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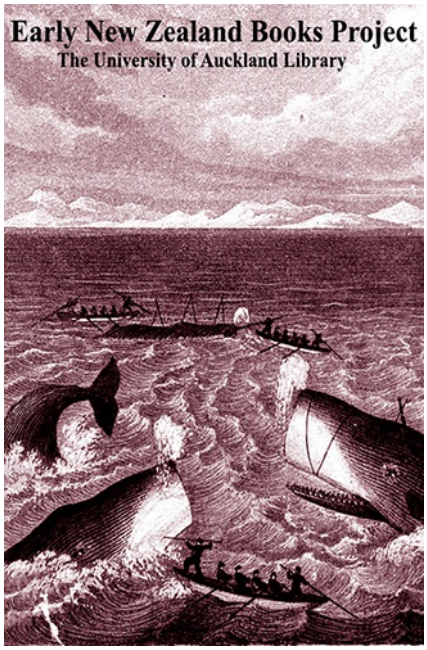

The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden

Samuel Marsden

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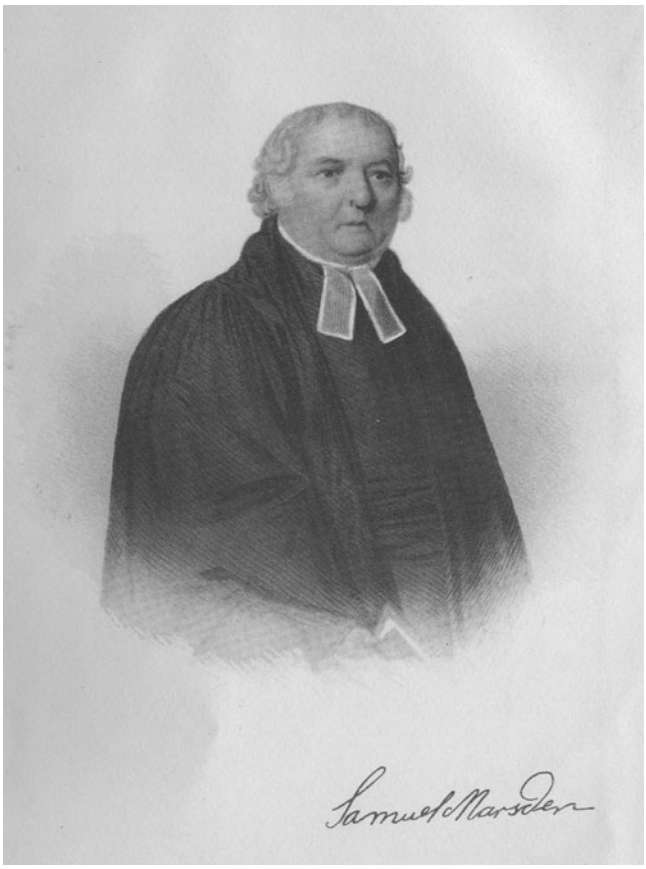


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THE
LETTERS AND JOURNALS
OF
SAMUEL MARSDEN

1765-1838

SENIOR CHAPLAIN IN THE COLONY OF NEW SOUTH WALES AND SUPERINTENDENT OF THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY IN NEW ZEALAND

Edited by
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1932

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FIRST EDITION

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[Signed] John R. Elder

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# [DEDICATION]



Dedicated

(by gracious permission) to

THEIR EXCELLENCIES

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BLEDISLOE,
P.C., G.C.M.G., K.B.E., D.SC,

Governor-General of New Zealand

and

THE LADY BLEDISLOE

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF THEIR INTEREST IN THE STUDY OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF NEW ZEALAND AND OF THEIR GIFT TO THE DOMINION IN MAY, 1932, OF THE BRITISH RESIDENCY AT WAITANGI WITH ITS SURROUNDING LANDS, WHERE, ON FEBRUARY 6TH, 1840, THE TREATY WAS SIGNED WHICH ESTABLISHED BRITISH SOVEREIGNTY IN NEW ZEALAND AND SET THE SEAL UPON THE LABOURS OF SAMUEL MARSDEN

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# [PREFACE]



Preface

THE most fascinating study in the history of mankind must always be the drama presented by the first encounter of peoples of diverse types of culture as navigators and discoverers have performed their task of revealing the unknown. It is the good fortune of historians and ethnologists who seek to trace the effect of such events in the Pacific that those who were the first to lift the veil were eager, sympathetic observers, intent not only upon exploration and discovery but upon the revelation of the manners and customs of native peoples. The student of early New Zealand history, with appetite whetted by the brief glimpse of the Maoris given by Tasman, turns with gratitude to the careful records of Captain Cook. The voluminous journals and correspondence of Samuel Marsden afford even greater reason for feelings of indebtedness. Reaching New Zealand nearly half a century after Cook's first visit he arrived with the definite intention of giving the Maori a knowledge of the religion and industrial arts of western Europe, and was thus actuated not only by the enthusiasm of his predecessor for exploration but also by the crusading spirit of the age. His zeal for the cause of the Christ made him the founder of the work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand: his genius for exploration gives him place as the first white man to travel among the savage tribes of the interior of northern New Zealand and to make an intensive study of their primitive culture. His journals and correspondence are thus of far wider interest than the observations of Cook. He was occupied not only with the religion and habits of the Maoris among whom his missionary agents were at work, but also with the vicissitudes that accompanied the establishment of the Mission, and with the influences arising out of its work which gradually, as he had foreseen from the outset, impelled the British Government to make an official appearance on the stage of New Zealand affairs as the guardian of law and order.

Marsden's journals, so far as New Zealand is concerned, cover the period from 1814 when the Mission was first established at the Bay of Islands to 1838 when he died, full of years and honour. Throughout those critical formative years his enthusiasm for the faith and his zeal for the welfare of the native race were the dominating influences on the unfolding situation. His journals and correspondence thus fascinate the student from many points of view. They are of unique importance from their close study of the Maori at the time when he first came under European influences; they are also human documents of outstanding interest since they are full of character studies by a keen student of human nature. The northern New Zealand chiefs, the early missionaries, the reactions of both to the new influences that were being brought to bear upon them – for the effect of those first contacts was by no means one-sided – the old whalers, all these are depicted with such faithfulness as renders Marsden's journals a historical work of the first importance.



These letters and journals, further, have a wider appeal than could have been exerted by the words of one who was only a New Zealand missionary. Marsden came to New Zealand merely as a visitor entrusted by the Church Missionary Society with the establishment and supervision of the New Zealand Mission and, naturally, found his main interest in life in his own work as Senior Chaplain in New South Wales. His attitude, therefore, towards all that he encountered was of necessity affected by the vicissitudes of his official life, and his correspondence, much of which cannot be published in this volume, throws many sidelights upon the early history of Australia and, particularly, upon the numerous evils that arose from the transportation system with the administration of which Marsden, both as Chaplain and Magistrate, was so intimately connected.

As the trusted agent of the London Missionary Society, again, Marsden was interested in the whole field of Protestant missions in the Pacific and was continually in correspondence both with the parent Society in London and with its missionary agents. Throughout the Pacific, in short, he made his influence felt as one who

was before his generation in his belief in the duty of civilised man towards native peoples, anticipating the idea that underlies the mandate principle of the League of Nations. He laboured for the convict outcasts of New South Wales, frequently representing their case with such vehemence as to bring upon himself official censure. He threw himself with no less enthusiasm into a struggle for the protection of the natives of the South Seas and of New Zealand, who, in the early nineteenth century, were so often the victims of outrage at the hands of wandering traders and whalers. Convict and settler, missionary and native peoples, Catholic and Protestant, acknowledged his worth and the value of his work for the people of the Pacific. It was reserved for a French naval officer, Laplace of la Favorite, to acclaim him enthusiastically as the "Las Casas of Polynesia." No man surpassed the late Dr. Hocken of Dunedin, New Zealand, in his enthusiasm for Marsden and his work. He spent many years of his life in collecting Marsden material which he intended to utilise in a volume dealing with the life and journals of the man who had become his hero, and the Hocken collection which he bequeathed to the University of Otago consists, in great part, of manuscripts and books bearing upon this subject. He himself would have considered the writing of that volume the crowning achievement of his work in New Zealand history, and it emphasises the tragic circumstance that is the undercurrent of all things human, that his life should have ended before he was able to utilise the material which he had so assiduously collected. His search involved not only correspondence with many persons in Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, but journeys to the various scenes which Provided the stage whereon Marsden played his many parts. Sydney, Parramatta, northern New Zealand, London, Yorkshire, were all made the Mecca of pious pilgrimages which brought their reward in rich Editions to the store of material. His most valued acquisition was made when, in 1903, he visited the offices of the Church Missionary Society in Salisbury Square and found there a veritable mine of undeveloped historical wealth in the letters and journals of Samuel Marsden and the missionaries who first worked in New Zealand under his guidance.



After much correspondence and discussion with the officials of the Church Missionary Society these manuscripts, "some of them" – as he puts it in an unpublished paper – "all but illegible from the ravages of time, faded ink, poor writing requiring the interpretation of an expert, and other evident causes," were acquired by Dr. Hocken. From that time till his death in 1910 he busied himself in a further search for every type of material that might elucidate and illustrate their meaning, labouring in the earnest hope that he might be spared to publish the volume in whose preparation he had been so long engaged. The thoroughness of the work of preparation may be gauged from the fact that almost every manuscript, newspaper, pamphlet, and printed book to which reference is made in this volume is to be found in the Hocken Library in the Otago University Museum. By their gift to the Museum, further, of their large ethnographic collection, Dr. and Mrs. Hocken became the virtual founders of the Ethnographic Department of that institution. All the Maori material utilised in illustrating this book is in the Otago University Museum and a number of the pieces are drawn from the Hocken Collection.

The publication of the letters and journals of Samuel Marsden under the auspices of the Council of the University of Otago is to be regarded, therefore, as the fulfilment by that body of a sacred trust imposed upon it by its acceptance of the custody of Dr. Hocken's library. It is certain that no more fitting memorial than this could be erected to one with whom history was a passion and the elucidation of New Zealand history a patriotic duty.

It has been my privilege to have access, through the courtesy of Mrs. Hocken, the late Archdeacon Woodthorpe of Sydney, the Hocken Library Committee, and the Otago University Council, to all the Marsden material accumulated by Dr. Hocken, including many private letters sent to him in answer to his numerous queries. Among these correspondents was the late Mr. S. Percy Smith, whose book upon the history of the wars waged by the northern New Zealand tribes in the early years of the nineteenth century has proved an invaluable work of reference which supplements Marsden's journals with information nowhere else accessible.

It has been my great good fortune, also, to have the whole-hearted co-operation of Mr. H. D. Skinner, M.A. (Cantab.), Lecturer in Ethnology in the University of Otago, who has supervised the preparation of illustrations dealing with ethnological matter and written invaluable annotations upon Marsden's observations of Maori customs. The material which appears in the plates is derived from the Hocken Collection, the Fels Collection, the Chapman Collection, the John White Collection, and from the gift of Mrs. J. D. Adam. Mr. Skinner, further, rendered the great service of introducing me to Mr. George Graham of Auckland, to whom I am indebted for the correct rendering of many Maori names and for valuable notes derived from his expert knowledge of the genealogies, manners, and customs of the northern Maori. Mr. Graham, it is of interest to note, went through the proofs with the Historical Committee (Ngapuhi Section) of the Te Akarana Maori Association, descendants of many of the chiefs mentioned by Marsden being present whose

local knowledge was a valuable aid in the work of identifying the names of persons and places.



The Right Rev. Bishop Williams of Waiapu has also, with the greatest kindness and generosity, placed his expert knowledge of the Maori language and of Maori ethnology at my service. He has elucidated many matters which must otherwise have remained obscure and has done much to secure accuracy in the spelling of Maori words and names, a difficult task in view of the fact that Marsden's orthography – -which he modified with extreme reluctance as the Maori language was reduced to writing – has to be reduced into scientific script.

As an instance of the type of difficulty that arises one may take the case of the name of Tuhi, – Toui at first in Marsden's script, – the Bay of Islands' chief who is so frequently mentioned in Marsden's Journals. Tuhi is the form of the name accepted by modern Ngapuhi and I have deferred in the text to their judgment, conveyed to me by Mr. George Graham. On the other hand, it seems certain, as Bishop Williams has indicated to me, that with Marsden "i" generally means "ai" and that the name was pronounced Tuai by the chief's contemporaries. Dumont d'Urville, who visited the Bay of Islands in the Coquille in 1824 and met Tuhi, uses the form Touai, (Voyage de l'Astrolabe, Vol. III, pp. 678-9), thus corroborating this statement, which is further borne out by Hugh Carleton, who, in his Life of Henry Williams, Vol. I, p. 26, spells the name as Tuaea, – which may be a mistake for Tuaia, – saying that the usual appelation was "Tommy Tui." The name, pronounced at first Tuai, probably degenerated presently into Tui, as is common with Maori names of both persons and places ending in similar fashion.

Difficulties of the same kind arise in connection with many other words, and I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude to both Bishop Williams and Mr. Graham for the great care they have exercised in helping me in my endeavour to make the renderings in the text as authoritative and accurate as possible.

I have also gratefully to acknowledge assistance received from Mr. A. H. Reed of Dunedin and Mr. W. Fraser, Harbourmaster, Whangarei, whose intimate knowledge of the north-east coast of New Zealand was of great service in the identification of places described in the text, and from the Surveyor-General of New Zealand, who supplied Ordnance Survey Maps of northern New Zealand. The carefully prepared maps showing Marsden's itinerary are the work of Mr. Norman Buchanan of Messrs. Coulls Somerville Wilkie, Ltd., to whom I am also indebted for many suggestions with regard to the illustrations prepared for this volume. My thanks are also due to Mr. H. R. H. Balneavis, Private Secretary to the Minister of Native Affairs, the Rev. S. M. Johnstone of Parramatta, who searched the Parramatta Registers on my behalf for information with regard to Marsden's family, and Mr J. R. Elder who corrected the proofs with untiring and meticulous care.

I would also acknowledge my indebtedness to Mrs. Macdonald, Librarian of the Hocken Library, Dunedin, without whose willing aid my search for obscure references must frequently have been in vain,

Professor W. B. Benham, F.R.S., Curator of the Otago University Museum, Dr. J. E. Holloway, Lecturer in Botany in the University of Otago, Mr. W. B. McEwan of the Dunedin Public Library, and Miss Edith Pearce, whose careful work as typist deserves the highest praise.

I have met much kindness, in my search for information, particularly from His Honour Sir Frederick R. Chapman, Dr. Guy Scholefield of the General Assembly Library, Mr. Johannes Andersen of the Turnbull Library, and Mr. H. F. von Haast, LL.B., of Wellington, and Mr. Leslie G. Kelly of Te Kuiti. The Rev. W. Beckles Goodwin, Vicar of Farsley, Leeds, Messrs. W. G. B. Page of Hull, who was also a valued correspondent of the late Dr. Hocken, Mr. F. R. Bell, B.A., of the Hull Grammar School, and James Mitchell, C.E., of North Shields, undertook the investigation of various matters connected with Marsden's early life. Without their help my work must have remained incomplete. Interesting illustrative material was furnished me by courtesy of Mrs. Howard Jackson and Mrs. C. W. Birch of Dunedin, Mrs. Williams of Te Aute, Hawke's Bay, and Dr. E. H. Williams of Dunedin.

Finally I would record my deep appreciation of the public spirit of Messrs. Coulls Somerville Wilkie and Mr. A. H. Reed, who have undertaken the entire responsibility connected with the publication of this work – a patriotic service to history which all interested in the study of the achievements of civilisation and religion, and of the growth of the Empire in the Pacific, must appreciate.

Marsden died on May 12th, 1838, at the age of 73. Two years before that event, on April 11th, 1836, he wrote from Parramatta to his friend Archdeacon Williams of the New Zealand Mission in the following terms: – "I have been collecting my memorandums relative to New Zealand which I made in my different visits. This relieved my mind in the midst of my mental affliction after the death of my dear wife, a loss that no temporal circumstance can ever repair. I purpose to send my imperfect observations of New Zealand to the Society for publication. It is possible they interest mankind a hundred years hence when we are dead and gone."

JOHN R. ELDER.

History Department,
University of Otago,
Dunedin, New Zealand.

July 25th, 1932.

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# CHAPTER I. THE SENIOR CHAPLAIN IN NEW SOUTH WALES



CHAPTER I.

THE SENIOR CHAPLAIN IN NEW SOUTH WALES

SAMUEL MARSDEN was born, according to his own statement, on June 25th, 1765,[1] at Farsley, a village in the parish of Calverley, in Yorkshire, situated about six miles from Leeds, his father, Thomas Marsden, who lived to be ninety-three years of age,[2] being a blacksmith and small farmer. He was baptized in the parish church on July 21st of the same year. Little is known of his early years. He had at least one brother, Charles, in later life an ironmaster at Wakefield,[3] whose son Thomas ultimately became a merchant in Sydney and married his cousin Jane, Marsden's fourth daughter. It is not known whether the family included more than these two boys. The home, it is certain, in common with many others in Yorkshire in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was dominated by the spirit of piety born of the new evangelical movement originating in the work of John Wesley, and the mind of the growing boy was thus, from his earliest years, directed towards spiritual things. His parents, however, had no higher ambition



YOUTH AND EARLY TRAINING.

for him than that he should become a serious, industrious youth following his father's occupation. Their resources, in any case, did not permit them to give him more than the ordinary elementary education of the village school before he commenced to help at the forge and on the croft and thus engaged in the hard manual labour which occupied him till he reached early manhood.

If his early training, however, lacked the learning to be obtained from books, it gave him much that proved of the greatest value to him in later life. Like James Cook, another Yorkshireman, he was accustomed from childhood to plain fare and scanty leisure, and grew up despising luxury and soft living; developing at the same time a sturdy physique which enabled him, as a man, to withstand the most rigorous conditions and to emerge scatheless from hardships that must have overwhelmed one less strong. His early experiences, further, gave Marsden a grip upon the practical side of life; he could always speak with authority upon matters connected with industry and agriculture in the youthful communities whose guide he became. The man who is distinguished as the founder of the New Zealand Mission and the first inland explorer of northern New Zealand was famed among his contemporaries as the best practical farmer in New South Wales.[4] There can be no doubt, also, that it was his own training as artisan and farmer that made him lay such insistence upon the necessity in missionary enterprise of basing the structure of religious teaching upon a preliminary training in arts, crafts, and agriculture, and that caused him to demand that a missionary "should also be naturally of an industrious turn; a man who could live in any country by dint of his own labour."[5] It may be that Marsden over-emphasised the part played in the uplifting of savage races by a training in arts and crafts, and that "the Gospel is the hope of civilization rather than civilization the hope of the Gospel."[6] He spoke, in any case, as one who, like the great Apostle to the Gentiles, was craftsman as well as teacher and preacher, and whose own life in New South Wales was an outstanding example of the value to a young community of the man who could be a leader in practical affairs as well as in religion and education.

Marsden was already about twenty years of age, a stout, muscular lad, somewhat under middle height, of open ruddy countenance, before he was given the opportunity to leave the narrow environment of his native village and devote attention to the development of his untried mental powers. He owed his chance in life to the kindness of a



THE ELLAND CLERICAL SOCIETY

benevolent clergyman called Whitaker, a member of the Elland Clerical Society founded in 1767 by the Rev. Henry Venn, vicar of Huddersfield, for the encouragement in their spiritual life of the many pastors in the district who had become imbued with the new evangelical theology. They met at his house four times a year. The Society thus established owes its name to the fact that in 1771 when Mr. Venn resigned his charge upon his appointment to the living of Yelling in Huntingdonshire and was succeeded by a vicar of different views and temperament, its members transferred their meeting-place to the village of Elland, an ancient chapelry in the parish of Halifax. There they met in the house of the Rev. George Burnett, the perpetual curate of the living, one of the first members of the Society. The meetings continued to be held at Elland for more than seventy years throughout the incumbency of Mr. Burnett and his successors – Thomas Watson and Christopher Atkinson – until the death of the last-named in 1843. In that year one meeting was held at St. James's Parsonage, Halifax, and the Society then returned to the first and more convenient meeting-place in the Vicarage of Huddersfield, where it continues to meet, the number of members, fixed formerly at twenty-five, being now limited to thirty, elected under such safeguards as preserve the distinctive features of the Society.

From 1777 onwards the Society has included among its aims the provision of a fund for the education of young men of suitable character without the necessary means to fit themselves for the ministry of the Church. One of the earliest names upon the list of the many pensioners of a Society whose work has thus enriched the Church is that of Samuel Marsden, who never failed in after life to remember the Association with gratitude. He wrote frequent letters to the Society giving descriptions of his work in Australia and New Zealand; from 1796 onwards he was a subscribing member of the Society, and in 1828 he showed still further his feeling of indebtedness by sending the sum of £200 "in remembrance of the expenses contributed by the Society to his education."[7]

A letter to the Rev. J. Pratt of the Church Missionary Society,[8] dated July 2nd, 1825, shows the spirit that animated him in this matter: –

I believe," he wrote, "that in the year 1786 I first turned my attention to the ministry, and from the year 1787 to 1793 I received pecuniary assistance, more or less, from the Elland Society, but to what amount I never knew. ... I shall be much obliged to you to learn, if you can, the amount of my expenses to the Elland Society. I have always considered that a just debt which I ought to pay. If you can send me the amount I shall be much obliged to you. I purpose to pay the amount from time to time in sums not less than £50 per annum. When I close the Society's accounts on the 31st December next I will give your Society credit for £50, and will thank you to pay the same to the Elland Society on my account. When I know the whole amount, I will then inform you how I purpose to liquidate it. Should the Elland Society not be in existence, I have to request that the Church Missionary Society will assist some pious young man with a sum per annum of not less than £50 to get into the Church as a missionary."



MAGDALENE HALL, CAMBRIDGE

Through the good offices of Mr. Whitaker, who was attracted by Marsden's sterling qualities of character and was convinced that a young man of such innate modesty would not shrink from that association in school and college with those much younger than himself which was necessary if he were to remedy the defects in his early education, Marsden secured an appointment as a probationer of the Elland Society; and, after a course of preliminary study under the Rev. E. Storrs,

Vicar of Rawdon, near Leeds, and the Rev. Miles Atkinson of St. Paul's, Leeds, was sent to Hull Grammar School,[9] whose headmaster at the time was an outstanding member of the Elland Society, the Rev. Joseph Milner, the ecclesiastical historian, a brother of Dr. Isaac Milner, Dean of Carlisle.[10]

After a stay of over two years at Hull, Marsden, now a young man who lacked a day of being twenty-six years of age, entered the University of Cambridge in 1790 as a sizar of Magdalene College, then styled Magdalene Hall. The entry in the Admission Book of the College reads as follows: – Jun. 24, 1790, Samuel Marsden, filius Thomae Marsden de Rawdon prope Leeds in comitatu Eboracensi, e schola publica de Kingston super Hull, annum agens 26, admissus est sizator. Tutoribus magistris, Gul. Farish, Henr. Jowett.

On December 7th of the same year, he was elected and admitted a scholar; the entry in the Magdalene College Register, which is in his own handwriting and duly attested by the Master and Fellows of the College, states the fact thus: – Dec. 7, 1790, Ego Samuelis Marsden electus et admissus fui discipulus hujus Collegii pro magistro Smith, P. Peckard, Praefs; T. Kerrick, Praeses; Gul. Bywater, Decs; Gul. Farish, Henr. Jowett.[11]

These extracts from the registers give the only known facts regarding his career at Cambridge, where he remained for two and a half years. An earnest student, he had hoped to remain in residence until he took a degree, and his first inclination, therefore, when, in 1792, through the influence of William Wilberforce the celebrated philanthropist, he was offered the post of assistant chaplain in the recently formed settlement of New South Wales, was to decline the appointment. He thought himself too young and inexperienced to act as the spiritual adviser of convicted felons, and, in any case, had no desire to cut short his University course. It is probable also that the knowledge rankled that his nomination,



when first made, had not been received with enthusiasm by those in authority, some of whom thought that the sturdy Yorkshireman had not yet acquired sufficient polish of manner to acquit himself with the dignity becoming his sacred office even in such society as New South Wales provided. Those who now urged his claims, however, wisely contended that the very qualities which some considered defects specially fitted him to deal with the circumstances to be found in the penal settlement. At the same time they sought to impress upon the young man himself that a University degree was not of such value as to warrant his refusal of an appointment which presented so great prospects of distinction.[12] Marsden yielded to their desire that he should accept this Government chaplaincy and was commissioned on January 1st, 1793. His ordination followed in due course. It appears from the Act Book of the Archbishop of Canterbury that on March 14th, 1793, letters dimissory were issued to the Bishop of Bristol for the ordination as Deacon of Samuel Marsden, a student of Magdalene College,[13] and that on May 24th, 1793, his Grace of Canterbury granted letters dimissory "to Samuel Marsden, student of Magdalene College, and designed for the service of the Church in the settlement of Botany Bay, to receive Priest's Orders from the Bishop of Exeter." The ordination took place on Trinity Sunday, May 26th, 1793.[14]

On April 21st, 1793, a month before his ordination as priest, Marsden had married Elizabeth Fristan, the only daughter of Thomas Fristan of Hull, a great grandniece on her mother's side of the famous admiral, Sir Clowdisley Shovell.[15] The letter in which he made a proposal of



marriage to this lady shows the young man in an interesting light. It is dated London, March 14th, 1793, and reads as follows: –

"Dear Betsy,

"I have not had an opportunity to thank you for the Scripture characters before now, since I came to London my time and thoughts being so very much engaged. I hope you will not consider this as a mark of my disrespect, but rather look upon my peculiar situation as a sufficient apology for my conduct in this thing.

"Since my lot is now, seemingly, cast, and God appears to be opening my way to carry the Gospel of His Son to distant lands, the time is come for me to lay open my thoughts to you, which have long been hid in my own breast.

"I shall venture to submit to your consideration the following important question (praying at the same time that the Lord would enable you to answer it agreeable to His own will, and in such a way as may conduce to your own happiness and mine). The question is this: Will you go along with me? If, upon considering the subject, you can answer in the affirmative and say, 'I am willing,' then my heart (as far as it is proper I should give it to the creature) and all I have are yours. I believe if it be for my good and His glory He will provide me with an helpmate, and if not He will give me a mind resigned to His will. I persuade myself I should be happy in the enjoyment of you more than any other; yet I do not wish to purchase my own peace at the expense of your comfort, but only if you think you would be happy. . . . Then I cheerfully offer you my hand and my heart whenever you please.

I remain,
Dear Betsy,
Yours most affectionately,
S. MARSDEN."[16]



Till her death in October, 1835, in spite of almost continuous illness throughout the last twenty years of her life, she was Marsden's most valued counsellor amid all the vicissitudes of his arduous career, his sympathetic companion in the long exile of more than forty years which brought him much open hostility and but few intimate friends among his immediate associates. The marriage was celebrated at the High Church (now Trinity Church), Hull, by the vicar, the Rev. Dr. Clarke.[17]

On July 1st, 1793, less than three months after his marriage, Marsden and his wife sailed from London for New South Wales in the William (Captain William Folger), one of the transports engaged by the Government for the use of the new settlement. The William, on this occasion, did not carry the ordinary grim cargo of convicts with their complement of guards, but was laden with salt beef, barrelled pork, and agricultural implements. Few ships have reached Sydney to receive a more vociferous welcome. She arrived on March 10th, 1794, in time to save the shiftless inhabitants of the Botany Bay settlement from the horrors of starvation. Their stores were exhausted; a severe drought had destroyed the scanty crops and but "one serving of salt meat remained in the provision store,"[18]

The William's voyage of eight months was one long trial for Marsden and his wife who, separated from their friends for the first time, found themselves amid unfamiliar surroundings, tormented by the uncouth language and bearing of men of the low type then to be found on English merchant vessels, and without one person on board to whom to turn for sympathy. The ship, as Marsden tells in the journal[19] which he wrote during the voyage, was detained at Spithead for three

weeks by contrary winds and was again held up at Cork until the warship arrived which was to conduct the convoy to the open sea, for the war with France was raging. It was thus the last day of September before the William left the shores of Ireland.

A short stay at Las Palmas and another at Rio de Janeiro broke the monotony of the voyage, although Marsden left the latter port with saddened mind, "greatly affected," as he puts it, "at seeing the poor negro slaves and the indifference to the Sabbath." In Botany Bay, however, he was soon to witness English convicts, Sunday by Sunday, give themselves up to such debauchery as would have appalled the most hardened of the poor slaves of Brazil. As if to prepare him for such scenes, he had already found it almost impossible to obtain any countenance for religious observances on the William. The captain, a coarse,



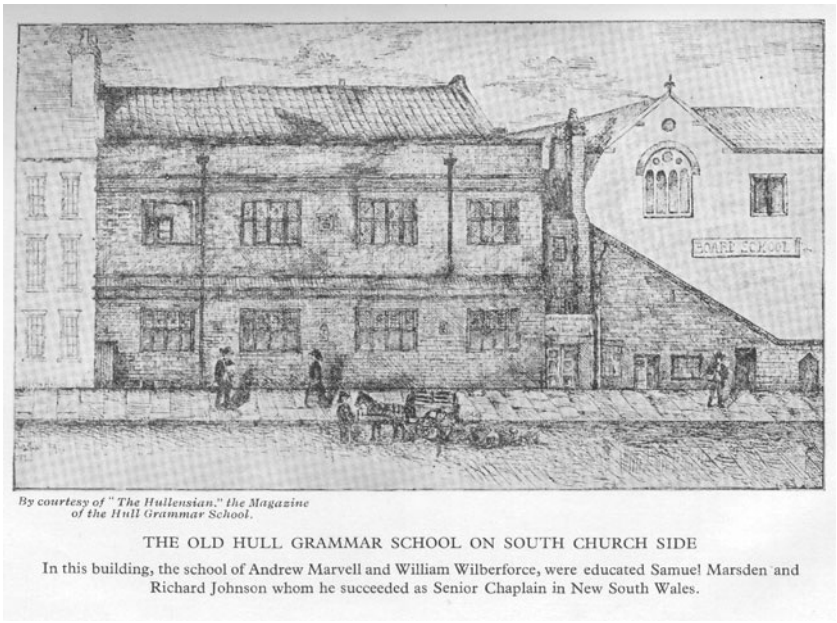
irreligious individual, had nothing in common with the pious exponent of evangelical Christianity whose youthful zeal for the faith made him eager to bear witness against the wickedness of the ship's company and turn them from their evil ways of blasphemy and drunkenness. It was with difficulty that Marsden gained permission to hold service on Sundays, the captain remarking that he had never seen a religious sailor and that to preach to the crew would be mere waste of time. After holding a service Marsden was almost inclined to agree with the captain, writing "the sailors are the most stupid, ignorant people in the world; might preach to them for an eternity without doing them the least good." Only his faith in Divine power and his determination to perform his duty caused him to persist in spite of all discouragements.

The misery of the voyage was increased for both Marsden and his wife when the convict girl who had been assigned to them as a maid proved refractory and rebellious, and ultimately, in entire defiance, betook herself to the captain's cabin. As was to be expected, Marsden's interview with the captain upon the subject provoked only an outburst of anger. "He was exceeding angry and declared he would not bear to be spoken to," wrote the disconsolate chaplain.

To the misery of the long voyage with such unpleasant companions was added domestic anxiety. Mrs. Marsden was already enceinte when the travellers set sail, and they had taken passage on the William believing that the vessel would reach port before the expected birth took place. When off the east coast of Tasmania, however, and while yet a week's sail from Port Jackson, Mrs. Marsden, on March 2nd, gave birth to her first child, Anne. Marsden's simple narrative brings home the difficulties met by those who ventured on long sea voyages a century and a half ago.

"Sunday, March 2nd, 1794. – This hath been a day much to be remembered by me and mine. I hope a grateful sense of the Lord's mercies received this day will never be forgotten. About two o'clock in the morning Mrs. M. began to be unwell. She was in expectation of getting her bed every day, but thought the motion of the ship might affect her and she should be better in a little time. But in this she was greatly mistaken, for she found herself to grow worse. We both rose from bed some time before daybreak and laboured to pass the time as well as we could till the light returned, Mrs. M. all the while growing worse and worse. It had been my wish and prayer that she might arrive at our desired port before she got her bed, but now I saw it could not be. I therefore endeavoured to prepare my mind for the trial as well as I could, and the Lord gave me strength equal to my day. We had no assistance on board of any kind, the captain a very unnatural man, and the wind blowing exceeding hard, and also heavy rain. These circumstances taken together made our situation very unpleasant. In the midst of all I was not cast down, not doubting that God would be with us and bless us. Mrs. M. was also in better spirits than could be expected. About daybreak I informed the bad girl we had on board Mrs. M. was unwell, thinking she might be of some assistance to us, as we had nobody else. I shall not soon forget what a rough morning it was. I could not possibly stand without hold of some fixture. About half past ten in the morning Mrs. M. was brought to bed of a fine girl. She had an exceeding good time, and I believe suffered as little as if she had all the assistance in the world. The child was no sooner born than a great wave washed over the quarterdeck and forced its way into our little cabin through the porthole. Part of it fell upon the child, and also wet our linen,

[Inserted unpaginated illustration]




THE OLD HULL GRAMMAR SCHOOL ON SOUTH CHURCH SIDE
In this building, the school of Andrew Marvell and William Wilberforce, were educated Samuel Marsden and Richard Johnson whom he succeeded as Senior Chaplain in New South Wales.
By courtesy of "The Hullensian." the Magazine of the Hull Grammar School.

etc. Having never had any fire in the great cabin from our leaving England to the present day caused our linen to be very damp. This I aired as well as I could by putting it between my shirt and skin. Mrs. M., notwithstanding the bad weather, the damp linen, the wet cabin, and no assistance but such as I could give, yet she hath had a good day, her spirits have never been down, her mind seems easy, and she appears in a very fair way to do well. Having got the child dressed and our little place put to rights, I kneeled down to return God thanks for the great deliverance He had brought to us and hope this was done in spirit and truth."[20]

A week after the birth of his daughter, on March 10th, 1794, Marsden, to his intense relief, reached Port Jackson, to find that the moral and religious condition of the settlement was at such a low ebb as to render the performance of his duty as assistant chaplain an arduous task even for one of his courageous and determined temperament. The last entries in his journal of 1793-4 were made when he was beginning to realise the difficulties of his situation. From March 10th till May 27th there is a gap in the narrative since upon his arrival, as he puts it, he felt too much confused and unsettled to resume his diary. On May 27th he wrote: –



"I feel my mind far from being comfortable, being in such an unsettled state – hope when we get to an house of our own I shall have more opportunities for study and meditation than at present. My fellow minister[21] is now recovering – he hath been dangerously afflicted – was afraid he would have died, and then I should have been alone, which would have been very disagreeable in a place like this."

