, 'Mary Ann'	"
				Boulcott, Joseph, 'Mary Ann'	"
				Bould, Robert ...	"

YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
	Bourn, Henry	Turanganui	1843	Brooke	Wellington
	Bovaird, W.	Auckland	1840	Brookes, John, Interpreter ..	Nelson
	Bowden, William	Stoke's Valley	1842	Brooks, Stephen	Wellington
1841	Bowler, Charles, 'Sir John Flagstaff'	Wellington	1843	Brooks, Wm.	Auckland
	Bowler, E., 'Sir John Flagstaff'	"	Broughton, James	Wanganni	
1843	Bowler, Eden	"	1840	Brown, 'Integrity'	Wellington
	Bowler, Samuel	"	1841	Brown, A.	Auckland
	Bowler, William	"		Brown, Abraham	Wellington
	Bowler, Wm., jun.	"	1840	Brown, Andrew, 'Aurora' ..	"
1841	Bowman, D., 'Lady Nugent'	"		Brown, Andrew, jun., 'Aurora'	"
	Bowtell, John	"		Brown, Adam, 'Bengal Merchant'	"
1843	Box, Daniel	"	1841	Brown & Campbell	Auckland
1840	Box, John, 'Aurora' ..	"	1840	Brown, Charles, 'Martha Ridgway'	Wellington
	Boyd, Wm.	"	1842	Brown, Charles	"
	Boylan, James Thomas ..	Auckland	1841	Brown, Charles, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1842	Boys, J. C.	Nelson	1841	Brown, C. G.	Auckland
1843	Boysen, Peter	Wellington	1840	Brown, David, 'Aurora' ..	Wellington
1840	Boyton, Henry, 'Oriental'	"	1842	Brown, D. H.	"
	Bradfield, R.	"	1841	Brown, Edwin, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1842	Bradford, D.	"	1842	Brown, Francis, 'Bolton' ..	Nelson
1841	Bradley, Francis	"	1844	Brown, George	Karori
1842	Bradshaw, John E., 'Birman'	"	1840	Brown, Gibson, 'Aurora' ..	Wellington
	Bradshaw, Wm.	"	1840	Brown, Mrs Harriet, 'Oriental'	"
1842	Brady, Francis, 'Adelaide'	"	1841	Brown, I.	Auckland
1840	Brady, Francis, jun., 'Adelaide'	"	1843	Brown, J. R.	"
*1840	Brady, E., Otako	Sydney	1840	Brown, James, 'Blenheim' ..	Wellington
1845	Brady, J.	Auckland		Brown, J. G. & Co.	Foveaux Straits
1842	Brady, Mr., 'Bombay' ..	Wellington	1842	Brown, John	Wellington
1843	Brady, P.	Auckland	1840	Brown, Richard, 'Essington'	"
	Bragg, Henry	Wellington	1841	Brown, Richard, 'Bolton' ..	"
1841	Bragg, 'Protector'	"		Brown, Samuel	Auckland
	Bragg, Richard	"	1843	Brown, T. J.	Wellington
	Braithwaite, A. S.	"	1841	Brown, W.	Auckland
1843	Bramford, Joseph	Wanganui	1840	Brown, Wm., 'Blenheim' ..	Wellington
1842	Bramwall, Mr., 'Abercrombie'	Auckland	1843	Brown, Wm.	Auckland
	Bramwell, John T.	Nelson	1840	Brown, Wm. H., 'Adelaide'	Wellington
1840	Brandon, Alfred de Bathe, 'London'	Wellington		Bruce, Charles	"
1841	Brandreth, 'Tyne'	"	1841	Bruce, Peter, 'Lady Nugent'	"
1843	Branks, John	"		Brunger, J., 'Lady Nugent' ..	"
1840	Branks, John, 'Bengal Merchant'	"	1840	Bryan, Patrick	Otako
	Branks, Robt., 'Bengal Merchant'	"	1840	Bryant, Edward Scott	Wellington
1842	Brash, W.	"	1842	Bryant, G.	Auckland
	Brees, Saml. C., 'Brougham'	"		Bryant, James	Wellington
1841	Branks, Robert	"		Bryant, Josiah	"
1843	Bray, J.	Auckland		Bryce, John, 'Bengal Merchant'	"
1843	Bray, W.	"		Bryce, John, jun. (subsequently Native Minister), 'Bengal Merchant'	"
1844	Brelly, J.	"	1843	Buchanan, Thos. W.	Auckland
1840	Brewer, C. B.	"	1840	Buchanan, Wm. T., 'Bengal Merchant'	Wellington
	Brewer, Wm.	Wellington	1842	Buck, George, 'Bernian' ..	"
1842	Brewster, C., 'New York Packet'	"		Buck, Henry, 'Bernian' ..	"
1843	Brewster, Charles	"	1843	Buckingham	Auckland
1842	Briggs, G.	"	1842	Buckland, Alfred	"
1843	Brigham, John	Auckland		Buckland, M., 'George Fife'	Nelson
	Brigham, Wm.	"		Buckland, Thos.	Wellington
	Brightwell, Thos.	"	1840	Buckland, Wm.	Auckland
1842	Broad, G.	"	1842	Buckley, 'George Fife' ..	Nelson
1841	Broadbent, C. W.	"	1845	Buckley, D. P.	Auckland
	Broadbent, John	"		Buckbridge, Robert	Wellington
	Broadbent, Wm.	Wellington		Buckstone, H. B.	"
	Brodereck, Creasy, 'Mary'	"		Buckthought, Philip	"
1840	Brodie, H.	Bay of Islands	1843	Budder, 'Ursula'	"
	Brodie, James	Wellington		Buddle, Rev. Thomas	Auckland
	Brodie, Walter	Auckland	1842	Buddle, W. D.	"
	Brodie, W.	Bay of Islands	1841	Buick, David, 'Arab'	Wellington
	Bromé, James	Wellington		Buick, James, 'Arab'	"
	Bromley, Henry	"		Buick, Wm. B., 'Arab' ..	"
	Bromley, James Hurdley ..	"		Bull, Edward	Auckland
1841	Bromley, James, 'Cath. Stuart Forbes'	"	1843	Bull, James	Wellington

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

ix.

YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
1841	Bullott, Edward, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth		Calcott, Jonathan Walter	Wellington
	Bullott, Eugene, 'Amelia Thompson'	"	1842	Calvert, W., 'London'	"
1840	Bume, J.	—	1840	Cameron, Alex., 'Blenheim'	"
1842	Bumforth, H., 'Lord Auckland'	Nelson	1842	Cameron, Allan, 'Blenheim'	"
	Bumforth, John, 'Lord Auckland'	"		Cameron, Angus	"
	Bumforth, Wm., 'Lord Auckland'	"	1842	Cameron, Archibald	Rangitikei
1841	Bunbron, Major Thos. I. S.	Auckland	1841	Cameron, Charles Wm.	Wellington
1840	Bunbury, Major Soth Regt.	—		Cameron, Charles, 'Blenheim'	Wanganui
	Burcham, James Nelson	Wellington		Cameron, Donald, 'Blenheim'	Wellington
	Burcham, Wm., 'Adelaide'	"		Cameron, Donald, jun., 'Blenheim'	"
	Burgess, Isaac James (pilot)	Auckland		Cameron, Dougal, 'Blenheim'	"
	Burgess, W. B., 'Oriental'	Wellington		Cameron, Duncan, 'Blenheim'	"
	Burke, James	"	1843	Cameron, Ewen	"
	Burke, Wm. M. Otway	Nelson	1840	Cameron, Hugh, 'Blenheim'	"
1843	Burkitt, Benjamin	Wellington	1842	Cameron, John, 'Blenheim'	"
	Burling, Henry, jun.	Teawaiti	1842	Cameron, John, 'Martha Ridgway'	Wanganui
	Burling, Henry	Wairarapa	1842	Cameron, John, jun., 'Blenheim'	Wellington
1842	Burnard, G.	Auckland	1842	Cameron, Mary	Auckland
	Burne, Joseph	Wellington	1842	Cameron, Mailda	"
1842	Burnett	"		Cameron, Peter	Wellington
1841	Burnett, G. W.	"	1842	Cameron, Richard	Auckland
1842	Burnett, Richard	Nelson		Cameron, Robert	Wellington
1840	Burnett, Samuel, 'Bengal Merchant'	Wellington	1845	Cameron, S.	Auckland
	Burns, David	Auckland	1840	Campbell, 'Portemau'	"
	Burns, John	Wellington	1842	Campbell, Alex. Le Grond, 'Martha Ridgway'	Nelson
1841	Burns, Mrs., 'Lord Auckland'	Nelson	1841	Campbell, Anna, 'Margaret'	Auckland
	Burr, Amos, 'Cuba'	Wellington	1840	Campbell, Capt. Colin, 'Blenheim'	Wellington
1841	Burrows, Mr., 'Olympus'	"	1843	Campbell, Daniel	Auckland
	Burrows, Robert	Pahia, Auckland		Campbell, Duncan	"
1842	Burt, H. W.	Nelson	1840	Campbell, Dr., 'Blenheim'	Wellington
1841	Burt, H. W. Rington	Wellington	1842	Campbell, F. H. P., 'Martha Ridgway'	Nelson
	Burt, James	Auckland		Campbell, James	Wellington
1842	Burt, W.	Wellington	1840	Campbell, J. L.	Auckland
	Burt, Wm.	Nelson	1843	Campbell, John	Taranaki
	Burton, James	Wellington	1841	Campbell, John	Wellington
	Burton, John	Nelson		Campbell, Michael	"
1840	Burton, Richard, 'Oriental'	Wellington		Campbell, Capt. Moses, J.P., 'Clydeside'	Wanganui
1842	Burton, Wm., 'Olympus'	"		Campbell, Robert	"
	Busby, James, J.P.	Bay of Islands	1841	Campbell, Wm., 'Margaret'	Auckland
	Bush, G. F.	Nelson		Canning, Joseph	Wellington
	Bush, Wm.	Wellington		Cannon, William	"
1840	Bust, Robt. D., and family	Auckland		Canty, Thomas	Auckland
1840	Butler, Jas., 'Martha Ridgway'	Wellington	1842	Caradus, E.	"
1840	Butler, Rev. J. G., C.L.R.P., 'Bolton'	"	1842	Caradus, J.	"
1842	Butler, Thomas	"		Carey, Nicholas	Wellington
	Butler, Thomas Charles	"	1842	Cargill, John	"
1841	Butler, W. S., 'Arab'	"		Carkeck, Stephen (Collector of Customs)	Nelson
1842	Butler, Wm. Stephen, M.D.	"		Carlton, Hugh	Bay of Islands
	Butt, Rev. Henry	Nelson		Carmont, John	Wellington
1843	Buttery, John	Tamaki, Auckland	1843	Carnegie, Fyfe Dal.	Auckland
	Buxton, Henry	Wellington		Carpenter, Robert Holt	Wellington
	Bycroft, John (first miller in Auckland)	Epsom, Auckland	1842	Carr, Henry	Nelson
	Bycroft, Wm.	"	1840	Carran, H.	Auckland
1842	Byng, W., 'Bolton'	Wellington	1843	Cartie, Alexander	"
1843	Byrne, Thomas	Auckland	1840	Carrington, F. A., 'London'	Wellington
1841	Byron, George	Wellington	1841	Carrington, Octavius, 'Stains Castle'	Taranaki
	Cable, Wm.	"	1840	Carrington, Wellington, 'Cuba'	Wellington
	Cadman, Jerome, M.P.	Auckland		Carruth, John, 'Bengal Merchant'	"
1842	Cain, W.	"		Carruth, Robert, 'Bengal Merchant'	"
1843	Caines	Wellington		Carruthers, Edwin	"
1840	Cairns, G. S.	Auckland	1843	Carruthers, George	Auckland
	Calder, James	Wellington		Carsewell, John	"
1840	Calder, Robert	"		Carter, Charles	"
1843	Caldicott, Wm.	Epsom, Auckland	1840	Carter, Joseph, 'Aurora'	"
	Caley, Thomas	Wellington			
1842	Callaghan, Jas., 'Anna Watson'	"			
	Cullan, Philip	Auckland			

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
1841	Cass, Mr., 'Antilla' ...	Auckland	1842	Clark, W., 'London' ...	Wellington
1842	Cassley, Wm. O., 'Mary Ann' ...	Nelson	1843	Clark, Wm. James, 'Tyne' ...	"
	Castle, John ...	"		Clarke B. Edward ...	Bay of Islands
1843	Castle, Wm. W. ...	Auckland	1840	Clarke, Geo., J.P. ...	Auckland
1840	Catchpool, Edwd., 'Oriental' ...	Wellington		Clarke, J. Henry ...	Bay of Islands
	Catlin & Co. ...	Akaroa	1842	Clarke, James ...	Wellington
	Catlin, E. ...	"	1843	Clarke, Thos. ...	Auckland
	Cator, Charles, Solicitor ...	Wellington	1841	Clarkson, William ...	Wellington
	Cattell, James ...	"	1840	Clayton, Captain G. T. ...	Bay of Islands
	Cattell, William ...	"	1841	Cleghorn, 'Jane' ...	Wellington
1843	Caukwell, 'Mandarin' ...	"	1843	Cleghorn, Thomas ...	Auckland
	Cave, Louis ...	"		Clifford, Alphonzo Chas. ...	Flaxburn, Middle Is.
	Cawkwell, Thomas ...	Tamaki, Auckland	1840	Clifford, Chas., J.P. (now Sir Charles), 'George Fife' ...	Wellington
1842	Cayley, Thomas, 'Bernian' ...	Wellington		Clifton, Daniel ...	"
	Cemmo, Salvatore ...	"		Clifton, Richard ...	"
1842	Chadwick, John ...	Auckland		Clout, John ...	"
1841	Chamberlain, 'Harrington' ...	Wellington	1842	Clow, John ...	Papakura, Auckland
	Chamberlain, Thomas ...	"	1842	Clow, M. E. ...	Auckland
	Chamberlain, Wm. ...	"	1842	Clow, W. ...	"
1842	Chamberlain, W. ...	Nelson		Coad, Thomas ...	Wellington
	Champney, Mr., 'George Fyfe' ...	Wellington	1840	Coates, James, J.P. ...	Auckland
1843	Channing, John ...	Auckland	1844	Coates, L. ...	"
	Chaplin, Mr., 'Tyne' ...	Wellington	1840	Coates, S. A. ...	"
1843	Chapman, Hy. S., Judge, 'Bungalore' ...	Auckland		Coats, 'Earl Stanhope' ...	Wellington
	Chappell, James ...	Wellington	1842	Cobbett, H. ...	"
1842	Charlton, Horace, 'Brougham' ...	"	1840	Cochrane, Archibald ...	Auckland
1842	Cheeseman, Mrs. Annie, and family, 'London' ...	"		Cochrane, John ...	Wellington
1842	Cheesman, R. S., Solicitor, 'London' ...	"		Cochrane, Samuel ...	Auckland
1841	Chetham, Alfred, 'Harrington' ...	"		Cockburn, Alexander ...	Wellington
	Chetham, Edward, J.P., 'Harrington' ...	"		Cockburn, Andrew ...	"
1843	Chetham, Wm. ...	Auckland	1840	Cockburn, J. ...	"
	Chew, Edward ...	Wellington		Cockburn, Jas. ...	"
	Cheyne, Peter ...	"		Cockburn, Jas., jun. ...	"
1840	Child, J. W., 'Aurora' ...	"		Cockburn, Robert ...	"
1841	Ching, Richard, 'Whitby' ...	Nelson		Cockery, Dennis ...	"
	Chisholm, Adam ...	Auckland		Cocking, Wm. ...	"
	Chislom, 'Blenheim' ...	Wellington		Cocroft, Adam ...	"
1842	Chitchel, J. ...	"	1843	Codlin, Charles ...	Auckland
	Chittenden, Edward ...	"	1842	Codlin, George ...	"
1841	Chitty, F., 'Jane' ...	"		Codlin, John ...	"
1842	Christian, J., 'Thos. Sparks' ...	"	1843	Coggentor, J. ...	"
	Christian, Wm. Fredk. ...	"	1840	Coglan, G. H., 'Helena' ...	Wellington
1841	Christie, John ...	"	1842	Coldicutt, C. ...	Auckland
	Christieson, Peter ...	"	1842	Coldwell, F. ...	"
1840	Christmas, W. ...	Kaipoi		Cole, George, 'Adelaide' ...	Wellington
1843	Chubback, John ...	Auckland	1842	Cole, George L., 'Annie of Arbroath' ...	Papakura, Auckland
	Church, Wm. ...	Tamaki, Auckland		Cole, Henry 'Adelaide' ...	Wellington
1843	Church, Thomas ...	"		Cole, John ...	"
	Churches, G. ...	Auckland		Cole, Rev. Robert ...	"
	Churchill, Wm. ...	Wellington		Cole, Thomas ...	"
1840	Churton, Henry, 'London' ...	Wanganui	1842	Coleman, Edward ...	Nelson
1841	Churton, J. C. ...	Wellington		Coleman, J., 'Indemnity' ...	Wellington
1840	Churton, Rev. J. F., 'Bolton' ...	"		Coleman, Thomas ...	"
1841	Clambutt, Thomas ...	"		Coley, Isaac ...	"
1842	Clanxey, William ...	Nelson	1840	Collett, Henry, 'London' ...	"
	Clangay, William ...	"		Collett, J. E., 'Bolton' ...	"
	Clapham, Joseph ...	Wellington		Collier, George ...	"
1842	Claringhold, Wm., Pilot ...	Nelson		Collier, James ...	"
	Clark, Archibald, First Mayor ...	Auckland	1842	Collier, John, 'Explorer' ...	"
1840	Clark, C. ...	"		Collier, Robert ...	"
1842	Clark, David, 'Clifford' ...	Nelson		Collins, James ...	"
1841	Clark, George ...	Wellington	1842	Collins, Jeremiah Power ...	"
1842	Clark, J. ...	Auckland		Collins, John Power ...	"
1843	Clark, J. J., 'Tyne' ...	Wellington		Collins, R., 'Clifton' ...	"
1842	Clark, Mrs. E. ...	Auckland		Collis, Charles ...	"
	Clark, Peter ...	Wellington		Collis, J. D. ...	"
	Clark, R., 'Tyne' ...	"	1840	Colville, J., 'Bengal Merchant' ...	Wanganui
	Clark, Rice Owen ...	"	1843	Colville, John ...	Wellington
	Clark, Richard ...	Auckland		Commersfield, John ...	Auckland
1844	Clark, Samuel ...	"		Commons, John ...	Auckland
				Commons, Thomas ...	"
			1843	Compton, Alfred ...	Wellington
			1841	Compton, George, 'Mandarin' ...	"
				Comrie, William ...	Auckland