After an interval, he again wrote: –

"July 4th. – We left Sydney and removed into the Barracks at Parramatta. This was the first day we had been settled since we were married or could say we had got into an house of our own. I felt no small degree of pleasure in having an house of my own in which I could speak out freely without being afraid of any – may I always be thankful for every blessing and sensible of those I enjoy."

Another short interval followed when he resumed: –

"Sunday, July 13th. – I preached at Toongabby (Toongabbie) in the morning on Sabbath breaking, and in the afternoon at Parramatta. Monday, 14th, went to Sydney with Mrs. (Mac) Arthur to hear some prisoners tried for housebreaking. They were condemned to death. Whilst greatly alarmed, they had no idea of God as one of grace and mercy.

"Tuesday, 15th. – I left Sydney very uncomfortably to-day. Mr. Joh. (Johnson) and the Lieutenant-Governor[22] had begun their differences again. The Governor forbade Mr. Johnson the prisoners who were to be executed on Thursday next. This Mr. Johnson warmly resented. In consequence of their difference I could not visit them also. I did not think it my duty to remonstrate with the Lieutenant-Governor upon this affair, as I was not stationed at Sydney, and therefore the prisoners were more peculiarly the charge of Mr. Johnson than me. It gives me much uneasiness to see these differences prevail. O, that they might be brought to an end."

At this point the journal ends.

Marsden had thus reached the New South Wales settlement at a point in its history when even the most sanguine saw little hope for the future. The Colony had been founded by Captain Arthur Phillip of the Royal Navy in 1788. Worn out with his efforts to overcome the persistent indolence, insubordination, and crime of the vice-ridden, licentious felons over whom he ruled, Phillip had in December, 1792, returned to England leaving the Lieutenant-Governor, Major Francis Grose, commanding officer of the New South Wales Corps, in charge of the government.

Under Grose the moral condition of the community sank to appalling depths.[23] All Phillip's orders concerning the nefarious traffic in spirits were reversed, while the laws of sexual morality that in general mark western civilization were openly disregarded. Religion was held in contempt, and the one civil chaplain of the settlement before Marsden's arrival, the Rev. Richard Johnson, found himself unsupported, for the



most part, by those in high places, and derided by those in low. Phillip had shown some sympathy with the chaplain's aims but had been too much engrossed with his own troubles to give him much support. Grose was openly contemptuous of his office, caring nothing for the ordinances of religion. "The Lord's day," wrote Marsden, "was spent by the principal part of the convicts, either in cabals, or labour, or gaming, or drunkenness, or robberies."[24] No building being available for religious purposes, Johnson preached in the open air until August, 1793, when, at his own expense and in great measure as the result of his own manual work, he built a little temporary church in Sydney, which accommodated five hundred people.[25]

A pious individual of somewhat sensitive temperament, constitutionally unsuited to deal with the free livers and drunken scoffers of New South Wales, Johnson resigned his office in 1800 and returned to England where he held first a small curacy in Essex and then, in 1810, the London rectory of the combined parish of St. Antholin's, Watling Street, and St. John Baptist. This latter appointment was secured for Johnson through the energy of Marsden, who, when visiting England in 1807-9, sought recognition for the services rendered the Government in New South Wales by his friend and represented his case with such energy that this living, worth about £200 a year, was presented to him.

Johnson died on March 13th, 1827, at the age of 74 and was buried in his old church.[26]

Such was the character and temperament of the New South Wales chaplain who in 1794 welcomed Marsden upon his arrival. Involved in an open quarrel with the Lieutenant-Governor, who publicly threw contempt upon his sacred office and thus rendered almost hopeless the attempts of the chaplain to combat the vice and wickedness which confronted him,[27] Johnson must have been overjoyed when, in March, 1794,



his strong-minded, self-reliant assistant arrived and took up his residence at Parramatta, which remained his home for the rest of his lifetime.

Marsden had scarcely had time to settle in his new surroundings when, early in 1795, he was directed by the new Lieutenant-Governor, Captain William Paterson of the New South Wales Corps, who had succeeded Grose in December, 1794, to pay an official visit to the subsidiary convict settlement at Norfolk Island, some 1,200 miles distant from Sydney, which was administered by Captain Philip Gidley King of the Royal Navy. This visit to Norfolk Island was destined to have permanent and far-reaching results, since it not only marked the beginning of Marsden's friendship with the humane and fair-minded King but aroused in his

mind that interest in New Zealand and its savage inhabitants which was to develop into an abiding passion. Norfolk Island produced a luxuriant form of flax (phormium tenax), and in 1793 King, anxious that the convicts might learn to make use of this plant, had kidnapped two New Zealanders, Tuke (Toki) and Huru,[28] whom he retained on the island for six months during which they produced the most favourable impression upon their host, who treated them with the utmost kindness although they proved ignorant of the methods employed by their womenfolk in the preparation of flax. At the moment when Marsden reached Norfolk Island the memory of his Maori visitors was still fresh in King's mind, and the account of their keenness of intellect and manliness of character which he gave the enthusiastic young chaplain created a lasting impression upon his mind. The seed which was to grow into the New Zealand Mission had thus been sown. At the time, however, there seemed little prospect that Marsden would ever be able to realise his dreams of missionary enterprise and of exploration, and in September, 1795, he returned in the Fancy to the dull, depressing routine of life among the transported felons of the New South Wales settlement.[29] In the same month Captain John Hunter of the Royal Navy took up his duties as Governor.[30] Hunter had already served for three years in the settlement as Lieutenant-Governor under Phillip and was well acquainted, therefore, with the conditions prevailing there, although, during the four years of his absence in England, these had altered greatly for the worse, the chief source of trouble for the administrative officers of the colony being the military tyranny practised by the members of the New South Wales Corps, who resented any attempt at interference with their control of public affairs and resisted, in particular, all efforts to regulate their monopoly in the traffic in spirits which was for many years the curse of New South Wales.[31]

Hunter upon his arrival set himself to combat the moral evils that prevailed in the colony, and found a strong supporter in Marsden who thus inevitably shared the unpopularity of the Governor with the dominant military party. In particular he was attacked for agreeing to Hunter's suggestion that he should add to his duties as chaplain those of



a civil magistrate and superintendent of public works at Parramatta.[32] Since he had also set himself to augment his small salary of £146 a year by utilising the labour of the five convicts assigned to him in the cultivation of the land granted him by Grose and by Hunter, and was thus actively interested in the development of the agricultural resources of the settlement, his life was one of many interests.[33] Marsden himself, indeed, had at first had misgivings as to whether he could, with propriety, combine the office of a Christian minister with that of a civil magistrate, and add to both the supervision of his assigned convict farm labourers. In his dilemma he sought the advice of his English friends of the Elland Society in two letters[34] which throw considerable light on his own position and, at the same time, give some account of the situation in the colony. Both letters were probably addressed to the Rev. Miles Atkinson of Leeds, with whom Marsden had resided for some time whilst engaged in his preliminary studies for the ministry.[35] The first letter, written at Parramatta on September 16th, 1796, is in the following terms: –

"Sir, – When I take a retrospective view of the various changes through which a kind Providence hath led me for some years past I am lost in wonder and astonishment. I am not born of noble birth, nor heir to any great inheritance, but with only the prospect of hard labour and toil before me. I cannot without being guilty of the greatest ingratitude complain of any hardship in my former humble situation. I bless God I know of no instance where I have murmured or complained against any of the Divine dispensations towards me since I left my native land. God hath highly exalted me from my low situation and rank to minister before Him in holy things. This is so great an honour and favour conferred on me, so mean and bare, as I hope will always reconcile my mind to bear patiently whatever trials I may meet with in line of my duty. I am convinced the Lord is good and gracious, and hath been particularly so to me. I am happy in my family, happy in my circumstances and connection as far as my present situation will allow. I cannot have the same happiness in the company and conversation of God's people as might be enjoyed in England, because they are not here. Ere long this disadvantage will be done away. The saints of every clime of every nation will meet to part no more. My joyful hope of that happy period makes present inconveniences and separation easy and tolerable.

"I must live and die a debtor to the Elland Society. It is to their patronage and support I owe my present situation. It has been my constant study since I was made a partaker of their bounty to render myself worthy of their esteem, and never to disgrace the honour conferred on me by that respectable Society. I was happy



to find they had taken into their consideration what I had mentioned to you in a former letter, and that my conduct had met their approbation in accepting of a grant of land, and proceeding to its cultivation. I have been much more satisfied in my mind of the propriety of doing what I did since I received your letter. It suggested some new ideas which had not struck my mind. There is reason to suppose if I had not accepted of a grant of ground, nor taken any active steps to raise grain and stock for the support of myself and family, the convicts, and, probably, Government also, would have said the clergyman is an idle, lazy fellow, and will do nothing towards maintaining himself and family. I am happy to say I have done all in my power towards rendering this Colony independent. My crop of wheat produced 500 bushels the last year, and promises to yield much more this. Yet I should have been ready to relinquish my farm if my conduct had been disapproved of by the Society.

"I have another question to propose, and must request you will either give me your own ideas upon it, or have the goodness to mention it to the Society. The question is this: How far is the duty of a clergyman incompatible with the duty of a civil magistrate? I have mentioned in another letter my reasons for acting in the capacity of a civil magistrate – the want of civil officers in the Colony, the general distracted state of the settlement, the opportunity this office gives me of representing to the Governor from time to time the abuses that exist and the crimes committed in the Colony, which I could not do as a minister. The Governor wished I should act as a magistrate, and I did not wish to offend him, but was rather willing to cultivate his Excellency's good opinion and to convince him that I wished as much as possible to support the measures of Government, and do everything in my power for the good of His Majesty's service. I also thought it would give me an opportunity of convincing the people particularly under my charge that I wished to promote their temporal as well as their spiritual interest. These reasons I submit to the consideration of my friends. There are more than 1,000 persons whose complaints I have to attend to as a magistrate in the different settlements I visit. Some of my friends in England, before I left it, advised me much against acting as a magistrate. If they understood the real state of the Colony probably they would change their opinion.

"From the papers I have sent respecting the state of the settlers and the Governor's General Orders you will be able to see how low we are sunk in every vice. Should any material change take place in the Government of the Colony I should decline acting any longer. While the Government of the Colony continues the same as it is at present, and the Governor willing to lend his support to what is right and proper, I do not feel much uneasiness in doing the duty of a magistrate, and shall act in this capacity till I receive your answer.

"I am fully employed in one duty or another so as to have few idle moments. I have hardly time enough for the study of Divinity. There are no religious disputations in the Colony. We are not called upon to defend any particular points of doctrine, but to declare the plain and simple Gospel. This is easy to be done where the

power of godliness is felt upon the soul.

"Mankind have no temptation to propagate any new religious tenets in this settlement. They cannot make a gain of godliness. Should any attempt to oppose the Gospel by disseminating error they would find none to espouse their cause except a few convicts, from whom they would derive no advantage, no emolument, and I am convinced, not many of them, all idea of religion being so very foreign to their thoughts. We shall never be involved in this Colony in any religious disputes till men can make something of religion and promote their own private interests by it. From this, Sir, you will perceive we are not pestered at all with any nonsense about any particular point of doctrine, but simply to preach repentance toward God and



faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. I am often struck with astonishment to think that the same sermons our Lord delivered in Judea should at this period be published in New South Wales.

"If the gentlemen of the Elland Society had done no more than been the means of planting the Gospel in this distant part of the known world this noble action must redound to them with eternal honour. I have the strongest conviction of this in my own breast, and have the most exalted idea of the dignity of my own situation, and think it is lawful for me to glory in the Gospel of Christ. If I see my native country again it will be well; if I do not it will be the same. It is quite enough for me to know I am where God would have me be. I have no more doubt of this than of my own existence.

"It gives me great pleasure to be informed that the Society prospers so well, and promises to send forth so great a number of labourers in God's vineyard. I shall think myself highly honoured if the Society will admit me a subscribing member, and will thank you to present my most respectful compliments to the honourable members the first meeting of the Society after you receive my letter of my wish to become a subscribing member.

"If this meet the approbation of the Society you will have the goodness to put down my name for five guineas per annum, and draw for the sum upon my agent in London. The Rev. William Shepley can furnish you with my agent's address.

"With a view of giving you as full an idea of the real state of the settlement as possible, I have transmitted to you the principal part of the General Orders which His Excellency, Governor Hunter, has thought necessary to give since his arrival here. The perusal of these, together with the state of the settlers, will enable you to form some notion how we are situated.

"I have sent you by this conveyance a plank of wood, commonly called Cedar here. It grows at the Hawkesbury Settlement. It is used for tables, building, and almost any other purpose. You will be able to judge of its quality by this specimen. I hope we shall have wine by and by."

The second letter, dated Parramatta, September 17th, 1796, gives further information with regard to the state of the Colony: –

"I shall now transmit to you," Marsden wrote, "some account of our politics, religion, and cultivation, in order that you may form some idea of the circumstances of this Colony.

"First, Politics. – Our police has been very bad for a long time. From the time Governor Phillip left Port Jackson till Governor Hunter arrived, the Colony was under military law. The civil magistrates had nothing to do in regulating the internal government of the settlement. Major Grose who had the sole command being so very bad and licentious a character, opened a door to all kinds of immorality, irreligion, and idleness. Drunkenness and profaneness prevailed not only amongst the convicts but amongst all ranks and orders. I verily thought, from the contempt of God and religion and that countenance which was shown to unreasonable and wicked men, that some severe judgment would be inflicted upon us as a body of people by Divine Providence. The only consideration that checked these fears and apprehensions was that we were but an infant colony, and that I knew of no instance, either in sacred or profane history, where God had destroyed any people on their first establishment. Since Governor Hunter's arrival there has been a great struggle between the civil and military power.

"When Governor Hunter took the command he immediately put the Colony under Civil Government, and directed the different magistrates to do their duty as



formerly. He saw and lamented the dreadful state of disorder, licentiousness, idleness, and dissipation in which the whole Colony was sunk; at the same time he had little prospect from the officers in general of obtaining aid and assistance from them to enable him to reduce the Colony to any kind of order and subordination, and for this obvious reason – because it would militate against their own private interest. The greatest part of these officers sold spirituous liquors, and enriched themselves at the expense of the morals of the people – the more drunkenness the more money returned into their pockets. Governor Hunter's predecessor giving the convicts full liberty to absent themselves from Divine Worship and permission to spend the Sabbath day in any manner their passions excited them, gave a mortal blow to the morality and subordination of the people belonging to this settlement.

"Governor Hunter has hitherto had a very difficult task to perform – he has struggled hard to effect some change in the sentiments and conduct of the inhabitants in general, but has made little progress; yet I am fully convinced of his good intentions and that he will use his utmost endeavours to bring about a reformation. I have heard him repeatedly declare that if he had known the situation of the Colony when in England he would never have come to govern it. Several of the officers are returned to England by this conveyance, both civil and military.

"We have some prospect of our police growing better and not worse. The Governor, I am persuaded, will adopt such vigorous measures as will restrain, if not reform, the licentious principles of the people under his command. There will now be only four acting magistrates in the Colony – the principal surgeon and the Rev. Mr. Johnson at Sydney, the Judge Advocate[36] and myself at Parramatta and Hawkesbury. We are all unanimous, and shall have a great deal of power in our own hands, and hope, by uniting together and the Governor's support, to put a stop in some measure to the abounding of sin and immorality.

"The duty of a civil magistrate and clergyman may not appear compatible one with the other, and I am not without my doubts about it. But in the peculiar situation in which I am placed I conceive it my duty to act as a magistrate. The following are some of my reasons for it: – First, there is a great want of civil magistrates in the Colony – few that can do the duty of one. My second reason is the settlement is in a general state of distraction and confusion. A magistrate has it in his power to rectify many abuses in the place where he resides when properly supported in his duty by the superior powers. In hopes of contributing a little towards bringing the inhabitants of this settlement under some proper government and subordination, I accepted the office of a magistrate. A third reason was that such abuses and grievances as I might not have it in my power to rectify I would with propriety represent them to the Governor for his consideration. My last reason was it was the Governor's wish that I should act as a magistrate, and I did not feel myself at liberty to refuse him under the above circumstances. I shall be very glad to resign this

duty when the circumstances of the Colony will allow me so to do, for it is very troublesome and occupies a good deal of my time.

"I believe nothing will contribute so much towards a reformation amongst the convicts as the establishment of a good police, which I hope at some future period to see accomplished. It may appear strange to the people of England to be informed that we have to this day neither granaries for our corn, prisons for offenders, no church nor school. These public necessary buildings never have been erected. A convict



hut is almost now ready for me to preach in at Parramatta, the first building of any kind that has ever been appropriated for that sacred use here since I came to the Colony. Thus much of our political state.

"With respect to religion we are almost in the same state as when I sent my last letter. Appearances are not altogether so bad. The Governor attends regularly upon Divine Worship and pays a proper respect to the Sabbath day. But the people, from having had liberty to absent themselves from church for so long a time prior to Governor Hunter's arrival, show the greatest aversion to attend public worship. They wish to spend their Sabbaths as they formerly did, in idleness and drunkenness, and all manner of wickedness, and consider it a hardship to be prevented doing this. Bad customs are easily established, but are not so easily got the better of. I think Governor Hunter is laying the foundation for some reformation of morals, and I have not much doubt but he will be able in some measure soon to accomplish his wish. He has already prohibited such a large quantity of spirits to be landed as were formerly, which is one great step towards sobriety.

"I shall now give you a little account of cultivation, and I informed you in a former letter that this Colony would soon be independent of foreign countries for dry provisions, which is now actually the case. We have now the greatest abundance of wheat and Indian corn. There is at present in His Majesty's stores about 45,000 bushels of the above grain, and our wheat harvest will be in in about two months. We have a fine prospect of having very large crops next season, much more wheat than can possibly be consumed. The ground upon the banks of Hawkesbury, as well as in many other parts, is wonderfully fertile. A good settler may raise from 90 to 100 bushels of wheat and Indian corn per acre annually, as we have two crops in the year. I have seldom seen such crops of wheat in England as are grown at the Hawkesbury settlement. The number of acres in present cultivation, taking all the settlements into the account, are about 4,000, almost the whole in wheat. From this just statement of our dry provisions you will see, Sir, that we have bread enough, and to spare, and could easily maintain 2,000 more people, and want them very much.

"I think the settlement at the Hawkesbury is the most beautiful place I ever saw. You may walk ten or twelve miles on the banks of the finest river, all through fields of wheat. In this respect, instead of complaining of our situation, we ought to be thankful for the bounties of heaven. The meanest convicts experience no want or poverty; here all have plenty of the common necessaries.

"The following is an account of our live stock as near as I could obtain it: – Horses and mares, 60; cows, bulls, and oxen, 120; sheep and goats, 3,000; hogs, 2,000 Geese, fowls, and ducks, numbers not known. My own stock consists of 2 mares, 2 cows, 49 goats, 16 sheep, 77 hogs. The present price of fresh meat is as follows: – Mutton, 2s. 6d. per pound; pork, 1s. 3d.; fowls, 9s. each; geese, 15s. each, and some will sell at £1 5s. From this statement you will perceive fresh provisions are very high. Grain being so plentiful will in a little time reduce the price of fresh provisions, and make everything reasonable in the Colony.

"All foreign articles are very dear, such as tea, sugar, wine, spirits, and wearing apparel. An officer's pay would not maintain his family if he had no other advantages from Government; these we have more than what we might reasonably expect. Labour of every kind is also very high. A husbandman will earn from 5s. to 8s. per day in the field. The labour of mechanics of every sort is very expensive. This arises from the want of labouring people to do the necessary work of the settlement. Many hundred more hands could be well employed.

"I have now, Sir, given you some account of our present state, which may enable you to form some faint idea of our situation.



"The last May I was directed by His Excellency Governor Hunter to examine the state of the settlers in all the principal districts of the Colony, and to report to him the state of the different farms, and the private circumstances of the settlers as far as I could learn. Though it was not possible for one to obtain a true account of their private affairs, they were so much ashamed of their licentious conduct as not to give a just account of their debts. These debts were principally contracted for spirituous liquors, which were sold to them by those whose situation and rank in the Colony ought to have made them ashamed of such a trade, and sold with a view of obtaining from the poor settler his crop of wheat and Indian corn, which corn, when thus purchased, could immediately be sold to the Government at 500 or 600 per cent. This practice tended to ruin totally the industry and circumstances of the inconsiderate settlers; the morals of the people were sacrificed to the sale of a few bottles of spirits. In short, the peace, prosperity, and happiness of His Majesty's settlement fell a victim to the avarice of a few individuals.

"His Excellency was convinced that this was the case, and, with a view to learn the true state of the Colony and to prevent such abuses in future, he directed such an examination to be made as mentioned above.

"SAMUEL MARSDEN."

It is evident, therefore, that Marsden's friends entirely approved of his conduct. Many years later, when compelled to reply to various public attacks upon his general character and demeanour, Marsden defended himself with considerable vigour in his pamphlet published in London in 1826, An Answer to Certain Calumnies in the late Governor Macquarie's Pamphlet and the Third Edition of Mr. Wentworth's Account of Australasia.[37]Answering the charge that he had neglected his spiritual duties owing to his interest in agriculture, he said: –

"General Grose was convinced that unless some vigorous measures were adopted to bring a certain portion of land into cultivation the Colony could not exist. . . . The Rev. R. Johnson, the chaplain of the regiment, and myself thought it right to accept the Governor's offer, and had each a grant of 100 acres in common with the other officers, which we immediately began to clear and bring into cultivation. . . . I did not consider myself in the same situation, in a temporal point of view, as a clergyman in England. My situation at that period would bear no such comparison. A clergyman in England lives in the very bosom of his friends; his comforts and his conveniences are all within his reach, and he has nothing to do but to feed his flock. On the contrary I entered the country when it was in a state of nature, and was obliged to plant and sow or starve. It was not from inclination that my colleague and I took the axe, the spade, and the hoe; we could not from our situation help ourselves by any other means, and we thought it no disgrace to labour. St. Paul's own hands ministered to his wants in a cultivated nation, and our hands ministered to our wants in an uncultivated one. If this is cast on me as a shame and a reproach, I cheerfully bear it, for the remembrance of it never gives me any pain or remorse. It has even been the opinion of those who have had the best means of information that if General Grose had not adopted this wise, humane, and effective measure, or if the officers had not seconded his liberal views with their best exertions, the inhabitants must have perished from want."

The farm which Marsden thus cultivated was situated at the North Bush, about seven miles north-west of Parramatta.[38] Peron,[39] who visited the farm in 1802 and was most hospitably received by Marsden, states that this flourishing farm then consisted of 650 acres, 103 being in cultivation, and that, in addition to sheep, its stock consisted of 26 cattle and 10 horses, with 30 pigs and 10 goats. In an excellent garden grew most of the common English fruit trees. The visitor was astonished that such a short time should have sufficed to cut a flourishing farm out of the primeval eucalyptus forest and wild bush. This land was farmed with the aid of the ten convicts who were now assigned to him.[40]

Progress came rapidly, and by 1804 Marsden was farming 1,720 acres and owned 1,200 sheep in addition to other stock.[41] He had already earned a reputation as a leader in agriculture, and was acknowledged to have conferred incalculable benefits upon the young community by his leadership in this direction. It was thus that, with Captain John Macarthur of the New South Wales Corps, he held place as "the Father of the Colony," and was honoured for his work in the introduction and development of the great wool-growing industry.[42] All recognised that Marsden's interest in agriculture was of the utmost value to the Colony, and Mr. John Thomas Bigge in his Report of 1823 to the British House of Commons was careful to point out that Marsden's activities in this direction had in no wise interfered with his performance of his clerical duties. They had been forced upon him, Bigge declared, by the primitive state of the Colony, and had, in any case, afforded "more occupation to his time than augmentation to his income."[43]

As a civil magistrate Marsden had tasks much less congenial than those provided by the superintendence of the work of his farm. He had to administer the brutal penal code of the settlement and was stern and severe, if just, in his dispensing of punishment, a man of his times





in his belief in the deterrent influence of the lash, grimly courageous in his resolute determination to uphold the law, upon the maintenance of which he and those associated with him held that the safety of all in the settlement depended. Thus, when in the spring of 1800 measures were taken against the Irish political prisoners who were rumoured to be plotting an insurrection, Marsden sanctioned proceedings of the most brutally severe type, ordering the flogging of a young Irishman, Paddy Galvin, who refused to give the desired information as to where the pikes were hid which the magistrates had learned had been manufactured for the revolutionaries, and who, it is satisfactory to note, persisted in his refusal in spite of the 300 lashes he received.[44] All that can be said with regard to this and similar incidents is that Marsden followed the ordinary code of his day, and that if the punishment meted out to the suspected rebels was severe "it was certainly not more so than that which they would have experienced in any other part of the civilised world."[45] Marsden had public opinion behind him, and upon taking in 1807 his first furlough from New South Wales was presented with a public address, signed by more than three hundred persons of standing who testified to his "pious, humane, and exemplary conduct, in the various and arduous situations, in and throughout this whole Colony, as a minister of the Gospel, superintending magistrate, inspector of public orphan and charity schools, and other necessary offices." "Your sanctity, philanthropy, and disinterested character," the address concluded, "will ever remain an example to future ministers."[46]

Whatever satisfaction, however, Marsden had in the knowledge that as a magistrate he had performed his duty without flinching from unpleasant tasks, he must have found much more pleasure in the duties devolving upon him in connection with the female orphanage at Parramatta, which was one of the earliest institutions founded by Captain King upon his succeeding Hunter as Governor in 1800. A man of philanthropic ideas, King was shocked at the fact that nearly 400 children in the Colony were homeless, these being, for the most part, the illegitimate offspring of dissolute and abandoned parents. The orphanage which already existed at Sydney could accommodate only one hundred children, and Marsden gladly accepted the suggestion of King that another home for two hundred children should be built at Parramatta and himself became the permanent treasurer and most active member of the governing committee.[47]





The orphanage, at Arthur's Hill, near Parramatta, was erected upon a block of 1,500 acres, granted by Governor King to three persons in trust for the support and education of female orphan children. Begun in September, 1815, the building was not completed until June, 1818. Marsden had been entrusted with the general supervision of the work of erection but had found himself hampered by lack of funds, difficulties in obtaining workmen, and the irregular conduct of those who were employed. In addition to the actual work of building, he had undertaken the dividing and fencing of the adjoining land and had made some attempt to have the ground cleared for cultivation, although many persons of experience thought that the land would not repay the necessary expense. Already by 1823, when Mr. John Thomas Bigge sailed for England, plans were under consideration "for the improvement and extension of the principal building, as well as the offices, which were both inconvenient and ill-constructed."[48]

While his multifarious secular interests thus occupied him Marsden faithfully attended to his clerical duties, working single-handed after the departure of Johnson until he was relieved to some extent by the arrival, in 1810, as the result of his earnest representations, of two other ministers, the Revs. William Cowper and Robert Cartwright.[49]





Believing, as he did, that the one hope for the regeneration of the Colony lay in the religious education of the young, Marsden had always taken it that the training of youth was an essential part of his clerical duties. He was thus attracted to the Sunday School movement inaugurated at the end of the eighteenth century by Robert Raikes of Gloucester, and in 1815, upon his return from his first New Zealand voyage, opened a Sunday School at Parramatta, the first Sunday School in Australia. In this work he was assisted by the Rev. Thomas Hassall and a young man called Henry Byrnes. Success came rapidly, the value of the new organisation being quickly recognised, and when the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and Mr. George Bennet, the deputies of the London Missionary Society, inspected Marsden's Sunday School at Parramatta on December 20th, 1824, they found 110 children of both sexes under instruction and were impressed with the character-building influences which were thus being exerted upon the future citizens of the Colony.[50] Marsden's enthusiasm for this work among the young remained constant throughout his life. "The Church Sunday School," wrote the Rev. William Woolls in 1844, "was, for many years, a most useful and flourishing institution in Parramatta, and at one period it numbered no less than 150 children on its books."[51]

Marsden had also the satisfaction of being the main instrument in the building at Parramatta of a church which should be worthy of a growing and populous district. The foundation stone of Old St. John's, Parramatta, the first brick church built in Australia, was laid on April 5th, 1797, although the work was not completed until April, 1803, when on Easter Sunday Marsden himself conducted the service of consecration.[52] The small church, which accommodated a congregation of some 400 persons, was visited in 1822 by Bigge, the House of Commons commissioner, who thought the congregation at Parramatta "more

respectable and attentive than at the other places of worship." Marsden had evidently, with his customary energy, devoted great attention to the details of the service and Bigge found the choral parts of the service "admirably performed" by singers, some of whom were free men, others convicts. All had been taught "under the direction of Mr. Marsden."[53]



Educational institutions of every type also found in him an enthusiastic supporter and advocate. He entered into every scheme that promised to benefit the children both of the settlers and of the aborigines, and was himself the founder in 1815 of the Seminary at Parramatta for Maoris which he so often mentions in his correspondence.

A letter dated October 25th, 1815, announced to the secretary of the Church Missionary Society the decision arrived at by Marsden and his colleagues in New South Wales, at a meeting held in the parsonage house, Parramatta, that in the interests of the New Zealand Mission the Parramatta Seminary should be established. In this letter Marsden clearly set forth the advantages which were expected to accrue from the Seminary: –

"After mature deliberation," he wrote,[54] "we are unanimously of opinion that New Zealand opens a large and promising field for missionary labours, that the inhabitants are a noble and intelligent race, and prepared to receive the blessings of civilization and the knowledge of the Christian religion; and it is also our opinion that their improvement and civilization can best be promoted by keeping up a regular communication with New Zealand, and introducing the chiefs into civil society at Port Jackson, which can only be done by maintaining a vessel for that purpose. The vessel will be necessary for the comfort of the settlers of New Zealand, and also for their protection from the natives and runaway convicts and sailors who are put on shore by the masters of whalers and other vessels. We also fully accord with the Society that the civilization and general improvement of the New Zealanders would be greatly promoted by forming a small establishment in this Colony for their instruction in some of the simple arts, such as spinning and weaving their native flax, manufacturing it into twine and cordage; and in blacksmith's work and agriculture. Such an establishment, independent of promoting the civilization of the New Zealanders, would afford a certain pledge for the safety of the settlers at New Zealand, as the natives who would be instructed under the patronage of this institution would either be the sons of chiefs or their near relations, and would also accommodate such chiefs as may from time to time visit Port Jackson in the Active, where they would be kindly treated and protected from insult during the time the vessel remains in the harbour, which will tend to enlarge their ideas, remove their prejudices, and excite in them a thirst for useful knowledge. The annual expense of such an establishment at present for the hire of the necessary buildings, tools, overseer's wages, the support of the natives, and other conveniences, we estimated at £200 per annum. Under these impressions we have resolved to form the establishment immediately on the Society's account, and to receive into it such New Zealanders as are at present in the Colony."

While upon Marsden there thus devolved duties which would have more than sufficed to occupy the whole attention of the ordinary individual, he had, almost from the date of his arrival in New South Wales, found an interest beyond the confines of the Colony in the Protestant missionary movement in the Pacific, which began with the despatch by the London Missionary Society on August 10th, 1796, of the Duff, with twenty-nine missionaries, five of whom were accompanied by their wives. These took up their residence in the Marquesas and Friendly Islands and at Tahiti. Little judgment, however, had been shown



by the inexperienced directors of the Society in choosing their agents, few of whom had the necessary training and education, while some lacked the moral qualities that would have enabled them to withstand the temptations to which they were subjected and none were properly supported by the Society which had sent them out. It is not astonishing, therefore, that the first efforts of this band of missionaries met with little success. The majority of those stationed at Tahiti remained only till March, 1798, when, fearing that they would perish in the course of the native wars that were raging, eleven missionaries, with four women and four children, were glad to take passage for Sydney in the Nautilus, a small trading vessel which had put into the island for repairs, only five or six electing to remain. After a perilous voyage of seven weeks the refugees, in May, 1798, reached Sydney where they received every assistance, being welcomed in particular by Governor Hunter and his two chaplains.[55]

Among those who thus arrived in New South Wales was a child of four named Thomas Hassall, son of Rowland Hassall the most distinguished of the former missionaries who became settlers in the young Colony. Twenty-four years later Thomas Hassall, now a young clergyman, regarded by Marsden as "his Timothy," married Marsden's eldest daughter.

"The Rev. Mr. Hassall is well and promises to be a very faithful and useful minister of the Gospel," Marsden wrote upon this occasion, "He was married to my oldest daughter about a month ago. As they are both pious, and have for years walked in the fear of God, I hope they will be a blessing to the Colony when my labours are ended. Mr. Hassall has not got any appointment in the Colony as yet, though many situations are in want of a clergyman. He preaches in different places without reward. I want an assistant very much myself, but I fear Government will not allow me one. I have three services on the Sabbath besides surplice duties. Parramatta is a populous district, and I am now advancing in years. However, in the midst of all, good is done. A generation is rising up to serve the Lord. It is no small satisfaction to me when I see my son-in-law and my daughter ready to take my place, should I be removed. I do feel the strongest persuasion that the poor heathen nations scattered over the islands in the South Seas will receive the blessings of salvation from this Colony."[56]

Almost two years later, in June, 1824, Marsden was able to tell his English correspondent, the Rev. Josiah Pratt, that Hassall had been appointed one of the chaplains of the Colony and was to be stationed at the principal penal settlement, Port Macquarie, where there were "nearly two thousand souls, the greatest part of them felons sent for recent offences from different parts of the Colony."[57]



Another of the refugees from Tahiti who was destined to play an outstanding part in the mission in New Zealand whose interests Marsden so carefully tended, was a carpenter named William Puckey. He himself accompanied Marsden in some portions of his first New Zealand journeys: his son, William G. Puckey, earned distinction as a Maori scholar and translator of the Scriptures.[58]

This sympathetic intercourse with the unfortunate missionaries from the South Seas was the starting point of that interest in mission work in the southern Pacific which dominated Marsden's mind throughout the rest of his life. The committee of the London Missionary Society, grateful for the assistance rendered in the hour of catastrophe and recognising the strength of his character and the practical bent of his mind, turned to him for advice with regard to future operations in the South Seas and placed their agents under his competent guidance and control. In 1801, therefore, Marsden became the recognised correspondent and adviser of the London Missionary Society in relation to its Tahitian Mission,[59] and, with entire freedom from sectarian feeling, was henceforth the guardian of the Pacific

interests of a missionary body which was largely controlled by dissenters. The effect of this intercourse with the committee of the London Missionary Society and its agents had far-reaching results, since Marsden, as a natural consequence, soon conceived the desire that his own Church should play a part in missionary work in the Pacific and was led, by his increasing interest in the Maoris, to regard New Zealand as the stage on which that part should be played.

While Marsden thus became absorbed in his many interests the spiritual and political condition of the settlement remained unchanged. In August, 1806, Governor King was succeeded in office by Captain William Bligh of the Royal Navy, famed as having sailed with Captain Cook on his last voyage, as the introducer of the bread-fruit tree into the West Indies, and as the commander of the mutineers of the Bounty. His qualities of courage and determination seemed to fit him for the part of Governor in a colony where so many moral evils had to be fought, and he approached his task with the resolve that he would end the obnoxious traffic in spirits and raise the moral and religious tone of the settlement. The aim of his reforms sufficed in itself to render him obnoxious to the military chiefs of the Colony; his high-handed and uncompromising methods roused them to fury. Marsden, though a whole-hearted supporter of the principles that actuated the Governor, saw that his unyielding, tactless policy must ultimately result in a political crisis in which all who stood with him must be involved. To Marsden's mind it was evident that the situation could best be met if he or some other competent person were to journey to England and explain the position to the British Government He had lived under the most depressing circumstances for twelve years and had long desired to take a furlough, one chief aim being that he might represent his ideas with regard to a New Zealand mission to the Home authorities. It seemed to him that the psychological moment had arrived to press his case.



A clergyman named Fulton, an Irish political offender who had been permitted by Governor King to resume his ministerial duties and was now living at Norfolk Island, had undertaken to act as his substitute in New South Wales.[60] The Buffalo, with Governor King on board, was about to sail for England. In short, as Marsden somewhat naively puts it, all the circumstances seemed to be "a highly favourable dispensation of Providence towards myself at that time, being aware that a great political storm was fast gathering in the Colony in which, if I remained, I could not well avoid being involved; and to gratify my earnest desire of having the Gospel preached at New Zealand, as well as to secure my own quiet, I was most anxious to quit the Colony without delay, lest I should be prevented from proceeding on the design I had formed."[61]

In applying for leave to the Governor, Marsden frankly stated his opinion with regard to the critical state of the Colony and met with the reply from Bligh that "he fully relied on His Majesty's commission, conceiving that such an authority would perfectly secure him from danger." Marsden, with clearer insight, perceiving "so many among the rising generation who were strangers to the fear of God, could not believe they would honour the commands of the King." Bligh, however, gave him the permission he desired and in February, 1807, Marsden, with his wife and family, set sail for England, where he arrived in the following November, to make a stay of fourteen months.[62]

On January 26th, 1808, sixteen months after Bligh's assumption of office and almost a year after Marsden's departure, the storm which the latter had predicted burst with full fury, Bligh being arrested and deposed by Major George Johnston of the New South Wales Corps, who then assumed the acting-governorship. As a sequel Johnston was cashiered, while Bligh was superseded by Lieutenant-Colonel Macquarie of the 73rd Highlanders (now the Second Battalion of the Black Watch) who arrived at Port Jackson with his regiment in December, 1809. He ruled the Colony until November, 1821, when Sir Thomas Brisbane succeeded him.

Meanwhile Marsden was devoting time and attention in England to bringing before the proper authorities questions prompted by his long residence in New South Wales. Anxious, for example, that a proper asylum should be provided for the reception of women convicts, he pleaded their case with Colonial officials and the Archbishop of Canterbury.[63] Representing, again, the need for more ministers of religion in New South Wales, he succeeded in inducing the Revs. William Cowper



and Robert Cartwright to devote themselves to the work of the Church in the Colony.[64] Marsden found in these men colleagues of the best type who eased considerably the burden he had so long borne alone.

Marsden, however, considered it the crowning achievement of his stay in England that he had succeeded in persuading the Church Missionary Society to allow him to undertake the New Zealand mission, the idea of which he had so long cherished, and that there sailed with him in the Ann for New South Wales on August 25th, 1809, two artisan missionaries, William Hall of Carlisle, a carpenter, and John King, of Nether Worton, near Bunbury, a flax dresser, twine spinner, and rope-maker, who had decided to dedicate themselves as missionaries to the Maoris and who had been given a free passage to Port Jackson "on condition of their rendering all needful help during the voyage." The Committee had been anxious that a third man, a blacksmith, should accompany the party, but was unable to find a suitable person with the desired qualification.[65]

Marsden himself during his stay in England had astonished his friends by his enthusiasm for the cause of the Church in the antipodes which prompted him to sacrifice personal comfort and undertake long and tiresome journeys "on merely hearing of something which might probably be turned to the benefit of the outcasts in Botany Bay or of the rude inhabitants of New Zealand." To interview King, for example, he was compelled to travel nearly the whole distance from Hull to London on the outside of a coach, in a heavy fall of snow, since no inside place was available. But he arrived happy in having accomplished his object and secured his man, declaring that he felt no inconvenience from his journey and making light of fatigue and cold to his friend Dr. John Mason Good.[66]

While working thus for the future of New Zealand Marsden had not forgotten his duty to the New South Wales settlement. He had succeeded in interesting his friends and the general public in his project of founding a lending library for the use of soldiers, free settlers, and convicts, and had received so many donations that he was able to take back with him a library of between three and four hundred pounds value.[67] A practical agriculturist and sheep farmer, he had sent wool of his own growing to Leeds and had found that, "taken in the gross, unmixed and unselected," it produced a cloth which was "at least equal, and in the opinion of the manufacturers, superior, to that of the best French looms." Men like Sir Joseph Banks were quick to perceive



that the incident was full of meaning for the future of Australia and of the Empire. The King himself seized the occasion to show his interest in the promotion of the Australian woolgrowing industry and upon Marsden's departure from England in 1809 made a present to the Colony of "five Merino ewes with young," requesting Banks to have them shipped on the Ann so that they might be in the chaplain's care during the voyage. In obedience to the royal command, Sir Joseph made the journey to Portsmouth with all speed, arriving just in time to put the animals on board before the ship sailed.[68] Four of these sheep, with two lambs, safely reached their destination.[69]

The variety of Marsden's interests and his zeal for everything that might advance the spiritual and material prosperity of his fellows left an abiding impression upon his English friends, and Dr. Good, at whose house in London he had been a frequent visitor, summed up his appreciation of his character and activities in words which bear witness to the enthusiasm roused by the man in the minds of those among his contemporaries who were his intimates: "At this moment, Mr. Marsden is on his passage – in humility a child, in vigour of mind and benevolence an angel, full of enterprise for the good of mankind, and especially of his native country, and full of faith and reliance on the Divine promises. . . Unborn empires are dependent on his exertions, and his name will be the theme of the new world, as long as there is a heart to feel reverence or a tongue to utter praise."[70]

Marsden's New Zealand letters and journals which follow, give a full account of the genesis of the Maori Mission and of the work undertaken in New Zealand by Marsden on behalf of the Church Missionary Society. They cover a period of twenty-three years, from 1814 to 1837, during which Marsden made seven visits to New Zealand. The first memorable voyage in the Active was made in 1814 when he was already in his fiftieth year, the seventh and last in 1837 when he had reached the age of seventy-two and was in failing health.[71] His first visit was made as a pioneer of Christianity and as an explorer and observer on behalf of civilisation He was able to return to New South Wales after some two months, satisfied that the New Zealand Mission had been established and that he himself on Christmas Day, 1814, had



been privileged to conduct, at the Bay of Islands, the first Christian Service held on New Zealand soil. Subsequent visits proved necessary when Marsden as supervisor of the Mission was compelled to investigate and correct the conduct of erring missionaries, for in its early stages the Mission was the cause of much anxiety, not because of the hostility of the natives but because of the unworthiness of some of the missionaries.[72] From each visit, in spite of all difficulties, Marsden returned refreshed and comforted, glad to have had an opportunity of supporting and encouraging both the men who stood steadfast amid temptation and the natives who appreciated the benefits conferred upon their country by the presence of those teachers of religion and civilization, and full of enthusiasm over the contributions he had succeeded in making to geographical and ethnological knowledge. The Mission superintendent and explorer displayed that same fearlessness and unflinching devotion to duty that had distinguished his conduct in New South Wales. He did not shrink from the uncongenial task of disciplining and dismissing his erring brethren when that extreme step proved necessary. As he had been the consistent antagonist in New South Wales of the private trade in spirits, so in New Zealand he set himself against the trade in powder and muskets which some of the missionaries declared to be necessary if they were to obtain provisions from the Maoris and visiting whalers and traders. As in New South Wales again, he found many, both among his missionary agents and the Maoris, who chafed against the restrictions imposed upon them by this stern disciplinarian and who resented his uncompromising methods and sturdy downrightness. He sympathised with human weakness but refused to condone the offence which must ruin the Mission. Thus Thomas Kendall, who, as teacher and lay missionary had led the pioneering expedition of 1814[73] and had been regarded as the most promising of the servants of the Society in New Zealand, was removed in 1823, along with the Rev. John Butler, the New Zealand Superintendent of the Mission. The immorality of the former and various faults in the character and temper of the latter rendered their continuance in office undesirable, in Marsden's view, if the Mission were to prosper[74] At the same time, with a British sense of justice, he moved in these matters only with the concurrence of the Committee of missionaries at the Bay of Islands who knew all the facts of the case, and, in the true spirit of Christian forbearance, befriended both Kendall and Butler, as far as they would allow him to do so, when they reached New South Wales. It is a tribute to the justice of his methods and the wisdom of his conduct that, to the end of his life, his most loyal supporter and warmest friend in New Zealand was the Rev. Henry Williams, who, as a lieutenant in the Royal Navy, had learned to appreciate the necessity for discipline and obedience to orders.



In his conduct upon the New Zealand stage Marsden displayed in outstanding degree not only moral courage but physical courage. To undertake long journeys by sea in small sailing vessels, as he did repeatedly, was in itself a trial to one who was by no means a good sailor. His exploration in northern New Zealand of remote regions inhabited by warlike cannibals the majority of whom had never before seen a white man, proved him absolutely fearless, and gained for him the abiding admiration of the Maori warriors who regarded courage as the essential virtue in man.

As an explorer and observer of native customs Marsden also ranks high on account of his keenly sympathetic mind and great tolerance and breadth of view, rare in a man of his age and especially in one bred in the narrow tenets of the evangelical faith. This sympathy with the native race, further, made him almost insensibly a pioneer of Empire in New Zealand, since his desire to protect the Maoris, whom he respected and loved, from the depredations of lawless Europeans convinced him, at an early stage in his study of New Zealand conditions, that the developing situation demanded the active intervention of the British Government.[75] Marsden lived to see the appointment in New Zealand of a representative of Britain whose main support, as he ungrudgingly acknowledged, was the missionaries, the effect of whose work was seen not so much in conversions to Christianity, though these were many, as in the changing attitude of the native mind towards the old savage customs and particularly towards the devastating internecine warfare that had so long been their main interest.[76]

The chiefs themselves play a distinguished part in the drama unfolded in these journals. Ruatara, Hongi, and Te Morenga, in particular, are dominating figures – Ruatara, the first protector of the New Zealand Mission, whose early death in 1815 sorely tried Marsden's faith; Hongi, the cruel, subtle warrior who preserved the Mission that he might not lose the advantages which the contact with Europeans conferred upon him; and Te Morenga, Marsden's fidus Achates, his companion in many journeys, from whose lips he learned much that he wrote with regard to Maori tradition and customs and to whom, therefore, are due in great measure the comments of Marsden upon ethnological matters that give his journals their unique value.

Marsden's interest, indeed, in the Maoris and their country was so great and his New Zealand correspondence so voluminous as almost to obscure the fact that the writer's main occupation lay in New South



Wales, and that the burden involved in the general supervision of the New Zealand Mission was undertaken by one who was already a prime mover in every benevolent scheme established in his own country and who, moreover, worked continually under the handicap imposed by criticism and frequent hostility from those in high places. His relations with the upright but arbitrary Governor Macquarie[77] were frequently strained. Neither man was of the type to suffer opposition with equanimity. In particular Marsden found himself at variance with the Governor when the latter attempted to break down the social prejudices against the emancipists and appointed some of them to the magistrates' bench, and matters reached the stage of open rupture when he refused to accept the Governor's order to act as one of the Commissioners of the Public Roads along with these men.[78] "It was not my objection to obey the Governor's order that gave him such infinite offence," Marsden wrote, "but my not approving of his system of policy in making persons magistrates who had been under the sentence of the law, by objecting to be associated with them in public business. The Governor considered it was my duty to do whatsoever he commanded; and I thought I was bound to respect my

sacred office; and on this point we differed."

Mr. John Thomas Bigge, the British House of Commons Commissioner, was inclined to think that Marsden was fully justified in his attitude with regard to this matter. Marsden based his objection to the appointment of emancipists as magistrates not so much upon the fact that they had been convicts as upon the immorality of their private lives. "The notoriety of that fact," writes Bigge, "does appear to me to have justified Mr. Marsden's refusal to be associated with them in the management of the public roads; a duty which would necessarily bring them much together and which might have the effect of showing to the colony that Mr. Marsden associated with them from choice as well as from duty." Summing up the matter Bigge found in Macquarie's conduct an exhibition of his habitual determination of mind. The system which he refused to relinquish was "recommended more by motives of humanity than of reason and as new as it was hazardous in practice." In the language used by Marsden to the Governor, again, Bigge found "that same undaunted and inflexible spirit that he afterwards displayed whenever an attempt was made to do violence to his feelings or to wound his character."[79]



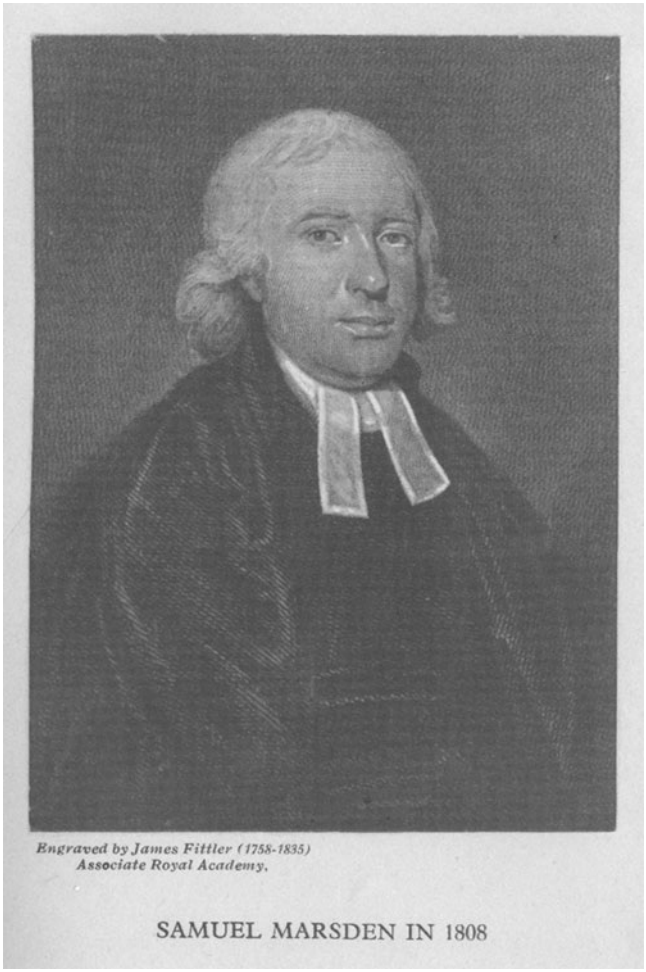
THE "PHILO FREE" LIBEL

Marsden's relations with the Governor were further embittered when, despairing of securing the interest of the New South Wales authorities in his repeated proposals that, in the interests of morality and ordinary humanity, accommodation should be found for the numerous convicts, and especially women convicts, who were at large during the night in Parramatta,[80] he sent a copy of his correspondence with the Governor on this subject to England, and secured the consideration of the matter by a select committee of the House of Commons appointed to examine into various subjects connected with gaols and transportation.[81] Macquarie resented Marsden's action. Marsden, for his part, never regretted the stand he had taken; "I am to this day satisfied," he wrote in his pamphlet of 1826, "that I did no more than my public duty, in forwarding such memorial to the executive authority, to make some provision to counteract the overwhelming influence of public crime."[82]

The breach thus created between the Governor of New South Wales and his Senior Chaplain was considerably widened by the animosity towards Marsden displayed by Macquarie's secretary, John Thomas Campbell, who on January 4th, 1817, wrote and published above the pseudonym of "Philo Free" in the Sydney Gazette, the official organ of the Government, a letter which denounced "the Christian Mahomet" who, under the cloak of religion, supplied the natives of the South Seas with spirits, muskets, and powder, seeking both pecuniary profit and the glory attaching to the "evangelizing hero."

The Governor publicly, in the Gazette, disclaimed any knowledge of Campbell's proceedings in the matter but retained Campbell in his service. Marsden, taking it to be his duty to vindicate both his own character and that of the Missions which he represented, proceeded against Campbell on a charge of malicious libel.[83] After a three days' trial, from October 21st to 23rd, 1817, the Criminal Court at Sydney found Campbell "guilty of having permitted a public letter to be printed

[Inserted unpaginated illustration]




SAMUEL MARSDEN IN 1808
Engraved by James Fittler (1758-1835)
Associate Royal Academy

in the Sydney Gazette which tended to vilify the public conduct of Mr. Marsden, the prosecutor, as the agent of the Missionary Societies for propagating the Gospel in the South Seas." Dissatisfied with this verdict and with the garbled account of the trial which appeared in the Sydney Gazette of November 1st, 1817, Marsden carried the matter to the Supreme Court where, on December 1st, a verdict was given in his favour, damages being fixed at £200.[84] Marsden, however, felt little elation at his triumph, and, in view of the Governor's attitude of suspicion and hostility towards him, would willingly have left the Colony had that course been possible.

"My situation is trying in the extreme," he wrote to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society on February 12th, 1818. "I have no inducement to remain an hour in this settlement, excepting my wish to promote the good of the natives of the South Sea Islands, and for their sakes I would willingly make great sacrifices. I should consider it one of the happiest days of my life could I leave the Colony and retire to New Zealand under the present Government. . . . Should any circumstance occur to require my leaving the Colony, I shall endeavour to make every arrangement in my power before my departure for carrying on the settlement in New Zealand. The work there will go on well, I have no doubt in my mind. I am anxious to visit them again, and have been strongly tempted to leave the Colony from the difficulties of my situation, without giving any motive, and take up my residence amongst them till times change, and I sometimes think I have Scripture warrant for this – 'When ye are persecuted in one city, flee ye to another!' Time may bring relief."[85]

The situation, however, changed only for the worse. Marsden aroused the displeasure of the Governor further by refusing to read his General Orders on civil affairs from the pulpit, and by declining to obey in its entirety the order to muster the convicts on Sundays, unless it were possible for them to attend Divine service. He held that their coming together in large numbers proved only an occasion for such drunkenness and license as had not been foreseen when the order was issued. After several stormy interviews he tendered his resignation from the magistracy, and in the Gazette of March 28th, 1818, the Governor announced that his services in that capacity were dispensed with.[86]





Marsden explained the event to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society in a letter dated May 1st, 1818: –

"In consequence of the many indignities I received in every possible way, I requested His Excellency to allow me to resign my office as magistrate at Parramatta. To this the Governor replied he could not allow me to resign, my services were too beneficial to the public. However, I was resolved the next insults I received from the Governor, as a magistrate, I would retire from the Bench and act no longer. An opportunity soon occurred, when I immediately sent the Governor my resignation, informing him I would act no longer. In the next Gazette the Governor published a General Order stating that he had dispensed with my services, endeavouring to impress upon the public mind that he had dismissed me, and that is the reward I have got for many a weary day and sleepless night during a period of twenty years. I merely mention this as some of my friends, on reading the Governor's order, might be induced to think I had done something for which the Governor had dismissed me from the office of the magistracy. This was wholly an act of my own. I resigned my office in order that I might be more independent of the Governor and less exposed to insult and vexation. His Excellency would not allow me to resign, but I had no idea of remaining in an office merely to be insulted and annoyed. The more retired from public affairs, and public men, the happier and safer I shall be."[87]

Something of the impression produced upon Marsden by these events is reflected in a further letter written on August 12th, 1818, to the Secretary: –

"As all friendly communication between me and the Governor has been cut off for a long time," he wrote "I can hope for no indulgence from him, but on the contrary every possible annoyance. His secretary is his confidential adviser, and a greater enemy, in my opinion, never existed to the Gospel of our blessed Lord. That you will see from the libel. When he was bold enough to publish that libel in the Sydney Gazette you will easily conceive what his private conduct will be and that he will lose no means to wound and injure the servants of Jesus. The enemy has gained no point. All has yet turned out to his confusion and shame. It is true I am by the same influence kept in the Colony much against my will, and I must submit to the authority over me. Many of my friends advise me to leave the Colony in opposition to the Governor, as I am willing to give up my public situation, but this I will not do. I have committed no offence, and I will not run away but stand my ground till I am relieved, as I think this will be more becoming my sacred character and in the end tend to still the enemy."[88]

Early in the following year, 1819, events occurred in England which must have done much to raise Marsden from his depression. A committee of the House of Commons was appointed to investigate the whole subject of prisons, with which the question of the situation at Botany Bay was closely connected, while a commissioner, a London barrister, J. T. Bigge, was sent out to New South Wales to enquire into all matters relating to the laws and regulations of the settlement.[89] Marsden's reputation was much enhanced by the work of this Committee.

"Be assured of this," Mr. T. F. Buxton, one of its members, wrote to him, "you have friends in the Committee who will guard your reputation as if it were their own. Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Bennett, and myself all feel that it is with us a matter of sacred





duty to protect you from that gross injustice to which you have hitherto been exposed. I value my situation as a member of that Committee upon many grounds, but upon none more than that it has enabled me in some small measure to befriend and to console a worthy man who has almost been weighed down by arrogant oppressors. And I do feel a degree of just indignation against those who have inflicted so much suffering upon one whose motives and conduct have been so pure and exemplary, which will forbid me to abandon your cause."

This heartening news was followed by a letter from the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. Josiah Pratt, in which he begged Marsden not to quit his important post.

"Mr. Buxton and all your friends," he wrote, "think it would be the wisest course, independently of those considerations which might be urged on other grounds, not to notice any insults which may be offered you. These cannot be much longer continued."

Acting upon the advice of his friends, Marsden retained his position in the hope that a change of regime would soon occur, taking care, as he notes, to act in all his public conduct "with more marked attention than if no differences had ever existed."[90] The change he desired took place on November 6th, 1821, when Sir Thomas Brisbane reached New South Wales as successor to Macquarie.[91] Marsden's trials did not cease with the advent of the new Governor, although he was not inclined to blame Brisbane personally for the storms that raged around him. He considered Brisbane, indeed, one who was too much inclined to be influenced by others and who was thus scarcely strong enough for his task. "Sir Thomas," he wrote on August 5th, 1825, to the Rev. Josiah Pratt, "is a very amiable private character, but

as a public man he is not equal to the important duties he has to perform as Governor, and his situation is far from being pleasant to him."

Brisbane had not been a year in the Colony before he was called upon to take action with regard to the charge against a friend of his own, Dr. H. G. Douglass, Superintendent of the Female Factory at Parramatta. Marsden had already been reappointed to the magistracy[92] and was one of the magistrates before whom Douglass was called to





appear at Parramatta and who, upon his failure to do so, informed the Governor that they would no longer recognise him as a magistrate and would not act along with him. Along with his four colleagues, therefore, Marsden was removed by Brisbane from the magistracy. "As I had consented to act as a magistrate at the Governor's solicitation to meet his wishes only," was his comment to the Secretary of the Society, "it is a matter of gratification to me that I am relieved of that duty, as I wish to have nothing to do with the political state of the Colony."[93] He had thus, however, estranged the Governor and at the same time made for himself a powerful enemy in Douglass, who, early in 1825, became Clerk to the Governor's Council in New South Wales.[94]

The echoes of the Douglass case had scarcely faded when Marsden, in 1823, was fined £10 2s. 6d. – 2s. 6d. for every day on which the alleged offence had been committed – on a charge of having permitted his assigned servant, James Ring, to employ his spare time by conducting a small business as painter and glazier at Parramatta.[95] Marsden refused to pay this fine, alleging that he had merely followed a practice common in the Colony, and when Lawson and Douglass, the magistrates concerned, secured a warrant and seized his property to the value of the amount imposed, he took the matter to the Supreme Court, charging the magistrates with breaking and entering his house and illegally seizing his property. He claimed £250 damages and was awarded £10 2s. 6d., the judge holding that "the trespass complained of was committed under an honest mistake of the law."[96]

"I never confessed that I did wrong," wrote Marsden with regard to this matter. ". . . They might with equal justice have fined me had I allowed my servant to carry a bucket of water to a neighbour in distress as to fine me for allowing him to put a pane of glass in a broken window. What my servant was allowed to do injured no one. It was a public accommodation at my private expense, and there was no law or regulation to prevent me from obliging my neighbour if no injury were thereby done to the public. . . . My servant lived in my family, 'was daily under my control, did the duty required of him, and interfered with no one. . . . Mr. Thom, Head Constable, stated that on March 26th, 1823 – (when Marsden was in Van Diemen's Land) – Ring had put in some panes of glass in the National School, which school is supported by the Crown. For that one day I was fined 2s. 6d. I do not know the time and place when the award of ten pounds was given





against me. On May 28th I received an order from the magistrates to attend the Bench on the 30th and to pay into Court £10 2s. 6d. This was the first intimation I had that the magistrates had fined me an additional ten pounds. I attended agreeable to the orders of the Bench, but refused to pay the amount of the two convictions, and here the matter rested until June the 9th, when an execution was put into my house."[97]

Ring was not allowed to return to Marsden's service but was sent to the gaol gang at Parramatta. Rendered desperate, as Marsden puts it, "by the numerous acts of oppression and mortification he was doomed to suffer innocently," he formed the desperate resolution of making his escape from the Colony, thus rendering himself subject to the death sentence. The Calder, bound from India to Valparaiso under the command of the famous Dillon,[98] lay at the moment in Sydney Harbour With three other convicts, Ring stowed himself away in this ship and succeeded in escaping observation until she had been at sea for some days, when the Captain made with his prisoners for the Bay of Islands. Marsden had just reached New Zealand in the Brampton[99]and was in the interior of the island when he received a letter from Dillon, dated August 6th, 1823, informing him that the missionary magistrates at the Bay of Islands refused to assume responsibility for his prisoners since they had "no support from the New South Wales Government, no means of victualling the convicts if they took charge of them, and no prison to confine them till an opportunity offered to return them to Sydney." Under these circumstances he had landed the convicts, placing them in charge of a native chief, "son to the late Te Pahi," who was instructed to inform Marsden of the situation. He concluded by asking Marsden to send the prisoners back to Sydney and thus render a public service "in ridding this unprotected place of such desperadoes as they are accumulating in numbers every day, and will, I have every reason to believe, seize, upon and carry off some vessel very shortly, unless their numbers are reduced by your kind interference." The Governor should also, he declared, be asked to employ a different class of person in searching ships about to sail, those engaged to perform this important duty being men "who for a trifling remuneration would allow all the convicts in New South Wales to escape."[100]

Ring, however, upon hearing that Marsden was in New Zealand took to the bush, and, when some natives were commissioned to apprehend him and bring him on board the Brampton, they returned saying that the fugitive had escaped to another part of the island. While Marsden was still in New Zealand he learned that Ring had succeeded in leaving New Zealand in a whaler. "I was much concerned for his misfortunes as well as for his rash act in making his escape," writes Marsden, "as all his sufferings and distress were unmerited."[101]





Holding this view with regard to the case, Marsden communicated on Ring's behalf with Peel, Secretary of State for the Home Department, asking that the convict, should he be captured, might not be sentenced to death, although Ring himself made certain that the question should not be discussed by effectually covering his tracks.[102] The effect of Marsden's letter was that Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, somewhat perturbed at the state of affairs which it revealed, directed that a court of enquiry should be held in New South Wales, consisting of the Governor with two assessors, the Chief Justice, and the newly appointed Archdeacon Scott.[103] This court began its sittings at Government House, Parramatta, on July 14th, 1825.[104] So far as Marsden was concerned the enquiry led to a review by the court of his whole conduct as a magistrate and to his being compelled to vindicate himself from various accusations with regard to acts of extreme cruelty towards convicts. He proved that his punishments had been awarded with strict regard for the law, and that the charges of torturing prisoners to compel confession were founded on absolute fabrication of registers and forgery.[105] At the same time the enquiry served to show that there was urgent need for reform of the methods employed by magistrates towards accused persons, and that Marsden, if adhering to legal practices himself, had been associated with others less scrupulous. It seems clear that his own declaration that he was a strict but not a severe magistrate was a fair statement of his position. Commissioner Bigge's report of 1822 bears out this judgment. "Without impeaching the moral feelings of Mr. Marsden," he wrote, "and without stating it as my opinion that he has acted with undue severity, it is in proof that his sentences are not only, in fact, more severe than those of the other magistrates, but that the general feeling of the Colony is that his character, as displayed in the administration of the present law in New South Wales, is stamped with severity. I am far from entertaining an opinion that it forms part of Mr. Marsden's natural character, but I think that it has proceeded from the habitual contemplation of the depravity of the

people that were brought before him; from the sense that he gradually acquired of the inefficiency of any other punishment than that which was severely and corporally felt by them, and the limitation that was imposed by an order of Governor Macquarrie's which assigned a certain number only of delinquents for the chain gangs in each town."[106]

There can be little doubt in the modern mind, however, that the strict interpretation of the brutal penal code of the early nineteenth century demanded qualities in those who administered it which are hard to reconcile with Marsden's undoubted philanthropic ideas and general benevolence of spirit. His early scruples concerning his acceptance of the offer of the magistracy were more creditable to him than his subsequent vindication of his stern exaction of the penalties prescribed by law. He acted throughout from a sense of duty and with entire regard for the principles of integrity and justice, but the chaplain, the apostle of love, who was also the judge, the exponent of law, was placed in a difficult position. It says much for the impression produced upon his contemporaries by his general conduct that, after the public enquiry had ended and all had been heard that was to be said both for and against him, the Chief Justice, Forbes, declared his respect for Marsden "as an old and zealous minister of religion."[107] It must have been a further solace to Marsden to know that his work was appreciated by the Home Government and to be informed that in consideration of his "long and useful services in the Colony of New South Wales, ..." and of his "long, laborious, and praiseworthy exertions in behalf of religion and morality" his stipend had been raised to £400 per annum.[108]

At the same time, the strain of these events must have been very great upon a man who had now reached the age of sixty and who found himself compelled to vindicate his conduct throughout his long period of service in New South Wales. In this, as in all other things, Marsden found support and consolation in the religion which was the mainstay of his life. His attitude of mind is shown in a letter written on September 17th, 1825, to Mr. Dandeson Coates of the Church Missionary Society: –

"I have never passed through more severe trials," he wrote, " than what I have experienced from unreasonable and wicked men for the last three months: 'All that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution.[109] I know the truth of St. Paul's observation by bitter experience. When our present troubles will end I can form no idea, and therefore must leave all in the hands of a good and gracious God. Few persons have more reasons to know than I have, that He governs this lower world and watches over them that fear Him, from the beginning to the end of the year. I bless and praise His name for providing a shield for me in the day of battle. Lying and slander and all manner of evil speaking I must submit to. The day is coming when the Judge of all the earth will do right. The Divine promises are my comfort. I know the Scriptures cannot be broken and God will make all things work for good to them that love Him."[110]





If one remembers that the man who for so many years was thus compelled to defend himself against all manner of calumnies was also harassed by domestic trouble – for Mrs. Marsden was an invalid from about 1812 till her death in 1835 – one wonders the more at the stoutness of heart and determination of character which prompted Marsden to undertake the New Zealand Mission whose establishment was the crowning achievement of his life. The manner in which that end was accomplished, and the trials of mind and body that beset the founder of the Mission, form the subject matter of the succeeding letters and journals.