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

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YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
	Conacher, Daniel	Wellington	1842	Coyle, M.	Auckland
1843	Conaher... ..	"	1841	Cracknell, John, 'Catherine Stuart Forbes'	Wellington
1841	Condon	Auckland		Cracknell, Wm., 'Catherine Stuart Forbes'	"
	Conlan, Richard	Wellington	1842	Craig, James, and wife, 'Jane Gifford'	Auckland
	Connell, Charles	"	1841	Craig, Robert	Wellington
	Connell, Wm.	"		Craig, Thomas	Auckland
	Connell, Wm.	Auckland		Craighead, Wm., 'Lord William Bothwick'	Wellington
	Connin, Wm.	Wellington		Craven, Thomas	"
	Connor, Wm.	"	1840	Crawford, George, 'Bengal Merchant'	"
1840	Conolly, 'Blenheim'	"	1841	Crawford, J.	Auckland
	Constable, Edward	Auckland		Crawford, Mrs., 'Stains Castle'	Wellington
	Constable, John, 'Adelaide'	Wellington	1842	Crawford, Robert	Nelson
1842	Constable, J., 'New York Packet'	"	1841	Creag, 'Mandarin'	Wellington
	Cook, C. J. K., Surgeon, 'Mary Ann'	Nelson		Creed, Rev. Charles	"
	Cook, Edmond, 'Clifford' ...	Wellington		Creed, Rev. James	Otago (Otago)
1840	Cook, H., 'Adelaide'	"		Creed, Thos. Edward	Wellington
1842	Cook, J. H., 'Clifford'	"		Creigh, Robert... ..	"
	Cook, John, 'Clifford'	"	1843	Crempton, R., 'Tyrian'	"
	Cook, Matthew	"		Cresswell, Chas. Jas.	"
	Cook, Matthew, jun.	"	1843	Crenay, Henry R.	Auckland
	Cook, R. Clifford, 'Clifford'	"	1843	Cridland, Henry Geo., 'Ursula'	Wellington
1841	Cook, Samuel	"		Crispe, Joseph	Auckland
	Cook, Thomas	"		Critchell, John	Wellington
1840	Cook, Thomas W., 'Adelaide'	"	1841	Cooke, J. O.	Auckland
1843	Cooke, A. G.	Auckland		Cronin, Patrick	Wellington
1840	Cooke, E., 'Adelaide'	Wellington	1842	Cromwell, James and wife, 'Jane Gifford'	Auckland
1841	Cooke, John George, J.P., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1841	Crop, H., 'Lady Nugent' ...	Wellington
	Cooke, John, 'Mandarin' ...	Wellington	1842	Crop, James (pilot)	Nelson
1842	Cooke, John	Nelson		Crope, Chas. Grant	Wellington
1840	Cooke, Thomas 'Adelaide' ...	Wellington	1842	Crope, 'Regia'	"
1841	Cook, William, 'Mandarin' ...	"	1842	Cropper, Eli	Nelson
1843	Coolahan, Hugh	Auckland	1843	Crosbie, Thos.	Wanganui
1842	Coombes, Miss, 'Lord Auckland'	Nelson	1843	Crosby, David	Auckland
1840	Coombes, R.	Auckland		Cross, Wm.	Wellington
	Coombes, William	"		Crotty, Timothy	"
1842	Cooper, Dr.	Nelson	1842	Crovercrow, Dr., 'Regia' ...	"
	Cooper, D.	Auckland	1842	Crow, Peter	"
1841	Cooper, Geo., Colonial Treasurer, J.P., 'Westminster'	"		Crowe, Edward	"
1842	Cooper, John H.	Nelson	1843	Crowther, Isaiah	Auckland
1842	Cooper, P.	Auckland	1842	Crowther, Samuel, 'Birman'	Wellington
	Cooper, Samuel	Wellington		Crowther, Thos.	"
1841	Cooper, William, 'Catherine Stuart Forbes'	"	1841	Cruikshank, J.	"
1843	Cooper, Wm.	Tamaki, Auckland	1842	Crummer, 'Prince of Wales'	"
	Copeland, George	Wellington	1843	Crummer, Thos.	Auckland
1844	Copland, J.	Auckland		Cudby, John	Wellington
1840	Coppin, 'Aurora'	Wellington	1842	Cullen, 'Fifeshire'	"
1841	Copps, Wm., 'Gertrude'	"	1840	Cullen, Jas., 'Bengal Merchant'	"
	Corbett, Wm.	"	1842	Cullen, William	Nelson
1842	Corbett, Wm.	Epsom, Auckland	1842	Cullingworth, J.	"
1842	Cording, Edmond, 'Clifford'	Wellington	1841	Cully, Samuel, 'Mandarin' ...	Wellington
1843	Cormac, Wm.	Auckland	1842	Culpan, William	Auckland
1841	Cormack, W. E.	"		Cummerfield, John	Wellington
	Cornford, Joseph	Wellington		Cumming, Thomas	"
	Cory, John	Auckland	1840	Cundy, Chas., 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"
1844	Cossie, Annie	"	1841	Cunningham, J.	Auckland
1842	Coster, John 'Geo. Fife'	Nelson	1841	Curtis, George	Wellington
1841	Costley, Edward	Auckland		Curtis, John James	"
	Cotter, Pierce	Wellington	1840	Curtis, Priscilla, 'London' ...	"
1842	Cotterell, John S., 'Fifeshire'	Nelson	1841	Cutfield, George, J.P.	New Plymouth
1841	Cottle, Charles, 'Catherine Stuart Forbes'	Wellington	1842	Cuthbert, Chas. Wm.	Wellington
	Coulon, Richard	"	1844	Cutter, M.	Auckland
1840	Coulson, Captain, 'Hope' ...	"		Cuttriss, George	Wellington
1843	Couper, 'Ursula'	"		Cynox, William	"
1842	Couper, Peter	"	1841	Dalby, H., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
	Couper, W.	"		Daloy, Wm. C.	Auckland
	Coutre, David	"	1842	Dale, W., 'London'	Wellington
	Cowpe, William	"	1844	Dalely, W.	Auckland
1841	Cox, G., 'Lady Nugent'	Auckland	1841	Dalgetty, 'Arab'	Wellington
1843	Cox, John	"		Dalgetty, Alex.	"

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YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
	Dalliston, Jas. J. Robt. ...	Auckland		Dixon, Charles ...	Wellington
1842	Dalton, Annie ...	"		Dixon, Edward ...	"
1843	Dalziel, Alex. ...	"	1840	Dixon, H. O. ...	Auckland
1843	Dalziel, Mr. ...	Wellington	1842	Dixon, J. G. R. ...	Wellington
	Daniel, Ailan ...	Rangitikei		Dixon, Joseph ...	"
1840	Daniell, Capt. Edwd., J.P., 'Adelaide'	Wellington		Dixon, Michael ...	"
				Dodge, William ...	"
1841	Daniell, H. C., 'Mandarin' ...	"		Dods, Thos. ...	"
1841	Darling, 'Arab' ...	"	1842	Dodson, George, 'Fifeshire' ...	Nelson
1842	Dartnall, W. ...	Nelson	1841	Dodson, Thomas, 'Will Watch' ...	"
	Dash, John ...	Wellington		Dogherty, Alexander ...	Wellington
	Davidson, James ...	"	1842	Domett, Alfred (Barrister), J.P. ...	Nelson
	Davies, James ...	"		Donald, Robert ...	Wellington
1840	Davies, W. ...	Auckland	1842	Donald, S. ...	"
1840	Davies, Edward, and wife Margaret, 'Aurora'	Wellington	1844	Donald, W. F. J. ...	Auckland
				Donald, Wm. ...	Wellington
1843	Davis J. ...	"	1842	Donald, Wm. Hodgson, 'Geo. Fife'	Mania
	Davis, James ...	"		Donaldson, Robert ...	Wellington
1840	Davis, James ...	Otakou, Otago		Donnelly, Wm., 'Blenheim' ...	"
1840	Davis, John, 'Cuba' ...	Wellington		Dongherty, Daniel (Pilot) ...	"
1841	Davis, J. P. ...	Auckland		Donnelly, Patrick ...	"
1840	Davis, Mr., 'Duke of Roxburgh'	Wellington	1840	Donovan, Patrick ...	Auckland
1840	Davis, Richard, 'Aurora' ...	"	1841	Donovan, Robert ...	"
1840	Davis, Rowland Robert, wife Mary Ann, and eight chil- dren, 'Aurora'	"	1840	Doreen, Peter, 'Bengal Mer- chant'	Wellington
1843	Davis, Wm. ...	Tamaki, Auckland	1840	Doreen, Peter, jun., 'Bengal Merchant'	"
1841	Davey, Captain Leyson Henry 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1840	Doreen, Thos., 'Bengal Merchant'	"
1841	Davy, Rev. Richard, B.A. ...	Wellington	1843	Dornatry, J. ...	Auckland
1841	Dawson, G. F., J.P. ...	Wanganui	1840	Dorset, Edward, 'London' ...	New Plymouth
1841	Dawson, T. F. ...	Auckland		Dorset, William ...	Wellington
1840	Day, Geo., 'Martha Ridgway'	Wellington	1841	Dorsey, Dr., 'Bengal Merchant'	"
	Day, Hendry Hale ...	"	1842	Dougherty, David, 'London'	"
1841	Day, Robert, 'Arab' ...	"	1842	Dougherty, Sarah, 'London'	"
	Daysh, John ...	"	1841	Doughty, 'Olympus' ...	"
1845	Deacon, T. W. ...	Auckland		Doughty, John ...	Wanganui
1841	Dean, Jabez ...	Wellington	1840	Douglas, J., 'Aurora' ...	New Plymouth
1842	Dean, Mrs. ...	Auckland	1841	Downe, J., 'Amelia Thompson'	"
1842	Deans, John ...	Nelson		Downey, Edward ...	Wellington
1840	Deans, William, 'Aurora'	Wellington		Downey, John ...	"
1843	Debooz, C. ...	New Zealand	1842	Dowland, A., 'Indemnity' ...	"
1840	Deighton, Richd. J., 'Auroia'	Wellington	1842	Doyley, Mr (Lawyer), 'Tuscan'	Auckland
1840	Deighton, Samuel, 'Auroia' ...	"	1842	Doyley, Dr Nigel, 'Tuscan' ...	"
	Dennett, Matthew ...	"	1843	Drake, George ...	Wanganui
	Dennett, William ...	Auckland	1842	Drake, Jas. C., 'Fifeshire' ...	Nelson
1843	Denorra, 'Mandarin' ...	Wellington	1840	Drake, Thos. John, 'Aurora'	Wellington
1843	Denize, H. G. ...	Tamaki, Auckland	1842	Draper ...	"
1843	Derby, John N. ...	Auckland	1843	Drewell, Thomas ...	Auckland
1843	Derragh, George ...	"	1840	Drummond, Donald, 'Bengal Merchant'	Wellington
1843	Derrom, James ...	"	1843	Duchar, George ...	Epsom, Auckland
1843	Derrom, John ...	"	1842	Duck, John and wife, 'Broman'	Wellington
	Detchon, Robert ...	Wellington		Duder, Thomas ...	Auckland
	Dew, Alexander ...	"	1841	Dudley, M. ...	"
	Dew, Thomas ...	"	1843	Duff, John ...	"
	Dew, William ...	"	1842	Duffield, George ...	Wellington
1843	De Witte, 'Mandarin' ...	"	1841	Duke, George ...	"
1842	Diamond, John ...	"	1840	Da Moulin, J. P., 'Westminster'	Auckland
1840	Dick, David, and wife, 'Bengal Merchant'	"		Duncan, Andrew ...	Wanganui
1840	Dick, John, 'Bengal Merchant'	"	1840	Duncan, A., 'Royal Merchant'	Wellington
1840	Dick, Robert, 'Bengal Merchant'	"	1840	Duncan, A., jun., 'Royal Merchant'	"
	Dickie, James ...	Onehunga, Auckland	1842	Duncan, James, 'Fifeshire' ...	Nelson
1841	Dickie, R., 'Clydeside' ...	Wellington	1843	Duncan Rev. Jas., 'Phoebe' ...	Manawatu
1843	Dickson, W. ...	"	1840	Duncan, J., 'Royal Merchant'	Wellington
1841	Dignan, Patrick, 'Sophia Pate'	Auckland	1840	Duncan, M. J. ...	Otago
1842	Dillon, Hon. Constantine, J.P., 'Geo. Fife'	Nelson	1842	Duncan, R. J., 'Indemnity' ...	Wellington
			1841	Duncan, R., 'Lady Nugent'	"
1843	Dilworth, James ...	Auckland	1841	Dunlop, A., 'Lady Nugent'	"
1841	Dimcanson, J., 'Clydesdale' ...	Wellington	1841	Dunn, Henry M. ...	"
1840	Dimsford, Fredk., 'Earl Stanhope'	"	1840	Dunn, J. ...	Auckland
	Dimster, Samuel ...	"	1843	Dunn, J., 'William Stoveld' ...	Wellington
1841	Dingle, Mr., 'Stains Castle' ...	Auckland	1841	Dunn, James, 'Lady Nugent'	"
1841	Dingwall, Alexander ...	"		Dunn, William ...	"
1843	Dingwell, Alexander ...	"	1840	Dunnet, 'Blenheim' ...	"
	Dinnar, Michael ...	"	1840	Duppa, George, J.P., 'Oriental'	"

YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
1840	Dune, David Stark, 'Adelaide'	Wellington		Farmer, George	Wellington
1843	Durn, 'Mandarin'	"		Farmer, James	"
1841	Duthie, Alex., 'Lady Nugent'	"		Farmer, John	"
	Eade, Richard	Auckland		Farmer, Robert	"
1841	Eades, William	Wellington		Farr, Samuel	"
1842	Eagar, Richard	"	1840	Farrance, 'Aurora'	"
1842	Eames, Robert, 'Bombay'	"	1840	Farrar, 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"
1842	Earle, George	Nelson	1843	Farrell, Samuel	"
1842	Earle, Percy	Wellington		Farron, Samuel	"
1840	Earp, Geo. B., 'Coromandel'	"	1841	Faulkner, Charles, 'Mandarin'	"
1842	Earp, William	"	1842	Fawcett, Thomas	Nelson
	Eaton, Edward	"		Fawcett, William	Wellington
	Eaton, James	"	1842	Fearon, Captain	Nelson
	Ebdon, George	"	1842	Featherston, Isaac Esq., M.D., 'Olympus'	Wellington
	Ebdon, Simon	"		Felgate, George	"
1840	Ebdon, William, 'Tyne'	"	1842	Fell, Alfred, 'Lord Auckland'	Nelson
1840	Eckford, Thomas	Tamaki, Auckland	1841	Fell, Robert, 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington
1841	Edgecombe, James, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1841	Fell, William	"
1841	Edgecombe, William, 'Amelia Thompson'	Auckland	1842	Fellingham, George	"
	Edmunds, Samuel John	"	1844	Fenton, W. H.	Auckland
1841	Edwards, 'Arab'	Wellington	1842	Ferguson, 'Tobago'	Wellington
1844	Edwards, B. F. J.	Auckland	1842	Ferguson	Nelson
1842	Edwards, George	Wellington	1840	Ferguson, Donald, 'Blenheim'	Wellington
1843	Edwards, John	Auckland	1840	Ferguson, J.	Auckland
	Edwards, John	Wellington	1840	Ferguson, John, 'Blenheim'	Wellington
	Edwards, John, jun.	"		Ferris, Bernard	"
	Edwards, Robert	Ohio		Field, Henry Claylands	Wanganui
	Edwards, Robert, jun.	"	1841	Fielder, Robert	Auckland
1842	Edwards, W.	Wellington	1841	Figg, Mr., 'Antilla'	Wellington
	Egan, Christopher	"	1841	Figgis, W., 'Mandarin'	"
1841	Eglinton, Benjamin	"		Fill, William	"
1843	Eione, J.	Auckland	1845	Finch, T.	Auckland
1840	Elliott-Elliott, Geo., 'Portenia'	"	1843	Finlay, Thomas	"
1840	Elsdon, William	Wellington	1845	Finlay, W.	"
	Elton, Edward	"	1842	Finlay, John	"
1840	Ellerm, Edward, 'Adelaide'	"	1842	Finnimore, William	Wellington
1843	Ellert, Samuel	Auckland		Firminger, Samuel	"
1842	Elliott, Mrs., 'Maryan'	Nelson	1842	Firth, James, 'George Fife'	"
	Elliott, Edward	Wellington	1840	Fisher, Francis, Attor. General	Auckland
1842	Elliott, James	Nelson		Fisher, James	Wellington
1841	Elliott, Peter, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1842	Fisher, Joseph	Nelson
	Ellis, H. M.	Auckland		Fisher, Isaac	Wellington
1840	Ellis, Thomas	Akaroa	1842	Fisher, William	"
1841	Ellis, Thomas	Wellington	1841	Fishley, S., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1840	Elsmore, J.	Auckland	1840	Fitchett, Ashton, 'London'	Wellington
1841	Emery	Wellington	1840	Fitchett, John, 'London'	"
1842	Empson, Charles, 'London'	Nelson	1840	Fitchett, Wm., 'London'	"
1842	England, Captain	"	1840	Fitzgerald, M.A., J.P., 'Oriental'	"
	England, Joseph	Auckland	1841	Fitzgerald	"
1842	Epps, 'Lord Auckland'	Nelson	1840	Fitzgerald, R. A., J.P.	Auckland
1842	Errington, John	Wellington	1840	Fitzgerald, Thos., 'Geo. Fife'	Wellington
	Eslick, John	"	1842	Fitzgerald, W.	Auckland
1843	Evans, Christie	Wanganui	1841	Fitzherbert, Sir W., K.C.M.G., 'Lady Leigh'	Wellington
1840	Evans, G.S.D.C.L., J.P., 'Adelaide'	Wellington	1841	Fitzpatrick, 'Allswake'	"
	Evans, Francis	"	1843	Fitzroy, Capt. Robert, R.N., Governor	New Zealand
1841	Evans, Jas. (Surgeon), 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth		Flannery, Thomas	Wanganui
1840	Evans, J. Edward, 'Adelaide'	Wellington		Fleming, Samuel	Onehunga, Auckland
1840	Evans, John, 'Adelaide'	"	1841	Flenry, George, 'Mandarin'	Wellington
1842	Evans, Morgan	"	1845	Fletcher, J.	Auckland
1841	Evans, T., 'Lady Nugent'	"		Flight, Josiah, J.P.	New Plymouth
1842	Everett, William	"	1843	Flitcher, 'Usula'	Wellington
1842	Every, J.	"		Florence, Thomas	"
				Floyd, Thomas	"
1840	Faddy, Dr.	"	1842	Flyer, William	"
	Fagan, Stephen	"		Foley, John	"
1842	Fairbrass, Thos.	"	1842	Forbes, G. C.	"
1843	Fairburn, Thos.	Otahuhu, Auckland	1843	Forbes, Robert	Onehunga, Auckland
1841	Fairweather, R., 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington	1842	Ford, Henry, 'Clifford'	Nelson
1843	Falwasser, Henry	Auckland		Ford, Hayward Samuel	Bay of Islands and Auckland
1843	Falwasser, Wm. H.	"	1842	Ford, James	Wellington
	Farmer, Alexander	Wellington		Ford, William	"
				Forrester, William	"
				Foster, John	"

YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
1840	Foster, James Ramsay, 'Coromandel'	Wellington	1842	Gibbison, W. ...	Auckland
1845	Foster, W. ...	Auckland	1842	Gibbs, Isaac, 'Bolton'	Nelson
	Fowler, John ...	Wellington	1842	Gibbs, James, 'Bolton'	"
1842	Fox, Edward Thomas ...	"		Gibbs, James, 'Bombay'	Wellington
1840	Fox, Wm., Barrister, resident agent N.Z. Company, now Sir Wm., 'Geo. Fife'	"	1842	Gibson, John, 'Fifeshire'	Nelson
			1842	Gibson, L. ...	Wellington
1843	Frady, Thomas ...	"		Giddins, Richard ...	Nelson
1841	France, F. J., 'Lady Nugent'	"	1841	Giddy, Geo., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1841	France, Ruth, 'Lady Nugent'	"			
	Francis, John ...	"	1842	Gilbert, Dr., 'Brougham'	Wellington
1845	Francis, J. ...	Auckland		Giles, Henry ...	"
	Francis, Joseph ...	Wellington	1843	Gillfillan, John Anderson ...	Auckland
1843	Frank, P., 'St. Paul'	Nelson	1843	Gill, James ...	"
1843	Fraser, Alex. ...	Auckland	1842	Gill, John ...	Wellington
1840	Fraser, Donald, 'Blenheim'	Wellington	1841	Gill, William ...	"
1843	Fraser, William ...	Epsom, Auckland	1841	Gillard, J. H., 'Lady Nugent'	"
1840	Francis, W. ...	Auckland		Gillespie, Andrew ...	"
1843	Frazer, 'Ursula' ...	Wellington	1842	Gillespie, C. H., 'Bernian'	"
1842	Frazer, Duncan ...	"	1840	Gillet, Robt. ...	Kapiti
1841	Frazer, John ...	"		Gillies, Archibald ...	Wellington
1841	Frazer, W., 'Mandarin'	"		Gilligan, James ...	"
	Freeman, George ...	"		Gittos, Benjamin ...	Auckland
1840	Freeman, J. S., 'Westminster'	Auckland	1843	Gittos, F. ...	"
1840	Frethy, Thomas, 'Justine'	Wellington	1841	Gittos, W. ...	"
1840	Friend, 'Aurora' ...	"		Glasgow, Adam ...	Turakina
	Fry, Joseph ...	"		Glasgow, John ...	Wellington
1843	Fry, Joshua ...	"		Glasgow, Robert ...	"
1841	Fuller, J., 'Mandarin'	"	1840	Glover, Mr., 'Aurora'	"
1841	Furmager, 'Arab' ...	"	1842	Goddard, Samuel ...	Nelson
	Furminger, Samuel ...	"	1841	Godfrey, Edw. Lee, J.P.	Auckland
1842	Furness, Smith, 'Birman'	"	1842	Godfrey, Henry, 'Geo. Fife'	Nelson
1842	Furness, Mary, 'Birman'	"	1843	Golden, James ...	Tamaki, Auckland
	Furness, William ...	"	1841	Golder, William ...	Wellington
1841	Futtin, James, 'Lady Nugent'	"		Goldfinch, Robert Lynch ...	Wairarapa
1842	Fyfe, Robert ...	Kaikoura	1843	Goldie, John ...	Auckland
			1841	Golding, barque 'James'	Wellington
1840	Gabby, Mr., 'Aurora'	Wellington	1843	Goldsworth, R. ...	Auckland
1843	Gabby, John, 'Tyne'	"	1841	Gollam, D., 'Clydeside'	Wellington
1840	Gage, J. ...	Auckland	1840	Gomm, Mr., 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"
	Galavin, Daniel ...	Wellington	1841	Goodall, Isaac, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
	Galloway, David, 'Belmont'	"		Gooden, Lennard ...	Wellington
1840	Galpin, William, 'Adelaide'	"		Gooder, John ...	"
1843	Gamble, Jas. ...	Auckland	1840	Goodfellow, W. ...	Auckland
1843	Gamble, William ...	"	1843	Goodwin, Mrs G., 'Olympus'	Nelson
1842	Gapper, Robert ...	Nelson		Gordon, Bernard ...	Wellington
1842	Gappes, Bernard, 'Clifford'	"	1843	Gordon, John R. ...	Wanganui
1843	Gardener, George ...	Auckland	1840	Gordon, John ...	Otahuhu, Auckland
1843	Gardener, Florence ...	"	1841	Gordon, Mr., 'Harrington'	Wellington
1842	Gardner, Robt., 'Geo. Fife'	Wellington	1840	Gordon, W. ...	Auckland
1842	Gardner, William ...	Nelson	1840	Gorrie, William ...	"
	Garner, John ...	Wanganui		Gorrie, John ...	"
1842	Garnet, Henry, 'Bolton'	Nelson		Gotty, John ...	Wanganui
1845	Garnick, W. ...	Auckland		Gough, Timothy ...	Wellington
1841	Garrett, Dr. W. W. G., 'Gertrude'	Wellington	1842	Gould, 'Prince of Wales'	"
1843	Garrett, Wm. ...	Wanganui	1842	Goulter, Cyrus, 'Fifeshire'	Nelson
1843	Garriochs, William ...	Auckland		Gooden, Ellis ...	Wellington
	Garritt, Wm. ...	Wellington		Gooden, Philip ...	"
1841	Garrod ...	"	1841	Gooder, Hamitt, 'Lady Nugent'	"
	Garroith, Samuel ...	"	1841	Gooder, Northern, 'Arab'	"
1841	Gaskin, Matthew, 'Catherine Stuart Forbes'	"	1843	Govett, Henry ...	Tamaki, Auckland
1841	Gaskin, Samuel, 'Catherine Stuart Forbes'	"		Govett, Rev. Henry ...	Wellington
	Gateley, Charles ...	"	1841	Gowan, F., 'Olympus'	"
1844	John Gay, 'Fifeshire'	Nelson	1841	Gowan, H., 'Olympus'	"
	Gell, John ...	Wellington		Gowen, R. H. ...	"
1842	George, Robt. B. ...	Nelson	1842	Gower, John ...	"
1842	George, E. ...	Auckland		Gower, John ...	Wanganui
1845	George, J. ...	"	1840	Grace, Charles, 'Lady Lilford'	Wellington
1843	George, Edward ...	"		Grace, Peter ...	Auckland
1843	George, James ...	"		Graham, David ...	"
1841	George, St. George, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1840	Graham, George ...	"
	George, Thomas ...	Wellington	1842	Graham, Peter, 'Lord Auckland'	Nelson
			1840	Graham, W. S. ...	Auckland
			1840	Grant, Alexander, 'Blenheim'	Wellington
			1842	Grant, D. ...	Auckland
			1842	Grant, James ...	Nelson
			1843	Grant, James ...	Wanganui

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

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YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
1840	Grant, W.	Auckland	1840	Halse, Wm., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
	Gray, George	Wellington	1840	Halsewell, B., 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington
	Greathhead, George	"	1840	Halsewell, E. S., F.R.S., Judge of County Court, 'Lady Nugent'	"
1841	Greaves, 'Arab'	"	1841	Hamble, 'Mandarin'	"
1842	Greaves, Joseph (Solicitor)	Nelson	1841	Hamblly, Charles, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
	Greeks, George 'Mary Anne'	Wellington	1841	Hamblly, Charles, jun., 'Amelia Thompson'	"
	Green, Andrew	Wanganui	1841	Hamblly, John Rundell, 'Amelia Thompson'	"
1842	Green, Edward	Nelson		Hammer, Rev. Thomas	Auckland
	Green, Henry	Wellington	1842	Hamilton, F., barque 'Tuscan'	"
	Green, Isaac	"	1843	Hamilton, J. W.	Wellington
	Green, James	"	1842	Hamilton, Wm., 'London'	"
	Green, James	Auckland		Hamlin, Ebenezer	Auckland
1842	Green, John	Nelson		Hamlin, Edward	"
1843	Green, T. H., 'Mary'	Wellington		Hamlin, Fredk.	"
1843	Greenacre, Wm.	Wanganui		Hamlin, John	"
1842	Greenhow, 'Lord Auckland'	Nelson		Hamlin, Job	"
1841	Greenwood, J.	Auckland		Hamlin, James	"
1843	Greenwood, J. D., M.D., J.P., 'Phrebe'	Nelson		Hamlin, Osborne	"
1840	Greenwood, J. H.	Wellington		Hammond, James	"
1841	Greenwood, M., 'Lady Nugent'	"	1843	Hammond, Mark	Wellington
1841	Greenwood, W., 'Stains Castle'	Auckland	1842	Hammond, Matthew, 'George Fife'	Rangitikei
1845	Grey, Sir George, K.C.B., Governor	New Zealand	1842	Hammond, Richard, 'Geo. Fife'	"
1841	Greig, Henry, 'Mandarin'	Wellington		Hammond, Wm.	Wellington
1840	Grenier, 'Earl Stanhope'	"	1843	Hamdur, H., 'Mandarin'	"
1841	Grenier, T.	Auckland		Hampleman, Capt.	Akaroa
1843	Grey, Benjamin	Wanganui	1843	Hamson	Wellington
1844	Gribble, S. M.	Auckland	1841	Hanay, R.	"
1840	Griffin, 'Cuba'	Wellington	1842	Hancock, Thomas, 'Bolivia'	Auckland
	Griffin, John	Nelson	1841	Handley, John, 'Martha Ridg- way'	Wellington
1842	Griffith, J.	Auckland	1840	Handy, J.	Auckland
	Grimaldi, Joseph	Wellington	1842	Hanes, L.	Wellington
	Grimley, James	Auckland	1845	Hannah, J.	Auckland
1840	Grimstone, S. E., 'Westminster'	"	1842	Hannam, Thomas	Nelson
1840	Grimstone, W.	"		Hansard, Albert W.	Auckland
1840	Grindell, James, 'Look-in'	Wellington	1842	Hansard, J. T., M.D.	Wellington
1841	Grylls, J., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1840	Hansen, Richd. Davis, J.P., Crown Solicitor, 'Cuba' (afterwards Chief Justice, South Australia)	"
1840	Grylls, Rev. J. C., 'Earl Stanhope'	Wellington		Harcus, William	"
1841	Grylls, Rich., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1843	Hardeman, H.	"
1843	Guilning, John	Tamaki, Auckland	1842	Harding, John, 'Birman'	Ahuriri, Hawke's Bay
1841	Guillam, D.	Auckland		Hardington, Henry	Auckland
	Gullery, James	Wellington		Hare, John	Wellington
1841	Gully, William	"	1842	Harford, James, 'Bolton'	Nelson
1841	Gume, John T.	"		Hargrave, Wm. Fredk	Wellington
1843	Gunn, John	"	1840	Hargreaves, 'Bolton'	"
1841	Guthrie, Thomas	"		Hargreaves, Edwd. Allen	Christchurch
1840	Gayton, Wm., J.P., 'Coromandel'	"	1843	Hargreaves, Joseph	Tamaki, Auckland
	Hackett, Edward	Wanganui	1840	Harkins, J.	Auckland
	Hazlitt, William	Wellington	1842	Harkness, W.	Nelson
1840	Haggard, Polen	Auckland	1842	Harley, Chas., 'Ld. Auckland'	"
1842	Haggard, J., 'Indemnity'	Wellington	1842	Harmon, Miss, 'Indus'	"
1842	Haggie, Thomas, 'Olympus'	"	1843	Harp, James	Auckland
1842	Haigh, 'Geo. Fife'	"	1843	Harper, J.	"
	Haigh, George	"		Harris, Abram	Wellington
1840	Haile, 'Portentia'	Auckland	1842	Harris, Charles	"
1840	Hair, James, 'Middlesex'	Wellington	1843	Harris, Christopher A.	Auckland
	Hale, William Henry	"	1842	Harris, David, 'George Fife'	Wellington
	Hales, Charles Frederick	East Coast		Harris, George	Tamaki, Auckland
1840	Hales, John	Wellington	1843	Harris, John	"
1845	Haliday, George	Auckland		Harris, Luke	Wellington
1840	Haliday, J. E.	"		Harris, R. T.	Auckland
1841	Hall, Emanuel, 'Catherine Stuart Forbes'	Wellington	1840	Harrison, A. V., 'Wm. Bryan'	Taranaki
	Hall, Henry	"	1840	Harrison, H. S., 'Bolton'	Wellington
	Hall, John	"	1840	Harrison, R. J. B., 'Bolton'	"
	Hall, John	Auckland		Harrison, Robt.	"
	Hall, Joseph	Wellington	1840	Harrison, Thos., 'Wm. Bryan'	Taranaki
1841	Hall, Mr., 'Olympus'	"	1842	Hart, Edward	Wellington
	Hall, Robert	Auckland			
1842	Hall, Wm. Jabez	"			
	Hall, William	Auckland			
1842	Hallamore, Thos. C.	"			
	Hallet, James	Wellington			
	Halladay, James	Auckland			
1841	Halse, Henry, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth			

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
1843	Hart, George, 'Mary'	Wellington		Hewitt, Francis	Wanganui
1845	Hart, J.	Auckland	1842	Hewitt, W.	Wellington
1843	Hart, Robert (Solicitor) 'Mary'	Wellington	1843	Hewlings, Samuel	Auckland
1843	Hart, William	Auckland	1843	Hext, Thomas	Wellington
1840	Hartley, Stephen, 'Duke of Roxburgh'	Wellington	1842	Heywood, Edward Howard, 'Tuscan'	Auckland
	Hartman, Joseph	"		Hibberley, James	Wellington
1842	Hartup, R.	"	1843	Hibley, James	"
1841	Harvey, Charles, 'Jane'	"	1843	Hickinbottom, Charles	Auckland
1841	Harvey, John	"		Hicks, John	Wellington
1840	Harvey, W., 'Earl Stanhope'	"	1842	Hicks, F. D.	Auckland
1841	Harvey, R.	"	1841	Hicks, Thomas, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1845	Harvey, T.	Auckland		Hickson, Edward Joseph	Auckland
1840	Harvey, Wm., 'Blenheim'	Wellington	1842	Hide, James, 'Clifford'	Nelson
1843	Haslup, Alex.	"	1840	Hight, Richard, 'Oriental'	Wellington
1845	Hastain, P.	Auckland	1841	Higgie, Thomas, 'Olympus'	"
1841	Haswell, J. Partis, 'Harrington'	"	1841	Higgie, Thos., jun., 'Olympus'	"
1845	Hattaway, R.	"	1842	Higgins, William, 'Clifford'	Nelson
	Hattersley, George	Wellington		Hildebrand, John (Surgeon)	Wairarapa
	Haultain, Theodore Minet	Auckland	1842	Hill, Alfred	Nelson
1843	Hawke, William	Wellington	1843	Hill, Charles	Auckland
1841	Hawkins, George, 'Harrington'	"	1842	Hill, Catherine M. E.	"
1842	Hawkins, John S.	Nelson	1843	Hill, C. H. J., 'Westminster'	"
1840	Hay, Ebenezer, 'Bengal Merchant'	Wellington	1843	Hill, Emma, 'Westminster'	"
			1843	Hill, Ernest, 'Westminster'	"
1843	Hay, David	Auckland	1843	Hill, Fredk., 'Westminster'	"
1840	Hay, Capt. Wm., 'Nimrod'	Wellington	1843	Hill, George	Taranaki, Auckland
1840	Hay, W., 'Bengal Merchant'	"		Hill, George	Wellington
1840	Hay, Wm., 'London'	"		Hill, H. R.	Auckland
1842	Haye, H.	Auckland	1842	Hill, H. St., R.M., 'Adelaide'	Wellington
1843	Hayr, 'Mandarin'	Wellington	1842	Hill, Isaac Mason, 'Fifeshire'	Nelson
1843	Hayward, Arthur, 'Wm. Stoveld'	"	1843	Hill, James, 'Westminster'	Auckland
	Hayward, Robert	Tamaki, Auckland	1843	Hill, John	"
1841	Hazlett, Edwd., 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington	1843	Hill, Marion, 'Westminster'	"
	Head, Edward	"	1843	Hill, Mary, 'Westminster'	"
	Headley, George	"	1843	Hill, Robert, 'Westminster'	"
1840	Heale, Theophilus, captain of 'Aurora'	"	1843	Hill, Sarah, 'Westminster'	"
1840	Healey, Dr., 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"	1842	Hill, W.	Wellington
1845	Healy, W.	Auckland	1843	Hill, William	Auckland
1842	Heaphy, Mr., 'Prince of Wales'	Wellington		Hillden, John	Wellington
1840	Heaphy, Wm., 'Cuba'	"	1841	Hilliard, George, Surgeon	"
1842	Hearly, Joseph, 'Birman'	"		Hillman, James	"
1845	Heath, H. A.	Auckland	1841	Hillier, Dr., 'Lady Nugent'	"
1844	Heath, J.	"	1843	Hilton, Robert	"
	Heath, Patrick	"		Hinchcliffe, Charles	"
	Heather, D. H.	"	1841	Hind, J. B.	"
1840	Heather, Mr., 'Nimrod'	Wellington	1840	Hine, T., 'Martha Ridgway'	"
1842	Heathorne, 'New York Packet'	"		Hingston, William	Wairoa, Auckland
1840	Heaton, 'Blenheim'	"	1842	Hippisley, William F.	Waimea, Nelson
1840	Heaver, 'Glenbovie'	"	1843	Hirst, Geo. R.	Wellington
	Hector, George Nelson	Tamaki, Auckland		Hirst, Sydney	"
1842	Heese, A. H.	Wellington	1840	Hirst, W.	Otako
1843	Heggie, Thomas	"	1842	Hoare, Joseph	Nelson
1841	Hellyer, J.	Auckland		Hobbs, Charles	Wellington
	Hemburg, Charles	Wellington	1842	Hobbs, George, 'Birman'	"
	Hemmings, John	"		Hobbs, John	Hokianga
	Henderson, David	"		Hobman, James	Wellington
1840	Henderson, Thomas	Auckland	1843	Hobson, Joseph	Auckland
	Henderson, William	Wellington	1840	Hobson, Captain W., R.N., Governor	New Zealand
	Hendry, George	"	1842	Hodder, Walter	Wellington
1842	Hendry, Thomas	"	1843	Hodge, Andrew	"
1841	Henry, Mr.	"	1842	Hodge, R. P.	Auckland
1843	Henry, Thomas	Auckland	1840	Hodges, Captain Alfred, 'Oriental'	Wellington
1841	Hepburn, A.	"		Hodges, Charles	"
	Herbert, George	Wellington		Hodges, William	"
1843	Herbert, Henry	Wanganui	1842	Hodgkinson, Dr., 'Bombay'	"
1842	Herbert, Joseph, 'London'	Wellington	1843	Hogan, James	"
1842	Herrick, Wm. J., 'Fifeshire'	Nelson	1841	Hogarth, John	"
	Herrington, Jeremiah	Wellington	1841	Hogg, John, 'Arab'	"
1843	Herklet, H. C.	Wanganui	1841	Hogg, John	Wanganui
1841	Herklets, 'Mandarin'	Wellington		Hogg, Peter Dods	Wellington
1840	Hervey, John, 'Martha Ridgway'	"	1840	Hoggard, John Farr	"
	Hervey, Peter Morrison	"	1840	Hoggard, Thos. Wm.	"
1843	Hether, D. H.	Auckland	1841	Holdaway, John, 'Will Watch'	Nelson
1840	Hewitt, Alfred, 'Adelaide'	Wellington			

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

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YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
	Holder, James ...	Wellington		Hughes, Stephen Edward	Auckland
	Holder, William ...	"	1841	Hughes, Thomas	Wellington
1841	Holder, Wm. John ...	Wanganui	1843	Hughes, Wellesley	Auckland
1840	Holes, Peter, 'Aurora'	Wellington		Hughes, William	Wellington
1842	Holland, George, 'Bolton'	Nelson		Hughey, David	"
1841	Holland, Charles, 'Arab'	Wellington		Hughey, William	"
	Hollingsworth, Edward ...	"	1841	Hughlings, 'Antilla'	"
1843	Hollis, Charles ...	"	1842	Hughlings, H., 'Bombay'	"
1841	Holman, H. C. ...	Auckland	1841	Hulke, W. K. ...	"
1845	Holmes, B. ...	"	1842	Hulme, C. ...	Auckland
	Holmes, James ...	Wellington	1843	Humb'e, P. P. ...	Wellington
	Holmes, John ...	"	1841	Humble, W. E. ...	"
1842	Holmes, Mary ...	Auckland	1840	Hume, Peter, 'Lady Lilford'	Wairarapa
	Holmes, William ...	Wellington		Hume, Robert ...	Wanganui
1843	Holroyd, Arthur T., Barrister, 'Mary'	"	1845	Hume, W. ...	Auckland
1842	Hornbrook, Wm., 'Tobago'	"		Humphreys, Wm. ...	Wellington
1841	Honeyman, Thomas ...	"	1843	Hunt, P., 'Ursula'	"
1841	Honroy ...	Nelson	1842	Hunt, 'Brougham'	"
1843	Hood, Arthur ...	Auckland	1840	Hunt, sen., 'Martha Ridgway'	"
1843	Hood, Augustus ...	Wellington	1840	Hunt, jun., 'Martha Ridgway'	"
1843	Hood, James ...	"	1840	Hunt, Charles, 'Adelaide'	"
1842	Hood, Robert ...	"	1841	Hunt, Edward, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1843	Hood, Wm. ...	"	1841	Hunt, Edward, jun., 'Amelia Thompson'	"
1845	Hooglon, E. ...	Auckland	1840	Hunt, George, 'Aurora'	Wellington
	Hooker, C. ...	"	1840	Hunt, Henry, 'Martha Ridg- way'	"
1841	Hooker, Mts. ...	"			
1842	Hooper, George, 'Thomas Harrison'	Nelson	1843	Hunter, Alexander Hamilton...	Auckland
1841	Hooper, John, 'Arab'	Wellington	1840	Hunter, David, 'Duke of Rox- burgh'	Wellington
1842	Hooper, J. R. ...	Auckland	1843	Hunter, George ...	Auckland
1842	Hooper, S. T., 'Maria Theresa'	Wellington	1840	Hunter, George, sen., J.P. 'Duke of Roxburgh'	Wellington
1842	Hooper, T., 'Thos. Harrison'	Nelson			
1842	Hopgood, Thos., 'Bolton'	"	1840	Hunter, George, jun., 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"
1843	Hopkinson, Henry ...	Wellington	1840	Hunter, Robert, 'Duke of Rox- burgh'	"
1840	Hopper, Ed. Betts, 'Oriental'	"	1840	Hunter, William, 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"
	Hopton, Robert ...	"			
1840	Hornbrook, Major Alfred, 'Oriental'	Canterbury	1843	Hun'race, 'Ursula' ...	"
1843	Hort, Abraham, 'Prince of Wales'	Wellington	1840	Hurley, Alexander ...	"
1840	Hort, Abraham, jun., 'Oriental'	"	1842	Hurley, Joseph, 'Bernian'	"
1842	Hort, A. W., 'New York Packet'	"	1841	Hurley, Matilda ...	Auckland
1841	Hoskin, Arthur, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth		Hurst, Alfred ...	Wellington
1841	Hoskin, Jonas, 'Amelia Thompson'	"	1843	Hurst, George ...	"
1841	Hoskin, Wm., 'Amelia Thomp- son'	"		Hurst, Sydney ...	"
				Hurst, William ...	"
	Hoskins, John ...	Wellington	1843	Hursthouse, E. W. ...	Auckland
1842	Hatchin, 'Tuscan' ...	Auckland	1843	Hursthouse, J., 'Thos. Sparks'	Wellington
1842	Hough, Wm. ...	Nelson	1840	Hutchinson, 'Blenheim' ...	"
1840	Houghton, Allan, 'Aurora'	Wellington	1842	Hutton, J., 'Indemnity' ...	"
1840	Houghton, Francis, 'Aurora'	"		Hutton, Rev. Thos. Biddulph	"
1840	Houghton, George, 'Aurora'	"	1842	Hyrons, R., 'Maria Theresa'	"
1840	Houghton, Jas. H., 'Aurora'	"			
1840	Houghton, John, 'Aurora' ...	"	1841	Ibbotson, Thomas, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1840	Houghton, Robert, and wife Jessie, 'Aurora'	"	1844	Imley, Captain ...	Wellington
1840	Houghton, Sarah, 'Aurora'	"	1841	Imrie, J., 'Clydeside' ...	"
			1842	Imrie, J. J. ...	Nelson
1841	Howard, Mr., 'Antilla' ...	Auckland	1840	Inglis, John, 'Glenborvis' ...	Wellington
1842	Howard, Wm. ...	Wellington	1840	Inglis, Rev. John ...	Manawatu
1841	Howe, Charles, 'Clifton' ...	Nelson		Inglis, William ...	Wellington
1841	Howe, John, 'Clifton' ...	Wellington	1841	Innis, Jas. (Surgeon), 'Tyne'	"
1842	Howe, Wm., 'Olympus' ...	"		Ireland, John De Courcy ...	Auckland
1840	Howes, J. ...	Nelson		Irons, Richard ...	Wellington
	Howes, J. ...	Wellington	1841	Irvine, 'Arab' ...	"
	Howell, David ...	"	1841	Irving, Thomas ...	"
1840	Howell, John ...	"		Irwin, Arthur ...	"
1841	Howell, T., 'Gertrude' ...	"	1842	Isaacs, David ...	"
1846	Howell, Thomas, 'Martha Ridgway'	"			
1842	Hudson, William ...	"	1841	Jackson, 'Harrington' ...	"
1845	Huff, W. ...	Auckland	1840	Jackson, H., 'Cuba' ...	"
1842	Huge, George, 'Birman' ...	Wellington	1840	Jackson, Jas., 'Duke of Rox- burgh'	"
1840	Hughes, John ...	Moriaki	1842	Jackson, John ...	"

YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
	Jackson, John ...	Wanganui	1840	Jones, John ...	Otako
	Jackson, Thomas	Wellington	1840	Jones, John ...	Waikouaiti
	Jackson, Thomas	Wanganui		Jones, Joseph ...	Wanganui
	Jackson, Walter	Wellington	1841	Jones, Mr., 'Olympus'	Wellington
	Jackson, William	"	1840	Jones, Thomas...	Otako
	Jackway, Charles Edward	"	1843	Jones, Thomas...	Wanganui
1842	James, John, 'Fifeshire'	Nelson	1842	Jones, W.	Nelson
	James, John Charles	Wellington	1841	Jones, William, 'Jane'	Wellington
1841	James, Joseph, 'Catherine Stuart Forbes'	"		Jones, William Henry	"
1842	James, Richard, 'Fifeshire'	Nelson	1842	Joseph, 'Prince of Wales'	"
1840	James, Wm., 'Martha Ridgway'	Wellington	1840	Joseph, Hyam, 'Exporter'	"
1844	Jamieson, ...	"	1843	Joseph, Israel	Auckland
1842	Jamieson, E.	Auckland	1840	Joseph, Jacob, 'Exporter'	Wellington
1842	Jamieson, Wm., and wife, 'Jane Gifford'	"	1840	Joseph, Moses	Auckland
	Jarvie, Jamieson	"	1843	Joseph, Samuel	Wellington
1844	Jarvis, Henry	Wellington		Joslin, Charles...	Auckland
1843	Jearrad, John C.	Auckland	1840	Judd, G., 'Martha Ridgway'	Wellington
1841	Jefferson, Benj., 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington		Judd, William, sen.	"
	Jeffries, Thomas	"		Judd, William, jun.	"
	Jeffs, George	"		Jurie, George	Wairarapa
1841	Jeller, John, 'Lady Nugent'	"	1842	Kater, W. Henry	Nelson
1842	Jellyman, Enoch, 'Bolton'	Nelson	1842	Kearsey, 'Geo. Fife'	Wellington
1843	Jenkins, Edward	Wellington	1841	Kebbell, John, 'Mandarin'	"
1842	Jenkins, F. D., 'Lord Auckland'	Nelson	1841	Kebbell, Thos., 'Mandarin'	"
	Jenkins, John	Wellington		Kebblewhite, John	"
1842	Jenkins, Mr., 'Lord Auckland'	Nelson		Kebblewhite, Richard	"
1843	Jenkins, Nathaniel	Wellington	1842	Keeffe, J.	Auckland
1843	Jenkins, R.	Auckland	1843	Keesing, Bennett	"
1844	Jenkins, W.	Wellington	1843	Keesing, Henry	"
1843	Jennings, Nathaniel	"	1843	Keesing, H., jun.	"
1842	Jennins, Mr. & Mrs., 'Morgan'	Nelson	1842	Keesing, Ralph, 'Union'	"
	Jent, Charles	Wellington	1841	Kefe, Charles William	Wellington
1843	Jervis, Henry	"		Keightley, Thomas	Auckland
1840	Jervis, H. M.	Auckland	1840	Keith, 'Blenheim'	Wellington
1843	Jervis, W.	Wellington		Keir, Adam	Rangitikei
	Jillett, Robert	Kapiti		Keir, Thomas	Auckland
1844	Johnson, Augustus	Wellington	1842	Kelham, G., 'London'	Wellington
1840	Johnson, Dav., 'Bengal Merchant'	"	1842	Kelham, James, 'London'	"
1841	Johnson, D., 'Lady Nugent'	"	1841	Kellier, James, 'Lady Nugent'	"
1840	Johnson, Edward, 'Martha Ridgway'	"		Kells, George	Auckland
1840	Johnson, Frank, 'Adelaide'	"		Kells, John	Wanganui
1840	Johnson, Jas., 'Bengal Merchant'	"		Kells, Joseph	"
1840	Johnson, John (M.D., J.P.)	Auckland		Kells, William	"
1840	Johnson, John, 'Adelaide'	Wellington	1843	Kelly, 'Mandarin'	Wellington
1841	Johnson, John, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1841	Kelly, Charles	"
	Johnson, Richard	Wellington	1844	Kelly, James	"
	Johnson, Thomas	Auckland	1843	Kelly, John	Auckland
1842	Johnson, T.	Wellington		Kelly, Joseph	Wairarapa
1842	Johnson, William	"		Kelly, Maurice	Auckland
1841	Johnson, William, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth		Kelly, Robert	"
1840	Johnson, W. (M.D.), 'Adelaide'	Wellington	1840	Kelly, W. O.	Wellington
1841	Johnston, David	"		Kelt, John	"
1841	Johnston, J. H.	"	1840	Kemble, Robert, 'Adelaide'	"
1842	Johnston, John, 'Prince of Wales'	"		Kemp, Hy. Tracy (Native Secretary)	"
	Jolles, Samuel	"		Kemp, James	Auckland
1842	Jollie, Edward, 'Brougham'	"	1843	Kemp, Thomas	Tamaki, Auckland
1842	Jollie, Francis, 'Fifeshire'	Nelson	1843	Kemphorn, Sampson	Auckland
	Jompkins, John	Makara	1840	Kempton, Thomas, 'Adelaide'	Ohio
	Jompkins, John, jun.	"	1841	Kendall, W.	Auckland
	Jonchings, Peter	Ohio		Kendrick, James	Wellington
1842	Jones, Edward, 'Geo. Fife'	Wellington	1844	Kennard, William	"
1841	Jones, E., 'Lady Nugent'	"	1841	Kennedy, Alex.	Auckland
1841	Jones, Ed., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth		Kennedy, Donald	Kawakawa
1841	Jones, Edward, jun., 'Amelia Thompson'	"	1841	Kennedy, J.	Auckland
	Jones, Francis	Wellington		Kennedy, John Mark	Wellington
1841	Jones, George, 'Arab'	"	1841	Kennedy, Thomas, 'Lady Nugent'	"
	Jones, Henry	"		Kenny, John	"
	Jones, James	"	1844	Ker, E. M.	"
1843	Jones, James	Auckland	1842	Kerney, John	"
	Jones, John	Wellington	1842	Kerr, John, 'Fifeshire'	Nelson
			1843	Keri, John	Tamaki, Auckland
			1840	Keovan, J.	Auckland
			1842	Kesrel, A.	"
			1840	Kettle, C. H.	Wellington
				Kevan, Thomas	Auckland

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

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YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
1840	Keys, Charles Wm., 'Cuba'	Wellington		Lawson, John ...	Auckland
1841	Kibblewhite, James, 'Clifton'	"		Lawson, Joseph	Wellington
1841	Kibblewhite, Richard, 'Clifton'	"	1842	Lawson, Robert	"
1840	Kichley, C. ...	Auckland	1843	Lawson, Thomas	Auckland
1842	Kidson, John ...	Nelson	1844	Layne, Cornelius	Wellington
	Kilfoyle, Michael	Auckland		Leach, John	"
1842	Kilgour, Mr., 'Olympus'	Wellington	1842	Leadbitten	"
	Kilgour, William	Auckland	1842	Lean, John, 'Regia'	"
	Kilminster, John	Wellington	1841	Leathart, F.	Kaha
1840	King, 'Martha Ridgway'	Nelson	1840	Leckie, Wm., 'Bengal Merchant'	Wellington
1841	King, Capt. Hy., R.N., J.P., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth		Le Comte, David	"
				Le Comte, Rev. Mr.	"
1844	King, John (Solicitor) 'Theresa'	Wellington	1844	Ledgard, D.	"
1842	King, John, 'Fifeshire'	Nelson		Lee, Walter	Auckland
1841	King, Mr., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth		Leight, Geo. Hy.	Wellington
1841	King, Samuel, J.P.	Wanganui		Leighton, Wm.	"
	King, Wm.	Wellington	1841	Leisk, Geo. T.	"
1844	Kinghorne, James	"		Lemington, Thomas George	"
1842	Kinniburg, David, 'Geo. Fife'	"		Lepine, William	Auckland
1842	Kinsland, G.	Auckland	1844	Leroux, W.	Wellington
1840	Kirkland, W.	"	1842	Leslie, Robert	Auckland
	Kirton, Rev. Wm.	Christchurch		Lessington, James	Wellington
	Kissling, Geo. Augustus	Auckland	1844	Lester, Mr.	"
	Kitson, John	Wellington	1841	Lester, W. B.	Auckland
1844	Kiuff, J.	Auckland	1841	Lett, Charles, 'Harrington'	Wellington
1842	Knapp, James, 'Bolton'	Nelson		Leverson, John	"
	Knight, Charles	Auckland	1840	Levin, Nathaniel William	"
1842	Knight, H.	Wellington	1844	Levit, G.	"
1840	Knight, James, 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"	1842	Levy, Benjamin	"
1844	Knight, Thomas	"	1843	Levy, George, 'Tyrian'	"
1843	Knight, T. S.	"	1843	Levy, L., 'Tyrian'	"
1840	Knight, William, 'Adelaide'	"	1841	Levy, Solomon, 'Himalaya'	"
1841	Knott, Mr.	"		Levy, Solomon Hyman	Auckland
1840	Knowles, A., 'Oriental'	"	1842	Lewer, Charles, 'Geo. Fife'	Wellington
1840	Knowles, F. W., 'Oriental'	"		Lewis, Benjamin	Auckland
1840	Knowles, H. H., 'Oriental'	"	1840	Lewis, David, 'Oriental'	Wellington
1840	Knowles, Hy. Samuel, 'Oriental'	"	1842	Lewis, Evan, 'Bernian'	Wellington
1840	Knowles, J. M., 'Oriental'	"		Lewis, Francis Charles	Auckland
1841	Knowles, John, 'Gertrude'	"	1840	Lewis, J., 'Oriental'	Wellington
1843	Knox, C. W.	Tamaki, Auckland	1843	Lewis, William	Auckland
1840	Knox, Fredk. John, M.D., 'Martha Ridgway'	Wellington	1841	Lewthwaite, John, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1843	Koole, F.	Auckland	1841	Liardet, Capt., R.N., 'Whitby'	"
	Kunst, Philip	"	1842	Lidbitten, Dr., 'Lord Auckland'	Nelson
1841	Ladbrooke, J. W. F., 'Mandarin'	Wellington		Liddy, Thomas	Wellington
	Lambert, Joseph	"	1841	Ligar, Chas. Wybrow, 'Antilla'	Auckland
	Lambert, Robert	"	1842	Lightband, George, 'Thos. Harrison'	Nelson
1840	Lancaster, J.	"	1842	Lightband, Martin, 'Thos. Harrison'	"
	Lander, Alfred	"		Lile, Robert	Wellington
	Lander, Charles	"	1840	Lindsay, A.	Auckland
	Lander, David	"		Linfoot, Richard	Wellington
	Lander, Frederick	"	1843	Linfoot, Robert	"
1842	Laney, Edward, 'Olympus'	Nelson	1842	Ling, 'Tobago'	"
1841	Langdon, Robert, 'Lady Leigh'	Wellington	1840	Ligan, 'George Fife'	"
1840	Langford, 'Aurora'	"	1841	Lingard, John, 'Gertrude'	"
1843	Langford, John Alfred	Auckland	1841	Lingard, John, jun., 'Gertrude'	"
1840	Lansdale, James, 'Bengal Merchant'	Wellington	1844	Lisk, Mr.	"
1843	Lardner, G. D.	"		Lismore, George	"
1841	Large, Charles	"	1841	Lissington, 'Arab'	"
1845	Large, J.	Auckland	1844	Little and Co., Messrs.	"
1843	Latham, John	Wanganui		Littlewood, Henry	Auckland
	Latham, William	Wellington	1841	Lloyd, F.	Wellington
1842	Laurie, Mrs. Mary, 'Duchess of Argyle'	Auckland	1840	Lloyd, John, 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"
1842	Laurie, James, 'Duchess of Argyle'	"		Lloyd, John Frederick	Tamaki, Auckland
1842	Laurie, Matthew, 'Duchess of Argyle'	"	1844	Lloyd, Thomas	Wellington
1842	Laurie, Robert, 'Duchess of Argyle'	"		Loader, James	"
1842	Laurie, William, 'Duchess of Argyle'	"		Lockwood, Daniel	Auckland
1844	Law, Robert	Wellington	1843	Lockwood, James	Tamaki, Auckland
1843	Lawler, H. C., J.P.	Auckland	1842	Lockyear, W., 'London'	Wellington
1845	Lawrence, H.	"		Lockyer, Thomas	"
1842	Lawrence, Sarah	"	1842	Lockyer, Timothy	"
1844	Lawry, H. H.	"	1840	Lodge, John, 'Aurora'	"
	Lawry, Walter	"			

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YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
1840	Logan, Francis (Surgeon R.N.), 'Bengal Merchant'	Wellington		Mackay, James	Nelson
1840	Logan, H. F., 'Bengal Merchant'	"	1845	Mackay, James	Auckland
1842	Logie, Charles	Nelson	1842	Mackenzie, H.	"
1841	Logie, Chas. H. G., and family	Bay of Islands	1842	Mackinnon, A. W.	Nelson
1841	London, Henry	Wellington	1841	Maclean, D.	Auckland
	London, Joseph	"		Maclean, Robert	Tamaki, Auckland
1842	Loneragan, M.	Auckland		Maclean, Every	"
1844	Loneragan, T.	"		Maddan, Samuel	Wellington
	Longeton, Arch. Brown	Wellington	1842	Madden, Charles, 'Bolliua'	Auckland
1842	Lord, 'Tobago'	"	1842	Maeer, G., 'Indemnity'	Wellington
1841	Lord, J.	Auckland	1842	Magary, Thomas, 'Fifeshire'	Nelson
	Lorigan, Patrick	"	1843	Magee, James	Auckland
1840	Losack, T. E., 'Martha Ridgway'	Wellington		Mahoney, James	"
1843	Lougan, Annie	Auckland	1840	Mahoney, T.	"
1841	Loughlin, J.	Wellington	1843	Mainwaring, John	Wellington
	Love, John	"	1840	Majoribanks, Alex., 'Bengal Merchant'	"
	Lovelock, Isaac	"		Makepeace, John	Auckland
1843	Low, Joseph	Auckland	1843	Makin, James	"
1842	Lowndess, 'Burmah'	Wellington	1841	Malcott, Mr., 'Antilla'	Wellington
1842	Lowe, A.	"	1842	Malen	Nelson
	Lowe, Griffiths	"	1843	Malpass, Charles	Auckland
1840	Lowe, A. G. (Surgeon), 'Bolton'	"	1843	Malsbury, Wm.	Wellington
1842	Lowndes, Lewis, 'Birman'	"	1842	Mankers, Amelia	Auckland
1844	Lowndes, Thomas John	Nelson	1841	Mann, John, 'Arab'	Wellington
1841	Lowther, 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington		Mannering, John	"
1843	Lowther, St. George	Wanganui		Manning, Jonathan	"
1842	Loxley, Wm. Smart	Wellington	1844	Mansfield, Thos.	"
1842	Lucas	Nelson	1842	Manson	Nelson
	Lucas, Robert	Wellington		Manson, Magnus	Wellington
1844	Lockett, Frederick	"	1840	Mantell, W. B. D., 'Oriental'	"
1843	Lockett, Jonas	Wanganui	1840	Marchell, W.	Auckland
1840	Ludlam, Alfred	Wellington	1844	Mark, S.	"
1842	Ludmen, W.	"		Marks, Morris	"
	Ludwell, William	"	1842	Marriott, J. H., 'Thos. Sparks'	Wellington
1842	Lugar, Lieut.	"	1842	Marsden, Thomas	Nelson
1841	Lukies, William, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1841	Marshall, E., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1841	Lukies, William, jun., 'Amelia Thompson'	"	1843	Marshall, Alex.	Auckland
1842	Lundon, J.	Auckland	1842	Marshall, C.	Wellington
1843	Lundon, Mary	"		Marshall, David Watt	"
1841	Lumsden, William	Wellington	1843	Marshall, F.	Nelson
1840	Lusack, Frank, 'Martha Ridgway'	"	1842	Marshall, Henry, 'Prince of Wales'	Wellington
1840	Luscombe, J. H., 'Adelaide'	"	1843	Marshall, James	Auckland
	Lusk, Robert Ballie	Auckland	1840	Marshall, Mrs. R. A., 'London'	Wellington
1842	Lusty, Benjamin, 'Clifford'	Nelson	1840	Marshall, S.	"
1840	Luxford, C. E., 'Adelaide'	Wellington	1840	Marshall, W.	Auckland
1840	Luxford, G. H., 'Adelaide'	"		Martin, Albin	"
1840	Luxford, Wm., 'Adelaide'	"	1841	Martin, E., 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington
1840	Luxford, Wm. W., 'Adelaide'	"	1842	Martin, Emma, 'London'	"
1841	Lyall, Alexander	"	1841	Martin, F. V., 'Cath. Stuart Forbes'	"
1842	Lyall, Robert, 'Olympus'	"	1840	Martin, Mrs. Hannah, 'Martha Kidgway'	"
	Lyall, William	"		Martin, Hugh	Nelson
1841	Lymons, John, and wife, 'Cath. Stuart Forbes'	"	1842	Martin, J.	Auckland
1841	Lynch, Daniel	Auckland		Martin, James	Wellington
	Lynch, Henry	Wellington	1841	Martin, John, 'Lady Nugent'	"
1842	Lynch, John	Auckland	1844	Martin, P.	Auckland
1844	Lynch, T.	"		Martin, Robert	Wellington
1840	Lyon, W., 'Duke of Roxburgh'	Wellington	1841	Martin, S. (M.D., J.P.)	Auckland
1840	Mabey, Charles	Wellington	1841	Martin, T., 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington
1840	Mabey, Job	"	1843	Martin, Thomas	Auckland
	Macaskill, Allen	Thames, Auckland		Martin, William	Wellington
	Macaskill, Lachlan	"	1841	Martineau, Henry, 'Arab'	"
	Mace, George Walter	Wellington	1843	Marton, 'Mandarin'	"
	Macintosh, Alex.	"	1841	Martin, William (Chief Justice), 'Tyne'	Auckland
1842	Macintosh, David, 'Martha Ridgway'	"		Mason, Frederick	Wellington
1842	Macintosh, T., 'Levant'	Nelson		Mason, Henry	"
1843	Mackay, Alexander	Wellington		Mason, Samuel	"
1840	Mackay, A.	Auckland		Mason, Sydney	"
	Mackay, Hugh	"	1840	Mason, Thos., 'Martha Ridgway'	"
			1842	Mason, Thomas, 'Olympus'	"
			1841	Mason, William	"