The source of his strength through all vicissitudes is well expressed by himself in a letter to his friend, the philanthropist William Wilberforce[111]: –

"All things are wisely ordered for our good," he writes. "There is not a single event in our lives for which we can assign all the reasons which Infinite Wisdom may have in view. I, more than most men, have cause to be thankful for many striking interpositions of Divine Providence in my favour. God has blessed me in my basket and my store, and has given me all things richly to enjoy. I trust I shall see that I have not laboured in vain, and that in the great day of account some, even from this foreign land, will be found meet for the Kingdom of Heaven. Difficulties I must still expect, more or less; but I find now that it is not a little thing that will affect me."

1 The article on Samuel Marsden in the Dictionary of National Biography, J. B. Marsden's Life and Labours of the Rev. Samuel Marsden (London, 1857), S. M. Johnstone's Life of Samuel Marsden (Sydney, 1932), and Dr. T. M. Hocken's The Early New Zealand Missions and the Rev. Samuel Marsden – a lecture delivered before the Otago Institute on Tuesday, October 17th, 1905, and published in the Otago Daily Times in December, 1905, and January, 1906, – all give July 28th, 1764, as the date of Marsden's birth. The memorial windows in Farsley Church and his tombstone there also bear this date. Bishop S. E. Marsden, a grandson of Samuel Marsden, in a short note on his grandfather's early life, in the Hocken Library, Dunedin, writes: "Samuel Marsden was baptized at the Parish Church, Calverley, on July 21st, 1765, so it is probable that the tradition that he was born in the previous year is correct." That the date of Marsden's birth, however, was June 25th, 1765, is fixed by a letter written by him on June 25th, 1835, to Dandeson Coates, Lay Secretary of the Church Missionary Society (quoted p. 515 infra) in which he states: "I am seventy years old this day." His Australian and New Zealand friends evidently accepted June, 1765, as the date of his birth. Thus the Rev. Richard Hill of Sydney on November 10th, 1835, wrote to Dandeson Coates with regard to Marsden: "He is now, I think, in his seventy-first year" (p. 517 infra), while Archdeacon Cowper, who conducted the burial service upon Marsden's death on May 12th, 1838, wrote to his son, the Rev. W. Cowper: "He had nearly completed his seventy-third year" (p. 539 infra). The memorial tablet in his church at Parramatta does not give the date of birth but states that he died in May, 1838, at the age of 73. The evidence from the Admission Book of Magdalene Hall, Cambridge, is not so conclusive. When he was admitted on June 24th, 1790, he was on the eve of celebrating his twenty-fifth birthday and was noted as being in his twenty-sixth year – "annum agens 26." Marsden's own evidence on the point, however, seems conclusive and fits in well with the admitted date 01 baptism. The Vicar of Farsley, the Rev. W. L. Beckles Goodwin, states that a search in the Parish Church Register there shows that Marsden's date of birth is not entered, the only information regarding him being that given by the date of baptism.

2 MS. note by Bishop S. E. Marsden concerning Samuel Marsden's early life (Hocken Library, Dunedin).

3 MS. letter of May 17th, 1906, from Bishop S. E. Marsden to Dr. Hocken (Hocken Library, Dunedin).

4 Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. V, p. 450.

5 Reports and Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1808, Appendix.

6 S. M. Johnstone, Samuel Marsden (Sydney, 1932), pp. 70-74: cf. Coates, Beecham, and Ellis, Christianity the Means of Civilization (London, 1837), where the subject is discussed with particular reference to the evidence of the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the London Missionary Society, given in 1836 before a Committee of the House of Commons appointed "to consider what measures ought to be adopted with regard to the native inhabitants of countries where British Settlements are made, and to the neighbouring tribes . . . to promote the spread of civilization among them and to lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian Religion." The secretaries of the Societies and such missionaries as gave evidence in their support vigorously repudiated the idea that civilization is necessary to prepare the way for Christianity.

7 T. Alfred Stowell, The Elland Clerical Society (Beverley, 1898); Letter from Samuel Marsden to Rev. Miles Atkinson, infra, pp. 29-30; and Abstract of Letter dated December, 1828, from Hammond Robertson, Heald's Hall, near Leeds, to Samuel Marsden (Hocken Library).

8 Marsden Correspondence (Hocken Library).

9 The old registers of Hull Grammar School have been lost and no record, therefore, of Marsden's attendance at that school is available. (Correspondence, 1932, with Messrs. F. R. Bell, B.A., and

W. G. B. Page, of Hull.)

10 J. S. Hassall, In Old Australia (Brisbane, 1902), pp. 136-7 – (the Rev. J. S. Hassall was a grandson of Samuel Marsden) – and "Nostra Schola," an article by F, R. Bell in the Hullensian for July, 1926.

11 Magdalene College Register No. 3, p. 341; cf. Correspondence with Dr. S. A. Donaldson, Master of Magdalene College, (Hocken Library). Dr. Donaldson writes: "It is not clear whether he meant to write Samuelus or Samuelis. I copy it as he wrote it, without a dot."

From these entries it is plain that Marsden was never a student of St. John's, Cambridge, as is stated in the article with regard to him in the Dictionary of National Biography, in the Rev. J. B. Marsden's Life and Labours of Rev. Samuel Marsden (London, 1857), p. 2, in Rev. Dr. Jacobs's Dioceses of New Zealand (London, 1889), and in James Bonwick's Australia's First Preacher – the Rev. Richard Johnson (London, 1898), p. 113. It should be noted that Mr. Bonwick errs in the statement made in Australia's First Preacher (p. 114) that the Rev. J. B. Marsden, Marsden's biographer, was a son of the Rev. Samuel Marsden. He was not related to him in any way.

12 James Bonwick, Australia's First Preacher – the Rev. Richard Johnson (London, 1898), pp. 111-3.

Wilberforce had on November 3rd, 1790, written to his friend William Hey, a well-known surgeon in Leeds, in terms which show that, at first, some doubt existed in the minds of those who knew him with regard to Marsden's suitability for the ministry: – "Your account is not very favourable," he wrote, "but as I know you are no flatterer I take it for granted things are not worse than you represent them." – R. I. and S. Wilberforce, Correspondence of William Wilberforce (London, 1840). Hey subsequently became one of Marsden's strongest supporters and admirers, and maintained a regular correspondence with him till his death on March 23rd, 1819. – John Pearson, The Life of William Hey (London, 1823), Vol. I, pp. 192-3.

13 The records of ordination in the Bristol Registry during the latter half of the eighteenth century are supposed to have been destroyed when the Palace was burned down during the Bristol Riots of 1831. – (The Secretary of the Bishop of Exeter to Dr. Hocken, July 29th, 1905.)

14 Correspondence of Dr. Hocken with Bishop S. E. Marsden, formerly Bishop of Bathurst, Assistant Bishop, Diocese of Gloucester (a grandson of Samuel Marsden), with the Secretary of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and with the Secretary of the Bishop of Exeter.

15 On May 9th, 1827, Marsden wrote as follows from Parramatta to Mr. Dandeson Coates of the Church Missionary Society with reference to the claim of Mrs. Marsden to a portion of Sir Clowdisley Shovell's estate: –

"I have taken the liberty to transmit the enclosed which is a copy of a memorandum that was left at my house in my absence by Lieut. Cooling of the Royal Navy. I shall be much obliged if you will take the trouble to make some enquiry relative to the property in question. The persons mentioned in the memorandum may be able to throw some light upon the subject. I have little doubt but that there is some truth in the statement for the following reasons: –

"Mrs. Marsden is a distant relation of Sir Clowdesly Shovel, who was lost on the rocks off Scilly on the 22nd October, 1707.

"Mrs. Marsden's grandmother was niece of Sir Clowdesly. She was about three years old when her uncle died.

Marsden to Dandeson Coates, May 9th, 1927 (continuation) –
"She married a Mr. Jeremiah Fristan who was an officer of the Customs at Wells in Norfolk and afterwards died, September 20th, 1732, aged 28 years – I believe at Wells – leaving one son, Mrs. Marsden's father. Mrs. Marsden's grandfather, Jeremiah Fristan, died September 18th, 1750, at Wells, aged 52 years.

"Mrs. Marsden's father's name was Thomas Fristan. He married Catharine Tweed, a native of Hull in Yorkshire, at Sculcoates Church in Hull on the 9th January, 1771. Thomas Fristan died in Hull, June 13th, 1780, aged 52 years, leaving one daughter, Elizabeth Fristan, whom I married and who is now living in Parramatta, New South Wales. We were married on the 21st April, 1793, by the late Dr. Clarke, vicar of Hull High Church, brother-in-law to William Wilberforce, Esq. Mrs. Elizabeth Scott of Hull, who is well acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Scott of that place, can give more information on this subject than I can. She is first cousin to Mrs. Marsden and now 75 years old.

"Mrs. Marsden, daughter of Thomas and Catharine Fristan, was born at Hull, July 12th, 1772, and christened August 20th, 1772. Mrs. Marsden was taught from her infancy to expect considerable property from the effects of Sir Clowdesly Shovel. I believe, in consequence of her grandmother dying a young woman and her grandfather marrying again, some difficulties were opposed to her legal claim. More than twenty years ago application was made to Mrs. Marsden for some certificates relative to the property, which were transmitted to Mrs. Scott of Hull. Since that time we have heard no more. I have now given you the best information I can, and will thank you to forward as soon as you can the result of your enquiry. Lieut. Cooling stated the property was more than £2,000 per annum."

The memorandum here referred to reads as follows: – "Mr. Bigger of Kensington near London requested Lieut. Cooling to inform the Rev. Mr. Marsden of Parramatta that Mrs. Marsden had the most positive right to a property at Islington called Clowdesley Terrace consisting of a number of genteel houses." – Marsden Correspondence (Hocken Library).

Nothing, apparently, resulted from these enquiries with regard to Mrs. Marsden's interest in Sir Clowdisley's estate; there is no further reference to the matter in Marsden's correspondence.

16 J. S. Hassall, In Old Australia, pp. 137-8.

17 Marsden to Mr. Dandeson Coates, May 9th, 1827.
Mrs. Marsden died at Parramatta on October 2nd, 1835, at the age of sixty-three. – Vide infra, p. 516.

18 David Collins, Account of the English Colony in New South Wales (London, 1798), Vol. I, pp. 218-9, 252-3. "One serving of salt meat alone remained in the provision store," writes Collins, "and that was to be the food of only half a week. After that period the prospect was truly discouraging; for mere bread and water appeared to be the portion of by far the greater part of these unfortunate settlements."

19 The MS. Journal of Marsden's first voyage to Australia is in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. Much of it is quoted in Dr. Hocken's lecture of October 17th, 1905, to the Otago Institute, The Early New Zealand Mission and the Rev. Samuel Marsden.

20 (1) Anne Marsden, born under these circumstances on March 2nd, 1794, married the Rev. Thomas Hassall on August 12th, 1822. He was born at Coventry on May 29th, 1794, and was a son of Rowland Hassall, one of the first band of missionaries who went out to the South Seas in the Duff in 1796. Anne Marsden died on June 18th, 1885.

Marsden had seven children in addition to Anne * : –

(2) Elizabeth, born in 1796. There is no record of her baptism in the Parramatta Register. In 1838 she married the Rev. Henry H. Bobart, Marsden's curate, who succeeded him at Parramatta.

(3) Charles Simeon (i), born on March 27th, 1798. There is no record of his death in the Parramatta Register. He was accidentally killed in infancy by being thrown from a gig in which his mother was driving. "We were going to the farm," Mrs. Marsden wrote to a friend on November 13th, 1802. "A servant was with the boy and me in a single horse chaise, Mr. Marsden was on horseback, when a man, twenty yards from our house, carelessly ran a wheelbarrow directly under the wheel of the chaise and overturned it and my dear child never stirred more. Picture to yourself my feelings, to have him in health and spirits, and the next moment to behold him in the arms of death. This is the first time I have taken up my pen to write to England since I lost him, though it is now fifteen months." – J. S. Hassall, In Old Australia, p. 144.

(4) John, born on October 26th, 1801. He was not baptized until April 10th, 1803, and was buried at Parramatta on August 16th, 1803. There is no record of his death in the Parramatta Register. He was accidentally scalded to death when just beginning to walk.

(5) Charles Simeon (ii), born on June 21st, 1803. He went home to study medicine in 1819, being accredited to his father's friend Dr. John Mason Good of London, but returned to New South Wales in 1823 to take up farming. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Brabyn of the New South Wales Corps and died on September 27th, 1868, at the age of 65. – Vide J. S. Hassall, In Old Australia, p. 29.

(6) Mary, wife of John Betts of Parramatta. Born on July 1st, 1806, she died at Parramatta on February 14th, 1885.

(7) Jane, born on December 7th, 1808, at Hull, England. She became the wife of Thomas Marsden, her cousin. Her son became first Bishop of Bathurst and subsequently Assistant Bishop in the Diocese of Gloucester, England.

(8) Martha, wife of Josiah Betts, brother of John Betts, of Parramatta. Born on May 6th, 1811, she died on September 26th, 1895.
All Marsden's children who survived infancy left descendants.
* The Registers of St. John's Church, Parramatta. (These the Rev. S. M. Johnstone notes are not complete.) – Marsden Correspondence and Correspondence of Dr. Hocken with Miss Lizzie Betts, of Sydney, Marsden's granddaughter (Hocken Library). The birth of Marsden's daughter Jane is recorded in the Hull Advertiser of December, 1808.

21 The Rev. Richard Johnson, Senior Chaplain, who, like Marsden, was an old Hull Grammar School boy. The only other clergyman in the Colony was the Rev. Mr. Bain who was attached to the New South Wales Corps. He left New South Wales in the Daedalus on December 17th, 1794, along with Grose. – Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. II, p. 274.

Bain accompanied Governor King when he visited New Zealand in the Britannia in 1793. – Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. I, p. 184; Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. II, p. 88, and infra, p. 526.

22 Francis Grose, Commandant of the New South Wales Corps.

23 Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. Ill, pp. 439-442.

24 James Bonwick, Australia's First Preacher (London, 1898), p. 191.

25 The building "of strong posts, wattle, and plaster" cost Johnson £67, a sum which was not repaid for many years. It stood where Hunter, Castlereagh, and Bligh Streets now meet and was burned down in October, 1798, presumably by an incendiary who was roused by Governor Hunter's regulations with regard to stricter Sabbath observance and church attendance. The offender was never discovered. The loss was the greater, as Collins points out, since the building was also used as a school. – Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. II, p 64; James Bonwick, Australia's First Preacher (London, 1898), pp. 207-224; David Collins, An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, Vol. II, p. 129, and infra, p. 33.

Johnson gave evidence in 1811 before the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to enquire into the Laws relating to Penitentiary Houses. Asked if it appeared to him, before he left the Colony, that there was "any increase of religious feeling," he replied, "I am sorry to say that there was not much, with some few exceptions." – House of Commons: Report from the Committee on the Laws relating to Penitentiary Houses, 1811, pp. 66-8.

26 Rev. Henry George Watkin, Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Richard Johnson, March 25th, 1827; James Bonwick, Australia's First Preacher (London, 1898), p. 257. The statement made on page 257 of Australia's First Preacher that in 1817 Johnson was inducted to the perpetual curacy of Ingham in Norfolk is based, apparently, on some confusion of identity. The name of Richard Johnson appears regularly, from 1813 till his death, in the list of subscribers given in The Church Missionary Register, and after 1817 he is noted as connected with St. Antholin's, no mention being made of any association with Ingham. His name first appears in The Church Missionary Register for 1813, pp. 272 and 399.

27 Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. IV, p. 202.

28 Vide infra, pp. 58, 155, 526.

29 Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. II, p. 274.

30 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 321.

31 House of Commons: Report from the Select Committee on Transportation, p. 5.

32 J. B. Marsden, Life and Labours of Rev. Samuel Marsden (London, 1857), pp. 30-31; Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. IV, pp. 190, 209, 224.

33 J B. Marsden, Life and Labours of Rev. Samuel Marsden, pp. 32-3; Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. IV, pp. 43, 44, 190.

34 Letters from the MS. Journals of the Elland Society; Correspondence with the Rev. Meredith Lane, Rector of Beeford, a former honorary secretary of the Elland Society, quoted in T. M. Hocken's Lecture, The Early New Zealand Mission and the Rev. Samuel Marsden.

35 The Rev. Miles Atkinson, Lecturer of the Parish Church of Leeds, was an intimate friend of William Hey, the Leeds surgeon, with whom Marsden also corresponded. He is described by Hey's biographer as "a man of sterling integrity, of great fidelity, and of unwearied industry in the performance of his ministerial duties." He died on February 6th, 1811. John Pearson, The Life of William Hey (London, 1823), Vol. II, p. 113.

36 David Collins was Judge Advocate of New South Wales till September, 1796. On the 29th of that month he sailed for England by way of Norfolk Island in the Britannia, Richard Atkins being appointed his deputy. – Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. III, p. 168.

37 W. C. Wentworth, A Statistical Account of the British Settlements in Australasia (London, 1824). Wentworth's venomous attack on Marsden "this good man" is in Vol. I, p. 366, et seq.

38 Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. IV, p. 74.

39 Francois Peron, Voyage aux Terres Australes, 1800-04 (Paris, 1807), Vol. I, p. 402.

40 Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. IV, p. 190

41 Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 432-3.

42 Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 413-4-5, 690, 701-2.
"In the midst of all difficulties," Marsden wrote to the Rev. Josiah Pratt on July 2nd, 1825, "God has always blessed my basket and my store, and prospered me in all that I have set my hands unto. The greatest part of my property is in the hands of common felons, more than 100 miles from my house in the woods and much of it I never saw, yet it has been taken care of and will be. A kind

Providence has watched over all that I have had, and I can truly say I feel no more concern about my sheep and cattle than if they were under my own eye. I have never once visited the place where many of them are, having no time to do this. We may trust God with all we have. I wish to be thankful to Him Who has poured out His benefits upon me and mine." – Marsden Correspondence (Hocken Library).

43 House of Commons: Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry into the State of Agriculture and Trade in New South Wales (1823), p. 70. John Thomas Bigge, appointed by the House of Commons to enquire into conditions in New South Wales, arrived in the Colony in the John Barry on September 25th, 1819. His investigations occupied him till the beginning of 1821 when, on February 14th, he sailed for England in H.M.S. Dromedary. His three reports dealing with Penal Discipline, the Judicial Establishment, Ecclesiastical Matters, Trade and Agriculture, were printed by order of the House of Commons in 1823. – J. H. Heaton, Australian Dictionary of Dates and Men of the Time (Sydney, 1879), p. 17.

44 Joseph Holt, Memoirs (London, 1838), Vol II, p. 121; Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. IV, pp. 235-6

Holt, who was an eyewitness of the flogging of Galvin and who himself had various encounters with Marsden, describes him as "a busy, meddling man, of shallow understanding." – Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 88.

45 F. M. Bladen, Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. IV, p. 36.

46 Samuel Marsden, An Answer to Certain Calumnies, etc. (London, 1826), pp. 82-3.

47 Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. IV, pp. 135-6-7, 232, 233.
"I have the happiness to inform you that after much painful anxiety and many difficulties, the orphan school at Sydney is at length opened for the reception of sixty girls," Marsden wrote to his friend William Wilberforce on August 17th, 1801. I cannot but view this institution as the foundation of religion and morality in this Colony – without an establishment of this nature to rescue the rising generation from ruin, it could never prosper." – Correspondence of William Wilberforce, edited by R. I. Wilberforce and S. Wilberforce (1840), Vol. I, pp. 229-231.

48 House of Commons: Report of Commissioner of Inquiry on the State of Agriculture and Trade in New South Wales (1823); cf. Report from the Select Committee on the State of Gaols (July, 1819), p. 17, where Marsden's interest in the Orphan School is dealt with.

49 "I hope my colleague, the Rev. Richard Johnson, has safely arrived in England before this period," Marsden had written to Wilberforce after Johnson's departure in 1800. "In consequence of his weakly state, I do not expect to see him any more in this country. My duty is now very hard, having no assistance, and preaching both at Sydney and Parramatta every Sabbath day: much of the care of the Orphan School also devolves upon me. The Colony is not much better in a moral sense than it was when Governor Hunter was here. Governor King has taken every means to prevent the introduction of so great a quantity of spirits as formerly. ... I see little prospect of any reformation amongst the prisoners at large.

"At present bread is very scarce, and the people suffer much from the want of it. This want must be attributed in a great measure to the idleness and drunkenness of the inhabitants. They put little or no value upon their crops, when harvest comes take no care of their grain, and frequently part with the principal part for spirits." – Correspondence of William Wilberforce (1840), Vol. 1, pp. 229-231.

Five years later, in January, 1805, Marsden again wrote in the following terms to Wilberforce: – "I am persuaded, if there was no clergyman here, this Colony would be a much greater scene of sin and iniquity than it is. A minister of religion, particularly in New South Wales, where he is known by every person in the settlement and personally knows almost every person, stands as a barrier against the overflowings of sin and ungodliness. Though I cannot say much apparent good is done by my public ministry, yet I know much real evil is prevented. . . . It is a great consolation to me, amidst all my difficulties, to know and feel that I am in the very place where Divine wisdom would have me be." – Correspondence of William Wilberforce (1840), Vol. II, pp. 3-6; William Woolls, A Short Account of the Character and Labours of the Rev. Samuel Marsden (Parramatta, 1844), p. 8.

Cowper took charge of St. Phillip's, Church Hill, where he remained for nearly half a century. When the Archdeaconry of Cumberland was created in 1848 by Bishop Broughton, he became the first Archdeacon. Valued by Marsden as friend and colleague, he had the solemn privilege of being chosen to conduct his burial service. Cartwright, appointed first to Hawkesbury, was transferred afterwards to Liverpool and the southern district of New South Wales. – W. J. Gunther, The Church of England in Australia from 1788 to 1829 (Parramatta, 1888), pp. 14-15.

50 James Montgomery, Journal of Voyages and Travels by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet (London, 1831), Vol. II, p. 167.

51 William Woolls, A Short Account of the Character and Labours of the Rev. Samuel Marsden (Parramatta, 1844), p. 11.

52 J. S. Hassall, In Old Australia, p. 146.
"Last Easter Sunday," Marsden wrote in a letter dated April 27th, 1803, "I consecrated my church at Parramatta. This building proves a great comfort to my mind, as I can now perform Divine Service in a manner becoming the worship of Almighty God. ... It has been with many years' labour and patience that I have got a temple erected. It has been built in troublesome times, and had many to oppose it. Sometimes I contested with those who opposed my church and sometimes craved their aid. At length I have had the honour of dedicating it to the Worship of God, and shall retain a grateful sense of His goodness in opening the way thus far." – Ibid., p. 146.

53 House of Commons: Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry on the State of Agriculture and Trade in New South Wales (1823), pp. 69, 70.

54 The letter is signed by Samuel Marsden, William Cowper, Robert Cartwright, Henry Fulton, and Benjamin Vale. Vide infra, pp. 233-4, 446.

55 Joseph King, Ten Decades: the Australian Centenary Story of the London Missionary Society (London, 1895), pp. 21 and 22; Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. Ill, pp. 487, 707, 711, 731.

56 The Rev. Samuel Marsden to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, Parramatta, September 7th, 1822. – (Marsden Correspondence.)

57 Rev. Samuel Marsden to the Rev. Josiah Pratt, Parramatta, June 26th, 1824. – Ibid.
The Rev. Thomas Hassall had studied at Lampeter College, in Wales, from 1817 to 1821. He then took priest's orders and was appointed a chaplain to New South Wales. In 1826 he became incumbent of Bathurst, and from 1827 till his death in 1867 he was incumbent of the Camden district. – J. S. Hassall, In Old Australia (Brisbane, 1902), pp. 184-197.

58 Vide infra, p. 523.

59 Joseph King, Ten Decades (London, 1895), p. 38.

60 Fulton was subsequently appointed a magistrate in the district of Castlereagh. – House of Commons: Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry into the State of New South Wales (1822), pp. 83-4.

61 Infra, p. 60.

62 Marsden sailed for England from Sydney in H.M.S. Buffalo on February 8th, 1807, and arrived on November 8th, 1807. He returned in the Ann which sailed from Spithead on August 25th, 1809, and arrived at Port Jackson on February 27th, 1810. The Ann had on board 197 convicts and a detachment of the 73rd Regiment. – House of Commons: Report from the Select Committee on Transportation (1812), p. 111. – He was thus actually in England for nearly two years.

63 Samuel Marsden, An Answer to Certain Calumnies (London, 1826), p. 15, and infra, pp. 47-48.

64 Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1808-9, p. 336.

65 Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1808-9, pp. 336-340, 484-487.
In commenting upon the despatch of these missionaries to New Zealand, the Committee of the Church Missionary Society expressed its pleasure at being able to state that "His Majesty's Minister for the Colonies has given Governor Macquarie, recently appointed to New South Wales, instructions to afford the (New Zealand) settlement his countenance and support; and His Excellency, on his part, has answered the respectful application of the Committee by the most friendly assurance of his goodwill." – Ibid., p. 487.

66 Olinthus Gregory, Memoirs of the Life, Writing, and Character of John Mason Good, M.D. (London, 1832), p. 308.

67 Ibid., p. 395.

68 Olinthus Gregory, Memoirs of the Life, Writing, and Character of John Mason Good, M.D. (London, 1832), p. 395.

69 J. S. Hassall, In Old Australia, p. 151.

70 Olinthus Gregory, Memoirs of the Life, Writing, and Character of John Mason Good, M.D. (London, 1832), p. 395.
As a proof of Marsden's humbleness of mind, the Rev. J. B. Marsden relates that on receiving Mr. Gregory's book with this eulogy written in its appendix by Dr. Good, Marsden refused to allow the members of his family to read it until he had cut out the pages referring to himself. – J. B. Marsden, Life of Samuel Marsden, p. 227

71 "I remember the Rev. Samuel Marsden very well at this time," writes his grandson, the Rev. J. S. Hassall. "He was about seventy years of age, short and stout, clean shaven and rather bald, with white hair. He wore a broad brimmed beaver hat, and drove himself about Parramatta in one of the old-fashioned gigs, with a splendid horse. He had two rings placed in the splashboard, to pass the reins through, for he would sometimes drive home without them in his hands, in the forgetfulness of old age. His horse, however, would always stop safely at the front door of the parsonage, quite the same as if driven there." – J. S. Hassall, In Old Australia (Brisbane, 1902), p. 23.

72 "All the difficulties in New Zealand that I have met with have been in governing the Europeans," wrote Marsden to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society from Rangihoua on September 22nd, 1820. "They will not do what is right. They will not live in unity and brotherly love. . . . The love of money, the thirst for pre-eminence, the want of industry and zeal for the good of the heathen, have greatly mitigated against the success of the Mission." – (Marsden Correspondence.)

73 Vide infra, p. 62.

74 Vide infra, p. 412, et seq.

75 As early as September, 1820, after his first visit to the Thames, Marsden wrote upon this matter to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. "At the River Thames," he said, "the chiefs on both the west and east side requested that they might have some protection afforded them from the British Government. Wherever I have been, the chiefs and people are sensible of the advantages of some regular government, and most of them wish to lay aside their war pursuits and turn their attention to agriculture, but allege they are compelled to fight for self protection, as they have no government and nothing but their spear to depend upon. Many of the chiefs are very sensible men and well disposed, and would labour if they could only reap the fruits of their industry. But till there is some regular government, however small, the powerful tribes will murder and oppress the weak." – Marsden Correspondence (Hocken Library).

76 Vide infra, pp. 512-3.

77 Macquarie entered upon office on January 1st, 1810, and was Governor until 1821.

78 Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. VII, p. 328; S. Marsden, An Answer to Certain Calumnies (London, 1826), pp. 4-6.

79 House of Commons: Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry into the State of the Colony of New South Wales (1822), p. 83; cf. House of Commons: Report from the Select Committee on the State of Gaols (1819), pp. 54-6, and Alexander Riley's evidence (ibid., p. 55): "I must certainly say, there was no person capable of reflecting upon the measure (i.e. the appointment of emancipists as magistrates) who did not regret that the Governor had taken so premature and unexpected a step; and I think this sentiment as equally prevailed in the minds of the discriminating proportion of those who had originally been prisoners themselves, as among the inhabitants who came free into the Colony. The appointment unquestionably materially lessened the respect of the inhabitants towards the magistracy; and it was viewed by the mercantile connections of the Colony abroad, and by every stranger who visited it, in the same light."

80 "Not one of all these numbers (140 women and about the same number of men) had a place provided by the Crown for him or her to lodge in; nor were there gaols to confine them for any crimes they might commit." – S. Marsden, An Answer to Certain Calumnies, p. 39; cf. House of Commons: Report from the Select Committee on the State of Gaols (July, 1819), p. 79 et seq., and Alexander Riley's evidence on p. 9 et seq.: "In what way are the convicts in the employment of the Government lodged? They are not lodged at all; it is almost impossible for me to inform the Committee what is done with them; they find lodgings where they can, there is no receptacle for the prisoners being either fed or housed; during the time I have been in the Colony, there has been no receptacle for their being fed or slept at night; but when I came away, a barrack was in material forwardness for that purpose, on a large scale, at Sydney. When did you leave the Colony? In December, 1817. I calculated that it would be finished about the latter end of 1818."

81 S. Marsden, An Answer to Certain Calumnies, p. 30.

82 $ Ibid., p. 33.

83 "I now prepared to meet all that power, influence, law, and learning could do," he writes. "My mind was relieved. I had determined upon the line of conduct I should pursue I had but one point to carry, which was to convict Campbell of the libel. If I convicted him, my own reputation would be publicly vindicated and Campbell, if not conquered, would be much crippled in his future attacks. Few men, I believe, have had a more difficult task to perform than I had when I brought Campbell to trial." – Samuel Marsden to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, September 26th, 1818. – (Marsden Correspondence.)

84 House of Commons: Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry on the Judicial Establishments of New South Wales (1823), pp. 25-27; cf. Report from the Select Committee on the State of Gaols (1819), pp. 96-97.

85 Marsden Correspondence (Hocken Library).

86 House of Commons: Report of the Select Committee on the State of Gaols (1819), pp. 85-6.

An impression of general opinion in the Colony with regard to Marsden's removal from the magistracy at this time may be gathered from the evidence given by Richard Jones before the Select Committee: – "What character does Mr. Marsden bear in the colony?" "He bears a most excellent character; it is impossible for a man to bear a better, both as a moral and good man, in the country; in every point of view, his character is unexceptionable."

"Is his removal from the magistracy of the country considered as a public loss?" "I think it is; he has been universally allowed to be the best magistrate in New South Wales; there is not a magistrate or person in New South Wales who will not say that he was, during the period he was in the magistracy, the best magistrate we had." – Ibid., p. 147.

87 Marsden Correspondence (Hocken Library).

88 Ibid.

89 T. F. Buxton to Samuel Marsden, May 7th, 1819. – Ibid.: cf. supra, p. 35.

90 Letter to the Secretary, July 12th, 1819. – (Marsden Correspondence.)

91 J. T. Campbell retained his position as Secretary to the Governor until June, 1821, when he was superseded by Major Goulburn. He did not return to England with Macquarie but remained in New South Wales, becoming a magistrate in 1825 and later a member of the Legislative Council. He died in Sydney on June 7th, 1830. – Correspondence of Dr. Hocken with Mr. F. M. Bladen of the Public Library of New South Wales (Hocken Library).

92 On January 19th, 1822, Judge Advocate Wylie and Judge Field, referring to "Your Excellency's late appointment of additional magistrates " protested against the appointment of John Macarthur. In Brisbane's despatch of February 27th, 1822, to Earl Bathurst, he writes, "On my arrival in the Colony I considered it expedient to extend the benches of magistrates and to get them as respectable as possible." In continuation, he states that John Macarthur was in the list of gentlemen intended for the office but that, owing to the protest, he had been omitted for the present. Marsden was present on Monday, March 25th, 1822, at a meeting of magistrates held at the Parramatta Court House to consider the position and powers of magistrates. His reappointment must have taken place, therefore, between the date of Brisbane's arrival at Sydney, November 7th, 1821, and, probably, January 19th, 1822. – Historical Records of Australia, Vol. X, p. 634.

93 Samuel Marsden to the Secretary, April 18th, 1818. – (Marsden Correspondence.)

94 Statement, etc.. Relative to a Charge of Illegal Punishment Preferred against Dr. H. G. Douglass (Sydney, 1828), p. 50; Correspondence as to Charge of Illegal Punishment Preferred against H. G. Douglass (Sydney, 1828).

95 James Ring, a native of Middlesex, was tried at Newgate in 1815 and sentenced to transportation for life. He reached New South Wales in 1816 and was ultimately specially assigned to Marsden "for the purpose of singing in church." A correspondent in The Australian of August 4th, 1825, describes him as "a decent, well-conducted young man who for seventeen months was Marsden's confidential servant, being frequently entrusted with the care of his children." Marsden's only fault, he declares, was that "he had allowed his servant to fill up his leisure hours in an honest, industrious occupation, to the great convenience of his neighbours"

96 S. M. Johnstone, Samuel Marsden, pp. 186-189.

97 S. Marsden, Appendix for the different Letters which I addressed to the Governor and the Magistrates. – (MS. in Hocken Library.)

98 Vide infra, pp. 62, 438.

99 Vide infra, p. 339.

100 The Australian, August 11th, 1825; and S. Marsden, Appendix for the different letters which I addressed to the Governor and the Magistrates (MS. in Hocken Library).

101 Ibid.

102 The Australian} August 11th, 1825; and S. Marsden, Appendix for the different letters which I addressed to the Government and the Magistrates (MS. in Hocken Library).

103 Till 1824, the chaplains at Sydney, Parramatta, Hobart, and Launceston held independent positions. In that year the Imperial Government placed the affairs of the Church under a responsible head, appointing the Rev. Thomas Hobbes Scott, who had previously visited Australia along with Commissioner Bigge, as Archdeacon (October 2nd, 1824). The Archdeaconry was attached to the See of Calcutta. Archdeacon Scott arrived in New South Wales in the Hercules on May 7th, 1825, and returned to England two years after his arrival, being succeeded in May, 1828, by the wise and energetic Archdeacon William Grant Broughton, who subsequently became the first Bishop of Australia. – W. J. Gunther, The Church of England in Australia from 1788 to 1829 (Parramatta, 1888) ; vide infra, p. 425.

104 S. Marsden, Statement Relative to a Charge of Illegal Punishment Preferred against H. G. Douglass (Sydney, 1828); S. Marsden, Correspondence as to Charge against H. G. Douglass (Sydney, 1828); W. C. Wentworth, A Statistical Account of the British Settlements in Australasia (London, 1824).

105 The Australian, September 22nd and 29th, 1825.
In these issues of The Australian Marsden vindicated himself with full documentary evidence, of the charges that he had been concerned in the illegal punishment of John Downes and Hugh Carroll; – cf. S. Marsden, Statement, etc., passim.

106 House of Commons: Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry into the State of the Colony of New South Wales (1822), p. 91.

107 S. M. Johnstone, Samuel Marsden, pp. 209-211.

108 S. Marsden, An Answer to Certain Calumnies, p. 86.

109 II Timothy, iii, 12.

110 Marsden Correspondence (Hocken Library).

111 Samuel Marsden to William Wilberforce, Parramatta, July 27th, 1810; Correspondence of William Wilberforce (London, 1840), Vol. II, pp. 183-7.

# CHAPTER II. MARSDEN'S FIRST NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL.



CHAPTER II

MARSDEN'S FIRST NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL

Marsden embarked in the Active at Port Jackson on 19th November, 1814, sighted the North Cape, New Zealand, on 16th December, and anchored in the Bay of Islands on 22nd December. He sailed again for Port Jackson from the Bay of Islands on 26th February, 1815, and reached Sydney Cove on 23rd March.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE INTRODUCTION OF THE GOSPEL INTO THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS: BEING MY FIRST VISIT TO NEW ZEALAND IN DECEMBER, 1814.

WHEN the fulness of time drew near for these poor heathen nations to be favoured with the knowledge of Divine revelation, the Supreme Governor of the World overruled the political affairs of America and England to further this object, and made the wrath of man to praise Him. One great step was accomplished when America, in July, 1776, was declared a free and independent nation. A short time before this important event took place, Captain Cook, accompanied by the late Sir Joseph Banks, had been sent by the British Government to visit the South Sea Islands, and during this voyage the great navigator visited New South Wales and anchored in Botany Bay.

After peace had been established between England and America, in the year 1783, the British Government found that it had now no place to which the national convicts might be transported. In this dilemma it has been said that the late Sir Joseph Banks recommended to His Majesty King George the Third to form an establishment at Botany Bay expressly for convicts, and upon this suggestion an Act of Parliament was passed for that purpose.

It is obvious that neither his late Majesty nor his Ministers had, in these political arrangements, any intention to convey the Gospel to the nations of the South Sea Islands, but merely to provide a receptacle for the criminal population of Britain. Yet He who governs the universe and has the hearts of kings in His own hands had that merciful object in view. As a proof of the correctness of this remark it is a well-known fact that when the first fleet was ready to sail with the convicts for New South Wales, in the year 1787, no clergyman had been thought of. A particular friend of mine, a pious man of some influence, who was anxious for the spiritual welfare of the convicts, made a strong appeal to those in authority to induce them to appoint a clergyman to superintend the spiritual concerns of all, both free and bond, who embarked to form the intended establishment in New South Wales. Accordingly, through the interest of the late Dr. Porteous, the Rev. Richard Johnson was appointed chaplain.[112] The above single fact, therefore, clearly shows that the whole was under the superintending providence of an all wise and merciful God. He did not establish a colony in New South Wales for the advancement of His glory and the salvation of the heathen nations



TUKE AND HURU IN NORFOLK ISLAND

in these distant parts of the globe by selecting men of character and principle; on the contrary, He took men from the dregs of society – the scrapings of jails, hulks, and prisons – men who had forfeited their lives or liberties to the laws of their country: but He mercifully gave them their lives for a prey, and sent them forth to make a way for His missionary servants – for them that should bring glad tidings, that should publish peace to the heathen world, that should say unto them in the name of the Lord: "Look unto Me and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth, for I am God, and there is none else." Well may we exclaim, with the apostle: "How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!"

Having made the above preliminary observations, I need only add that on the 26th of January, 1788, the first convicts arrived in Botany Bay under the command of Admiral Phillip, who was appointed Governor of the new colony.

I shall now proceed to notice the first dawn of the rising of the sun of righteousness upon the poor benighted heathen of New Zealand. In the year 1793, His Majesty's ship Daedalus, commanded by Lieut. Hanson, was in the South Seas on discovery, and during his voyage the lieutenant touched at New Zealand and anchored in Sandy Bay, a little to the southward of the North Cape. Some natives came off in their canoes to see the ship, among whom were two young chiefs[113] who alone could be prevailed upon to go on board; they were invited into the cabin, and were much entertained with the various objects they then saw. Soon after they had come on board, Lieutenant Hanson weighed anchor and sailed for Norfolk Island.[114] The two young chiefs, not being aware of the ship's sailing, and when they came on deck seeing themselves at a considerable distance from the land and all their canoes returned to the shore, became much alarmed for their personal safety. Lieutenant Hanson and his officers did what they could to pacify their minds, being anxious to carry them safely to Norfolk Island and deliver them to Captain King, who was at that time Lieutenant-Governor of the island and wanted some New Zealanders to instruct Europeans how to dress flax, which grew there spontaneously and was of the same quality with the flax of New Zealand. I have always considered this circumstance as one of the first apparent steps adopted by Divine Providence to prepare the way for the introduction of the Gospel into New Zealand.

Captain King treated Hoodoo and Tokee with the kindest attention: they lived at Government House, and everything was done to quiet their minds and gain their confidence. When they had resided with him about nine months, the merchant ship Britannia (on her way to the Cape of Good Hope for supplies to the Colony of New South Wales) touched at the island, and was engaged by the Lieutenant-Governor to take the two youths to their native country. He embarked with them



TE PAHI VISITS SYDNEY

himself, in order to prevent any insult or injury being done to them. He saw them safely landed among their friends, and gave them some hogs and various instruments for agricultural purposes, such as axes, spades, etc. He also supplied them with clothes, and such other articles as he thought conducive to their future good. The great kindness and solicitude shown by Captain King for their welfare made a deep impression on their minds and filled them with gratitude and esteem towards the donor, as they afterwards testified to myself and others.[115]

During the nine following years little communication took place between the New Zealanders and Europeans, either at Norfolk Island or at New Zealand; a few of them, however, came occasionally, in whalers, to Port Jackson, and with some of these I became acquainted as opportunity offered.

About the year 1802-3 a small Government vessel, the Lady Nelson, commanded by Lieutenant Simmons, was sent with supplies to Norfolk Island, but was driven by violent contrary winds to the east side of New Zealand, and anchored in the Bay of Islands. Captain King had by this time returned to England, and Norfolk Island was under the command of Captain Piper,[116] an officer of the New South Wales Corps. This change did not, however, prevent a longing desire in the late chief Tippahee (Te Pahi)[117] and four of his sons to see the island where the two young chiefs before mentioned had been so kindly treated; they were allowed a

passage in the Lady Nelson, and received every attention from the officer in command at Norfolk Island.

After they had been some time on the island, His Majesty's ship Buffalo,[118] commanded by Captain Houston, arrived from Port Jackson, by which means Tippahee learned that the late Captain King had become Governor of New South Wales, and expressed his wish to visit Sydney. He obtained a passage accordingly, and the Governor received him and his friends with the greatest cordiality. They were invited to Government House, where they lived at their pleasure.

Tippahee was a man of high rank and influence in his own country. He possessed a clear, strong, and comprehensive mind, and was anxious to gain what knowledge he could of our laws and customs. He was wont to converse much with me about our God, and was very regular in his attendance at church on the Sabbath and, when at public worship,



behaved with great decorum. After satisfying his curiosity, he and his friends returned to their native home.[119]

About two years after Tippahee departed, the young chief Duaterra (Ruatara), accompanied by several of his countrymen, came to Port Jackson, which gave an opportunity to me of having frequent communication with this very interesting people. The more I examined into their national character the more I felt interested in their temporal and spiritual welfare. Their minds appeared like a rich soil that had never been cultivated, and only wanted the proper means of improvement to render them fit to rank with civilized nations.

I knew that they were cannibals – that they were a savage race, full of superstition, and wholly under the power and influence of the Prince of Darkness – and that there was only one remedy which could effectually free them from their cruel spiritual bondage and misery, and that was the Gospel of a crucified Saviour. But, as Saint Paul observes, "How could they believe on Him of whom they had not heard, and how could they hear without a preacher, and how could they preach except they be sent?" After seriously considering their degraded condition and embracing all opportunities of gaining a perfect knowledge of their character, I resolved to return to England, as soon as I could obtain leave of absence, and endeavour to get some missionaries sent out to preach the Gospel to this people. I was fully convinced that there were no insurmountable difficulties in the way of preaching the Gospel in New Zealand; and I felt no apprehension that the lives of missionaries, if any were sent, would be in danger, being confident that I could personally go with safety if I saw it was my duty to do so.

Under these impressions I waited on His Excellency Governor Bligh, who had now relieved Governor King in the government of the colony, to obtain the necessary leave of absence to visit England, which was granted on condition that the Rev. H. Fulton, who was then at Norfolk Island, should perform my duty as chaplain to the colony during my absence (being myself the only clergyman in New South Wales at that period). Fortunately, a vessel was just about to sail for Norfolk Island, by which I wrote to Mr. Fulton, and another ship very opportunely touched at that place while on her way to Sydney about this time, which enabled that gentleman to comply with my request, so as to arrive at Port Jackson sooner than I expected. As such opportunities were of rare occurrence, I considered this circumstance a highly favourable dispensation of Providence towards myself at that time, being aware that a great political storm was fast gathering in the colony in which, if I remained, I could not well avoid being involved; and to gratify my earnest desire of having the Gospel preached at New Zealand, as well as to secure my own quiet, I was most anxious to quit the colony without delay, lest I should be prevented from proceeding on the design I had formed.



It was therefore a matter of great joy to me when I obtained His Excellency's leave of absence, and got on board of His Majesty's ship Buffalo along with the late Governor King. We sailed in February, 1807, and arrived in England in the November following.

Shortly after my arrival in London I waited upon the Rev. Josiah Pratt, Secretary to the Church Missionary Society, and stated my views on the degraded state of the New Zealanders for the want of moral and religious instruction, and requested that the committee would take their miserable situation into its favourable consideration. The Rev. J. Pratt[120] attended to my request with the greatest kindness, which inspired me with the hope that the committee would enter into my views and render the assistance solicited.

I remained in England more than fourteen months, during which period I waited upon the committee several times, and it was ultimately resolved to send three missionaries out with me on my return to the colony. No clergymen, however, offered their services on this occasion. The character of the New Zealanders was considered more barbarous than that of any other savage nation, so that few would venture out to a country where they could anticipate nothing less than to be killed and eaten by the natives. At length two mechanics[121] agreed to accompany me, and I was very glad of their offer, as I conceived that they, like Caleb and Joshua of old, might open the way for others at a future time to take possession of the land. They accordingly embarked with me in 1809 for New South Wales.[122]

On our arrival at Port Jackson, in February, 1810, we received the melancholy news that the ship Boyd, of 600 tons burden, had been burnt, and the captain and crew all murdered and eaten by the natives of Wangarooa (Whangaroa),[123] in New Zealand. This most awful calamity extinguished at once all hopes of introducing the Gospel into that country. Every voice was naturally raised against the natives, and against all who were in any way attached to their interest. None lamented this calamity more than myself.

Another dreadful occurrence soon after took place. At the time I here allude to there were seven whalers[124] on the coast of New Zealand, and the masters of these vessels, having heard of the fate of the Boyd, sailed into the Bay of Islands, which lies about forty miles to the southward of Wangarooa (Whangaroa), and in the night each ship sent a whaleboat with an armed crew, who landed on Tippahee's Island and there murdered every man and woman they could find. In this dreadful slaughter my friend Tippahee (Te Pahi) received seven shots, and died



of his wounds. Many other friendly disposed people were killed. It was alleged by the Europeans, as a justification of this horrid massacre, that Tippahee assisted in the destruction of the Boyd and her crew, though at the same time he was an innocent man. The mistake appears to have originated in the near similarity in the names of the two chiefs – that of the chief at the Bay of Islands was Tippahee, and the name of the other at Wangarooa (who aided in the destruction of the Boyd) was Tippoohee (Te Puhi). I knew them both well.

After these awful events the way to New Zealand appeared to be completely hedged up, though I did not despair of the ultimate success of the mission, from my personal knowledge of the real character of the New Zealanders, provided I could get any vessel to take the missionaries to New Zealand who were then with me at Parramatta and willing to go. I waited more than three years, and no master of a vessel would venture for fear of his ship and crew falling a sacrifice to the natives.

At length I purchased a brig called the Active, which had come from India, and applied to the then Governor Macquarie for permission to go with the brig myself along with the missionaries, but His Excellency refused my request. At the same time he promised that if I sent the Active and she returned safe I should then have permission to go. I was satisfied with this answer but felt at a loss to find a suitable person to navigate the brig, because the risk of being murdered and eaten by the New Zealanders prevented several shipmasters from accepting the office. Mr. Dillon, who afterwards went in search of La Perouse, was then in Sydney (1814), and I engaged him to take the command of the Active[125] I then wrote a letter to the chief Deuaterra, or Duaterra (Ruatara), whom I had known nine years before, requesting him to return with the brig and to bring with him three or four chiefs, as also to acquaint the natives that I had sent missionaries[126] in the vessel to see their country, and that it was my intention also to visit New Zealand, provided the brig returned in safety from their coast, and that the missionaries would then accompany me for the purpose of forming a settlement on the island. Under these circumstances Mr. Dillon sailed with the missionaries, and in due time returned to Port Jackson without injury to himself, the crew, nor to the vessel.

The Active having safely arrived in port, I lost no time in calling upon His Excellency for the fulfilment of his promise. My leave of absence[127] was immediately granted, and, with all convenient dispatch, I embarked in company with the missionaries, their families, and five chiefs – namely, Shunghee (Hongi), Korokoro, Toui (Tuhi), Toui's brother, and Duaterra.



We sailed from Sydney Cove, 19th November, and reached the Bay of Islands, in New Zealand, on the 22nd December, 1814. After arranging all matters respecting the mission as well as circumstances would permit (which will be detailed hereafter), I left the island in the same vessel about 1st of March, 1815. Duaterra was then dangerously ill, and, as I afterwards learned, he died four days after the Active sailed for Sydney. The death of this chief was a very afflictive dispensation; he was a man of comparatively great knowledge, loved his country, and was most anxious for its welfare. His character, conduct, and sufferings will be better seen in the following memoir which has already been published[128] : –

In the year 1805 the Argo whaler, commanded by a Mr Baden, put into the Bay of Islands for refreshments. On the vessel leaving the harbour Duaterra embarked on board of her with two of his countrymen. The Argo remained on the coast for about five months, and then returned into the Bay. On the vessel's final departure from New Zealand for Port Jackson, Duaterra sailed in her and arrived in Sydney Cove. After the Argo was again ready for sea, 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 Duaterra acted in the capacity of a common sailor, and was attached to one of the whaleboats. While the Argo lay in Sydney Cove, Duaterra was discharged from her, but received no remuneration for his services during the twelve months he had been on board.

On his 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, and when she put into the Bay of Islands Duaterra left her and returned to his friends. Captain Richardson behaved very kindly to him, and paid him wages (in various European articles) for his services on board the Albion.

Duaterra remained in New Zealand six months, when the Santa Anna whaler anchored in the Bay of Islands on her way to Bounty Island whither she was bound for sealskins. Duaterra 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 in safety, when Duaterra, with one of his countrymen, two Otaheitans, and ten Europeans, were put on shore to kill seals,[129] and the vessel then sailed to New Zealand to procure potatoes, and afterwards to Norfolk Island for pork, leaving the fourteen men whom they had landed with very little water, salt provisions, and bread.

When the Santa Anna arrived off Norfolk Island the master went on shore, and the vessel was blown off and did not again make the land for a month.

About five months after the Santa Anna left Bounty Island the King George arrived, commanded by Mr. Chase, but, 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. Duaterra often spoke of the extreme sufferings which he and the party with him endured from hunger and thirst, as no water could be obtained except when a shower of rain happened to fall. Two of the Europeans and one Otaheitan died from the hardship.

In a few weeks after the arrival of the King George the Santa Anna returned, and the sealing party had during her absence procured eight thousand skins. After taking the skins on board, the vessel sailed for England, and Duaterra, 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, and Duaterra then 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. But when he made inquiries by what means he could get a sight of the King, he was told sometimes that he could not find the house, and at other times that no one was permitted to see King George. This distressed him exceedingly. He saw little of London, being seldom allowed to go on shore. He told me that about fifteen days after his arrival the vessel had discharged her cargo, and the captain informed him that he would be put on board the Ann, which had been taken up by Government to convey convicts to New South Wales, and had then dropped down to Gravesend. Duaterra asked the master of the Santa Anna for some wages and clothing, but these were refused, and he was told that the owners at Port Jackson, on his arrival there, would pay him, in two muskets, for his services; but these he never received. About this time Duaterra, 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, in which ship I was about to embark on my return with my family to New South Wales. 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.

Mr. Charles Clarke, the master of the Ann, informed me (after I had recognised Duaterra) that when he was first brought on board the Ann he was so naked and miserable that he (the master) 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 Duaterra had arrived in the Santa Anna. Shortly after Duaterra had embarked at Gravesend, the Ann sailed for Portsmouth; and when I embarked Duaterra was confined below by sickness, so that I did not see him nor know that he was there for some time. To my great astonishment I first observed him on the forecastle. He was wrapped up in an old greatcoat, very sick and weak, had a very violent cough, and discharged

considerable quantities of blood from his mouth. His mind was also very much cast down, and he appeared as if a few days would terminate his existence. I inquired of the master where he had met with him and then of himself as to what had brought him to England, and how he came to be so



wretched and miserable. He stated, in reply, that the hardships and wrongs he had endured on board the Santa Anna were exceedingly great, and that the English sailors had beat him very much, which caused him to spit blood, and finally that the master had defrauded him of all his wages and prevented him from seeing the King. I should have been most happy, if there had been time, to call the master to account for his conduct, but it was too late. I endeavoured to soothe his afflicted mind by assuring him that he would now be protected from insults, and that his wants should be supplied. By the kindness of the surgeon and master, and by administering proper nourishment to him, he began, in a great measure, to recover his strength and spirits, and got quite well before we reached Rio de Janeiro. He was ever after truly grateful for the attention that was 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 kindly to him. He accompanied me to Parramatta after leaving the ship, and resided with me there till the November following, during which time he applied: himself to agriculture.

In October, 1810, the Frederick whaler arrived from England, and was bound to fish on the coast of New Zealand. Duaterra having been long absent from his friends, and wishing to return home, requested me to procure a passage for him in the Frederick. One of Tippahee's sons was at the time living with me, as were also two other New Zealanders, all of whom united in the same request. I applied to the master of the Frederick for their passage, who agreed to take them on condition that they should assist him to procure his cargo of oil while the vessel remained on the New Zealand coast, and when he finally left it he would land them at the Bay of Islands. They were four very fine young men who had been a good deal at sea, and were, therefore, a valuable acquisition to the master, and, on his promising to be kind to them, I agreed that he should take them on his own terms. They all left Port Jackson in the Frederick in November, with the gratifying hope of soon seeing their country and friends.

When the ship reached the North Cape of New Zealand, Duaterra went on shore for 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 ship had procured her necessary supplies she proceeded on her cruise, and in little more than six months' time procured a cargo and was ready to depart from the coast. Duaterra, finding that the master intended to sail for England, naturally requested that he and his companions might be put on shore, on the specific terms of their engagement with the master, made by me on their behalf. The ship lay (at the time) in the mouth of the Bay of Islands, where the residences of all their relatives then stood, and Duaterra had got everything ready to put into the boat, expecting they would be immediately put on shore. The master, however, on his being urged to land them, said he would do so by and by, when they had caught another whale, and the vessel then bore away from the harbour. Duaterra felt great distress on this occasion, as he had been from home about three years and was most anxious to see his wife and friends. He earnestly solicited the captain



to land him on any part of the coast – he cared not on what place – as all he wished was to get put on shore and he would find his way home. The master was deaf to all his entreaties, and told them he would proceed to Norfolk Island and from thence direct to Britain, and that he would be landed as they passed New Zealand on their way to England.

When the Frederick arrived off Norfolk Island, Duaterra and his three companions were sent on shore for water and were all nearly drowned in the surf, having been washed under some hollow rocks (with which that shore abounds), which placed him in such danger of his life, as he emphatically observed to me afterwards, that "on reaching the surface of the water his head was full of sea." It is generally very dangerous for a boat to land at Norfolk Island on account of the great surf among the breakers. When the Frederick was sufficiently supplied with water and wood, etc., so that the master had no further occasion for the services of Duaterra and his countrymen, he had the cruelty to inform them that he would not again touch at New Zealand but proceed direct on for England. This occasioned great distress to Duaterra, who reminded the captain of his violated promises – the cruel usage to which he had been subjected by not being put on shore while the ship lay at the Bay of Islands (within two miles of his home), and being subsequently prevented from leaving the vessel when off the North Cape; that it was a great addition to his misery to be left with his companions in a destitute situation on Norfolk Island, after all the assistance they had rendered him (the master) in procuring his cargo. Nothing, however, which Duaterra could urge had any effect on the callous mind of the captain, who proceeded on board his ship and left the New Zealanders to provide for themselves as they best could. Duaterra further stated that the master came again on shore before he left and took Tippahee's son on board again with him by force, though the lad wept much and entreated the captain to leave him with his friend Duaterra. No tidings have been heard of that young man since he was thus forcibly taken from Norfolk Island. The ship was taken by an American while on her passage home, after a severe action, in which the captain was mortally wounded and the chief mate killed.

Some time after the Frederick had sailed from Norfolk Island, the Ann whaler touched there for refreshments – she was then commanded by Mr. Gwynn – and, after procuring supplies, she was to proceed to Port Jackson. Duaterra made early application to the master, who very humanely granted him a passage. On the Ann's arrival at Port Jackson, the captain informed me that he had found Duaterra in a naked and distressed state at Norfolk Island, where the master of the Frederick had left him and his companions without clothing or provisions. Mr. Gwynn further observed that the legal share of the Fredericks cargo of oil due to Duaterra and his three countrymen would have come to about £100 each had they accompanied the ship and got her safe to England; and he considered that they had been very much injured by the master of that vessel. Mr. Gwynn kindly supplied Duaterra with clothing and other necessaries, for which he was exceedingly grateful.

Duaterra was very happy when he got once more to Parramatta. He gave me an affecting account of the distress which he suffered when in sight of his own district and yet denied the pleasure of seeing his wife



and friends, from whom he had been so long separated; and what he felt, also, when the Frederick finally sailed from Norfolk Island, leaving him on the spot, with little prospect of ever returning to his own country. When he left Sydney in the Frederick he was in possession of some seed wheat, agricultural tools, and other useful articles, with which he was supplied, but he was despoiled of these on his voyage, and on his return had nothing left of all he had received. He continued with me at Parramatta till the Ann whaler, belonging to the house of Alexander Birnie, of London, arrived from England. She was bound for the New Zealand coast, and he requested me to procure him a passage that he might make another effort to see his country and friends. The captain agreed with me to take him on condition that he would remain on board and do the duty of a sailor while the ship continued on the coast. Duaterra readily consented to go on these terms, and took with him some seed wheat and tools for agricultural purposes a second time.

The Ann was about five months on the coast, and Duaterra was ultimately landed in safety at home, to the inexpressible joy of his relations and of himself. During the time he remained with me he laboured early and late to obtain knowledge and, particularly, to make himself acquainted with practical agriculture. He seemed well aware of the advantages of agriculture in a national point of view, and was a tolerable judge of the qualities of land. He was anxious that his country should reap the advantages of which he knew it was capable, by the cultivation of the soil on waste lands, and was fully convinced that the wealth and happiness of a country depended greatly on the produce of its soil.

On his landing from the Ann he took with him the seed wheat, etc., which he had received at Parramatta and acquainted his friends and his neighbouring chiefs of its great value, stating that it was from it the Europeans made the biscuit which they had seen and eaten on board of ships. He gave a portion of this article to six different chiefs and some of his own common men, directing them, at the same time, how to sow it; and he reserved, of course, a proper proportion for his own use and that of his uncle, Shunghee (Hongi), who is a very great chief having a domain extending from the east to the west side of the island. The people to whom Duaterra had given seed wheat put it properly into the ground and it grew well, but before it was ripe many of them became impatient for the produce, and as they expected to find the grain at the root of the stems, like their potato crops, and finding, on examination, that there was no wheat under the surface, they all, with the exception of Shunghee, pulled it up and burnt it. The chiefs ridiculed Duaterra about his wheat speculation very much, telling him that because he had been a great traveller he thought he could easily impose on their credulity by telling them fine stories, etc., nor could anything in his power to urge serve to convince them that wheat would make bread. Shunghee's crop and his own came in due time to perfection, and were reaped and threshed, which convinced the natives that the grain was produced from the top and not from the bottom of the stem as they had supposed, yet they could not be persuaded that bread could be made from it.

About this time the Jefferson whaler, commanded by Mr. Thos. Barnes, put into the Bay of Islands; and Duaterra, being anxious to remove the prejudices of the chiefs respecting the wheat and to prove



(what he had before asserted) that it could be made into biscuit, requested the loan of a pepper or coffee mill from the master to grind some of his wheat into flour (if such an instrument could do it) that he might make a cake before them; but the mill was too small and he did not then succeed in his design. He sent me word by a vessel proceeding from New Zealand to Sydney that he had sown his wheat and it had grown well, but he had not timely thought of a mill to grind it, and requested me to send him some tools of agriculture, which I determined to do, by the first opportunity.

A short time after this the Queen Charlotte cleared out from Port Jackson for the Pearl Islands, and as this vessel would likely have to pass the North Cape of New Zealand I thought there was a probability of her touching at the Bay of Islands, and I therefore put some hoes and other agricultural tools, as also a few bags of seed wheat, on board, and requested the Captain, Mr. William Shelley, to deliver them to Duaterra should his ship touch at the Bay of Islands. Unfortunately, the Queen Charlotte passed New Zealand without touching anywhere; and was afterwards taken by the natives of Otaheite, and while she was in their possession all the wheat as well as other things I had put on board were either stolen or destroyed. When I received information of that calamity I felt much concerned that Duaterra should from time to time meet so many disappointments in his benevolent exertions to improve the condition and to civilize his countrymen. I was fully convinced that nothing could be done effectually for New Zealand without a vessel for the express purpose of keeping up a regular communication between Port Jackson and that island.

When Mr. Kendall, who had been sent out under the patronage of the Church Missionary Society, arrived in the Earl Spencer,[130] I soon determined either to take up a vessel or purchase one for the service of New Zealand, and thereby make an attempt to establish a settlement, as had been resolved on by the Society in 1808, and for the purpose of which Messrs. Hall and King, with their families, accompanied me out from England to New South Wales on my return to that colony. I endeavoured to hire a vessel, but could find none willing to make a voyage under £600, which I considered too much for one voyage to New Zealand.

The brig Active having about this time arrived from the Derwent (Tasmania), the owner proposed to sell her, and I therefore became the purchaser and ordered the vessel to be got ready for sea, directing Messrs. Hall and Kendall to proceed in her to Bay of Islands.

When the Active[131] sailed I sent a message to Duaterra to inform him for what purpose I had sent over Messrs. Kendall and Hall, and invited him to return with them to Port Jackson and to bring two or three chiefs along with him. I sent him on this occasion a steel mill to grind his wheat, a sieve to clean it, and a few other useful presents. On the



arrival of the brig at her destination, the settlers were kindly received by Duaterra and the other chiefs, and every attention was paid to them during the six weeks they remained on the island. Duaterra was greatly rejoiced by the receipt of the mill. He quickly set to work and ground some wheat in the presence of his countrymen, who danced and shouted for joy at seeing the flour. He told me that he made a cake, baked it in a frying-pan, and gave it to the people to eat, which fully satisfied them of the truth of what he had repeatedly told them – namely, that "wheat would make bread." The chiefs then begged some more wheat which they received and sowed, and there can be little doubt but they will soon learn to appreciate the value of wheat. I saw some growing in January last (1815) exceedingly strong and fine; the grain was very full and ripe. It leads me to believe the climate and soil of New Zealand will be very congenial for the production of that grain.

Previous to the time the Active reached New Zealand, Duaterra had resolved to visit Sydney by the first vessel which might sail for Port Jackson in order to procure a mill, some hoes, and other articles which he much wanted. He therefore greatly rejoiced when the Active anchored in the Bay of Islands, trusting to get a passage in her; but on receiving the mill and wheat, etc., which I sent he altered his mind, observing that he would now apply himself to agriculture for two years as he had the means of cultivating his land and grinding his wheat. His uncle, Shunghee (Hongi), had at the time a great desire to visit Port Jackson, and being a powerful chief at home and having no friend at Port Jackson who could speak English and the New Zealand tongue, Duaterra was induced to accompany him, although his wives, friends, and people earnestly requested him to stay at home. He endeavoured to persuade them that he would return in four moons, but they disbelieved him, under an erroneous idea that the Active would not again return. Their priest told him that his head wife was sure to die before his return if he left her. (This very woman hung herself the day after Duaterra died on account of her tender affection and love for him.) He told the priest he had often returned before and would soon return again. He accordingly took leave of his relatives and friends, and embarked with his uncle and a few other natives for New South Wales. About a month after he once more reached Parramatta in safety.

During his stay at my house I often observed him to be very thoughtful, and I asked him the occasion of his uneasiness. He replied, "I fear my head wife is either dead or very sick." What the priest had told him respecting his wife's dying during his absence evidently made a deep impression on his mind. Though he had

been about three years in my family before, and had acted with great propriety all that time, and willingly received religious instructions on all proper occasions, yet the superstitious notions of the religion he had imbibed from his infancy at New Zealand were deeply rooted in his ideas. He had great confidence in what the native priests asserted and in the effects of their prayers.

His death has been the subject of much pain and regret to me and appeared to be a very dark and mysterious dispensation.

During the last ten years of Duaterra's life he had suffered every danger, privation, and hardship that human nature could well bear;



and on my arrival at New Zealand with him and the settlers before named, he appeared to have accomplished the grand object of all his toils – an object which was the constant topic of his conversation – namely, the means of civilizing his countrymen. He said with joy and triumph in his eyes, "I have now introduced the cultivation of wheat in New Zealand. It will become a great country, for in two years more I shall be able to export wheat to Port Jackson in exchange for hoes, axes, spades, and tea and sugar." Under this impression he made arrangements with his people for a very extensive cultivation of the land, and formed a plan for building a new town, with regular streets, after the European mode, to be erected on a beautiful situation, which commanded a view of the harbour's mouth and the adjacent country round. We, together, inspected the ground fixed on for the township and the situation of the intended church. The streets were to have been all marked out before the brig sailed for Port Jackson, but at the very time of these arrangements being made Duaterra was laid on his dying bed. I could not but look on him with wonder and astonishment as he lay languishing under his affliction, and could scarcely bring myself to believe that the Divine goodness would remove from the earth a man whose life was of such infinite importance to his country, which was just emerging from barbarism, gross darkness, and superstition. No doubt he had done his work and finished his appointed course, though I fondly imagined that he had only begun his race.[132]

It may be not uninteresting to some of my readers to subjoin also the memoir of another young chief named Mowhee (Maui)[133] who likewise was instrumental in promoting the introduction of the Gospel to New Zealand.