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YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
1840	Mason, Wm., 'Westminster'	Auckland	1842	Mills, Alfred, 'Birman'	Wellington
	Masters, Arthur ...	Wellington	1842	Mills, Charles, 'Birman'	"
1841	Masters, Joseph ...	"	1842	Mills, C. C., 'Tobago'	"
1844	Maswell, Mr. ...	"	1840	Mills, E. ...	Auckland
1842	Mathews, Charles, 'Olympus'	Nelson	1842	Mills, E. W., 'Birman'	Wellington
1840	Mathews, Felton, J.P., 'Westminster'	Auckland	1841	Mills, F. ...	Auckland
	Matson, Henry ...	"	1842	Mills, Henry, 'Birman'	Wellington
	Matthews, Charles ...	Wairarapa	1841	Mills, J. ...	Auckland
1841	Matthews, Dr., 'Sir John Falstaff'	Wellington	1842	Mills, Richard ...	Nelson
	Matthews, Edmund Israel ...	Auckland		Mills, Samuel ...	Auckland
1842	Matthews, Mrs., and two sons, 'Tuscan'	"	1842	Mills, Thomas, 'Birman'	Wellington
	Matthews, Richard ...	"		Mills, William ...	"
1842	Matthieson, Kenneth, 'Clydeside'	Wellington	1842	Milward, O., 'Indemnity'	"
	Maunsell, Robert ...	Auckland		Milne, Alexander ...	"
1842	Maunsell, Wm. ...	Nelson	1840	Milne, Archibald, 'Lady Nugent'	"
	Mawby, Lawrence ...	Waikanae	1840	Milne, W., 'Lady Nugent'	"
1842	Maxton, Samuel, 'Birman'	Wellington		Milner, Richard ...	"
1840	Maxwell, C., 'Aurora'	"	1840	Milner, Jesse, 'Martha Ridgeway'	"
1842	Maxwell, J. ...	"		Minett, J., 'Bolton' ...	"
	Maxwell, James ...	Auckland	1840	Minifie, Josiah, 'Adelaide'	"
1841	Maxwell, W., 'Aurora'	Wellington	1840	Minifie, John, 'Adelaide'	"
1843	May, George ...	Auckland	1840	Minifie, Thomas, 'Adelaide'	"
1842	May, James, 'Geo. Fife'	Wellington	1840	Minifie, William, 'Adelaide'	"
1843	May, Joseph ...	Auckland	1845	Minus, J. ...	Auckland
1840	May, M. ...	"	1842	Mitchell, Francis ...	Wellington
1841	Mayers, H. ...	Wellington	1841	Mitchell, Frederick ...	"
1840	Mayhew, Capt. ...	Bay of Islands	1840	Mitchell, James, 'Blenheim'	"
	Mayne, Edward ...	Auckland	1840	Mitchell, J., 'Bengal Merchant'	"
1843	Mayo, James ...	Wellington	1841	Mitchell, John, 'Gertrude'	"
	Meads, John ...	Tauherenikau	1843	Mitchell, Robert ...	Auckland
	Meahan, Michael ...	Wanganui	1845	Mitchell, W. ...	"
	Mears, Abram ...	Auckland		Mitchell, William ...	Wellington
1841	Medhurst, Charles ...	Wellington	1841	Mitford, George ...	Auckland
	Medland, John, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1841	Mitford, J. T., 'Mandarin'	Wellington
1840	Meech, Henry, 'Oriental' ...	Wellington	1842	Mocatta, S., 'Prince of Wales'	"
1840	Meech, William, 'Oriental' ...	"	1843	Moffitt, Chas. H. ...	Auckland
1842	Mellon, J. ...	"	1842	Moffitt, J. L., 'Louisa Campbell'	Wellington
1842	Mellor, George, 'Birman'	"	1840	Molesworth, Francis A., J.P., 'Oriental'	"
1842	Melvin, P. ...	Auckland	1842	Molne, F. ...	Nelson
	Membury, Wm. ...	Wellington		Monaghan, Patrick ...	Wellington
1843	Menzies, J. ...	Auckland		Monk, Alexander ...	"
	Menzies, Robert ...	Tamaki, Auckland		Monk, John ...	"
	Mera, John ...	Wairua	1842	Monk, Wm., 'Birman'	"
1842	Mercer, Mr. S., 'Juans'	Nelson	1843	Monk, Wm. ...	Auckland
1841	Merchant, Chas. E., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1842	Monro, David, J.P. ...	Nelson
1844	Merricks, H. ...	Wellington	1840	Monteith, Dalrymple, 'Duke of Roxburgh'	Wellington
	Merriman, Fredk. Ward ...	Auckland	1840	Monteith, G. D., Surgeon, 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"
1844	Meurant, Mr. ...	Wellington	1840	Monteith, Jacob, 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"
1841	Mexted, George, 'Lord W. Bentinck'	"	1842	Moody, W., 'Clifton' ...	"
1843	Middleton, James ...	Auckland	1842	Moon, Charles ...	"
	Midford, John ...	Wellington	1842	Moon, Edward, 'Lord Auckland'	Nelson
1841	Miles, 'Arab' ...	"	1842	Moon, Edmund ...	Wellington
1842	Miles, Thomas, 'Birman'	"	1841	Moon, George ...	"
1842	Milgate, Thomas ...	"	1842	Moon, J. ...	Auckland
1842	Milguin, Alice ...	Auckland	1840	Moon, R. ...	"
1841	Millan, Arch. ...	Wellington	1842	Moore, Daniel ...	Nelson
	Millard, George ...	"	1840	Moore, Captain, 'Bengal Merchant'	Wellington
1843	Miller, Wm. ...	Auckland	1844	Moore, E. ...	"
1841	Miller, A. ...	Wellington	1840	Moore, George, 'Martha Ridgway'	"
1842	Miller, James and wife, 'Duchess of Argyll'	Auckland	1843	Moore, John ...	Auckland
1840	Miller, James, 'Blenheim'	Wellington	1842	Moore, William ...	Nelson
1842	Miller, John ...	Nelson	1840	Moreny, Henry ...	Wellington
1841	Miller, Joseph ...	Wellington	1841	Moreson, Hugh ...	"
1840	Miller, Mr., 'Adelaide'	"	1842	Morgan, E. ...	"
1840	Miller, R., 'Blenheim'	"	1844	Morgan, George ...	"
	Miller, Thomas ...	"	1842	Morgan, Joseph ...	Nelson
1842	Miller, William, 'Olympus' ...	"	1842	Morgan, Samuel, 'Birman'	Wellington
1840	Miller, William, 'Blenheim' ...	"	1842	Morgan, Thomas, 'Birman'	"
			1841	Morihan, J. ...	Auckland
			1840	Moring, Hy., J.P., 'Oriental'	Wellington

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
1841	Morris, Hy.	Wellington	1840	McDonald, D., 'Blenheim' ...	Wellington
	Morris, Samuel	"	1841	McDonald, Hector, 'Regia' ...	Kapiti
1840	Morrison, Daniel, 'Aurora' ...	"	1843	McDonald, James	Auckland
1840	Morrison, Hugh, 'Blenheim' ...	Wairarapa		McDonald, James	Wanganui
1842	Morrison, William	Nelson		McDonald, Peter	Wellington
1844	Mortley, Joseph	Wellington	1840	McDonald, W. H., 'Glenbevie' ...	"
1842	Morton, H.	"	1840	McDonald, Wm.	Auckland
1843	Motion, William	Auckland		McDonnell, Jas.	Rangitikei
1843	Moull, Joseph	"	1840	McDonnell, Samuel, 'Nimrod' ...	Wellington
1841	Mounsher, Charles, 'Catherine Stuart Forbes' ...	Wellington	1840	McDonogh, A. E., J. P.	"
				McDonough, Thomas	"
1842	Mount, Charles	"		McDoughal, John	Auckland
1842	Mowbray, A.	"	1840	McDowall, William, 'Royal Merchant' ...	Wellington
1840	Moyle, Mary	Auckland		McDowell, John	Auckland
	Mudford, John	Wellington	1840	McEacherney, 'Blenheim' ...	Wellington
	Mudford, John, jun.	"		McElwain, George	Auckland
1841	Mudgway, Charles, 'Catherine Stuart Forbes' ...	"		McElwain, John	"
1841	Mudgway, Mrs. C., 'Catherine Stuart Forbes' ...	"	1843	McEwen, Andrew	Wellington
1841	Mudgway, George, 'Catherine Stuart Forbes' ...	"	1843	McEwen, David, 'Bengal Merchant' ...	"
1841	Mudgway, Richard, 'Catherine Stuart Forbes' ...	"		McEwen, Isaac	Auckland
1841	Mudgway, Stephen, 'Catherine Stuart Forbes' ...	"	1841	McEwen, James, 'Bengal Merchant' ...	Wellington
1841	Muir, James Wm.	"	1841	McFarlane, 'Lapwing'	"
1844	Muir, R.	Auckland	1844	McFarlane, Geo.	"
1844	Mullen, Richard	Wellington	1843	McFarlane, Henry	Auckland
1843	Mullen, Samuel	Auckland	1842	McFarlane, J. D., 'Clydeside' ...	Nelson
1845	Mullin, J.	"	1840	McFarlane, J. S.	Auckland
1843	Mullin, F. J.	Wellington	1840	McFarlane, Rev. John, 'Bengal Merchant' ...	Petone
1841	Mummery, C., 'Lady Nugent' ...	"	1841	McGaskell, 'Lapwing'	Wellington
1844	Munday, Thos.	"	1840	McGeachie, J.	Auckland
1844	Munday, William	"	1842	McGee, C., 'Martha Ridgway' ...	Nelson
1840	Munn, Daniel	"	1840	McGee, R.	Auckland
	Murch, Philip	"		McGennes, Henry	Wellington
1840	Murphy, Michael, J. P.	"	1840	McGlashan, Robt., 'Sir Robert Sale' ...	Auckland
1841	Murray, A., 'Tyne'	"	1840	McGregor, Gregor, 'Blenheim' ...	Wellington
	Murray, John	Wanganui	1842	McGregor, James	Nelson
1840	Murray, John, 'Blenheim' ...	Wellington	1843	McGregor, John	Wanganui
1843	Murray, John J.	Auckland	1840	McGregor, Joseph	Wellington
1842	Murray, Linfort R.	Wellington	1840	McGregor, Peter, 'Blenheim' ...	Wellington
1840	Murray, Robert, 'Bengal Merchant' ...	"		McGrush, John	"
			1840	McGurk, C., 'Aurora'	"
1841	Murray, Wm.	"		McHardie, Alexander	"
1842	Murray, Wm.	Nelson	1841	McHardie, Dav., 'Lady Nugent' ...	"
1844	Murwin, M. E.	Wellington	1841	McHardie, David, jun., 'Lady Nugent' ...	"
1842	Musgrave, Thos.	Nelson		McHardie, John	"
	Mutrie, Alex.	Wellington	1840	McHattie, T. M., 'Hannah' ...	"
1841	Myers, G. H., 'Mandarin' ...	"	1842	McHugh, Thomas	Nelson
	McAlley, Robert	"	1845	McIlhenny, J.	Auckland
1842	McAlpine, G.	Auckland	1844	McIlroy	"
	McAnnulty, John	"	1840	McInnes, 'Lady Lilford' ...	Wellington
1841	McArdie, 'Arab'	Wellington	1840	McInnes, 'Blenheim'	"
	McArthur, Peter	Auckland	1841	McIntosh, 'Arab'	"
1842	McArtney, John	Nelson	1840	McIntosh, Charles Hunter, 'Portenia' ...	Auckland
1840	McBeth, J., 'Bengal Merchant' ...	Wellington			
1843	McBeth, James	Auckland	1842	McIntosh, J.	"
1840	McBeth, J., 'Bengal Merchant' ...	Wellington	1840	McIntosh, William, and wife, 'Duchess of Argyle' ...	"
	McCafferty Patrick	"	1840	McIntyre, J. R.	"
1840	McCarthy, Julia	Auckland		McIvor, Francis	Wellington
1840	McCarthy, John	Wellington		McKain, James Buchanan ...	"
	McCaul, Walter	Auckland		McKain, John Ward	"
1840	McCauslin, 'Blenheim'	Wellington	1843	McKay, Alexander	Auckland
	McClatchie, George	"	1840	McKay, Donald, 'Blenheim' ...	Wellington
1842	McConell, W.	"	1840	McKay, Henry	Foveaux Straits
1842	McConnachie, J.	Auckland	1840	McKay, John, 'Blenheim' ...	Wellington
	McCulloch, Robt.	Wellington		McKay, Thomas	"
1841	McDermott, Martin P.	Auckland		McKelvie, Alex. Paterson ...	Auckland
1840	McDonald	Queen Charlotte Sound	1844	McKenny, Robt.	Wellington
1842	McDonald, Alex., J. P., 'Martha Ridgway' ...	Nelson and Wellington		McKenzie, Duncan	Auckland
1840	McDonald, Alex.	Ahuriri, Hawke's Bay	1840	McKenzie, Hugh, 'Blenheim' ...	Wellington
1840	McDonald, Adam Cummings ...	Wellington		McKenzie, John	"
1845	McDonald, B.	Auckland			

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

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YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
1843	McKenzie, Roderick ...	Auckland	1841	Newburn	Wellington
1840	McKenzie, Thomas W., 'Adelaide'	Wellington	1843	Newby, John	Auckland
1843	McKenzie, Wm.	Auckland	1843	Newbyn, J., 'Thos. Sparks'	Wellington
	McKenzie, Wm.	Wellington	1842	Newcombe, R. K.	Nelson
1840	McKerrass, R.	Auckland		Newdick, Richard	Auckland
1843	McKewin, Isaac	"	1840	Newell, J.	Wellington
1840	McKinnon, 'Blenheim'	Wellington	1841	Newland, John, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1843	McKinnon, Wm. W. L.	Auckland	1841	Newland, John, jun., 'Amelia Thompson'	"
1840	McLachlan, A. ...	"	1841	Newland, William, 'Amelia Thompson'	"
1840	McLachlan, Donald, 'Blenheim'	Wellington	1843	Newman, Joseph ...	Tamaki, Auckland
1840	McLachlan, Dugald, 'Blenheim'	"	1842	Newman, Miss (now Mrs. Atkin) 'Tuscan'	Auckland
1841	McLachlan, Isabella ...	Auckland	1842	Newman, Thomas, 'Bolton'	Nelson
1842	McLachlan, J. Lachlan, J. P. ...	"		Newman, Wm.	Wellington
1840	McLaggen, John, 'Bengal Merchant'	Wellington		Newport, Stephen	Wanganui
	McLarren, James	"	1842	Newport, Wm., 'Charles Forbes'	Nelson
1842	McLean, 'Tobago'	"	1840	Nias, Capt., H.M.S. 'Herald'	"
	McLean, Alexander	"	1841	Niblett, C. S.	Wanganui
	McLean, David	Auckland	1842	Niccol, H.	Auckland
	McLean, Sir Donald	New Plymouth	1844	Niccol, M.	"
1843	McLean, J. S. ...	Auckland	1840	Nicholls, W.	"
1842	McLellan, Mrs. ...	"		Nicholls, Chas. H. S.	Wanganui
1841	McLennan, E., 'Minerva' ...	"		Nichol, Charles	"
1841	McLennan, Duncan, 'Minerva'	"	1843	Nichols, Henry	Auckland
1843	McLennan, James ...	"	1843	Nicholson, John	"
	McLeod, Harold John	Wellington	1842	Nicholson, Richard, 'Brougham'	Wellington
1843	McLeod, James ...	Auckland	1842	Nicol, Charles, 'Fifeshire'	Nelson
	McLeod, John	"	1843	Nicol, George ...	Auckland
1841	McLeod, Mrs. Rebecca, 'Catherine Stuart Forbes'	Wellington		Nicol, James	Tauanui
1842	McLeod, Wm. ...	"	1840	Nicol, Wm., 'Blenheim'	Wellington
1843	McLutchie, George ...	"		Nicols, Wm. ...	Wairarapa
	McManawary, Thos. Dalton ...	"	1842	Nicolson, A.	Auckland
1840	McMaster, Angus, 'Blenheim'	Wairarapa		Nihill, Wm.	"
1844	McMillan, A. ...	Auckland		Ninnis, James	"
1843	McMullen, Finlay ...	"	1840	Nisbet, John, 'Bengal Merchant'	Wellington
1843	McNaghton, Donald ...	"	1840	Nisbet, Mary Anderson, 'Bengal Merchant'	"
1842	McNair, A. ...	"	1840	Nisbet, Thomas, 'Bengal Merchant'	"
1843	McNair, Peter ...	"	1840	Nixon, John, J. P., 'London'	Wanganui
1840	McNally, James, 'Adelaide' ...	Wellington	1845	Nodder, Mary	Auckland
1842	McNally, Thomas	"	1842	Noden, John	Nelson
1843	McNire, James ...	Auckland	1841	Nolan, John	Auckland
1841	McPherson, 'Lapwing'	Wellington	1840	Nolan, P.	"
	McPherson, Archibald ...	Auckland	1841	Norgrove, Wm., 'Gertrude' ...	Wellington
1840	McQuarrie, Donald, 'Blenheim'	Wellington	1842	Norman, Edmund, 'Brougham'	"
1840	McQuarrie, John, 'Blenheim'	"	1842	Norman, George 'Tuscan'	Bay of Islands
1840	McQueen, Archie, 'Blenheim'	"		Norman, Samuel	Onehunga, Auckland
	McQuoid, John ...	Auckland	1841	Norris ...	Wellington
1842	McShane, Alex. (Surgeon)	Nelson		Northam, Wm.	Nelson
1843	McVay, George ...	Auckland	1842	Northove, Joseph	Wanganui
1843	McVay, John ...	"		Northwood, James	Ahuiri, Hawke's Bay
	McWilliams, Thomas ...	Wellington	1840	Northwood, T., 'Glenbervie'	Wellington
1841	Nagle, Capt. Jeremiah, J. P. ...	Auckland	1842	Nott, Wm., 'Birman' ...	"
1840	Nairn, Charles, 'Wm. Bryan'	Napier	1841	Nowles, T., 'Gertrude'	"
1840	Nairn, H., 'Wm. Bryan'	"		Nugent, Charles Lavallin	Auckland
1844	Nalan, M. ...	Auckland	1842	Nugent, Dr., 'New York Packet'	Wellington
1843	Nankville, Wm. ...	"	1843	Oakley, Edward ...	Auckland
1843	Nankville, Robt.	Wellington	1841	Oakley, Mrs. Martha, 'Lord Wm. Bentinck'	Wellington
1842	Nash, J. ...	Auckland	1844	Oare, Chas. Henry	Wellington
1842	Nash, James Henry ...	Wellington	1843	Oates, J., 'Thos. Sparks'	"
	Nash, William ...	"	1843	O'Brien, Laughlin ...	Auckland
1843	Nathan, David ...	Auckland		O'Connor, Hugh	Wellington
1843	Nathan, Henry ...	Wanganui		O'Donnell, Frederick ...	Rangitikei
	Nation, Charles ...	Wellington	1842	O'Ferral, 'Prince of Wales' ...	Wellington
1840	Natrass, John, 'Adelaide' ...	"	1844	Ogleby, W. ...	"
1840	Natrass, Luke, 'Adelaide' ...	"	1844	Ogilvie, Graham	"
	Natrass, Timothy ...	"	1844	O'Laughnan, T.	"
	Natrass, William ...	"		Oldfield, Samuel	Auckland
	Neal, Henry ...	Auckland	1843	O'Leary, Daniel ...	"
1841	Neal, William ...	Wellington			
	Neal, William Henry ...	Auckland			
	Neill, Robert ...	Wellington			
1843	Nell, Henry ...	Auckland			
1842	Nelson, E. W. ...	"			
1840	Nesbitt, B. ...	Bay of Islands			