When Mowhee was about eight years old he became desirous of visiting New South Wales from the accounts he had heard of the Europeans mentioned to him by Hoodoo (Huru) and Tokee (Toki), and to effect his purpose he embarked on board a whaler at the Bay of Islands the captain of which intended to call at Port Jackson. On their way the vessel touched at Norfolk Island, when Mr. Drummond (the harbourmaster) went on board and took Mowhee on shore to his own house and treated him with great kindness, and promised to keep him as one of his own family if he agreed to remain. Mr. Drummond then placed him at a day school, where he learned to read and write.

Some time after Mowhee's arrival in Norfolk Island Mr. Drummond removed to New South Wales (taking the lad with him) and settled on a farm at Liverpool (a town about seven miles south of Parramatta)[134] I visited Mr. Drummond shortly after he had settled on his estate, and found Mowhee living with him there as a servant, or acting rather in the capacity of shepherd. This sort of employment did not seem to suit Mowhee's turn of mind – he wanted to be placed in a situation where he could see and learn more of civil life. I proposed that he should come and live with me, to which Mr. Drummond agreed, and



he was accordingly removed into my family. By this time he had learned to speak English tolerably well, and could read a little. He possessed an amiable disposition, and seemed anxious to learn all he could. He remained with me till November, 1814, making the period of his stay with Mr. Drummond and me together to be more than eight years. He accompanied me when I sailed to New Zealand in the Active and possessed, at that time, as clear a knowledge of civil life and of the Christian religion as human instructions could well communicate to one just emerging from savage life.[135]

On 23rd December he arrived in the Bay of Islands, to the great joy of his friends, and it gave me great pleasure to see with what kindness and affection Mowhee was received by his tribe. Terra (Tara), the head chief, said (on my presenting him with a few trifling articles) that "he could accept nothing from one who had been so kind to his countryman." And while I remained he did all in his power to promote the objects I had in view.

When I returned to New South Wales, Terra's brother, Tupee (Tupehi), with several other chiefs, accompanied me, and I considered these ample security for the safety of the missionaries and their property after my departure. Mowhee was left with his relations at New Zealand that he might assist the missionaries in their intercourse with the natives, being qualified for that task by his knowledge of the English tongue. About twelve months afterwards Mowhee became anxious to improve his knowledge by a visit to England, having heard much of that kingdom. For this purpose he entered as a common sailor on board the Jefferson whaler, home bound, and arrived in the river Thames in May, 1816. The captain of the vessel, having then no further occasion for his services, and knowing that he was connected with the missionaries at New Zealand, took him to the Church Missionary Society's House in Salisbury Square. His case and circumstances were laid before the committee of that benevolent institution, which immediately resolved to provide for the friendless stranger. He was taken under the protection of the Society until an opportunity should offer to return him to his native land. The Rev. Basil Woodd got him under his more immediate care, and provided accommodation for him in a respectable family. He was sent to a charity school belonging to the Bentinck Chapel, and during his attendance on it he was taken ill on the 25th and died on the 28th December, 1816. The Rev. B. Woodd published a very interesting



memoir of him in the "Church Missionary Register" for February, 1817, to which I refer the reader.[136]

Mowhee was the first fruit of New Zealanders offered up to God, as far as I may judge from his pious life while he lived with me, and I have little doubt from what I have seen in that island that several of his countrymen have died since in the full assurance of faith, and are now in glory to the everlasting praise of the Redeemer. The Rev. Basil Woodd in his "Memoir of Mowhee" observed as follows: –

"Our first attention was to procure him board and lodging in a creditable family near the Edgeware Road, a few doors from one of the charity schools connected with the Bentinck Chapel, the masters of which were requested to pay him every attention in their power, and to take care that he was supplied with whatever was reasonable and expedient, and to be particularly careful of what acquaintance he made.

"Having furnished him with suitable apparel, I then sent him to a day school kept by Mr. Hazard, a pious and intelligent man, in the adjoining street. I desired that he might be instructed in reading, writing, and the first rules of arithmetic, and that particular attention might be paid to his religious instruction. I especially urged that he should learn to repeat the admirable summary of the Divine law in the church catechism in order that he might be thoroughly instructed in his duty to his God and to his neighbours: in humble hope that through the Divine blessing he might be brought to examine himself by the law of God, by that law might

attain to the knowledge of his sins, be convinced of his fallen nature, feel the need in which he stood of a Saviour, and with a penitent and believing heart might understand the design of the death of the Lord Jesus Christ, and trust alone for pardon and acceptance to the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world.

"I requested also that Mr. Amies, one of the masters of the Bentinck schools, and another friend, Mr. Short, would bring him with them to attend the worship of God at Bentinck Chapel and see that he was present at the public catechizing of the schools at the afternoon service.

"I felt the care of this young stranger from a far distant land peculiarly interesting. It struck me as a golden opportunity, or rather as an opportunity more precious than gold, not to be lost; that good was to be done to him now, or perhaps never; that in a few months we must part to meet no more on earth; and, therefore, that it was an imperious duty, the dictate of Christian charity, to afford him in that compressed form which the shortness of his abode in this country demanded, all the general knowledge possible. Our earnest desire and prayer was that when he returned to New Zealand he might carry back with him a competent acquaintance with the arts of civilization, the general principles of Christian morality, and the sublime truths of the glorious Gospel of the blessed God.

"This was our object, and in a short time the intelligent youth amply repaid the expense and attention of the Society. He discovered great tenderness and humility of mind, an ardent thirst for all useful knowledge, a perfect readiness of compliance with the advice of his



instructors, and a devout ambition to qualify himself to be useful in his native country. He took great delight in attending the house of God, in hearing religious conversations, in reading profitable books, and in frequenting the schools. Occasionally at the Sunday Schools he undertook the instruction of a class of little boys that he might learn how to teach the children in New Zealand. He was particularly delighted (when I took him one day to visit Bentinck Girls' School) with the practical simplicity of Dr. Bell's system of education; and he thought he understood it sufficiently to attempt to instruct upon that plan.

"During my annual residence at Drayton, Beauchamp, I was prevented from paying him that attention which I earnestly wished, but I left him under the care of friends who, I trusted, were actuated by principles of Christian duty and would not be inattentive to their charge. Immediately on my return, my first office was to call on Mr. Hazard and inquire how Mowhee was going on. Mr. Hazard gave me a very satisfactory account of our young friend. I found that he had improved surprisingly, and that, under the kind attention of his instructor, he had gained more information than I had anticipated. He had acquired a knowledge of the first principles of drawing and perspective, had done several of the first problems of Euclid, and had drawn various plans and elevations for building of houses. He gave me specimens of all these, selections of which I have presented to the committee of the Church Missionary Society. Considering, however, that a regular report would be more satisfactory to his kind friend, I requested Mr. Hazard to give me a written testimony of his general improvement. From this paper I have learnt that beside the usual hours spent in the school he generally occupied two hours in the evening in religious instruction, drawing, etc. He was, while thus engaged, all attention and obedience, frequently expressing his anxiety to improve that he might be able to instruct his countrymen, and that especially in the knowledge of a Saviour. He often declared his astonishment at the goodness of God in bringing him from a state of darkness into the marvellous light of the Gospel. He spoke with great gratitude of the instruction he had received, and often intimated his hopes that he would be able to assist Mr. Kendall when he returned.

"When asked one day whether he would like to continue in England, he instantly replied, with much feeling, 'Oh, no! I can do no good here, but I may do some good in my own country.'

"One day, after having been at my house where I had shown him a collection of Indian idols, he said to Mr. Hazard on his return: 'Oh! what a blessing it is to be delivered from these vanities to serve the living and true God.' In the months of October and November he was frequently unwell. Mr. Hazard said to him, 'Mowhee, you had better stay at home a day or two till you are better.' His reply was, 'No, Sir, I am never so happy as when at school.' Mr. Hazard assured me that he never saw him out of temper; and that on all occasions he manifested a spirit of humility, patience, and meekness which would be an acquisition to many who bear the name of Christian.

"Though in general very silent and reserved, he was always very communicative with his teacher; he seemed to have formed a great



regard for him, and several times said to him, with joy sparkling in his eyes,'Oh, Sir! I shall often think of you when thousands of miles off.'

"It was very remarkable that he discovered no desire or interest as to any public sights which attract the populace. When informed, on the 9th of November, that the Lord Mayor of London would pass through the streets in grand procession attended with men in armour, music, flags, etc., and that it was such a sight as he might never see but at this time, he could not be prevailed on to walk to Westminster to witness it. But if invited to see a new school, an examination of children, a meeting of a society for Christian benevolence, the distribution of Bibles, or the support of a mission to the heathen, he was all life and attention.

"Mr. Hazard informs me that he was very regular and constant in his seasons for devotion; and he made use of his own expressions in his prayers; and that he always prayed for the success of the Church Missionary Society, for the conversion of his countrymen in New Zealand, and for the ministers of Bentinck Chapel. Another friend whom I requested to take notice of him, who brought him with him to chapel and often accommodated him in his pew (Mr. Short), has informed me that he never heard him use an improper word, that not a symptom of the ordinary profane language of sailors ever escaped his lips, and that he never mentioned the name of God but with awe and reverence. He seemed also very cautious in his words to speak plain truth with great simplicity. One Sunday, as they were walking home from chapel, when the subject of the discourse had been the sufferings and death of the Saviour, Mr. Short asked him if he understood what he had heard. Mowhee replied, 'Yes, indeed; I did understand it, and I hope I shall ever remember it. My poor country is in a dark state, but at the day of judgment this country will have more to answer for; for this country has the light shining before them, and it certainly must be their own fault if they walk in darkness.' After a while he added, 'Alas! my poor country knows no better, but I hope before long they will have these glorious truths revealed to them; and how happy shall I be if I should be able to return and assist in teaching them.'

"At another time, on Advent Sunday, Mr. Short having asked him what was the design of the Redeemer's coming into the world, Mowhee immediately replied: 'He came into the world to save sinners; had He not come and suffered, you and I could never have reached heaven; had He not died for our sins, we must have perished for ever.' I cannot here pass over the great kindness of another esteemed friend, Mr. Coates. On my leaving London I requested him also occasionally to visit Mowhee, and to explain to his capacity the doctrines and duties of our most holy religion. I thought that the instructions of persons of different attainments and education might contribute by its variety to render Divine truth more easy to be understood by our young friend. With my request Mr. Coates very kindly complied, frequently inviting Mowhee to spend the evening at his house. On these occasions he studied to excite him to diligence and application in obtaining all

that knowledge which might render him a fit instrument for promoting the civilization and the moral and religious instruction of his countrymen.



"His constant method of spending the evening was to desire Mowhee to read a chapter in the New Testament on which he himself made such observations as the subject naturally suggested, and in this manner endeavoured to engage Mowhee in a familiar conversation. On one of these occasions when Mr. Coates pointed out the extensive blessing which he might be the means of conveying to New Zealand by religious instruction, civilization, and various branches of useful knowledge, for which distant generations might have cause to render thanks to God, his countenance assumed great animation, and he seemed to realise the prospects which had been opened to his view; but, in a moment, it passed away, and he observed with a dejected air, 'But my countrymen will not attend to what I tell them.'

"After my return to London I desired him one morning to accompany to the Philological School myself and the Sultan Kategerry, who is lately come from Tartary to acquire information that he may hereafter benefit his countrymen. Here he was greatly delighted; the first principles of geography were explained to him in a new and simple method. The longitude and latitude of his own country and the probable employment of its inhabitants at the different hours of the day were pointed out to him. With all this he seemed much gratified.

"The damp and foggy weather of November greatly tried his constitution. He contracted a very bad cough, and for a time contended with the usual symptoms of rapid consumption. I instantly put him under the care of a medical relative, Mr. Charles Woodd, and in a short time was happy to find that under his kind attention all the alarming symptoms were completely removed. As it was evident, however, that this damp and cold atmosphere did not agree with him, it was judged expedient to recommend to the Society that as soon as an opportunity offered he should return to his native country. At this period I was indulging the pleasing hope that Mowhee would in a short time return to New Zealand, moderately qualified to instruct and assist his countrymen in building their small houses, to improve them in civilization and the duties of justice and mercy, and to assist in teaching the sublime and holy truths of the Gospel of our God and Saviour.

"Such was our delightful contemplation when a mysterious Providence by an unexpected event said, on a sudden: 'Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.'

"On Christmas Day, Mowhee complained of great pain in his head and back, and was so unwell that he was advised to keep at home. On Thursday morning I was informed that his face was considerably swelled and that symptoms of dysentery appeared.

"I was engaged that morning to attend the funeral of a respected friend and proposed calling to see him on my return, but the after part of the day brought on a heavy rain, and not being very well I did not venture out. I had previously desired that medical aid might be immediately called in. On Friday morning, immediately after breakfast, I repaired to the house where he lodged. The account given me was very alarming. I went upstairs, and the scene was the most distressing and dreadful that I have ever witnessed. The floor of the chamber was covered, as it were, with blood, as appeared also the countenance of my poor young friend. He seemed totally debilitated, and spoke very



faintly and with extreme difficulty. The room was offensive in the extreme. The disorder appeared to me quite unintelligible. I have never seen, among the many cases which I have visited, anything of the kind before. I sent immediately to Mr. C. Woodd, who had offered to attend him without expense to the Society, and requested that he would as soon as possible meet me at Mowhee's apartment. He had arrived first and sent for me from a school which I was attending. When I entered the room he said, 'It is not safe for you to be here. This is one of the most rapid, and most malignant, putrid fevers that I have ever met with.' The fact was that the whole system, if I express it rightly, was, as it were, decomposing; his blood was oozing from every pore; the mouth, nose, ears, and eyes exhibited this awful spectacle. On a near approach I observed the whole of his countenance covered with purple spots, and that blood seemed mixed with his very perspiration. I retired with my medical friend, and immediately some medicines and other strengthening aids were sent for the poor sufferer.

"It then struck me that it was not right to leave this young stranger to die solitary and unattended by ministerial consolation. I therefore judged it to be my path of duty to return to him. Accordingly I took some port wine, directed a fumigation of nitrous acid, etc., to be prepared, dipped my handkerchief in vinegar, and returned to the bedside of poor dying Mowhee.

"I had been told that he probably would not survive the ensuing night. No time, therefore, was to be lost, especially as delirium was apprehended. I said, 'Mowhee, you seem very ill. Life is always uncertain; if it be the will of God, I pray that you may recover; but if not, I trust you have got good by coming to England.'

"'I trust, Sir,' he replied, 'I got good to my soul before I came to England, when I was at Norfolk Island, and in New Holland.' After a pause he added, 'Also since I have attended the school Mr. Hazard has been very kind and has taken great pains. He often read the Scripture with me and explained them.'

"I said, 'You are sensible of your state as a sinner before God.'

"He shook his head, and replied in his usual manner of assent, 'Oh, yes – oh, yes, very sensible of that.'

"I then said, 'I hope all your dependence for pardon and mercy at the hand of God is wholly and entirely built on the death and merit of our blessed Saviour.'

"He again shook his head, which was his ordinary custom when anything interested him, and replied: 'Oh, yes – oh, yes, on Him alone. He that believeth on Him shall have everlasting salvation.'

"I again observed: 'I trust you endeavour to submit to the will of God, your Heavenly Father, and I hope, that in your present situation, you feel the support and consolation of the Gospel of Christ.'

"He replied: 'Oh, Sir! I cannot express what I feel. I have not words; but it is in my imagination. It is in my thoughts.'

"Perceiving that he was greatly exhausted, and from the blood which collected in his mouth spoke with difficulty, I then said: 'Mowhee, would you wish me to pray with you?' He instantly said: 'Oh, yes. I should be very glad.'



"Accordingly I kneeled down by his bedside, and offered a short prayer for his support and for the pardon of his sins, that his repentance and faith might be

strengthened, that he might be enabled to say, 'My Father! not my will, but Thine be done,' that should the disorder end in death he might through the merits of the Great Sacrifice be received to the arms of his merciful God, and that, hereafter, as we now joined in prayer in an hour of affliction, we might meet again and join in praise, in glory everlasting. After prayer he thanked me very affectionately. I then said: 'Mowhee, when I write to Mr. Marsden, have you any message to send to him?'

"He immediately said: 'Oh, tell him I am under everlasting obligations to him for his great kindness to me and to my poor countrymen.' I then added: 'Mowhee, what shall I say to Mr. Kendall?' He instantly replied: 'Tell him that I never forgot his instructions.'

"On this I addressed him: 'Well, my dear friend, may the Lord bless you and keep you. May He lift up the light of His countenance upon you, and give you peace, and when called hence to be no more seen may He receive you to His Heavenly Kingdom.' I then withdrew.

"Soon after, as the disorder advanced, he became delirious, but at intervals he was intelligent and seemed at those periods engaged in lifting up his heart in prayer to God. The next morning he appeared for a time a little revived and lay very tranquil, resigned and happy. He had been literally in a sweat of blood, but it considerably abated. Two persons were with him, and frequently bathed his face with vinegar, which seemed to refresh him.

"About five in the morning one of his attendants read by him the prayers of the service for the visitation of the sick. He seemed to hear with attention, and to be wholly occupied in prayer, but Nature was nearly exhausted. He lay in this state till about half-past seven, when death closed his eyes, on the 28th day of December, 1816; and we humbly trust that 'mortality was swallowed up of life, even life everlasting.' How mysterious is the Providence of God! How unsearchable are His judgments! and His ways past finding out! Still we must not be discouraged. Our work is the Lord's. The event at which we aim is certain – the uttermost parts of the earth will become the possession of the Son of God. I had often looked at Mowhee, and anticipated with great delight the day when he would return to New Zealand and the natives would hear from the lips of a New Zealander of the unsearchable riches of Christ. From his piety, capacity, and application, I had fondly conjectured that it might eventually happen, that as Sattianaden, Nanaperagason, Adeykalam, and Abraham, ordained by the Lutheran Church native priests, are now labouring in India, under the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, so, I trusted, it was not impossible but that Mowhee, under the patronage of the Church Missionary Society, might be employed in New Zealand, and direct his fellow natives to Him Who is 'the propitiation for the sins of the whole world.' These pleasing prospects are now, alas, but as a dream when one awaketh. Mowhee is no more. I left his dying bed with a deepened impression of the duty of supporting the missionary exertions of these



two institutions, and I can truly add, with cordial exultation in the conversion of the heathen, if accomplished under the Divine blessing, by the zeal of those societies which are not of our own communion, the Lord prosper them: we wish them success in the name of the Lord. This thought then occurred to me. Mowhee is dead; but his work is not yet done. Let his grave address his countrymen. Who can tell but they yet may hear and believe? I give, therefore, this memoir to the Society. Let it, if approved by the committee, be printed in a good type, in the form of a tract after it has received their perusal and correction. Let Mowhee's family be especially considered. Perhaps they may read, or at least hear it, with some interest; and thus may we say of Mowhee: 'By it, he, being dead, yet speaketh, and O native of New Zealand, whoever thou art that mayst hear or read this little tract, remember that Mowhee on his deathbed remembered and prayed for thee. May his prayer be answered in thy conversion: May the God and Saviour Who taught Mowhee by the Holy Spirit the path of life be your God and Saviour in life and death and forever.' To this prayer let all the faithful in Christ Jesus who may read the memoir say Amen.

The death of Mowhee in London will show the Christian world the power of Divine grace, and encourage the faithful, whose single desire is the increase of the Redeemer's kingdom, to go on in their work and labour of love. The Lord of Hosts is with them and has blessed their labours to the honour and glory of His grace, and is raising up a people to serve Him in that heathen and benighted land who will finally sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the Kingdom of God for ever and ever."

[Before Marsden learned of the sad fate of Maui he had already, to his intense delight, made his first journey to New Zealand and witnessed the establishment of the mission station upon which, for so many years, his mind had been fixed. The journal in which the events of this epoch-making voyage were recorded was despatched from Parramatta to the Rev. Josiah Pratt, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, under date 20th June, 1815. Marsden had been absent from New South Wales for four months and returned glowing with enthusiasm and hope, fully persuaded that he had succeeded in accomplishing all that he had set before himself.

The journal continues as follows: – ]

I communicated to you on a former occasion my full intention of accompanying the settlers to New Zealand, in order to aid them in their first establishment and to give them as much influence as possible amongst the natives; I had for many years studied the characters of the New Zealanders, having generally some living with me, and was under no apprehension of danger from them as far as my own personal safety and those who were about to go with me were concerned. Many in New South Wales were of the opinion that we should never return, from the horrid massacres that have repeatedly been committed in that island by the natives, but these persons had not sufficiently considered the provocations given to the natives by Europeans, as it is well known that the Europeans have thought it no crime to murder and plunder these islanders upon the most trivial occasions, and too often



from mere wanton cruelty. From my first knowledge of these people, I have always considered them the finest and noblest race of heathens known to the civilized world, and have ever been persuaded that they only wanted the introduction of the arts of civilization and the knowledge of the Christian religion to make them a great nation, and am more confirmed in this opinion since I have visited them than I was before, as I found them much more civilized in general than I had previously conceived.

I shall now proceed with the particulars of my first voyage to New Zealand.

When I was preparing for New Zealand, Mr. John Liddiard Nicholas, a gentleman who came out to settle in this colony about two years ago, voluntarily proposed to accompany me.[137] I readily accepted his offer. We embarked on board the Active brig on Saturday, the 19th of November, 1814, and sailed down the harbour early that morning, but were obliged to anchor again near the mouth of it by contrary winds; here we were detained nine days. On Monday, the 28th, we weighed anchor and got out to sea. The number of persons on board the Active, including women and children, were 35 – Mr. Hanson (Hansen), master, his wife and son, Messrs. Kendall, Hall, and King, with their wives and five children, eight New Zealanders,[138] two Otaheitans, and four Europeans belonging to the vessel, besides

Mr. Nicholas, myself, two sawyers, one smith, and one runaway convict whom we afterwards found on board. We had also on board one entire horse, two mares, one bull, and two cows, with a few sheep and poultry of different kinds intended for the island. The cows and bull had been presented by Governor Macquarie from His Majesty's herd.

Nothing of consequence happened during our voyage. I suffered much from sea-sickness, and though I have been so frequently at sea I cannot get the better of that unpleasant complaint; I am always sick, and frequently compelled to keep my bed.

On the 16th December we saw the Three Kings, some small islands which lie to the north end of New Zealand about twelve leagues.



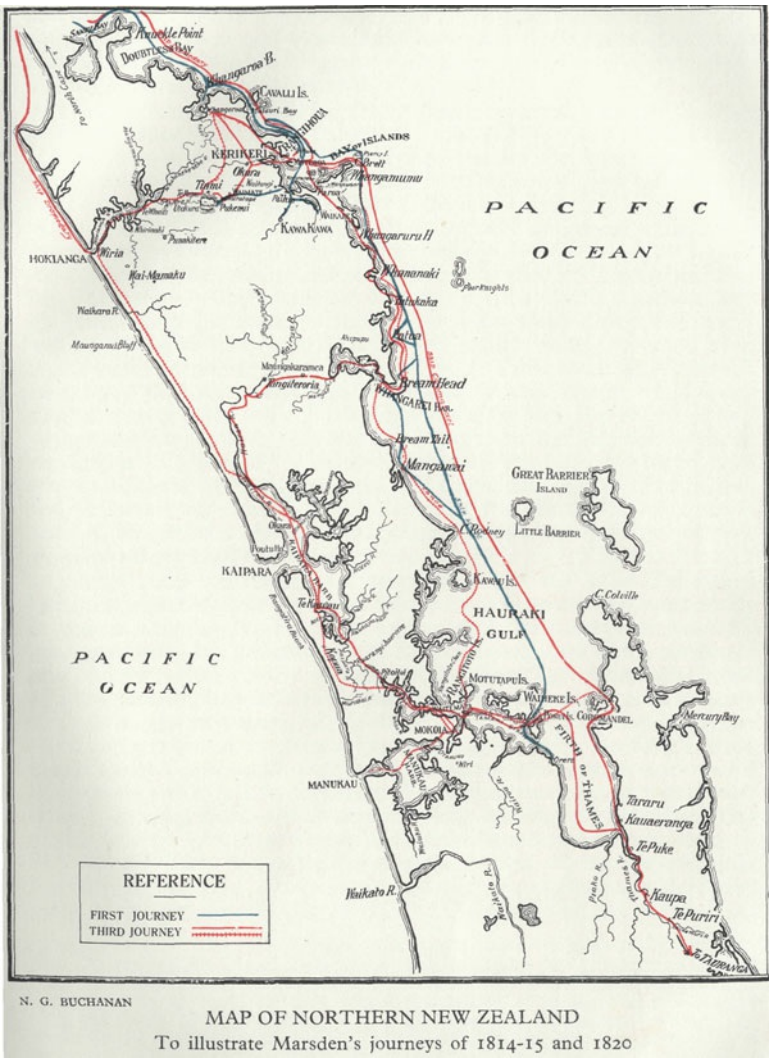
AT THE NORTH CAPE

We sailed close by them in the afternoon; as I wished to pass a day at the North Cape, we stood in for it in the evening with a light breeze and saw the land before sunset. We had little wind all night; the next morning (17th) at daylight we were almost four leagues from shore. We stood in till about 8 o'clock. I was anxious to have an interview with the chiefs in order that I might explain to them the object of my voyage, introduce the settlers to them, and prepare the way for my future attempts to promote their welfare. After breakfast the ship's boat was hoisted out with a view to visiting the shore; I directed Duaterra (Ruatara), Shunghee (Hongi), Korokoro, Tohee or Toui (Tuhi), and Tiraara (Tirarau?) – all the chiefs we had on board – to go in her, and no Europeans, so that they might open an intercourse between us and the natives and bring us some supplies. The boat was well armed, that they might defend themselves if any attack should be made upon them.

Before the boat had reached the land, a canoe appeared alongside the Active with plenty of fish, and shortly after a chief followed from the shore, who immediately came on board with his son. In his canoe there were some very fine-looking men. I asked him if he had seen Duaterra whom I had sent on shore. He told me he had not, and immediately showed me a pocket knife which he had tied to a string round his waist and which he highly valued, and informed me that it had been given to him by Duaterra a long time before. I was much gratified that we had been so fortunate as to meet with a chief who knew our friend Duaterra, as we were now likely to obtain fully the object of our visit. I told them my name, with which they seemed well acquainted, and immediately enquired after a young man belonging to that place who had lived with me some time previously. His brother was in the canoe, and greatly rejoiced he was to see me; he made the most anxious, enquiries after his brother and I gave him every information I could. We were now quite free from all fear, as the natives seemed desirous to show their attention to us by every possible means in their power. I informed the chief that we wanted some hogs and potatoes. He requested me to send one of our people on shore in his canoe and he would send for some immediately. I ordered one of the New Zealanders belonging to the vessel into the canoe as I did not think it prudent to send any European.

The chief and his son remained on board; they seemed very happy and much gratified with our confidence in them. I explained to the chief the object of our voyage, and informed him that the Active would continue to visit them from time to time, and that Messrs. Kendall, Hall, and King would settle at the Bay of Islands for the general benefit of their country. I also gave him a printed copy of Governor Macquarie's "Instructions to Masters of Vessels" relative to them. I explained their meaning, which he comprehended and much approved of, and directed him to show these instructions to all the captains of vessels that touched there as they would be a protection to them. He received these instructions with much satisfaction.[139]

[Inserted unpaginated map]




MAP OF NORTHERN NEW ZEALAND
To illustrate Marsden's journeys of 1814-15 and 1820
N.G. BUCHANAN

JEM THE OTAHEITAN



In a short time other canoes came to the Active, and brought an abundance of the finest fish I ever saw; our. decks were soon covered with them. We had now a number of natives, both on board and alongside, who behaved with the greatest propriety. We traded with them for fishing lines and other articles of curiosity.

Before Duaterra and the other chiefs returned with the boat, a large war canoe came off to the vessel. She was very full of stout fine-looking men, and sailed very fast, though the sea was rather rough and we were some distance from the land. It was pleasing to behold with what ease she topt the rising waves. One of the principal chiefs was in this war canoe with a number of his attendants, and along with him a young man, an Otaheitan, known by the name of Jem[140] whom I had known some years, as he had resided a considerable time at Parramatta with Mr. McArthur. This Otaheitan had married the chief's daughter, and his wife was in the canoe. He was much surprised to see me, and I was no less so to meet him there so very unexpectedly. He had been in the habit of calling at my house when at Parramatta, and was well acquainted with my situation in New South Wales. As he could speak English exceedingly well, I fully explained to him the object of my voyage to New Zealand. He was much pleased at the idea of Europeans residing in the island. This young man, being very intelligent and active, appeared to have gained the full confidence of his father-in-law, and to have great weight and influence at the North Cape. I made himself, his father-in-law, and the other principal men a few presents which were gratefully received.

After some conversation I mentioned that the New Zealanders had been guilty of great cruelties towards the Europeans and particularly in the case of the Boyd. They replied that the Europeans were the first aggressors by inflicting corporal punishment on their chiefs. I also told them that Mr. Barnes, the master of the Jefferson whaler, when at Port Jackson had informed me that they had acted treacherously towards him in attempting to cut off two boats belonging to the Jefferson when she was last at the North Cape in company with the King George. I told them I was much concerned to hear these reports, and that if they continued to act in this manner no European vessels would visit them. In reply to this the Otaheitan young chief stated that the masters of the Jefferson and King George had, in the first instance, behaved very ill to them. They had agreed to give 150 baskets of potatoes and eight hogs for one musket. The potatoes and hogs were delivered and divided between the two vessels, after which the Otaheitan and one of the chiefs

THE KING GEORGE AND THE JEFFERSON



went on board the King George for the musket, which was delivered. At the same time the master of the King George demanded more potatoes and hogs. The chief was detained on board and the Otaheitan sent on shore for the articles demanded. The head chief said he had fulfilled the agreement for the musket by the 150 baskets of potatoes and eight hogs and he would give no more. The chief that was detained prisoner on board the King George was the head chief's brother, and was with us at this time. The Otaheitan was sent to the King George to tell the master that no more potatoes and hogs would be given, and to request him to release the chief whom he had unjustly detained. This the master refused to do, and also kept the Otaheitan a prisoner. In two or three days they were put on board the

Jefferson, and there they remained for some days till they were ransomed at 170 baskets of potatoes and five hogs. The people on shore were greatly enraged all this time and alarmed for the safety of their chief, the vessels being out of sight for some time. After the potatoes and hogs were delivered two boats were sent on shore with the Otaheitan and the chief. Great numbers of the natives were assembled on the shore to receive them. They were no sooner landed than the natives fired upon the boats, and I have no doubt but they would have massacred the crews at the moment, if they could, for their fraud and cruelty. The Otaheitan told me it was not possible to restrain the people from firing upon the boats. The chief spoke with great warmth and indignation at the treatment he had received. I assured them that both King George and Governor Macquarie would punish any act of fraud or cruelty committed by the Europeans whenever they were informed of them.

I then gave them Governor Macquarie's "Instructions to Masters of Vessels" and explained the nature of them, which was clearly understood by the Otaheitan who explained it to the rest. I told them that the Active would occasionally visit them, and by that means they might easily obtain redress from the Governor of New South Wales, and requested them never to commit any act of violence upon the Europeans in future, but refer their complaints to Governor Macquarie. They seemed much pleased, and promised they would not injure the crews of ships that might touch there. I also informed them that the masters of the King George and Jefferson would be called upon to answer for their conduct when they came to Port Jackson, as I should inform Governor Macquarie of what they had done.

While the principal chief and his party remained on board, the boat returned with Duaterra and the rest that had gone in her. Duaterra and the principal chief seemed well acquainted, and were very polite to each other. The most friendly salutations passed between them, and Duaterra being now comparatively very rich made several presents to his friends as did the other chiefs who had come with me from Sydney.

Duaterra renewed the conversation relative to their firing upon the Jefferson's boats, and laid the strongest injunctions on them not to injure the Europeans in future, bur refer their complaints to the Governor of New South Wales.

AT THE CAVALLI ISLANDS



This was one of the most interesting and pleasant days I had ever enjoyed. I was never more amused and gratified than upon this occasion. Before evening we had got an abundant supply of fish, hogs, and potatoes. I informed the natives we should sail that night for the Bay of Islands. They pressed us very much to stop another day and they would bring us more hogs, potatoes, and fish. I told them we had enough for the present, and that I would call and see them on my return to Port Jackson, and, in the meantime, if they would prepare me some flax I would buy it from them. The chief promised to have some ready.

As soon as evening came on they took their leave in a very warm and affectionate manner and went into their canoes to return to shore, apparently much satisfied with the reception that they had met with on board the Active and the information they had received relative to the Active visiting them again and the Europeans settling on their island.

When they had left us we made sail and proceeded on our voyage with a fair breeze. During the night (18th) the wind died away, and in the morning the little we had was against us, so that our progress along the coast was but slow. The hills and woods appeared very beautiful to the eye, and the fires of the natives smoked in all directions on the mainland. The wind continued nearly the same during the day. The next morning (19th) we beat up against the wind and passed the mouth of the harbour of Wangarooa, the place where the Boyd was cut off, but could not weather the Cavalles, some small inhabited islands a few miles from the main. The natives informed us there was a safe passage between these islands and the main, and we therefore endeavoured to beat through them but could not for contrary wind.[141]

As we were not far from the Cavalles, I wished to visit the people on them and had the boat hoisted out for that purpose. Messrs. Nicholas and Kendall, with Korokoro and Tohee (Tuhi) accompanied me on shore.

As soon as we landed all the natives ran off, and secreted themselves in the bushes, excepting one old man who, being lame, was not able to make his escape. We walked up to him; he appeared alarmed till he saw Korokoro. I then made him a present of a few trifles, and in return he offered us a basket of dried fish which we declined. Immediately Korokoro left us and went in search of the natives. Mr. Kendall sat down with the old man who was much fatigued in getting up the hill from the steepness of the shore. Mr. Nicholas and I went after Korokoro, but were some time before we could find him; he had gone to enquire after his relations who lived upon this island. After some time we found Korokoro, who had met with one of his own men.

By this time the natives began to recover from their alarm and to come out of their hiding places. While we were talking with Korokoro and some of the natives, his aunt was seen coming towards us with

A MAORI TANGI



some women and children. She had a green bough twisted round her head, and another in her hand, and a young child on her back. When she came within a hundred yards she began to make a very mournful lamentation, and hung down her head as if oppressed with the heaviest grief.[142] She advanced to Korokoro with a slow pace. Korokoro appeared much agitated and stood in deep silence like a statue leaning upon his musket. As his aunt advanced she prayed aloud and wept exceedingly. Tohee, Korokoro's brother, seemed much affected and as if ashamed of his aunt's conduct; he told us he would not cry: "I will act like an Englishman,"- he said, "I will not cry!" Korokoro remained motionless till his aunt came up to him when they laid their heads together, the woman leaning upon a staff and Korokoro upon his gun, and in this situation they wept aloud for a long time and repeated short sentences alternately, which we understood were prayers, and continued weeping, the tears rolling down their sable countenances in torrents. It was impossible to see them without being deeply affected. At this time also the daughter of Korokoro's aunt sat at her mother's feet weeping, and all the women joined in their lamentations. We thought this an extraordinary custom amongst them and a singular mode of manifesting their joy, but we afterwards found that this custom was general in the island of New Zealand. Many of these poor women cut themselves in their faces, arms, and breasts with sharp shells or flints till the blood ran down in streams. When their tears and lamentations had subsided, I presented the women with a few presents. Tohee had sat all this time labouring to suppress his feelings, having declared he would not cry. In a short time we were joined by several fine young men; amongst them there was a youth, the son of a chief of the island. When Tohee saw him coming he could contain his feelings no longer but instantly ran to him and they were locked in each other's arms, weeping aloud. After they had saluted each other and the women had gone through various ceremonies, we entered into conversation with them. I enquired why they all ran off into the bushes. They told us that they had supposed when we landed that we were going to shoot them. These people were greatly rejoiced when they found us to be their friends. They did everything in their power to please and gratify us. After spending a few hours we returned to the place where we left Mr. Kendall talking to the old man. A number of the natives attended us, and we enjoyed a very pleasant day, as every object around us was new and interesting, particularly the inhabitants. From the top of the Cavalles the view of the mainland, together with the ocean and the numerous small islands scattered upon it, is the most delightful I ever saw – at least I thought so.

When we arrived we found Mr. Kendall had been visited by some of the natives, who were still with him, and had much entertained him during our absence. In the evening we returned to the vessel accompanied by the son of the chief and other chiefs from the mainland, who remained on board all night.

TE PAHI AND THE MASSACRE OF THE BOYD



The next morning the wind still continued against us, and we had been labouring more than a day and a night to work the vessel either round the islands or between them and the mainland to no purpose. I thought it most prudent, as there was good anchorage, to bring the vessel to anchor and wait for a fair wind. I communicated my wishes to the master accordingly, and we came to anchor between the islands and the mainland in seven fathoms of water.

Here we lay about five leagues from Wangarooa harbour, where the Boyd was cut off and her crew massacred, and one league from that part of the mainland which belonged to the chief Shunghee who came with us from Port Jackson. Duaterra and Shunghee had often told me of the bloody war that had been carried on between the people of Wangarooa and those of the Bay of Islands from the time the Boyd was destroyed till that period. During the stay of these chiefs in New South Wales they were always apprehensive that the chiefs of Wangarooa would take advantage of their absence to make an attack upon the people at the Bay of Islands. However, we here learned that there had been no disturbances since they had left home. It appeared that after the Boyd had been cut off, Tippahee, a chief belonging to the Bay of Islands, who had visited Port Jackson where he received great attention, was accused of being concerned in that dreadful massacre, in consequence of which the whalers who were at that time upon the coast had come into the Bay of Islands shortly after that affair, united their forces, and sent seven armed boats before daybreak to attack the island of Tippahee[143] where, on their landing, they shot every man, woman, and child that came in their way. In this attack Tippahee received seven wounds and soon afterwards died.

Duaterra and Shunghee always declared that Tippahee (Te Pahi) was innocent of the crime for which he suffered, and that Tippoohee (Te Puhi) of Wangarooa committed it. Wangarooa is situated about thirty miles nearer the North Cape than the Bay of Islands. Tippahee was in the habit of trading with the people of Wangarooa and happened to go there with a cargo of fish on the day on which the Boyd was taken and the whole of her crew massacred. When he arrived five only of her men were alive and in the rigging, whom he took into his own canoe and landed them with a view of saving their lives, but being followed by the people who committed the outrage these five were forcibly taken from him and instantly put to death. This is the account given by those natives who had first visited New South Wales. They originally declared that Tippahee was innocent of the destruction of the Boyd. The people at the Bay of Islands, in consequence of the murder of their chief Tippahee, declared war against the people of Wangarooa. Several desperate battles had been fought, and the war was likely to continue.

I had often told Duaterra and Shunghee that it would be to the interest of all parties to make peace, and that I wished to see it established before I quitted New Zealand. Duaterra expressed his doubts as to the accomplishment of this object. I told him I thought if I could obtain an interview with the chiefs I might bring it about, and that it was my determination to visit Wangarooa before my return to try what could be done.

LANDING AT WHANGAROA



The next day the wind still continued in the same quarter, which obliged us to remain at anchor. I again visited the Cavalles and there learned that the chiefs of Wangarooa were on the mainland and all the principal warriors. They had come to the funeral of some great man who had died a few days before, and were then encamped on the shore opposite to our anchorage. At this information I hastened on board and consulted with Duaterra. I told him how anxious I was to make peace now that the Europeans were come to settle amongst them, that this would secure the lives of the Europeans and tend to the general benefit of their country. I expressed my wish to visit the camp of the Wangarooa people and hear what the chiefs had to say on the subject. As he had never met these people since the loss of the Boyd except in the field of battle he hesitated for some time. I did all I could to induce him to try the experiment. He was not afraid of himself but was apprehensive that some accident might happen to me or to the persons of my party. He at length consented to go on shore with me. Shunghee and Korokoro agreed to accompany us, and Messrs. Nicholas, Kendall, King, and Hanson (Hansen) volunteered to do the same. We took several loaded muskets in the boats with us. The beach on which we were to land belonged to Shunghee and was covered with his people.[144]

When we approached the shore we saw the Wangarooa chiefs with their warriors encamped on a high sugar loaf hill to our left, with colours flying, etc. The foot of this hill communicated with the sea. As soon as they saw us land (our distance from them being about half a mile) they took to their spears, struck their colours, and ran off as fast as they could.

Duaterra took a brace of large pistols and told me to follow him slowly, for he would come up to them at a certain point where they must speak to him because they could not escape by any other way on account of the sea. We all marched together after Duaterra, being surrounded by an immense crowd of men, women, and children belonging to Shunghee's tribe. Some of the principals of these people ran in different directions to clear the way and keep the crowd from pressing us. In a short time Duaterra returned to meet us and called to me to come forward; accordingly we mended our pace and soon came in sight of the Wangarooa people who had stopped to receive us. A line was formed on each side of us to march through them. An old woman, whom I took to be a priestess, made a very great noise and waved a flag as we advanced. The chiefs were all seated on the ground, according to their custom, and their warriors standing up with their spears fixed upright which were from 15 to 20 feet in length and upwards. They were armed also with their patooes (patus).[145] Duaterra stood at some distance from the chiefs, who were seated, with a pistol in his hand. When I had got up to the chiefs, Duaterra discharged his pistol and afterwards ordered

"KING GEORGE" OF WHANGAROA



the muskets belonging to our party to be discharged, which was done. The Wangarooa people discharged their muskets also. These I considered as most favourable omens to my object. One of the principal chiefs who had cut off the Boyd had been at Parramatta and knew me. He had been on board the whalers for a considerable time and spoke English well enough to be understood. He is known by the Europeans by the name of George.[146]

I made the chiefs a few presents, and after some conversation upon various subjects and particularly upon the occasion of my visit to New Zealand, I enquired how they came to cut off the Boyd and massacre her crew. Two of them stated that they were at Port Jackson when the Boyd was there, and had been put on board by Mr. Lord in order to return home. The head chief (George) had fallen sick when on board and was unable to do his duty as a common sailor, in consequence of which he was severely punished, refused provisions and threatened to be thrown overboard, and many other indignities were offered him even by the common sailors. He remonstrated with the master, begged him not to inflict corporal punishment upon him, saying that he was a chief in his own country which they would know on their arrival at New Zealand. He was told he was no chief, with many abusive terms which he mentioned and which are but too commonly used by British sailors.

When he arrived at Wangarooa his back was in a very lacerated state, and his friends and people were determined to revenge the insults which had been offered him. He said if he had not been treated with such cruelty the Boyd would never have been touched. From the accounts which these chiefs and their people gave of

the destruction of the Boyd, Tippahee had no hand in this melancholy event; it was wholly their own act and deed. This being strictly true, I see no reason to disbelieve their declaration that Tippahee and his people were innocent sufferers, and their deaths laid the foundation for much bloodshed. Many since that period have been cut off, both belonging to the Bay of Islands and to Wangarooa, and I never passed Tippahee's Island without a sigh. It is now desolate, without an inhabitant, and has been so ever since his death. The ruins of his little cottage, which was built



by the kindness of the late Governor King, still remains. I would hope that those Europeans who were concerned in that fatal transaction were ignorant at the time that they were punishing the innocent. I think it probable the mistake, if there was one, which I am inclined to believe, originated in the affinity between the names of Tippahee and the chief of Wangarooa who was principally concerned in the destruction of the Boyd and whose name is Tippoohee (Te Puhi). This chief I saw and conversed with on the subject.

Having fully satisfied myself relative to the loss of the Boyd, and explained to these people the reason of the Active's coming to New Zealand, I found as night was coming on I could not accomplish the grand object I had in view, namely, to make peace, without spending more time with them, and therefore I resolved to remain all night in their camp. Shunghee had given directions to his people to prepare supper for us nearly a mile from where we then were. I told the chiefs we would go to visit Shunghee's people, and when we had taken some refreshment I and Mr. Nicholas would return and spend the night in their camp, in order that we might have a little more conversation with them. To this they readily consented, and with a view to show some marked attention they entertained us with a sham fight, war-dance, and song of victory before we went to Shunghee's people.

After these ceremonies were over we took leave and returned to the place where we had landed, attended by a very large number of natives. Shunghee's servants had got our potatoes and fish prepared.

Duaterra and the party who had come with us from the Active now returned on board, leaving myself, Mr. Nicholas, and Shunghee to spend the night on shore. We sat down upon the ground to supper, but were soon almost smothered with the natives who crowded so close around us that I was compelled to draw a circle and direct them not to pass it. We were here much amused with these people, and they appeared equally so with us and manifested every wish to serve us. After spending about an hour with them, we returned to the camp of the Wangarooa people who had removed about half a mile further from the place where we had had our first interview with them, and had taken their station on a level piece of ground which I estimated to contain about one hundred acres. When we arrived they received us very cordially; we sat down amongst them and the chiefs surrounded us. I now renewed our conversation relative to the destruction of the Boyd with a view of bringing about a reconciliation between them and the inhabitants of the Bay of Islands, as I considered it of great importance to the mission to establish peace between these contending parties. The chiefs told me the state the Boyd was then in, and promised to give me the guns and whatever remained belonging to her if I would go into their harbour; they had got some of the guns on shore and would get the rest.

The chief George told me that his father and five others were blown up in the Boyd when she took fire. His father had got part of the powder upon deck with some of the muskets, and was trying one of the flints in a musket whether it would strike fire or not, when a spark caught the powder and set the Boyd on fire and killed all that were near. He pressed me much to go into their harbour. I told him I probably



should before I left New Zealand, if the wind would permit, but I could not go at that time on account of the stock and number of people I had on board the Active. I then spoke to him on the subject of peace, and pointed out to him how much more it would be for their interest and happiness to turn their attention to agriculture and the improvement of their country than continue to fight and murder one another, and particularly now as the Europeans were going to settle amongst them, through whom they could obtain wheat to sow their lands with and tools for agriculture. I assured them that every assistance would be given to them by the Europeans to promote the improvement of their present situation and that, if they would only attend to the cultivation of their lands and lay aside all wars and murders, they would soon become a great and happy people.

George replied then they did not want to fight any more and were ready to make peace. Much conversation passed, principally respecting New Zealand and Port Jackson, which George had visited. I endeavoured to impress upon his mind the comforts we enjoyed compared to them in our mode of living, houses, etc., which he well knew, and that all such comforts they might equally enjoy in a short time by cultivating their lands and improving themselves in useful knowledge, which they would now have an opportunity to acquire from the European settlers. He seemed sensible of all these advantages, and expressed a wish to follow my advice. We were surrounded by the other chiefs and their people during our conversation.

As the evening advanced the people began to retire to rest in different groups. About 11 o'clock Mr. Nicholas and myself wrapped ourselves up in our great-coats and prepared for rest also. George directed me to lie by his side; his wife and child lay upon the right hand and Mr. Nicholas close by. The night was clear, the stars shone brightly, and the sea in our front was smooth. Around us were numerous spears stuck upright in the ground and groups of natives lying in all directions like a flock of sheep upon the grass, as there were neither tents nor huts to cover them.

I viewed our present situation with new 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. I did not sleep much during the night; my mind was too seriously occupied by the present scene and the new and strange ideas it naturally excited.

About three o'clock in the morning (20th) I arose and walked about the camp surveying the different groups of natives; some of them put out their heads from under the top of their kakkahows,[147] which are like a beehive, and spoke to me. When the morning light returned we beheld men, women, and children asleep in all directions like the beasts of the field.

I had directed the boat to come on shore for us at daylight, and soon after Duaterra arrived in the camp. I now invited the chiefs on board the Active to breakfast, which invitation they readily accepted. We immediately went all in the boat together, and several canoes put



off at the same time for the Active. At first I entertained doubts whether the chiefs would trust themselves with us or not on account of the Boyd, lest we should detain them when we had them in our power, but they showed no signs of fear and went on board with apparent confidence. I communicated to Duaterra my intention to make them some presents. He told me that whatever article I gave to one I must give a similar article to another, and each article was to be given

separately, and to the eldest chief first. The axes, billhooks, prints, etc., which I intended to give them were all got ready after breakfast. The chiefs were seated in the cabin in great form to receive the presents. I sat on one side of the table and they on the other. Duaterra stood and handed each article separately that I was to give them. Messrs. Kendall, Hall, and King, with the master of the Active and his son, were all one after another introduced to the chiefs. The chiefs, at the same time, were informed what duty each of these persons were appointed to do – Mr. Kendall to instruct their children, Mr. Hall to build houses, boats, etc., Mr. King to make fishing lines, and Mr. Hanson (Hansen) to command the Active, which would be employed in bringing axes and such other articles as were wanted from Port Jackson to enable them to cultivate their land and improve their country.

When these ceremonies were over of giving and receiving the presents, I expressed my hopes that they would have no more wars, but from that time would be reconciled to each other. Duaterra, Shunghee, and Korokoro all shook hands with the chiefs of Wangarooa and saluted each other as a token of reconciliation by joining their noses together. I was much gratified to see these men at amity once more, and sincerely wish that this peace may never be broken. I considered the time well employed while we had been detained by adverse winds.

The chiefs took their leave after this, much pleased with our attention to them and promised never to injure any Europeans in future. Having now nothing more to do and the wind becoming favourable, in the afternoon we weighed anchor and stood for the Bay of Islands and reached the mouth of the harbour that night, but for want of wind we could not get in. About ten o'clock the next morning we entered the mouth of the harbour and were met by a war canoe belonging to Korokoro, who resides upon the south side of the harbour. In this canoe were Korokoro's son and a number of his servants. They were all greatly rejoiced to see their chief. He left his son on board and immediately went on shore in his canoe.

About three o'clock on Thursday, the 22nd December, we anchored on the north side of the harbour about seven miles from the heads in a cove opposite to the town of Rangheehoo[148] where Duaterra was wont to reside, to the great joy of his people. The Active was soon surrounded with canoes from all quarters. On going ashore Duaterra and Shunghee found all their friends and relatives well, who wept much for joy at their return, and the women cut themselves, in a similar manner to those at the Cavalles, with shells and flints, till the blood flowed down. It was in vain to attempt to persuade them not to do this, as they considered it the strongest proof of their affections.

HORSES AND CATTLE LANDED



The next day (24th) we landed the horses and cattle,[149] and fixed upon a place for the present residence of the settlers, and began to clear away the rubbish and prepare for erecting the houses for their reception on a piece of ground adjoining to the native town pitched upon by Duaterra and the chiefs of the place.

About eight o'clock on Saturday morning, Korokoro, who lives about nine miles from the settlers, came to pay his respects to us. He was attended by ten canoes full of his warriors, with some women and children. The canoes came down in a regular line with colours flying, which when we observed we immediately hoisted ours. Some of his officers stood up and regulated all their movements both by word of command and signal made by their large patooes[150] ornamented with feathers which they held in their hands and kept in constant motion. Korokoro was dressed in his native clothing and also his brother Tooi; both were painted with red ochres, as were all the warriors, and had feathers in their hair. The whole presented a grand warlike appearance. They advanced with great speed towards the Active and kept a regular line, each man striking his paddle at the same instant so that the whole had the appearance of one stroke. They sung the war song as they approached, and performed all their gestures and threats as if

A SHAM FIGHT



they were determined upon attacking the vessel. They were saluted with a discharge of thirteen small arms; the song of victory was then sung in the canoes, and their war rejoicings performed.

After this Korokoro, with the chiefs who had come along with him, came on board and made us several presents in the politest manner. A number of chiefs from other districts were also on board. Korokoro introduced them all one by one to us, pointed out the particular attention that each had shown him while in Port Jackson, and lamented that the poverty of his country prevented him returning our kindness according to his wishes. He was also very particular in explaining to the other chiefs for what purposes Messrs. Kendall, Hall, and King came to reside at New Zealand. Duaterra and his friends were present on the occasion and assisted in regulating the necessary ceremonies and forms in which Korokoro and his party were to be received.

It had been previously settled between Duaterra and Korokoro, unknown to us, that when the latter came to pay his respects we were to be entertained with a sham fight. After taking some refreshment, preparations were made to go on shore; Korokoro was about to make an attack upon Duaterra's people and take the place by storm. Duaterra then went on shore to prepare for the defence of his place. A number of canoes full of people belonging to other chiefs immediately joined us.

When Korokoro left the Active, I, accompanied by Mr. Nicholas and the settlers, went with him. Duaterra had got all his men drawn up armed with their spears and other weapons of war. Korokoro's canoe advanced towards the shore in the same order of battle in which they had approached the Active. A chief belonging to Duaterra, quite naked, ran furiously to and fro along the beach, armed, making a most horrid noise, and daring them to land. As the canoes came nearer to the shore those in them increased their shouts and furious gestures. At length they all jumped out of the canoes into the water and, in one close body, began to attack. Duaterra's men all retreated as fast as possible and the others pursued them a considerable distance, when Duaterra's men suddenly wheeled round and attacked their pursuers. The battle then became general. A number of women were in the heat of the action, among whom was Tippahee's old wife, not much less than seventy years of age, and Duaterra's wife bearing in her hand a patoo about seven feet long, made out of the jawbone of a whale.[151] This weapon she brandished about in the very centre of the battle, and went through all the various movements of the men whether in retreating or advancing.

After both parties had run and struggled together till nearly-exhausted, some having been trampled upon and others accidentally knocked down, they formed a close body and united in the shouts of victory and war dance which ended the scene. Duaterra, during the action, commanded one party and Korokoro the other.

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN SERVICE



Duaterra passed the remaining part of the day in preparing for the Sabbath. He enclosed about half an acre of land with a fence, erected a pulpit and reading desk in the centre, and covered the whole either with black native cloth[152] or some duck which he had brought with him from Port Jackson. He also procured some bottoms of old canoes and fixed them up as seats on each side of the pulpit for the Europeans to sit upon, intending the next day to have Divine service performed there. These preparations he made of his own accord, and in the evening informed me everything was ready for Divine service. I was much pleased with this singular mark of his attention. The reading desk was about three feet from the ground and the pulpit about six feet. The black cloth covered the top of the pulpit and hung over the sides. The bottom of the pulpit as well as the reading desk was made of part of a canoe. The whole was becoming and had a solemn appearance.

He had also erected a flag-staff on the highest hill in the village which had a very commanding view.

On Sunday morning (December 25th) when I was upon deck I saw the English flag flying, which was a pleasing sight in New Zealand. I considered it the signal for the dawn of civilization, liberty, and religion in that dark and 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 the glad tidings of the Gospel for the first time. I was under no apprehensions 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, Duaterra, and Shunghee dressed in regimentals which Governor Macquarie had given them, with their men drawn up ready to march into the enclosure to attend Divine service. They had their swords by their sides and a switch in their hands. We entered the enclosure and were placed in the seats on each side of the pulpit. Korokoro marched his men on and placed them on my right hand in the rear of the Europeans and Duaterra 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 got up and began the service with singing the Old Hundred Psalm, and felt my very soul melt within me when I viewed my congregation and considered the state we were in.

After reading the service, during which the natives stood up and sat down at the signal given by the motion of 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, the tenth verse: "Behold I bring you glad tidings of great joy." The natives told Duaterra they could not understand what I meant. He replied 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. Duaterra was very much pleased that he had been able to make all the



necessary preparations for the performance of Divine service 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 for us that lay in his power and that the good of his country was his principal consideration. In the above 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.[153]

When the service was over we returned on board much gratified with the reception we had met with, and we could not but feel the strongest persuasion that the time was at hand when the Glory of the Lord would be revealed to these poor benighted heathens and that those who were to remain on the island had strong reason to believe that their labours would be crowned and blessed with success. In the evening I administered the Holy Sacrament on board the Active in remembrance of our Saviour's birth and what He had done and suffered for us.

Thus, Sir, I have informed you how we devoted our first Sabbath day at New Zealand. I assure you it was much more congenial to our feelings than any gratification we had previously anticipated.

On Monday morning (26th), as there was no timber at Rangheehoo fit for erecting the necessary buildings for the settlers, I determined to take the Active to the timber district, which I understood was about twenty miles distant on the opposite side of the harbour up a fresh-water river, as this would save considerable expense and supply what was wanted at once. I therefore ordered all the iron and various other articles to be landed and given in charge of Duaterra. The poultry were also sent on shore. The sawyers and smiths with young Mr. Hanson left the Active likewise. I directed them with the assistance of the natives to build a hut 60 feet long and 16 feet wide, and thatch it for the reception of the settlers and their families.

When we returned from the timber district the natives seemed very willing to assist us as much as they could. I found now I should be much distressed for axes and other articles of trade, as the presents I had made at the North Cape and along the coast had very much reduced my stock. We had also omitted to bring coals with us from Port Jackson, which was a loss I hardly knew how to remedy as nothing could be done nor provisions purchased from the natives without axes and carpenters' tools. I had no alternative but to erect a smith's shop and burn charcoal in order that the smith might get to work as soon as possible and make such axes, etc., as the natives wanted: I consequently desired that some of the natives along with the smith should be employed in burning charcoal and erecting a shop till the Active returned.



Having given such directions as I esteemed necessary, on Tuesday (27th) we weighed anchor and made sail for the timber district,[154] taking with us all the settlers and their families. This district belonged to another chief named Terra (Tara), an old man apparently seventy years of age. Terra is the head chief on the south side and a native of considerable influence, from which I judged it prudent to wait upon him to obtain his permission to cut what timber we wanted in the first instance, in order to prevent any misunderstandings.

Accordingly, when we came opposite his village, I went accompanied by Messrs. Nicholas, Kendall, and King to visit him, and took with me a young man[155] about seventeen years of age who was a relation of the chief's and had been almost nine years from New Zealand, the latter part of which period he had lived with me in Parramatta. He had also lived several years with a Mr. Drummond at Norfolk Island who had been exceeding kind to him. When we landed I found the chief sitting upon the beach with some of his chiefs and people. He received us very cordially and wept much and particularly at the young man's return, as did many more, and some wept aloud. I presented him with an axe, an adze, and two plane-irons with several other trifles. He said he did not want any presents from me, only my company, as he had heard so often of me from his people and others. I told him I waited upon him to beg his permission to cut some timber in his district for building the houses of the Europeans at Rangheehoo. He expressed a strong desire that they would come and reside with him. I pointed out to him that they could not come at present but must settle with Duaterra, in consequence of our long acquaintance with him, but that in time some Europeans should come to live with them. He gave his consent for us to have what timber we wanted. He informed me that the wheat, which had been given to him when the Active was there before, was growing. I went to see it and found it almost ripe. As the Active had gone on and I was told we were several miles from whence she would anchor, and night was coming on, I wished to take my leave, but the old chief would not consent to that till we had taken some refreshment. He ordered his cooks to dress some sweet potatoes as soon as possible. These are esteemed by them as the choicest food. In a short time a basket of them was brought, ready roasted, and placed before us. The chief sat by us with his wives and a number of men, women, and children. He would not eat with us nor permit any of his people to do so, and when we parted with him he ordered two baskets of sweet potatoes to be put into the boat for our use. I invited him to come on board of the Active which he promised to do, and we took our leave, being much gratified with the attention of this chief and his people.

The next morning (28th) we were visited by great numbers of natives from different districts. I contracted with some of the subordinate chiefs for a cargo of

timber. The Active lay about twelve miles from the fresh-water river where the pines grew, and from there not being sufficient water to bring her nearer I went up accompanied by Messrs. Nicholas and Hall to see the pines, and found a considerable



village upon the banks of the river which they call Cowa-Cowa (Kawakawa).[156] When our arrival was known we were soon surrounded by numbers of the natives, who vied with one another in their attentions. None of us were under the smallest apprehensions of danger, any more than if amongst Europeans. In about ten days we had got our cargo and were ready to return to Rangheehoo.

During the time the natives were getting the timber, Mr. Nicholas and I visited different places for several miles round, and passed one night with an old chief who gave us an account of Captain Cook when in the Bay of Islands. He was then a young man. He showed us where they pitched their tents, washed their clothes, watered their ships, and cut their wood, and related several occurrences that happened while Captain Cook remained there.

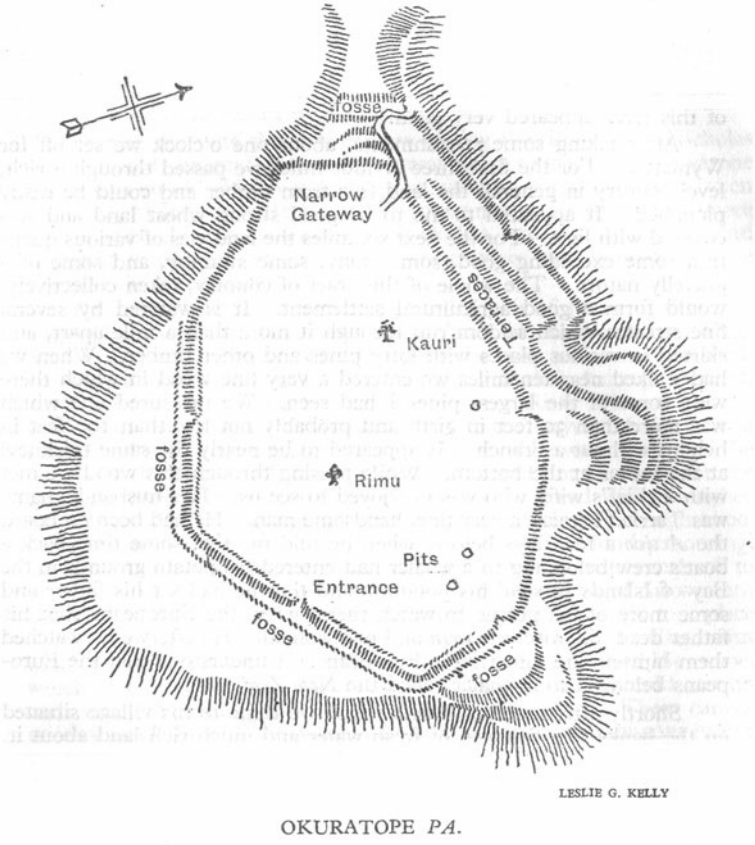
Our cargo being completed, on Friday, 6th of January, 1815, we weighed anchor and sailed from Cowa-Cowa for Rangheehoo. When we arrived the hut which I had directed to be built was almost finished. It was my intention as soon as the settlers and their baggage were all safely landed to visit either Wangarooa or the River Thames, as the wind at the time might permit, as several of the natives of Wangarooa had visited the Active since peace was established between them and the people of the Bay of Islands. As the hut would not be ready for the reception of the settlers for four or five days, I agreed with Shunghee to visit one of his villages[157] in the interim about 35 miles from Rangheehoo. Mr. Nicholas volunteered to accompany me. Early on Monday morning, the 9th, Shunghee, Duaterra, his wife, and several chiefs came off to the Active in a war canoe in which we were to get up one of the western branches of the harbour, from whose heads we were to walk to a place called Wymattee (Waimate) where the above-mentioned village was built. After breakfast we left the Active and went on board the canoe, which was very large and commodious. Sixteen persons could row on each side. We could either sit or lie down at pleasure. These canoes go very quick through the water and afford the most pleasant conveyance for passengers. Some of them are 80 or 90 feet in length. A smaller canoe attended us with some of the common servants of Shunghee. About eleven o'clock we reached the head of the cove, which we estimated to be about thirteen miles from the Active. Here we landed in a potato ground belonging to Shunghee's brother, named Kangorooa,[158] where we were to take some refreshment before we proceeded on our journey. Duaterra and his wife had already gone to their farm. The servants were all busy, some digging potatoes, others making fires to roast them. Hearing the sound of a very heavy fall of water at a little distance, I went to examine it while the potatoes were roasting, and found a fresh-water river falling on a bed of rocks which ran from bank



to bank. I estimated the fall to be at about 91 feet perpendicular with plenty of water for turning mills of any kind.[159] A regular bed of solid rock ran direct across the salt water cove and formed a dam similar to many of the artificial dams in England. The water seemed to be supplied from regular springs, as there were no marks on the banks of floods as in New South Wales from heavy rains. The land upon both sides of this river appeared very good.

After taking some refreshments, about one o'clock we set off for Wymattee. For the first three or four miles we passed through a rich, level country in general, the land free from timber and could be easily ploughed. It appeared to me to be good strong wheat land and was covered with fern. For the next six miles the land was of various qualities, some exceeding good, some stony, some swampy, and some of a gravelly nature. The whole of this tract of country, taken collectively, would form a good agricultural settlement. It is watered by several fine streams which seldom run through it more than a mile apart, and skirted in various places with lofty pines and other timber. When we had walked near ten miles we entered a very fine wood in which there were some of the largest pines I had seen. We measured one which was more than 30 feet in girth and probably not less than 100 feet in height, without a branch. It appeared to be nearly the same thickness at the top as at the bottom. While passing through/this wood we met with a chief's wife, who was overjoyed to see us. Her husband's name was Tarria (Taraia), a very fine, handsome man. He had been on board the Active a few days before, when he told/me that some time back a boat's crew belonging to a whaler had entered his potato grounds in the Bay of Islands to steal his potatoes, and that he had set his father and some more of his people to watch them, when the Europeans shot his father dead, likewise one man and one woman. He afterwards watched them himself and killed three Europeans. I understood that the Europeans belonged to a whaler called the New Zealander.

Shortly after meeting Tarria's wife we came to his village situated on the banks of a fine run of fresh water and much rich land about it. We enquired how many wives he had and were told ten. Tarria was from home, but his wives pressed us much to have some refreshment with them. There were a number of servants, both men and women. We consented to their wishes, and Shunghee having shot us a wild duck we had it dressed immediately, while Tarria's servants prepared abundance of potatoes for the whole party. We stopped in this village about two hours. They had a number of fine hogs, but no other animals excepting dogs. The New Zealanders are a very cheerful race; we were here entertained with a dance and song, and they were very merry all the time we were with them. We took our leave of them a little before the sun went down and proceeded on our journey, and arrived at Shunghee's village just before dark, where we were received with the loudest acclamations by his people, a part of whom wept for joy. The village contains about two hundred houses. It is situated on the summit of an almost inaccessible hill, and strongly fortified both by nature and art. Three very deep trenches have been cut round the sides of the




OKURATOPE PA.
LESLIE G. KELLY

Okuratope pa stands on the summit of an almost inaccessible hill whose precipitous sides are covered by tall trees and dense bush. Tall tree-ferns now spring from the very fosse and from the summit of the parapet – which is some six to eight feet high – surmounted in the days of Hongi Hika by a solid stockade. The fortifications and terraces are still well defined along with the narrow gateway described by Marsden as the entrance to the pa. The almost level summit contains many circular rua-kai or food-pits, shaped like a large bowl with a small, round opening at the top, all now filled, to a greater or less extent, with debris. A number of oblong spaces surrounded by shallow trenches mark the site of the two hundred houses mentioned by Marsden. The stage erected for Hongi on a single pillar "in the centre of the fortification" must have stood somewhere between the kauri and the rimu in the plan. – "Okuratope Pa in 1932," Leslie G. Kelly. (MS. in Hocken Library).



hill, one above another, and each trench fenced round with whole or split trees from twelve to twenty feet high. We entered this extraordinary fortification through a narrow gateway, when Shunghee showed us how he defended his place in time of war. He had one small secret corner where he could be concealed and fire upon the enemy. Every little hut in this enclosure is fenced round. Some of the store houses for the reception of their spears or provisions are about thirty feet long and twenty feet wide and well built. The roofs are thatched, and some of the eaves extend three feet over the sides in order to carry off the water and keep the buildings dry.