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
	Oliver, Aitchinson ...	Auckland	1843	Parry, Wm. C. ...	Auckland
1841	Oliver, J., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1840	Parson, Wm., 'Coromandel'	Wellington
1841	Oliver, J., 'Amelia Thompson'	"	1843	Partington, Charles ...	Auckland
1841	Oliver, S., 'Amelia Thompson'	"	1843	Partington, Edward ...	"
1842	Oliver, W. ...	Auckland	1843	Partington, George ...	"
1841	Oliver, W., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1843	Partridge, Clement ...	"
1840	O'Loughlin, Timothy ...	Wellington	1840	Partridge, Thomas Mitchell, 'Adelaide'	Wellington
1841	O'Mealy, 'Antilla' ...	"			
1841	O'Meara, John, 'Regia'	Kapiti	1842	Patchett, W. B., 'Lord Auckland'	Nelson
1842	O'Meara, J., 'Planet'	Wellington			
1842	O'Meara, Timothy, 'Planet'	"	1842	Paterson, J. ...	Auckland
1842	O'Neill, 'Tobago'	"	1840	Paton, Thos., 'Westminster'	"
1841	O'Neill, E. ...	Auckland	1842	Patten, Richd. Wm. ...	Wellington
	O'Neill, John ...	"	1842	Patterson, G. ...	Auckland
1843	O'Railly, Francis Frederick ...	Wellington	1842	Patterson, John, 'George Fife'	Wellington
1840	O'Reilly, Rev. (J.P.) ...	"		Patterson, Robert ...	"
1842	Ormond, Capt., wife, son, and daughter, 'Tuscan'	Auckland		Patterson, Thomas ...	"
1842	Ormsby, George Owen ...	"	1841	Patterson, W., 'Clydeside'	Wanganui
	Ostorn, John ...	Wellington	1843	Patterson, W. ...	Auckland
1842	Orborne, George, 'Bollina'	Auckland	1840	Pattinson, J., 'George Fife'	Wellington
1841	Osborne, Joseph ...	"		Pawson, John ...	"
1842	Osborne, Thomas, 'Bollina'	"	1840	Paul, J. ...	Auckland
	Osgood, Edward George ...	Wellington	1842	Pay, Thomas ...	Nelson
1843	Other, Edward ...	Auckland	1841	Paynter, Wm., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1842	Otterson, Francis O. (J.P.), 'Lord Auckland'	Nelson	1841	Paynter, Wm., jun., 'Amelia Thompson'	"
				Payton, Charles ...	Wellington
1841	Otto, Andrew ...	Auckland	1840	Payton, T. ...	Auckland
1841	Outhwaite, Thos., 'Tyne'	"	1840	Peachey, J. ...	"
	Overend, Henry ...	Wellington	1844	Peacock, J. J., 'Guide'	Wellington
1844	Owen, G. B. ...	Auckland	1844	Peacock, J. T., 'Guide'	"
	Owen, William Parker ...	Wellington	1842	Peanter, Richard ...	Nelson
	Owen, Wm. Thomas (Chemist)	"	1843	Pearce, 'Ursula'	Wellington
1840	Oxenham, Nicholas, 'Aurora'	"	1841	Pearce, J., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1841	Oxenham, Thomas, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth		Pearson, Wm. ...	Wanganui
			1841	Peck, Charles, 'Catherine Stuart Forbes'	Wellington
	Pace, James ...	Auckland	1841	Peck, Daniel, 'Catherine Stuart Forbes'	"
	Packman, George ...	Wellington		Peckham, Wm. ...	"
	Packman, William ...	"	1840	Peck, Richard ...	Foveaux Straits
1845	Padden, J. ...	Auckland	1843	Peirse, Q. Phil ...	Auckland
1843	Pagden, 'Ursula'	Wellington		Peli, John ...	"
1844	Pagdon, John ...	"		Penfold, Samuel ...	Wellington
1841	Paham, W. ...	Auckland		Pennell, Thomas ...	Auckland
	Paine, George ...	Wellington	1841	Penny, Charles Mouncey, 'Lucy Sharpe'	Wellington
	Palfrey, John ...	"	1841	Penny, J., 'Clydeside'	Wanganui
1840	Palmer, G. T., 'Aurora'	"		Pepper, Wm. ...	Wellington
1843	Palmer, James ...	Auckland		Percy, Joseph Newlet ...	"
1842	Palmer, R. W. ...	Wellington	1842	Pereira, Benj. Munday, 'Tyne'	"
1842	Palmer, Wm., 'Olympus'	Nelson		Perie, Peter ...	"
1840	Palmer, William ...	The Tontook (South)		Perkins, Geo. ...	"
1844	Palmes, J. ...	Auckland	1841	Perry, Alex., 'Clydeside'	Nelson
1840	Park, Robert, 'Cuba'	Wellington	1841	Perry, Bennet, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1845	Parker, H., 'Gertrude'	"	1842	Perry, B. P., 'Tobago'	Wellington
	Parker, James ...	Rangitikei	1843	Perry, Charles ...	"
	Parker, James ...	Wellington	1841	Perry, Francis, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1842	Parker, Mr. and Mrs., 'The New Zealand'	Nelson	1841	Perry, John, 'Amelia Thompson'	"
1840	Parker, Samuel, 'Aurora'	Wellington		Perry, Walter, 'Amelia Thompson'	"
	Parker, Thomas Algernon ...	"	1841	Perry, Wm., 'Amelia Thompson'	"
	Parker, William ...	Wanganui			
	Parker, William ...	Auckland			
1843	Parker, William ...	Wellington			
1843	Parkes, C. ...	Wanganui			
1840	Parkes, Frederick, 'Aurora'	"			
	Parke, Samuel ...	"			
1843	Parkes, W. ...	"			
1844	Parkinson, Mr. ...	Wellington	1840	Peterson, F. ...	Manakau
1842	Parkinson, Samuel ...	Nelson	1840	Petherick, Edwin W., 'Aurora'	Wellington
1842	Parkinson, Thos., 'Bombay'	Wellington	1840	Petherick, F. G., 'Aurora'	"
1840	Parnell, Saml. Duncan, 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"	1840	Petherick, James, 'Aurora'	"
			1840	Petherick, J. A., 'Aurora'	"
1843	Parr, E. J., 'Westminster'	Auckland	1840	Petrie, Hon. Henry, J.P., 'Oriental'	"
1843	Parr, T., 'Westminster'	"			
1842	Parris, 'Blenheim'	New Plymouth	1841	Pharazyn, Charles, 'Jane'	"
1842	Parry, Thomas, 'Birman'	Wellington	1841	Pharazyn, Robert, 'Jane'	"
			1841	Pharazyn, Chas. J., 'Jane'	"

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

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YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
	Phelps, George	Wellington	1840	Prouse, Richd., jun., 'Duke of Roxburgh'	Wellington
1841	Phelps, John, 'Lady Nugent'	"	1840	Prouse, Thomas, 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"
	Phillips, Francis L.	"	1840	Prouse, William, 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"
	Phillips, George	"	1842	Puckridge, S.	"
	Phillip, Henry J., Surgeon	"	1840	Putney, Joseph, 'Aurora'	"
	Phillips, James	"	1842	Pulham, N. P.	Auckland
	Phillips, John	"		Pulham, William	"
	Phillips, Richard	Auckland	1845	Purchas, Arthur G.	"
	Phillips, Thomas	Wellington		Quin, Hugh	Wellington
1840	Phillips, Thomas	Doubtless Bay	1842	Quin, Michael	"
	Phillips, William	Wellington		Rae, J., 'Exporter'	"
1841	Philps, J., 'Lord Wm. Bentinck'	"	1840	Rae, Thos., 'Martha Ridgway'	"
	Philson, Thomas Moore	Auckland		Raffling, Joseph Wm.	"
	Pickering, John	Wellington		Raine, John	"
	Pickering, Wm. Phelps	"	1843	Raleigh, John	Auckland
	Pickett, Gilbert	"	1840	Ralph, Joseph	Wellington
1840	Pierce, J., 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"		Ralph, Robert	"
1841	Pierie, 'Mandarin'	"		Ralph, Thos. Shearman, M.D.	"
1841	Piguenitt, Henry	"	1840	Ralph, Dr. W. P., 'Martha Ridgway'	"
1842	Pike, Wm.	"	1842	Ramsay, F.	"
	Pilcher, George	"	1840	Rankan, 'Blenheim'	"
1840	Pilcher, John, 'Coromandel'	"	1842	Radeliffe, Thomas	Nelson
1840	Pilcher, Stephen, 'Coromandel'	"	1842	Rattray, Mathew	Auckland
1841	Pilkington, Michael	"	1840	Rattray, William	Wellington
1841	Pimble, John, 'Lady Nugent'	"		Rawson, 'Middlesex'	"
1841	Piper, Chas. Henry, 'Olympus'	"		Ray, Thomas	"
1841	Pitman, John, 'Catherine Stuart Forbes'	"	1843	Raymond, John Crone	"
1841	Platt, Fredk. William	"	1840	Raynard, Samuel	"
1840	Platt, Mrs. J. T., 'Aurora'	"	1843	Read, Henry, 'Aurora'	"
1842	Plimmer, Isaac, 'Gertrude'	"	1843	Read, John	"
1842	Plimmer, John, 'Gertrude'	"	1840	Reading, John Brown	"
1842	Plimmer, William, 'Gertrude'	"	1840	Ready, W.	Auckland
	Plowman, W. G.	"	1845	Reardon, J.	"
1841	Poad, Thomas	"	1842	Reay, Rev. Charles Lucas	Nelson
1840	Polhill, Baker	"	1843	Redings	Bay of Islands
1842	Pollard, A.	Auckland	1840	Redwood, Chas., 'Geo. Fife'	Nelson
1844	Pollard, N. W.	"	1840	Redwood, Francis (now Bishop of Wellington), 'Geo. Fife'	"
1840	Pollen, Dr. Daniel	"	1840	Redwood, Henry, 'Geo. Fife'	"
1843	Pollock, Alexander	"	1840	Redwood, H., jun., 'Geo. Fife'	"
1843	Pollock, James	"	1840	Redwood, Thomas, 'Geo. Fife'	"
	Pollock, Robert	"	1840	Reed, Jas., 'Martha Ridgway'	Wellington
1844	Pollock, Robert	Wellington	1841	Rees, Dr. George	"
1840	Poole, D.	Auckland		Rees, George	Wanganui
1841	Poole, Nat., 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington		Rees, Joseph	"
1842	Pope, George	"	1841	Reeve, 'Tyne'	Wellington
1842	Pope, Henry	"		Reeve, Charles	"
1843	Popplewell, Wm.	"	1840	Reid, Adam	"
1841	Porter, Captain William Field, 'Porter'	Auckland	1841	Reid, Alexander	"
	Porter, John	"		Reid, Andrew	Wanganui
1841	Porter, Richard Field, 'Porter'	"		Reid, David	Wellington
	Porter, William	Wellington	1842	Reid, H.	"
	Posseniskie, William	Auckland	1840	Reid, John	Auckland
	Potter, William	"	1840	Reid, Mr., 'Bengal Merchant'	Wellington
1841	Potts, 'Mandarin'	Wellington		Reid, Thomas	"
	Potts, Christopher	"		Reilly, James	"
	Potts, Lawson	"	1841	Reise, Mr., 'Lord William Bentinck'	"
	Poulter, Samuel	"	1842	Remnant, Jas, 'George Fife'	"
	Powditch, William	Auckland	1842	Renald, Alfred W., 'Martha Ridgway'	"
1843	Powell, Edmund	"	1840	Rennie, A., 'Martha Ridgway'	"
1842	Poynter, John, 'Fifeshire'	Nelson	1844	Rennie, George	"
1843	Poynting, Thomas	Wellington	1840	Rennie, Thos., 'Martha Ridgway'	"
	Poynton, Thomas	Auckland	1842	Rennington, John, 'London'	"
1841	Pratt, T. D.	Wellington	1841	Renner, Mary	Auckland
1840	Prebble, James, 'Aurora'	"	1842	Renwick, Thomas (Surgeon)	Nelson
1841	Pred, B. G.	"	1841	Retter, Mr.	Wellington
1842	Price, Joseph	Okalaki	1841	Retter, Mrs. Jane, 'Lord William Bentinck'	"
1842	Price, Thomas, 'Olympus'	Nelson			
1841	Prime, S. W.	Auckland			
1841	Prince, Edwd., 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington			
1840	Pringle, Alex., 'London'	"			
1843	Pringle, Thomas	Bay of Islands			
1843	Probert, John	Auckland			
1842	Probyn	Wellington			
1840	Prouse, Rd., 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"			

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
1842	Retter, Samuel...	Wellington	1843	Robertson, James ..	Auckland
1842	Retty, A., 'Indemnity' ..	"	1843	Robertson, John ..	"
1840	Revan, Samuel, 'Adelaide' ..	"	1843	Robertson, Peter ..	"
1840	Revell, 'William Bryan' ...	New Plymouth		Robertson, Robert ..	"
1843	Revell, F. W. ...	Auckland	1841	Robertson, William ..	Bay of Islands
1841	Keynolds, George, 'Jane' ..	Wellington	1843	Robinson, 'William Stoveld' ..	Wellington
1842	Rhodes, Daniel, 'Geo. Fife' ...	"	1843	Robinson, A. ...	"
1843	Rhodes, George, 'Mandarin' ..	"	1841	Robinson, C. B., J.P. ...	Akarov
1843	Rhodes, Israel, 'Geo. Fife' ...	"	1843	Robinson, E. J. ...	Auckland
1843	Rhodes, Joseph, 'Mandarin' ..	"	1841	Robinson, Francis, 'Mandarin' ..	Wellington
1841	Rhodes, R., 'Lady Nugent' ..	"	1840	Robinson, J., 'Martha Ridgway' ..	"
1842	Rhodes, Richard, 'Geo. Fife' ..	"	1841	Robinson, Jos., 'Lady Nugent' ..	"
1840	Rhodes, Wm. Barnard, 'Helena' ..	"	1843	Robinson, Joseph ..	Auckland
1843	Rich, Edward ...	Auckland	1842	Robinson, Joshua ..	"
	Rich, George ...	"	1841	Robinson, Rich., 'Lady Nugent' ..	Wellington
1843	Rich, John ...	"	1841	Robinson, T. H., 'Lady Nugent' ..	"
1840	Richards, Captain, 'Portenia' ..	"	1842	Robinson, Sarah ..	Auckland
	Richards, Daniel ...	Wellington	1842	Robinson, Wm., 'New York Packet' ..	Wellington
1842	Richards, Dr. ...	"	1842	Robinson, W. R. ...	Auckland
1844	Richards, George ..	"	1840	Robson, H., 'Martha Ridgway' ..	Wellington
	Richards, James ..	"	1840	Roche, Thomas and Mrs., 'Westminster' ..	Auckland
1843	Richards, J. M. ...	Wanganui			
	Richards, Joseph ..	"	1842	Rogerson, William, 'Lord Auckland' ..	Nelson
1844	Richards, T. ...	Auckland	1840	Roe, Edward, 'Adelaide' ..	Wellington
1842	Richardson, 'Tobago' ..	Wellington	1840	Roe, Edward, jun., 'Adelaide' ..	"
1841	Richardson, Caroline, 'Arab' ..	"	1842	Roe, William ..	"
	Richardson, Daniel ...	Wanganui	1844	Roebuck, Mr. ...	"
1841	Richardson, Edwd., 'Caroline Stuart Forbes' ..	Wellington	1841	Rogan, J. ...	"
1841	Richardson, George, 'Arab' ...	"	1841	Rogers ..	Wellington
1842	Richardson, G. R., J.P., 'Maryan' ..	Nelson		Rogers, Wm. L. ...	Auckland
1842	Richardson, Miss, 'Maryan' ..	"	1843	Rooney, Andrew ..	"
1842	Richardson, Henry ...	"	1841	Root, Joseph, 'Catherine Stuart Forbes' ..	Wellington
1841	Richardson, James, 'Arab' ...	Wellington	1841	Root, Wm., 'Catherine Stuart Forbes' ..	"
1841	Richardson, Sarah Anne, 'Arab' ..	"	1841	Roots, John ...	"
1841	Richardson, Thomas, and wife Delia Burgess, 'Arab' ..	"	1840	Roper, T., 'Aurora' ..	"
1841	Richardson, W. Burgess, 'Arab' ..	"	1843	Rose, C. H. ...	Auckland
1840	Richmond, Matthew, J.P. ...	"	1843	Rose, J. ...	"
	Richmond, Robert ...	"		Rose, Robert ..	Wellington
1842	Ricketts, Ambrose, 'Bolton' ..	Nelson	1840	Roskell, T., 'Nimrod' ..	"
1842	Ricketts, William, 'Bolton' ...	"	1841	Ross, A. ...	Auckland
1840	Riddiford, Daniel, 'Adelaide' ..	Wellington	1840	Ross, Hugh ...	Wellington
1842	Rider, Thomas, 'London' ...	"	1842	Ross, Robert ...	Nelson
1840	Ridgway, Isaac, 'Coromander' ..	"	1843	Ross, William ...	Wanganui
1842	Ridgway, J. ...	New Plymouth		Rottermund, Hy. Wm. ...	Wellington
1842	Ridgway, P., 'Prince of Wales' ..	Wellington	1842	Rotterson, A. ...	"
	Ridings, Richard ...	Auckland	1840	Rough, Captain David ..	Auckland
1843	Ridler, Wm., 'Thos. Sparks' ..	Wellington	1842	Roughton, Jervois, 'Clifford' ..	Nelson
	Riley, Barnett ...	"	1841	Rout, John, 'Mandarin' ...	Wellington
1840	Riley, James 'Middlesex' ..	Kapiti	1841	Rowan ..	"
1841	Rind, Adam ...	Wellington	1842	Rowe, Samuel ..	"
	Ring, Charles ...	Auckland	1840	Rowend, Andrew, 'Bengal Merchant' ..	"
1843	Ring, J. W. ...	Wellington		Rowett, Wm. ...	"
	Rist, John ...	Auckland	1841	Rowland, F. C., 'Mandarin' ..	"
1843	Ritchie ...	"		Rowland, Wm. ...	"
	Rixon, Robert ...	Wellington	1845	Ruck, C. ...	Auckland
1840	Roberts, 'Nimrod' ...	"	1843	Rudlin, Henry ...	Wellington
	Roberts, Edward, C.E. ...	"		Rudman, A. W., 'Phebe' ...	Nelson
	Roberts, George ...	Wanganui		Rudman, Charles ...	Wellington
1841	Roberts, James ...	Wellington	1841	Rule, James ..	Auckland
1841	Roberts, J., 'Amelia Thompson' ..	"	1842	Rule, J. H. ...	Wellington
1841	Roberts, 'Olympus' ...	"		Rumble, James ..	"
	Roberts, Philip ...	"		Runciman, James ..	Papakura, Auckland
1843	Roberts, William, 'Tyrian' ..	"		Runciman, Thomas ...	Auckland
1841	Roberts, W., 'Amelia Thompson' ..	New Plymouth	1841	Rundle, J., 'Amelia Thompson' ..	New Plymouth
1843	Robertson, 'Mandarin' ...	Wellington	1841	Rundle, Richard, jun., 'Amelia Thompson' ..	"
1842	Robertson, 'Tobago' ...	"	1841	Rundle, William, 'Amelia Thompson' ..	"
1840	Robertson, 'Tory' ...	"	1842	Rush, John G., 'Lady Nugent' ..	Wellington
1841	Robertson, Alex., 'Lady Nugent' ..	"		Kush, Richard ...	"
1842	Robertson, David ...	"		Russell, David ...	Auckland
	Robertson, Duncan ...	"			
1843	Robertson, George ...	Wanganui			
1841	Robertson, Geo., 'Lady Nugent' ..	Wellington			
	Robertson, James ...	"			

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

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YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
	Russell, Edward	Wellington	1841	Secat, W., 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington
	Russell, Henry	"	1841	Secombe, John, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1844	Russell, James	"	1841	Secombe, Richard, 'Amelia Thompson'	"
	Russell, John	"	1841	Secombe, Wm. Henry, 'Amelia Thompson'	"
	Russell, John	Auckland	1842	Sedgewick, P.	"
1843	Russell, Robert, 'Theresa'	Wellington	1842	Seear, William	Wellington
1843	Russell, Thomas	Auckland	1840	Seed, John, 'Martha Ridgway'	"
1842	Russell, Thos. Pervis, 'Prince of Wales'	Wellington	1841	Seed, Richard	"
	Russell, Wm.	Wanganui	1840	Seed, Wm., 'Martha Ridgway'	"
	Rust, John Stewart	Auckland	1842	Seeth, W. D.	"
1843	Rutherford, James	"	1841	Selby, 'Tyne'	"
1842	Ryal, J.	Wellington	1841	Selby, Henry, 'Jane'	"
1845	Ryan, M.	Auckland		Sellars, James	"
	Sadgrove, William	"	1841	Sellars, John, 'Lady Nugent'	"
1842	Saint, Thomas	Wellington	1840	Seller, James	"
1843	Salmon, Captain John	Auckland		Selwyn, Geo. Augustus, Bishop	Auckland
1843	Salmon, Edward H.	"	1843	Sendabs, Stephen	Wanganui
1840	Samuel, K., 'Exporter'	Wellington		Sergeant, Henry	Wellington
	Sancto, John	"		Sexton, William	"
1840	Sandeman, G.	River Waipa	1842	Seymour, Henry	Nelson
1843	Sanders	Tamaki, Auckland		Shackell, Augustus J.	Pakuranga, Auckland
1841	Sanderson, Thomas	Wellington		Shalders, Richard B.	Auckland
1842	Sandford, T. J. B.	Nelson	1840	Shand, Arch. Watson, 'Oriental'	Wellington
1841	Sandon, William	Wellington	1840	Shannon, Helen	Auckland
	Sands, James	"		Sharon, John	Wellington
	Sanson, Robert	Wellington	1841	Sharkey, P.	Auckland
1841	Santry, James	"		Sharley, Henry	Wellington
1842	Sargent, Henry, 'Birman'	"	1841	Sharp, Capt. Chas., 'Mandarin'	"
	Sauerbier, Thomas	Auckland	1842	Sharp, Stephen, 'Bolton'	Nelson
1842	Saunders, Alfred, 'Fifeshire'	Nelson	1843	Sharp, William, 'Ursula'	"
1842	Saunders, F. A., 'Fifeshire'	"	1842	Sharp, Wm., 'Duchess of Argyle'	Auckland
	Saunders, Joseph	Wellington	1843	Sharpe, Archibald	"
	Saunders, Joseph, jun.	"	1844	Sharpe, Mrs.	Auckland
1842	Saunders, 'Prince of Wales'	"	1840	Shaw, Dr., 'Middlesex'	Wellington
	Saunders, Wm. Herman	"	1841	Shaw, Ebenezer, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1840	Sawer, Mr., 'Aurora'	"	1841	Shaw, James, 'Amelia Thompson'	"
1842	Sawyer, John	"		Shaw, John	Wellington
	Saxby, William	"	1840	Shaw, William	"
1842	Saxton, Rev. C. H.	"	1841	Shaw, William, 'Amelia Thompson'	"
1840	Sayers, Burgess	"	1841	Shaxon, W., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1840	Saywell, Chas., 'Martha Ridgway'	"	1843	Shea, E.	Auckland
1840	Saywell, Geo., 'Martha Ridgway'	"	1842	Sheehan, David, 'Bolivia'	"
1840	Saywell, Wm., 'Martha Ridgway'	"	1843	Shelly, Samuel	Auckland
1843	Scanlon, David	"	1841	Skelton, Wm., 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington
	Scarrow, William	"		Shepherd, Alexander	Auckland
1842	Scatching, J.	"	1843	Shepherd, C.	"
	Schafer, Carl	"	1842	Shepherd, Fred., 'Brougham'	Wellington
1843	Schdes, J.	Auckland		Shepherd, Robert	Whangaroa, Auckland
1844	Schmidt, John	Wellington	1842	Shepherd, Robert, 'Brougham'	Wellington
1841	Scholes, Joshua	"		Shepherd, Thomas	Auckland
1842	Schröder, G. W.	Nelson	1842	Shepherd, William, 'Olympus'	Wellington
1843	Schubert, James	Wellington	1842	Shepherd, William, 'London'	"
1841	Schultz, Chas. Wm.	"	1842	Shepherd, W. L., 'Maria Theresa'	Auckland
1842	Sclanders, David, 'Lord Auckland'	Nelson	1843	Sheppard, James	Wellington
1841	Scott, 'Antilla'	Wellington	1843	Sheppard, Robert	"
1840	Scott, A., 'Bengal Merchant'	"	1841	Sheppard, Wm.	"
1840	Scott, D.	"	1841	Sheridan, A. J., M.D.	"
1840	Scott, G., 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"	1843	Sherrerd, Mr.	"
1844	Scott, James	"	1842	Shipherd, J.	"
1842	Scott, John, J.P.	Auckland	1841	Shipherd, John, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
	Scott, Peter	Wellington	1841	Shirley, Thomas A.	Wellington
1841	Scott, Robert, 'Clydeside'	"	1844	Shofer, Mr., 'Jane'	"
1842	Scott, Sarah, 'Mandarin'	Bay of Islands		Short, James	"
	Scott, Thomas	Rangitikei	1843	Shortland, Dr. E.	"
1844	Scott, Walter	Auckland	1841	Shortland, E.	Auckland
1842	Scott, Walter Dugald	Wellington	1840	Shortland, Willoughby, Lieut.-Governor, J.P.	"
1842	Scott, W. J.	Auckland	1842	Shovel, 'Regia'	Wellington
1844	Scott, Wm.	Wellington	1841	Shuttleworth, Henry	"
	Scrimshaw, George	"		Signal, Robert	"
	Serwener, Thomas	"			
1842	Scroggs, Sydney Malet, 'Brougham'	"			
	Sea, James	"			
1843	Sear, Mr.	"			
1842	Searanke, W. N., 'Brougham'	"			

YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
	Signal, Samuel ..	Wellington		Smith, Octavius ..	Wellington
	Synal, William ..	"	1843	Smith, Richard ..	Wanganui
	Simmi, James ..	"	1841	Smith, Rd., schooner 'Hawke'	Auckland
	Simmonds, James Louis	"		Smith, Robert...	Wellington
1842	Simmonds, Joseph, 'Fifeshire'	Nelson	1840	Smith, Saml. 'Duke of Roxburgh'	Bay of Islands
1842	Simmonds, L., 'Indemnity' ..	Wellington		Smith, Thomas ..	Wellington
1842	Simmonds, W., 'Indemnity' ..	"	1842	Smith, Thos. Hy., 'Brougham'	Auckland
1841	Simmons, Weston, & Co. ..	Auckland	1843	Smith, W. D. ...	Wanganui
1842	Simms, James A. ...	"	1840	Smith, W. M., K. A. (Surveyor-General of New Zealand Company), 'Cuba'	Wellington
1842	Simms, Nicholas ..	"	1843	Smithson, Wm. ...	Auckland
1841	Simon, F., 'Arab' ..	Wellington		Smythers, Henry ...	Onehunga, Auckland
1842	Simonds, J. L. ...	"	1843	Snodgrass, David ...	Auckland
1842	Simonds, W. S. ...	"	1842	Soall, James ...	"
	Simpkins, George ...	Auckland		Somerville, Arch. ...	"
1840	Simpson, Jas., 'Bengal Merchant'	Wellington		Somerville, Hendry ...	"
1842	Simpson, J. R. ...	"		Somerville, Mark ...	"
1844	Simpson, Thos. Ritchie ...	"		Somerville, Thomas ...	"
	Simpson, Wm. ...	"		Souter, Charles ...	Wellington
1842	Sims, A. ...	Auckland	1841	Southee, H., 'Lady Nugent'	"
1842	Sims, R. ...	"	1841	Southee, John, 'Lady Nugent'	"
	Sinclair, Alexander ...	"		Southee, Wm. ...	"
1843	Sinclair, Dr. Andrew (J.P.) ...	"	1840	Southgate, J. ...	Auckland
1842	Sinclair, Donald (Solicitor, P.M.)	Nelson	1840	Spackman, George, 'Bolton'	Wellington
1840	Sinclair, Dr., 'Blenheim' ...	Wellington	1840	Spain, Mr. Commissioner, 'George Fife'	"
1840	Sinclair, Dudley, 'Oriental' ...	Wellington & Auckland	1841	Spain, William, 'Antilla' ..	"
1840	Sinclair, Francis, 'Blenheim'	Wellington	1843	Spare, James ...	Auckland
1843	Sindle, D. ...	"	1841	Sparks, Amos, 'Arab' ...	Wellington
	Singer, Wm. ...	Auckland	1843	Spears, Thomas ...	Epsom, Auckland
1841	Singleton, Mr. ...	Wellington	1844	Speed, James ...	Wellington
	Sinnox, W. ...	"		Speedy, David ...	"
1845	Sitter, J. ...	Auckland		Speedy, Wm. ...	"
1842	Sitting, Wm. ...	"	1842	Spence, Dr. ...	Nelson
	Skeen, Robert ...	"		Spencer, J. ...	Taranaki
1843	Skidmore, John ...	Wanganui		Spencer, S. ...	"
	Skinner, James ...	Auckland	1841	Spicer, James ...	Wellington
1842	Skipworth, Francis Robert, 'Prince of Wales'	Wellington	1841	Spiers, James ...	"
1841	Slaney, 'Arab' ...	"	1843	Spilly, David ...	"
	Slartis, John ...	"	1843	Spinks, Wm., 'Ursula' ...	"
1842	Slater, Barnard, 'Fifeshire' ..	Nelson		Spintner, Robert ...	"
1845	Slattery, M. ...	Auckland	1842	Spooner, J. Swinton, J.P. ...	Nelson
1842	Slerrick, W. J., 'Fifeshire' ...	Nelson	1843	Spring, Wm. ...	Wanganui
1843	Smale, David George, J.P. ...	Auckland	1842	Spruny, W. ...	Wellington
1842	Smales, Rev. ...	Wellington	1841	Squibb, Chas. Henry ...	"
	Small, Charles ...	Wanganui	1844	Stack, James ...	"
1844	Small, Charles ...	Wellington	1841	Stacy, James ...	"
1840	Small, Mr., 'Martha Ridgway'	"	1842	Stafford, D. ...	Auckland
1843	Smallwood, Edward ...	"	1840	Stafford, Edward, 'Aurora' ...	Wellington
1842	Smart, 'Blenheim' ...	New Plymouth	1842	Stafford, C. W. ...	Nelson
	Smart, Charles ...	Wellington	1842	Stallard, Wm. ...	"
1840	Smart, Captain H. D., J.P. ...	Auckland	1843	St. Amour, Richard ...	Auckland
	Smith, Abram ...	Wellington		Stanaway, J. J. ...	"
1844	Smith, C. ...	Auckland	1841	Standinger, W. L. ...	"
1840	Smith, C. B. ...	"	1842	Standish, T. ...	New Plymouth
	Smith, Daniel ...	Wellington	1841	Stanton, 'Cath. Stuart Forbes'	Wellington
1841	Smith, David, 'Lady Nugent'	"	1842	Stanton, Wm., 'Clifford' ...	Nelson
1843	Smith, E. ...	Auckland	1842	Staples, John, 'Fifeshire' ...	Wellington
	Smith, Frederick ...	Wellington		Staples, John ...	"
1841	Smith, Geo., 'Sir John Falstaff'	"	1842	Startup, Robert, 'Birman' ...	"
1843	Smith, George ...	Wanganui	1844	St. Aubin ...	Hokianga
1842	Smith, G. H. (surgeon), 'Clifton'	Wellington	1843	Steadman, 'Mandarin' ...	Wellington
1842	Smith, Isaac ...	Nelson		Steel, Thomas ...	Auckland
1842	Smith, James Henry ...	"		Stenson, J., 'Regia' ...	Wellington
1840	Smith, James, 'Coromandel' ..	Wellington	1840	Stent, Chas., 'Martha Ridgway'	"
1840	Smith, James, 'David' ...	"	1840	Stent, Edmd., 'Martha Ridgway'	Wanganui
1843	Smith, James ...	Auckland	1841	Stephens, Charles ...	Wellington
1843	Smith, John, 'Phoebe' ...	Wellington		Stephens, John ...	"
1841	Smith, John, 'Arab' ...	"	1842	Stephens, Sam., J.P., 'Fifeshire'	Nelson
1842	Smith, John ...	New Plymouth		Stephenson, Timothy ...	Wellington
1840	Smith, John, 'Glenbervie' ..	Wellington	1844	Stephenson, Wm. ...	"
1842	Smith, Mrs. John, 'Chas. Forbes'	Nelson		Stevens, Charles ...	"
1843	Smith, John Alexander ...	Auckland		Stevens, James Hopkins ...	"
1842	Smith, J. E., 'Tornatine' ...	"		Stevens, John ...	"
1841	Smith, J., 'Lady Nugent' ...	Wellington			
1841	Smith, Mrs. Mrgt., 'Lady Nugent'	"			
1842	Smith, Mary May ...	Auckland			

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

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YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
1844	Stevens, Samuel (Surveyor)	Nelson	1845	Swanson, Wm.	Auckland
	Stevenson, Burleigh R.	Wellington		Swanhan, W...	"
	Stevenson, Thomas	"	1843	Sweet, Charles	Wellington
1840	Stewart, A.	Auckland	1842	Sweet, E. D., 'Lord Auckland'	Nelson
1842	Stewart J., 'Indemnity'	Wellington			
1844	Stewart, Richard	"	1843	Sweny, Thos.	Akaroa
1844	Stewart, Thomas	"		Swiaburne, Alfred	Auckland
1841	St. George, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1842	Sykes, Geo.	Wellington
1840	St. Hill, Henry, J.P., 'Adelaide'	Wellington	1842	Sykes, Wm.	"
	St. Hill, Harry Woodford	Auckland		Symes, John	Auckland
1842	Stichbury, H.	"	1842	Symonds, James	Wellington
1840	Stickley, John, 'George Fife'	Wellington	1840	Symonds, J. J. (J.P.)	Auckland
	Still, William	Wellington	1840	Symonds, W. C. (J.P.)	"
1844	Stilling, Henry, 'Raymond'	"		Symons, Chas. Henry	Wellington
1842	Stirling, James	Nelson		Symons, James	"
1840	Stitchbury, Charles, 'Cuba'	Auckland		Symons, John	"
1843	Stobo, Captain William	Wellington			
1842	Stockbridge, James, 'London'	"	1840	Taine, James John, 'Adelaide'	Wellington
1842	Stockbridge, Stephen, 'London'	"	1840	Talbot, R. G., 'Earl Stanhope'	"
1841	Stoddart, James	"		Tandy, Levi	Wellington
1842	Stokes, Edward	Nelson		Tandy, William	"
1843	Stokes, John	Auckland	1840	Tankersley, Thos. Wm., 'Governor'	"
1840	Stokes, J. M. (Surg.) 'Aurora'	Wellington			
1840	Stokes, Robert, 'Cuba'	Wellington	1840	Tannahill, William, 'Bengal Merchant'	"
1840	Stone, 'Earl Stanhope'	"			
1840	Stone, E. J.	Auckland	1842	Tapper, Mary	Auckland
1843	Stone, James	Tamaki, Auckland	1843	Taprell, William	"
1842	Stone, R.	Auckland	1844	Tastle, John	Wellington
1841	Stoodley, 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington	1843	Tattersall, L.	"
	Storah, Edward	"		Tattersall, Wm.	"
	Storer, James	"	1843	Tattersall, William	Auckland
1843	Storey, Leonard	"		Taunton, Wm. Elias	Wellington
1840	Strachan, David	Wanganui		Tavener, James	"
1842	Straiton	Wellington	1843	Taylor, 'Mandarin'	"
	Strang, James	Wairarapa	1842	Taylor, Anne	Auckland
1840	Strang, Robert Rodger, 'Bengal Merchant'	Wellington		Taylor, Allan Kerr	"
				Taylor, Charles John	"
1840	Stratford, Geo. A., 'Aurora'	"	1842	Taylor, George	"
1840	Stratford, John, 'Cuba'	"		Taylor, Henry	Wellington
1842	Stratford, M., 'Clifton'	"	1843	Taylor, Henry	Auckland
	Stratton, George	"		Taylor, James	Wellington
1841	Stratton, Thos., 'Lady Nugent'	"	1843	Taylor, James	Tamaki, Auckland
1842	Strauss, C. M.	"	1840	Taylor, Matthew John	Wellington
1844	Strickley, J.	"		Taylor, Rev. Richard	Wanganui
1840	Strode, Alfred Cheetham	"		Taylor, Richard James	Auckland
1840	Strode, Edward Cheetham	"		Taylor, Samuel	Wellington
1841	Stuart, Alex., 'Lady Nugent'	"	1840	Taylor, T. Bayley, 'Catherine Johnston'	Wanganui
1842	Stuart, Charles, 'Birman'	"			
	Stuart, Richard	"	1841	Taylor, T., 'Sir John Falstaff'	Wellington
1841	Sturgeon, 'Harrington'	"			
1841	Sturgeon, R., 'Lady Nugent'	"	1840	Taylor, Wm., 'Oriental'	Bay of Islands
1841	Stuthfield, Chas. H., 'Catherine Stuart Forbes'	"	1843	Taylor, Wm. James	Auckland
			1842	Taylor, Wm. Waring, 'Martha Ridgway'	Wellington
	Styak, John	Tamaki, Auckland			
	Sullivan, John	Mahurangi, Auckland	1841	Teague, C.	Auckland
1841	Summers, 'Clydeside'	Wellington	1844	Teed, W.	Wellington
	Susans, Phonias	"	1840	Telford, John, 'Bengal Merchant'	"
1841	Susted, Charles	"			
1840	Sutherland, Alex., 'Oriental'	"	1843	Tenil, W. H.	Auckland
	Sutherland, Daniel	"	1842	Thatcher, Rev.	New Plymouth
1840	Sutherland, Dr., 'Blenheim'	"	1842	Thirlwell, Mr., 'George Fife'	Nelson
	Sutherland, John	"		Thirsk, George	Wellington
	Sutherland, Nathaniel	"	1842	Thom, George	"
1845	Sutton, C.	Auckland	1842	Thomas, Charles, 'Tobago'	"
1841	Sutton, J., 'Jane'	Wellington	1842	Thomas, C. D., 'Tobago'	"
1842	Sutton, Robert	"	1840	Thomas, Capt. Jos., 'Adelaide'	"
1842	Sutton, Wm., 'Fifeshire'	Nelson	1840	Thomas, George	Doubtless Bay
	Swaford, William	Wellington		Thomas, George	Wellington
1843	Swainson, John	Auckland	1840	Thomas, John, 'Adelaide'	"
1841	Swainson, Wm., 'Tyne'	"	1840	Thomas, William	"
1841	Swainson, Wm., F.R.S., J.P. 'Jane'	Wellington	1843	Thomas, William	Wanganui
			1842	Thombrown, 'Prince of Wales'	Wellington
1841	Swainson, Wm., jun.	"	1840	Thompson, 'Middlesex'	"
1842	Swallow, Edward	"	1843	Thompson, Alexander	Tamaki, Auckland
1842	Swan, Stephen	"		Thompson, David	Auckland
1841	Swanson, J.	Auckland	1842	Thompson, G.	"

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
1841	Thompson, Hy. Aug. (afterwards Magistrate at Nelson), 'Mandarin'	Wellington	1842	Tulley, John, 'Brougham'	Wairarapa
1842	Thompson, H., J.P. ...	Bay of Islands	1842	Tuncliff, Thomas, 'Clifford'	Nelson
1842	Thompson, H. A., 'Abercrombie'	Auckland	1842	Turnbull, Dr., 'London'	Wellington
1844	Thompson, James ...	Wellington	1840	Turner, A., 'Bengal Merchant'	"
1843	Thompson, Robert ...	Auckland	1845	Turner, E. B. ...	Auckland
1842	Thompson, T. J., 'Lord Auckland'	Nelson	1841	Turner, John, 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington
	Thompson, William ...	Wellington	1843	Turner, John ...	Waipa, Auckland
1843	Thoms, Thos., J.P. ...	Nelson	1840	Turner, John, 'Blenheim'	Wellington
1840	Thomson, A., 'Blenheim'	Auckland	1841	Turner, R. ...	Auckland
1841	Thomson, Henry ...	"	1841	Turner, T. ...	Wellington
1843	Thomson, M. C. ...	"	1841	Turner, W. ...	Auckland
1841	Thorby, Ezek., 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington	1842	Turton, Rev. H. H. ...	New Plymouth
	Thorne, William ...	Auckland	1841	Tutchen, J. ...	Auckland
	Thorpe, Charles ...	Nelson	1841	Tutchen, Peter, 'Arab'	Wellington
	Thorpe, Joshua ...	Thames, Auckland		Tutty, Wm. ...	Auckland
1841	Thring ...	Wanganui	1842	Tyrrell, Thomas ...	Nelson
	Thurston, James ...	"	1841	Tyrrell, W. R., 'Lord William Bentinck'	Wellington
1843	Tibbey, W. H. ...	Wellington	1841	Tyser, Mr., 'James'	"
1840	Ticehurst, Edwin, 'Adelaide'	"	1841	Tyser, R. B., 'Lady Nugent'	"
1844	Tidd, William ...	"	1842	Tytler, George M. ...	Nelson
1842	Tidmarsh, Wm. ...	Auckland	1842	Tytler, John S. ...	"
1842	Tiffin, H. S., 'Brougham'	Wellington	1840	Udy, Hart, 'Duke of Roxburgh'	Wellington
1843	Timbleton, Richard ...	"	1840	Udy, Hart, jun. 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"
1844	Timbshaw, William ...	"	1840	Udy, J., 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"
1843	Timmins, Samuel, 'Tyne'	"	1840	Udy, W., 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"
1842	Timis, Samuel, 'Clifford'	Nelson		Underdown, William ...	"
1840	Tinline, John ...	Wellington	1841	Underwood, Thos., 'Mandarin'	"
1844	Tipping, Thos. ...	"	1842	Underwood, Thos., 'Bolton'	"
1842	Titchener, T. B., 'Bolton'	"		Vaile, George Ebenezer	Auckland
1841	Todd, Alfred ...	"		Vaile, John R. ...	"
1840	Todd, Arch., 'Bengal Merchant'	"		Vaile, Samuel ...	"
1840	Todd, G., 'Bengal Merchant'	"	1842	Vaile, William ...	"
	Todd, William ...	"	1844	Vallance, C. A., 'Governor'	Wairarapa
	Tolhurst, Samuel ...	"	1842	Vallie, Philip, J.P., 'Mary Ann'	Nelson
	Tonkins, John ...	"	1842	Vane, R. L. (Surgeon), 'Essex'	Wellington
	Tonkins, Thomas ...	"		Varnham, John ...	Wairarapa
	Tonkins, Wm. ...	"	1842	Vaughan, James, 'Birman'	Wellington
1840	Tomlin, John ...	"	1842	Vavasour, Wm., 'George Fife'	"
	Tomlin, Richard ...	"	1841	Veale, John, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1842	Tonks, Enoch, 'Birman'	"	1841	Veale, Thos., 'Amelia Thompson'	"
1842	Tonks, G., 'Birman'	"	1843	Veale, George ...	Auckland
1842	Tonks, W., 'Birman'	"	1841	Vennell, E. M. ...	Wellington
	Tony, John ...	"	1841	Vennell, Geo. Hy., ...	"
	Toohig, James ...	"	1841	Vennell, Samuel, 'Olympus'	"
	Toole, John ...	Wanganui	1843	Venning, Smith ...	"
1842	Toree, H., 'London'	Wellington		Vercoe, Bryant ...	"
1842	Torr, Joseph, 'Birman'	"	1842	Vercoe R. ...	"
1841	Townsend, Mr., 'Lord William Bentinck'	Wellington	1842	Very, Charles, 'Clifford'	Nelson
	Townsend, Chancy Hy. ...	"	1842	Very, John, 'Clifford'	"
	Trafford, Lieut. Wm. Rawson	Wanganui		Vidal, Robert ...	Auckland
1842	Trap, Joseph, 'Olympus'	Nelson	1841	Vile, J., 'Arab'	Wellington
	Travers, Fredk. John ...	Auckland	1842	Villiers, Wm. ...	"
1840	Trevarthen, J. ...	"	1841	Vincent, Wm. Edward ...	"
1845	Trevarthen, M. ...	"	1841	Virtue, G. B. ...	"
	Trice, George ...	"	1842	Vollard, Abraham ...	Nelson
	Trice, Wm. ...	"	1841	Voyle, 'Arab'	Wellington
	Trimble, John ...	Otahuhu, Auckland	1845	Waddell, Jane ...	Auckland
1843	Tring, W. G. ...	Wanganui	1843	Waddell, John ...	"
	Trotter, Peter ...	Wellington	1844	Wade, C. ...	"
1843	Trotter, Wm., 'Ursula'	"	1840	Wade, George ...	Wellington
1842	Trower, T. W., 'Fifeshire'	Nelson	1843	Wade, Isaac ...	Tamaki, Auckland
1842	Trowen, 'Fifeshire'	Wellington	1840	Wade, John, 'Integrity'	Wellington
1843	Trusted, W. ...	"	1840	Wadeson, S., 'Bolton'	"
1840	Tucker, Henry ...	Auckland		Wadsworth, Robert ...	"
1841	Tucker, Josias, 'Oriental'	Wellington	1842	Wagstaff, Thomas, 'Bolton'	Nelson
1844	Tucker, Peter ...	"		Waite, Jerry ...	Auckland
1843	Tucker, W. H. ...	Auckland	1840	Waite, Robert ...	Wellington
1841	Tuckett, Fredk., 'Will Watch'	Nelson	1841	Wakeheld, Capt. Arthur, RN. (Agent N.Z. Co.), 'Whitby'	Nelson
	Tudehope, Robert ...	Auckland	1844	Wakeheld, Daniel (Barrister), 'Himalaya'	Taranaki, Nelson, and Wellington
1842	Tudehope, T. ...	"	1844	Wakefield, Joah Bates (Solicitor)	Wellington
1844	Tudor, Rev., 'Raymond'	Wanganui			
1843	Tulett, Wm. ...	Wellington			

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

xxx1.

YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
	Wakelin, Thomas ...	Wellington
1843	Walden, John, 'Governor'	"
1841	Walker, 'Arab'	"
1843	Walker, J. ...	Auckland
1842	Walker, James ...	Wellington
1843	Walker, John ...	Wanganui
1844	Walker, R., 'Himalaya'	Wellington
	Walker, Thomas ...	"
1842	Walkinshaw, W. R., 'Indemnity'	Nelson
	Walmesley, John ...	Auckland
1841	Wall, Ant., 'Lord Wm. Bentinck'	Wellington
	Wall, Edward ...	Auckland
	Wallace, Archibald ...	"
1840	Wallace, Geo., 'Bengal Merchant'	Wellington
1843	Wallace, James ...	Wanganui
1842	Wallace, James ...	Auckland
1841	Wallace, J., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
	Wallace, John ...	Auckland
1840	Wallace, John Howard, 'Aurora'	Wellington
1842	Wallace, Robert, 'London'	"
1841	Wallace, Robert Douglas, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1843	Wallace, William ...	Auckland
1840	Wallace, Wm. E., 'Glenbervie'	Wellington
1843	Wallis, Richard ...	"
1843	Walsh, Edward ...	Auckland
1843	Walshe, Patrick ...	"
	Walters, George ...	"
	Walters, Edward ...	Papatoitoti
1844	Walters, Richard ...	Wellington
	Walters, Thomas ...	Auckland
	Walters, William ...	"
1843	Walton, James, 'Ursula'	Wellington
1844	Walton, J. ...	Auckland
1841	Wansey, W. A., 'Lucy Sharpe'	Wellington
1841	Want and Andrew ...	Auckland
1842	Warbrick, Abraham, 'Martha Ridgway'	Nelson
1842	Warburton, Thos. Kennis ...	"
1844	Ward, C. ...	Wellington
1841	Ward, James ...	"
1842	Ward, Joseph, 'George Fife'	Nelson
	Ward, Robert ...	Auckland
	Wardell, Edward ...	"
1843	Warner, Horatio Nelson ...	"
1842	Warner, Richard ...	Nelson
	Warren, Rev. John ...	Auckland
	Warrington, Augustus ...	"
1842	Waters, G. and wife, 'Birman'	Wellington
1842	Waters, Thomas, 'Birman'	"
1842	Waters, Thomas, 'Chelydra'	Wanganui
	Waters, Thomas ...	Auckland
1841	Waterson, John, 'Lady Nugent'	Wellington
1841	Wathen, M., 'Lady Nugent'	"
	Watkins, James E. ...	"
1840	Watkins, J. B. ...	Auckland
1840	Wilkins, Rev. J. ...	Wellington
1842	Watson, David, 'Clifford'	"
1842	Watson, George, 'Clifford'	"
1841	Watson, James ...	Auckland
	Watson, John ...	Akaroa
1842	Watson, John, and son John, 'Clifford'	Wellington
1841	Watson, John Niner, 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1843	Watson, Joseph ...	Auckland
1841	Watson, R. ...	"
1842	Watson, Sidney, 'Clifford'	Wellington
1841	Watson, T. H., 'Harrington'	"
1842	Watson, T. S. ...	"
1843	Watt, James H. ...	Auckland
1840	Watt, James, 'Lady Lilford'	Wellington
1841	Watt, P., 'Lady Nugent'	"
1840	Watt, Wm. Hogg, 'Catherine Johnson'	Wanganui
1840	Wattie, Sarah ...	Auckland

YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.
1840	Watts, John (Surgeon), 'Glenbervie'	Wellington
1841	Watts, William, 'Arab'	"
	Wayte, Edward ...	Auckland
1843	Weale, M. ...	Auckland
1842	Weatherly, 'Clifton'	Wellington
	Weatherhead, Robert ...	"
1840	Webb, Chas. Fredk., 'Cuba'	"
	Webb, George ...	"
1842	Webb, James ...	"
	Webb, Wm. H. ...	"
1843	Webber, Edmund ...	"
1841	Webber, John, 'Lady Nugent'	"
1841	Webber, Mrs. J., 'Lady Nugent'	"
1841	Webster, J., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1841	Webster, James, jun., 'Amelia Thompson'	"
1842	Webster, 'George Fife'	Wellington
	Webster, George ...	"
1843	Webster, George C. ...	Auckland
1842	Webster, John ...	Wellington
1840	Webster, W., 'Bengal Merchant'	"
	Welch, Henry ...	"
1841	Welch, Wm. ...	"
1841	Welch, Wm., jun. ...	"
1843	Weldham, Alfred ...	"
1842	Wellebbs, J. ...	Auckland
1840	Wells, Annie ...	"
1844	Wells, W. ...	Wellington
1843	Welsh, Wm. ...	"
	Wemyss, Fredk., Lieut. 65th. Regiment	"
	West, Joseph ...	Auckland
	Western, John Octavius ...	Wellington
1841	Western, T. O., 'Jane'	"
	Westney, Wm. ...	Tamaki, Auckland
1841	Weston ...	Auckland
	Weston, Samuel ...	"
1841	Westwood, Joseph ...	"
1840	Wetherald, Lawrence ...	Peraki
1842	Wetherell, A. K. ...	Nelson
1842	Wetherell, G. ...	"
1841	Whabby, Thomas ...	Wellington
	Wheeler, Rev. Edwin ...	"
1844	Wheeler, John ...	Tamaki, Auckland
	Wheeler, William ...	"
1842	Whelch, Henry ...	Wellington
1845	Whisker, Alexander ...	Auckland
1845	Whisker, C. ...	"
1841	Whitaker, Sir Frederick ...	"
1841	Whitby, William ...	Wellington
1842	White, Charles, 'Olympus'	Nelson
1842	White, Charles ...	Wellington
1843	White, David ...	Tamaki, Auckland
	White, Francis ...	Auckland
1840	White, George, J. P., 'Aurora'	Wellington
1842	White, 'George Fife'	"
1842	White, Henry ...	Auckland
	White, Henry Bertram ...	Wellington
1842	White, Joseph ...	"
1840	White, Robert ...	Auckland
1842	White, Samuel Shute Smyth, 'Fifeshire'	Nelson
	White, Titus Angus ...	Auckland
1842	Whitehead, Art., 'Brougham'	Wellington
	Whitehouse, John ...	"
	Whitehouse, Wm. ...	"
1841	Whiteman, Francis, 'Gertrude'	"
1841	Whiteman, George, 'Gertrude'	"
1841	Whiteman, Wm., 'Gertrude'	"
1840	Whitewood, Wm. Matson, 'Aurora'	"
	Whitley, Geo. Joseph ...	"
1841	Whitman, George ...	"
1842	Wicksteed, J. Tylson J. P. ...	New Plymouth
1844	Wight, David ...	Wellington

LIST OF EARLY SETTLERS.

YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY.	YEAR.	NAME AND SHIP.	LOCALITY
1841	Wigmore, Robert	Auckland		Wise, Richard	Auckland
	Wilcock, James	"		Wither, Charles Bigg	Nelson
1841	Wilcock, Wm.	Wellington	1843	Withers, 'Ursula'	Wellington
1843	Wild, Edward	"		Witt, Benjamin	"
1843	Wiley, Thomas	Tamaki, Auckland		Witt, Henry	"
	Wilinshurst, John	Wellington	1843	Wood, Edwin A.	Auckland
1841	Wilkie, Alex., 'Arab'	"		Wood, George	"
1841	Wilkie, George, 'Arab'	"	1844	Wood, H.	"
1841	Wilkie, J., 'Lady Nugent'	"	1840	Wood, John R.	"
1841	Wilkin, George	"	1841	Wood, Lient. J., 'Mandarin'	Wellington
	Wilkins, John	"	1844	Wood, Reader Gillson	Auckland
1843	Wilkinson, A., 'Thos. Sparks'	"	1841	Wood, R., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth
1842	Wilkinson, D. N., 'Olympus'	"	1841	Wood, Samuel A.	Auckland
1843	Wilkinson, J., 'Thos. Sparks'	"		Wood, William	Wellington
1841	Wilkinson, John, 'Arab'	"		Woodham, Frederick B.	Auckland
1841	Wilkinson, J. S., 'Sophia Pate'	Kaipara		Woodhouse, John	"
1842	Wilkinson, W. E.	Nelson		Woodman, John	Wellington
1840	Willetts, James, 'Westminster'	Auckland		Woodman, Thomas	"
1840	Willetts, Saml., 'Westminster'	"	1841	Woods, F., 'Arab'	"
1840	Willetts, Wm., 'Westminster'	"	1840	Woods, Wm.	Go-ashore (South Isd.)
1843	Williams, D., 'Thos. Sparks'	Wellington	1840	Woodward, Rev. J., 'Bolton'	Wellington
1842	Williams, D.	Auckland	1840	Woodward, 'Duke of Roxburgh'	"
1843	Williams, George	"	1843	Woollams, H.	Auckland
1843	Williams, Henry B.	"	1841	Woolly, J., 'Jane'	Wellington
1840	Williams, J.	"	1842	Wooton, David, 'Fifeshire'	Nelson
1844	Williams, James	Wellington	1840	Woouldon, Henry	Wellington
1840	Williams, Captain James	Cloudy Bay	1840	Woouldon, Henry, jun.	"
1835	Williams, Mrs., wife of Capt. J.	Whangaroa		Worsley, Thomas	"
1843	Williams, J. B. (U.S.A. Consul)	Bay of Islands	1842	Wratt, George, 'Clifford'	Nelson
1841	Williams, J., 'Amelia Thompson'	New Plymouth	1842	Wratt, George, jun., 'Clifford'	"
	Williams, W. Edward	Waimate, Auckland	1842	Wray, Henry	Auckland
1841	Williams, Peter	Auckland		Wren, Thomas	"
	Williams, Richard	Wellington	1843	Wright, Alexander	"
	Williams, Thomas C.	Auckland	1843	Wright, C.	"
1843	Williams, William	Tamaki, Auckland		Wright, Charles E. Nicol	Wellington
	Williamson, David	Wellington		Wright, Daniel	"
	Williamson, Francis	Wanganui	1842	Wright, David	"
1840	Williamson, James	Auckland		Wright, George	Wanganui
1843	Williamson, John	"		Wright, George	Wellington
	Williamson, Thomas	Wellington	1840	Wright, John, 'Adelaide'	"
1842	Willis, Richard	Nelson	1842	Wright, J. F. E., 'Blenheim'	"
1842	Wills, Alfred, 'Brougham'	Wellington	1843	Wright, Philip	Auckland
1842	Wills, Jas. Fabian, 'London'	"	1842	Wright, Sydney E., 'Blenheim'	Wellington
1841	Wilmore, Joseph	"	1843	Wright, Thomas	Auckland
1841	Wilmot, M.	"		Wright, William	Wellington
1840	Wilson, 'Nimrod'	"	1840	Wright, William	Kaipara
	Wilson, Archibald	Auckland		Wrigley, Thos. Gillon	Wellington
	Wilson, Chas. James	"	1842	Wrouff, J.	Auckland
	Wilson, Chisholm	"		Wybourne, Wm.	Wanganui
1840	Wilson, E.	"	1840	Wyeth, Robert, 'Cuba'	Wellington
1842	Wilson, G., M.D.	Nelson		Wyld, Wm.	Wanganui
1842	Wilson, G. G.	Wellington	1842	Wylie, Andrew, 'Brougham'	Wellington
1844	Wilson, Halliday	"	1842	Wylie, James	"
1840	Wilson, J., 'Bengal Merchant'	"	1842	Wyllie, Mary	Auckland
1840	Wilson, John, 'Bengal Merchant'	"	1842	Wyllie, S.	"
1843	Wilson, John C.	Auckland		Wyllie, Thomas	Tamaki, Auckland
	Wilson, John Harper	Tamaki, Auckland		Wynyard, Geo. Hy.	Auckland
	Wilson, John Alexander	Pakuranga, Auckland		Wynyard, Gladwin John Rich.	"
1842	Wilson, J. F., Surgeon	Nelson		Wynyard, Robt. Hy.	"
1841	Wilson, J. L.	Auckland		Wynyard, Thomas Hy.	"
1842	Wilson, Capt. P., J.P.	Nelson	1840	Vates, Francis T.	Wellington
1841	Wilson, Peter, J.P.	Wanganui	1841	Yates, John, 'Antilla'	Wellington
1844	Wilson, Richard	Wellington	1841	York, Thomas	"
	Wilson, Thomas	"	1843	Young, Alexander	"
1842	Wilson, T.	Auckland	1841	Young, Arthur, 'Lady Nugent'	"
1841	Wilson, W.	Bay of Islands	1842	Young, Charles, 'Tobago'	"
1841	Wilson, Wm. S.	Auckland	1836	Young, William	Bay of Islands
	Wilton, Charles	Wellington	1842	Young, W. C., 'Mary Ann'	Nelson
1841	Wilton, Elijah 'Oriental'	Wellington	1840	Ynilla, A., 'Bengal Merchant'	Wellington
	Wilton, Robert	"	1840	Yule, Alex., 'Bengal Merchant'	"
1840	Wilton, W.	"	1840	Yule, M., 'Bengal Merchant'	"
	Winchester, Hy. Petty	"	1840	Yule, J., 'Bengal Merchant'	"
1841	Windsor, Isaac, 'Ursula'	"	1842	Zillwood, Joseph	"
	Winks, Alexander	Rangitikei			
	Wintringham, Henry	Wellington			



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