In the centre of the fortification, on the very summit of the hill, a stage is erected upon a single pillar about twenty feet long and three feet broad, hewn out of a solid tree, and elevated about six feet from the ground. Upon this the chief sits either for pleasure or business, just as occasions require his consulting with his people. It commands a most extensive view of the surrounding country in all directions. Near the stage is a little hut about four feet from the ground, three feet long and two feet wide, with a small image placed upon the left side of the door which does not exceed one foot. A seat also is placed in front upon which the chief's lady sits when she eats, her provisions being deposited in this little building.

About nine o'clock we were informed our room was ready where we were to sleep; some clean mats had been spread upon the floor for us to lie on. We wrapped ourselves up in our greatcoats and laid down for the night. A number of the natives lay in different situations, some under cover and some in the open air. We had enjoyed a very pleasant day, and our long walks had prepared us for a sound sleep though not indulged with a feather bed.

Early in the morning on Tuesday, the 10th January, we arose with an intention of visiting a fresh-water lake[160] about five miles distant from the village. We set off attended by Shunghee and several chiefs with a number of servants. Our way lay through a wood composed of various kinds of timber together with the noble pine. We could not but view these wonderful productions of Nature with reverence and astonishment.

On our way to the lake we passed through some very rich land, and soon arrived at a small village where Shunghee's people were at work preparing their ground for planting potatoes. There was a very fine crop nearly ripe. The land was very dry and rich, and the potatoes mealy. I had never seen finer potatoes under the best culture. When we had walked nearly two miles further we came to the lake. It might be about twelve miles in circumference, and we were informed that it emptied itself into the head of a river[161] which runs into the sea on the west side of the island, and was about one hour's walk from the lake. The land appeared very good on the north side of it.

We amused ourselves about two hours in viewing this lake and the neighbouring grounds, and then returned to the last-mentioned village where we dined off a wild duck and potatoes, as also some provisions we had brought with us. The duck Shunghee shot at the lake. After this we

returned to the fortification where we slept that night. Shunghee's people here appeared very industrious. They rose at the dawn of day, both men and women. Some were busy making baskets for potatoes, others dressing flax or making clothing; at least none remained unemployed.

Shunghee and his brother Kangorooa have a very large tract of country similar to one of the counties in England. It extends from the east to the west side of New Zealand and is well watered. We saw much land well adapted for cultivation. Shunghee had, near the village we were at, one field which appeared to me to contain forty acres, all fenced in with rails and upright stakes tied to them to keep out the pigs. Much of it was planted with turnips, common and sweet potatoes, which were in high cultivation. They suffer no weeds to grow but, with incredible labour and patience, root up everything likely to injure the growing crop. Their tools of agriculture are principally made of wood, some formed like a spade and others like a crowbar, with which they turn up the soil. Axes, hoes, and spades are much wanted. If these could be obtained their country would soon put on a different appearance. No labour of man without iron can clear and subdue uncultivated land to any extent. The New Zealanders seem to do as much in this respect as the strength and wisdom of man is equal in their situation.

Shunghee showed me some exceeding fine wheat, the seed of which I had sent over about seven months before. It was nearly ripe, and the ear was very full and large. He put a very high value upon it, as he appeared to know its worth from his few months' residence at Parramatta. I had also sent over a little English flax seed. This also had been sown and come to great perfection, far superior to any I had observed in New South Wales.

Shunghee treated us during this visit to his village with all the attention and hospitality his means afforded. He had slain two hogs, and we had what we wanted of them dressed after our own mode.

Early on Wednesday, the 11th, we took our leave of this extraordinary fortification and the people who resided in it, intending to breakfast at the village belonging to Tarria, about five miles distant. Shunghee directed his servants to take along with them two fine hogs for the use of the vessel. We arrived at Tarria's village a little after seven o'clock, where we were kindly received. The fires were soon lighted and preparations made for breakfast. Several natives joined us here we had not seen before. Tarria was not yet returned.

After Mr. Nicholas and I had taken breakfast I had tea made for the wives of Tarria and Shunghee, who surrounded us. They all refused to take any. Shunghee told me they were all tabooed and were prohibited from taking anything but water.[162] I pressed Shunghee to allow one of his wives, who had a little child about one month old and had followed us from the village, to take a little. He replied she could not drink any for, if she did, his child would die. I was fully convinced that their refusing to take the tea was founded upon some superstitious notions. They were all very fond of bread and sugar. I distributed what remained of these articles amongst them, and Shunghee with all the other chiefs drank the tea.

A CANOE RACE



In about two hours we proceeded towards the cove where we had left the war canoe on Monday morning. The distance we had to walk was about eight miles. Our party consisted of twenty-five persons, all natives of New Zealand except Mr. Nicholas and myself. In about three hours' time we reached the canoe; here we stopped and took dinner, and afterwards set off for the Active. When we had got within seven miles of the vessel we met Duaterra in his war canoe with a supply of provisions, particularly tea, sugar, and bread. He was apprehensive we should want these articles, as we had been absent one day longer than was intended when we left the Active. As Shunghee and Duaterra approached each other they mutually fired a piece, which is held by them as a mark of respect. These two canoes were nearly matched, and these chiefs were determined to try their strength and skill to see which could go the quickest. Shunghee commanded one and Duaterra the other. They both ran at so rapid a rate that it was not possible to tell at times which had the advantage. We were much amused with the exact order they struck their paddles, and the exercise of their skill. One man in each canoe gave the signal for every stroke, which changed every few seconds; sometimes the strokes were long and slow, at others short and quick. In a little time we reached the Active. On Monday morning, previous to leaving the vessel, I directed that the settlers, their families, and everything belonging to them should be landed as soon as the building was ready for their reception. On my return I found Mr. Kendall and his family on shore, and every preparation made for Messrs. Hall and King.

As I intended to sail either for Wangarooa or the river Thames as soon as the Active was cleared, I went on shore to make the necessary arrangements for my departure. When I landed I was informed that a chief named Werrie (Weri?, Whiri?), nephew to the late Tippahee, was very much enraged with his wife and had beat her, in consequence of finding a nail in her possession. The nail had excited Werrie's jealousy, which caused him to demand where she had got it. She told him that a man belonging to the Active had given it to her as a present. Werrie could not be persuaded that any man would give his wife so valuable a present as a nail unless her conduct had been improper. I was apprehensive that this unpleasant circumstance might be attended with serious consequences unless the chief's mind could be satisfied with respect to the chastity of his wife. I sent for Duaterra and consulted with him, when it was agreed that the man who was said to have given Mrs. Werrie the nail should be sent for, and, if any improper act could be proved against him, he should be confined to the vessel.

A public investigation therefore took place on the occasion in the presence of the chiefs and many of the inhabitants, upon the beach where they dance and exercise. Mrs. Werrie and the accused European were brought forward. She defended herself very warmly, but said she could not identify the man that had given her the nail, but that she had received it as a present. After a long examination she was acquitted by the unanimous voice of the chiefs to the satisfaction of all parties, though I could not but entertain my suspicions of the lady's chastity from her hesitation to point out the person who had given her the nail. I took this opportunity to assure them that if any person belonging to the Active either insulted or injured them they should be punished.

MARSDEN SAILS FOR THE THAMES



After this business was settled Mr. and Mrs. Hall were landed and the remaining stores with them. On the following morning, Friday, the 13th, Mr. and Mrs. King also were landed and the vessel loaded and watered ready for sea. About three o'clock we weighed anchor and sailed down the harbour. I had Duaterra and Korokoro with twenty-five New Zealanders more as a guard on board. These were very fine young men that could be depended upon, many of them sons of the principal chiefs on both sides of the harbour. It was my intention if the wind permitted to sail for Wangarooa, as we had been invited by several of the inhabitants of that place who had come to Rangheehoo since the people were established. At the same time I thought it prudent to take with me a sufficient number of men in case any difference should happen either at Wangarooa, the river Thames, or any other part of the coast where we might touch.

When we got to sea the wind was fair for Wangarooa, towards which harbour we directed our course, but when we came near to the Cavalles the wind suddenly changed and compelled us to anchor between them and the mainland about five leagues to the southward of Wangarooa; here we remained all night.

Soon after we anchored three canoes came off from the Cavalles from different islands. Some of the people came on board and remained till after sundown. When

they were gone the carpenter missed one of his chisels with which he had been at work. Duaterra was very angry, as we were convinced some of the natives had taken it. The boat was immediately manned with Duaterra's men, well armed, and proceeded to one of the islands. I requested Duaterra, if he found the thief, not to injure him, but merely take the chisel. In about one hour they returned and had not been able to find the thief, having landed upon the wrong island, and the night being dark.

The next morning, Saturday, the 14th, at break of day, a canoe came off to inform us where the thief was, and wanted assistance to take him, but I thought it more prudent to let the matter drop as it might detain the vessel, as we had then got up the anchor intending to sail to Wangarooa with a light breeze which had sprung up. However it soon became calm and obliged us to anchor again. In the afternoon the wind blew pretty fresh but directly against us, and with a prospect of its continuance in that quarter, which would prevent us from entering the harbour of Wangarooa. I therefore determined to proceed to the river Thames, for which we bore away immediately the anchor was weighed. The same evening we passed the mouth of the Bay of Islands with a gentle breeze which continued all night, and in the morning (15th) we were not far from the Poor Knights, some small islands which lie a few leagues from the mainland. About ten o'clock a canoe was observed coming from the mainland to the Active. Duaterra ordered all his men under arms, and directed them to lie down upon the deck that they might not be seen when the canoe came alongside the Active. When the canoe came up, which contained only one old chief, three men, and one woman, a rope was thrown for them to secure the canoe. The old chief immediately got upon the side of the vessel with an intention of coming upon deck. He had not observed the New Zealanders who, just as he was coming over the gangway, sprang up, and some



presented their muskets and others their spears, which so alarmed him that he fell back into the canoe and almost upset it; and there he lay for some time before he recovered from his fright. The New Zealanders made a most dreadful noise at the same time. The old chief afterwards came on board, and was much rejoiced to see so many of his friends and laughed at the trick that had been practised upon him. After some conversation with him, and having learned who we were and what we had in view, he took his leave with much satisfaction.

We had not gone far before another canoe came off from another part of the coast with a number of very fine young men in it. They had learned where we were going as one of them had visited the Active before when she lay at Cowa-Cowa, and requested I would allow him to accompany us to the River Thames, which request was granted. By this time we were near a very high part of the coast, called Bream Head by Captain Cook.[163] The chief of this district, with his son, had visited the Active while we lay at Cowa-Cowa. I had made him a present of a few things, and amongst them a piece of red and white India print, and informed him I intended to visit the River Thames. As soon as we had passed Bream Head, the wind blowing very fresh, we observed two canoes labouring hard to reach the vessel. One of them had a signal flying. I desired the master to bear away for them. When we came up I found that the canoe with the flag contained the son of the above-mentioned chief and his colours were the piece of print I had given his father. He pressed us much to go on shore and visit his father, but I told him we could not stop then as the wind was fair but would see him on our return. The young man provided us with great abundance of bream and other fine fish which they had in their canoes. After we had received this liberal supply of fish we directed our course again towards the River Thames, and the same evening passed Point Rodney, one of the heads of the harbour, and saw Cape Colville, the other head, which is very high land and not much less than twenty leagues distant from the first.

On Monday (16th), at daylight, we found ourselves advanced pretty far up the harbour in which there were several islands both on the east and west side. About eleven o'clock we came opposite the residence of the head chief Houpa,[164] of whom we had often heard, and from these accounts were taught to believe that he was a man much esteemed as well as feared and possessed very great power. In a short time we observed a war canoe, full of men, advancing towards the vessel. We hove to; when they came near they lay upon their paddles, viewed the Active, and informed us that Houpa was in the canoe. I requested him to come on board, which he did with one of his sons. Houpa is one



of the strongest and best made men I almost ever beheld. He was greatly surprised to see such a number of New Zealanders on board and so few Europeans.

We had one chief in the Active named Timmaranghee (Te Morenga) who was intimate with Houpa and who had lived on board the Active for some time. He informed Houpa who we were, that we had come to the river Thames, which they call Showrakee (Hauraki), to see him and his people, and also that some Europeans were settled at the Bay of Islands with a view of instructing the natives. I made him a few presents and in return he directed two fine mats to be presented to me out of his canoe. He expressed a wish for us to come to an anchor near his residence. I told him it was my intention to visit his place when we returned from the river and as the wind was now favourable we would take advantage of it and proceed. He directed us what course to steer, and told us we should get the vessel aground if we kept too much to the right hand. After holding conversation with several of the natives on board he took his leave, expecting to see us on our return. We then made sail for the mouth of the river. We were then on the west side of the harbour, about four leagues from its mouth.

We had not left Houpa an hour before the wind began to blow very hard and the water became so rough that we could not see the channel. On our coming almost to the head of the harbour it was then high water and soundings only in three fathoms, which, from the appearance of the gale not abating, induced us to put the vessel about and so got us into deeper water before the tide fell much. At this time we were on the east shore not far from land. We worked to windward for several hours, and in the evening came to anchor in four fathoms of water, where we lay all night during which it rained and blew very hard. Here the harbour is very open; there is no shelter for shipping, which makes it very dangerous.

On Tuesday (17th) about four o'clock we weighed anchor, as the gale increased, in order to work to windward, if possible, and get under the land, as the place we lay in was not safe should the vessel be driven from her anchor. The sea was so rough and the vessel had so much motion that the New Zealanders, who had never been on board of a ship before at sea, were much alarmed and imagined they would be lost. About six o'clock in the evening the gale abated, and we came to anchor again about two miles from the west shore opposite a large village.[165] Though the inhabitants had seen us all day, yet they durst not venture out in their canoes on account of the gale. After we came to anchor the boat was hoisted out and ten New Zealanders went on shore to open a communication with the natives. Shortly after the boat had reached the beach we heard a great noise; Duaterra was uneasy as the boat did not return so soon as was expected. He was afraid that some quarrel had taken place between the inhabitants and the people in the boat, and observed that if they had injured any of his people he would immediately declare war against them with all the force he could command.

In about an hour after dark, the boat returned safe and informed us that they were kindly received and that the noise we had heard was

only their rejoicings. They told us there were plenty of fine hogs and potatoes on shore, both of which we much wanted as the Active was full of people. This information determined me to visit the village in the morning. Early next morning a chief named Pithi (Paetae), nephew to Houpa, came off to the Active. He was a very stout, handsome man and quite in the prime of life, with mild manners and countenance both pleasing and interesting. I invited him on board. The chief Timmaranghee was well known to Pithi.

After the usual salutations relative to our voyage and all affairs connected with it as far as Timmaranghee knew, I gave him some biscuit, which they are all fond of, showed him some wheat in the straw which had been grown at New Zealand by Shunghee, and informed him that the biscuit was made from wheat, and gave him a little for seed. He showed much anxiety to learn the culture of wheat, enquired how many moons it was from sowing to reaping time, and expressed his determination to try if he could grow some at his settlement. I made him a present of a few articles and, accompanied by Mr. Nicholas, went on shore taking twelve New Zealanders with us. When we landed the natives received us with every mark of friendship. The women and children were numerous, but not so the young men. We enquired the reason, and they told us they were gone to war and that few, excepting old men and those who had been taken prisoners, remained in the village. At this place we found the New Zealanders to sell their prisoners of war or to keep them to work as slaves. Several of the natives of the Bay of Islands had brought with them a little trade, some a few nails, others small pieces of iron hoops, some a few feathers, and some a few fishing hooks and a variety of articles of no value to Europeans but of much value to themselves. The village was all in motion; they crowded together like a fair from every quarter. Some of the inhabitants brought mats to sell and various other articles so that the whole day exhibited a busy scene, and many things were bought and sold in their way. When the fair was over the ladies entertained us with several dances and songs. One of them had on a fine upper garment which a chief from Rangheehoo, who had come with us, wanted to procure for his wife. He had brought a box of feathers neatly dressed, the pithy part of the quill having been all cut off and only the external part remaining, to which the feather was attached, made the feathers wave gracefully with the smallest breeze when placed in the hair. He opened it in the presence of the ladies. Many of them wanted these feathers; he, on the other hand, required the fine garment. After placing very tastefully two or three feathers in several of the ladies' hair, she that had got this fine garment, when she beheld how elegant they appeared in the heads of those who had them, became extremely impatient to possess such an ornament. He asked her to sell her garment: she stood hesitating for some time. At length he laid down a certain number at her feet. This temptation she could not resist, but instantly threw off the garment and delivered it to him for the feathers.[166] The chief, on our return, presented this precious garment to his wife.



After this Mr. Nicholas accompanied me to Houpa's fortified village."[167] It was situated on a very high hill almost a mile from where we then were. It is, in many respects, similar to that already described belonging to Shunghee. Here we found no men – it was entirely left to the care of some women and one of Houpa's wives. They told us the men were gone to war. In this place there were some very fat hogs and fine plantations of potatoes. The women declined selling the hogs as they belonged to the men who were gone to the war. Houpa's wife said she had a very large one belonging to herself which she would make me a present of if I would stop till it could be got in. At that time it was out feeding. She sent the servants to look for the hog, accompanied by one of our people, but they returned without it. I made her a present of a little print and some other trifles. She was very anxious we should wait till the pig could be found, but we were unable conveniently to stay longer and therefore left this romantic place. This lady's face, arms, and breasts were all covered with scars which had lately been cut in consequence of the death of one of Houpa's children. She was a fine tall woman. Houpa does not reside there at present.

I observed that the pillars leading into the fortification were much carved with various figures, such as men's heads, etc., and some of them had round caps at their tops, similar to gateways in many parts of England, and were about fourteen feet high.

Shortly after we left Houpa's lady we received a message from Duaterra to inform us that he was coming on shore for us. We met the boat and Duaterra landed. Pithi, the chief, came at the same time, and wished us to go to the upper end of the village, where he resided; the distance was about two miles along the shore. We agreed to visit him, and ordered the boat to follow us. When we arrived we met with some of the finest men and women I had yet seen in New Zealand, and well dressed.[168] They received us very cordially. There were three of Houpa's nephews and their ladies who wore fine mats fancifully



wrought, which reached from their shoulders to their feet and had a very graceful appearance.[169] I had taken a few pieces of print, some plane-irons, nails, etc., with me, of which I made the chiefs and their ladies a few presents. We had a few baskets of potatoes dressed; and several songs and dances, in which the chiefs and their ladies took an active part and exerted all their strength and voices, to amuse us.

It was now about five o'clock in the evening; we therefore took our leave and returned on board the Active to dinner. When we had sat down I was informed that two canoes were coming off with the chiefs and their ladies. I went on deck to receive them and invited them to dine with us, which they readily accepted. I told the chiefs I wanted some potatoes and hogs for the vessel, but, as the men had gone to war to whom they belonged, I could not purchase any, and therefore it was my intention to sail that evening for the Bay of Islands. They wanted me much to stay, and told me to take whatever we wanted on shore, regardless of what the people said. I told them I could not steal or take by force anything from the inhabitants; I would purchase what I could but could not take anything unless I paid for it. They urged me much to stop and get my supplies, which I would have done if I had been sensible they could be procured without giving offence to the natives; but I was convinced they could not, from what I had been told on shore, unless the proprietors had been there.

As soon as we had dined I desired the master to prepare for sea immediately. The anchor was soon weighed and the vessel put under way. The chiefs and their ladies still remaining, unwilling to leave us; they had several dances on deck. At length I got the ladies into the canoes, but the chiefs showed no inclination to part and began another dance; when the ladies once more leaped out of the canoes upon deck and joined them in the dance and song, and continued till we had sailed a considerable distance, when they were compelled either to leave us



or go to sea. When they had got into the canoes the twenty-eight natives I had on board began to sing and dance, in their turn, to amuse the chiefs and their ladies who lay upon their paddles all the time. As soon as the dance ended on deck they began again in the canoes, and continued till we could hear them no more. They then waved their hands and returned on shore. One of these chiefs promised to visit Port Jackson and go to the Bay of Islands to see Duaterra, from whom they had received and returned presents. During our short stay here these people showed us the kindest attention, and did all they could to amuse us. I gave several of them some wheat seed, which I hope will prove advantageous to them, and told them they would be able to procure axes and other tools from the Europeans at Rangheehoo. They will give anything for axes. Duaterra, with his guard of armed men (himself being dressed in European clothing, wearing a sword by his side) when on shore commanded considerable respect from these chiefs.

I trust our visit to the River Thames will unite in friendship the leading men at Rangheehoo and this part of New Zealand, and that, if in future any European settlers should be sent to the River Thames, they will be welcomed by the natives. I felt much gratified with the conduct of the people, but sincerely regretted I could not see Houpa again. The wind was so strong against us we could not make his settlement, and were therefore compelled to stand out to sea. As my time in New Zealand was limited, I could not wait for a change of wind.

The next morning, Thursday, the 19th, we saw Point Rodney about seven leagues off. There being little wind we did not reach it till twelve o'clock, when we entered Bream Cove.[170] We sailed into the Cove and ran along shore a little distance from the land. The ground was, in general, level, and a grove of pines appeared behind the banks of the Cove.

When we had reached near Bream Head the natives told us there was a harbour at the head of the cove into which a fresh-water river ran from the interior. We sailed up to the mouth of this harbour. The master of the Active, Mr. Hanson (Hansen), said it would be a very safe place for a vessel to lie in, as the situation completely sheltered her from the sea. We enquired if any vessel had ever been in this harbour. The natives told us that the Venus, from Port Jackson, a long time ago anchored there some time.[171] They further informed us that the Venus had put in at the North Cape and took two native women from there, one from the Bay of Islands, one from a small island opposite to Bream Cove, and one from Bream Cove, and from thence she went to the river Thames where they got Houpa and one of his daughters on board with an intention to take them away also. When the Venus sailed from the river Thames, Houpa's canoe following the Venus, he watched an opportunity and leaped overboard and was taken up by his canoe, but that none of the above women have ever since returned. The Venus was a brig belonging to Messrs. Campbell and Co., of Calcutta, and was taken by some convicts who were on board of her at Port Dalrymple and made off with her. Such are the horrid crimes that Europeans who bear the Christian name commit upon the savage nations!



We lay to all night in Bream Cove as I wished to see the chief who resided near here, and whose son supplied us with fish as we passed when bound for the river Thames. We now began to fish and in a short time got great abundance of bream and other sorts. I expected to have seen the chief, but the vessel had not been observed.

The next morning (20th) at daylight we sailed, and shortly after passing Bream Head we were seen from the shore, when a canoe put off to the Active.[172] As soon as it came alongside I observed the chief was in it whom I wished to see. He told us that he had not seen the vessel the night before as he and his men were busy at work in their potato grounds, which had prevented them. Moyhanger (Moehanga),[173] a young man who is mentioned in Mr. Savage's "Account of New Zealand" and who accompanied that gentleman to England on his return from New South Wales to Europe, was also along with this chief. Moyhanger enquired after many persons he had seen in England and who had been kind to him.

The chief wished us much to return with him for one day, and told me he had abundance of hogs and potatoes and would supply all our wants. I told him I could not detain the vessel if the wind was fair, but must proceed. I gave him a little wheat for seed, some nails, and a cat, with which they returned on shore highly pleased, regretting only that I could not stop one day for him to make me some return.

Shortly after they were gone the wind changed and continued against us all day. At 6 p.m. we were about two leagues from shore. The sea being smooth and likely for a fine night I determined to visit the chief, and had the boat immediately hoisted out. Mr. Nicholas accompanied me. We had none but New Zealanders in the boat. The sun was set before we reached the shore. The natives soon beheld the boat, and one of them stood upon a rock waving a signal, pointing out where we were to land. There is a bar running across the mouth of this harbour upon which the sea breaks with great violence. As we approached it appeared impossible to us that the boat could pass through the surf, yet two canoes came dashing through the waves, as if they bade defiance to the destructive rocks and foaming billows that rolled over them with a dreadful noise, to direct us where it would be safe for the boat to land.

On our boat reaching the shore a number of natives rushed through the surf, laid hold of it, and conducted us safe in. The chief's residence was on the east side of the harbour, but we were compelled to land on the west side on account of the surf and crossed the water again in a canoe. The whole place was surrounded with broken rocks which resembled more the ruins of old abbeys then anything else. Some formed very large arches, others deep caverns: some were like old



steeples and others like broken, massy columns. In short, they presented the most curious group of ruins which I had ever seen formed by time, storms, or seas.[174] A numerous crowd of men, women, and children came to meet us.

The chief and Moyhanger were overjoyed at our visit. The chief who had been on board was the general officer, or one whom the New Zealanders call the fighting man. Still we found there was another higher in authority than our friend, to whom we were conducted. He was seated on the ground, and a clean mat was placed by him for me and Mr. Nicholas. The general stood all the time with a spear in his hand. The head chief was a very old man, with a long gray beard and little hair upon his head. He was an exceeding pleasant man. Korokoro had gone with us. He related to the chief all the wonders he had seen at Port Jackson, the attention paid to him, the riches of our country, and for what purpose the Active had come to New Zealand. The old chief laughed much and made many enquiries, and wanted us to stay till next day. He ordered us some pork and gave a few baskets of dried fish for the people.

We stopped till about ten o'clock when we took our leave, having enjoyed a very pleasant evening. They conducted us safely through the surf, and we made for the vessel. By this time she was out of sight, so that we could not even hear the report of the muskets which served as signals, though we observed the flash of the powder which directed us to the vessel. We got safe on board when, the breeze springing up, we made sail and the next morning (21st) discovered Cape Brett[175] in sight. As we sailed along the coast we were visited by ten canoes, which brought us plenty of fish. About three o'clock p.m. we anchored in the cove (at Rangihoua) and found all the settlement well and assuming the pleasing appearance of civilization from the buildings erecting and erected, and from the sawyers, smiths, and others at work.



I had now completed everything relative to the establishment of the mission that appeared to me necessary as far as regarded the intercourse of the settlers with the natives, and had opened a communication nearly two hundred miles along the coast and made the chiefs in all the different districts acquainted with the object in view; they seemed all sensible of the benefits which they were likely to derive from the Europeans residing amongst them. A more promising prospect never could present itself for civilizing this quarter of the globe, only it requires to be closely followed up. Considerable expenses have already been incurred in the purchase of the Active, the outfits, naval stores, and seamen's wages; I felt it incumbent on me to do all in my power to find out some mode by which these expenses could in

some measure be provided for. I determined to take all the dressed flax I could procure from the natives to Port Jackson, and to fill the vessel with timber. Whether the flax will answer as an article of commerce or no is not yet fully determined. Timber will certainly answer to a certain amount, but will not defray the whole of the expenses of the vessel. Should flax answer, it is probable they will both nearly accomplish this in time. The material difficulty I had had to contend with was the means of procuring a cargo, my trade being nearly exhausted in purchasing provisions and in presents to the natives. The New Zealanders will work if they are paid for it, but not otherwise, and to procure a cargo of timber without their assistance was impossible.

Raft-ports were cut in the vessel, and she was got ready for receiving the timber, and in little more than a week (January 30th) we sailed to Cowa-Cowa, the timber district. I had very little trade which caused some little delay, the smith not being able to make what was wanted fast enough. Several chiefs engaged to supply a given number of spars. They required me to go with them and point out such trees as I required to be cut down, which I did, and in little more than a fortnight (February 15th) we had our cargo on board. I found them all act with the strictest honesty in their dealings, and some of them trusted me till the smith made the axes for payment. We had no differences during the whole time we lay at the river, and we had no means of protecting ourselves against such numbers as are in these districts, but were wholly in the power of the natives. I put no restraint upon them, but suffered them to come at any time and in any number to the vessel, Sabbath days excepted, when we had Divine service. A number of chiefs lived constantly on board, and many of their servants also. We had only two small thefts committed while the vessel lay in the harbour. One of the chiefs detected a common man with about two pounds of iron and brought him to me. The chief was in a violent rage with him. I ordered the man to be confined in the hold till Terra, the head chief, came on board. When he arrived he was informed of what the man had done. Terra desired that the thief might be brought upon deck. Upon his approaching, he made a blow at him with a billet of wood, and would have put him to death immediately if I had not interfered to save his life by getting him out of the Active into a canoe. The chief then ordered him to quit his dominions and return no more. I afterwards lost two razors. The chiefs, on my mentioning this circumstance, were much concerned, and told me they hoped I did not suspect either of them guilty of such a



Kahu Huruhuru.

FEATHER CLOAK.

From the Otago University Museum. Scale 1:5.)

Such feather cloaks as this, of which only a section is shown in the plate, were appropriately worn by women. The foundation is of dressed flax of the finest quality, so plaited that it will fit about the shoulders and close in somewhat on neck and waist. The scarlet feathers are the most valuable, and might be worn only by persons of high rank. They are from the wings of the kaka (Nestor meridionalis). The white feathers are probably from the breast of the wood pigeon, though the feathers of the albatross were often used. The dark blue feathers are from the tui. The border is finely worked in the taniko method and pattern.

The whole subject of Maori textiles has been dealt with exhaustively by Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. Peter Buck, a graduate of Otago University) in his book The Evolution of Maori Clothing.

[Inserted unpaginated illustration]

KAHU HURUHURU
SCALE 1:5
OTAGO UNIVERSITY MUSEUM





crime, as certainly no chief would steal. They observed I had been too indulgent in allowing their servants to come on board, who could not be trusted, and assured me that if ever they found out the thief at any period, however distant, he should suffer death. They also presented me with a very valuable mat, one of the finest I had seen, as a compensation for my loss, observing that while I remained in their districts I should not suffer any loss that they could remedy. They were all very much hurt at this theft, and one of them sat upon deck two days and nights and would not come into the cabin to eat, from vexation, and said he was ashamed of such conduct. Theft and adultery are crimes they punish with death.

On passing up the river Cowa-Cowa I observed on the summit of a very high hill a Roman cross, and enquired of the natives what it was for. They replied to hang thieves on, whom they first killed and then hung up their dead bodies till time destroyed them. During our stay at Cowa-Cowa I had many interesting conversations with the chiefs relative to the nature of crimes and punishments, and pointed out to them that there was no comparison between a man who would steal a potato and another who committed a murder, and yet their punishment in New Zealand was the same. They'll as soon kill a man for stealing potatoes as for murder. A chief has the power of life and death over his people. They appeared much astonished when I told them that King George had not the power to put any man to death, though a much greater king then any in New Zealand. I explained to them the nature of a British jury, told them that no man could be put to death in England unless twelve gentlemen had examined into the case of a prisoner who was accused of any crime, and if these twelve gentlemen declared him not guilty King George had no power to put him to death; but if, on the contrary, they pronounced him guilty, even then King George had the authority to pardon him if it was his royal wish. They replied these laws were very good, and one of them asked what governor we should send them. I replied we had no intention of sending them any, but wished them to govern themselves. I mentioned some crimes which we punished with death and others with banishment, and observed that punishment should be regulated at all times by the nature of the offence. I told them if a man had two wives in England, though he was a gentleman, yet he would be banished from his country.

One of the chiefs said he was of opinion that it was better to have only one wife for, where there were many, the women always quarrelled. Others said that their wives made the best overseers, and that they could not get their grounds cultivated but for the industry of their wives, and, for that reason only, they thought more wives than one was good policy. These conversations sometimes passed when the women were present, and they generally were of opinion that a man should have no more than one wife. Some of the chiefs held there were too many kings in New Zealand, and that if there were fewer they would have less wars and live more happy. I told them there was only one king in England. At the same time there were more gentlemen than in New Zealand, but none of these gentlemen dared put a man to death without forfeiting his own life for it, nor declare war one against another without King George's

sanction. On this account there were no fighting and murdering one another in England as there were among them.

I had a young man, a native of New Zealand belonging to the vessel who had lived some years at Port Jackson, a very good interpreter, who generally attended me to explain anything which the natives could not clearly understand; and, with his assistance, I also gained any information I wished relative to the island and inhabitants of New Zealand, and was enabled to communicate to them much useful knowledge while I was amongst them. Our conversation generally touched upon religion, civil government, agriculture, and commerce. They always showed an anxiety for information relative to other parts of the globe. Shortly after our arrival at Cowa-Cowa a chief named Weerea (Whiria)[176] came on board the Active to request me to visit his settlement. I promised I would as soon as I could leave the vessel.

This village is situated on the banks of a small fresh-water river called Wycaddee (Waikati) about twelve miles from where we lay, at the head of one of the coves. The village takes its name from the river. Having now completed our cargo, I informed Weerea that I would accompany him to see his people. The next morning (February 16th) his canoe was got ready and we set off for Wycaddee, and were joined by another canoe which had in it a cock and a hen. I was surprised to see these fowls and enquired where they came from, and was told they belonged to the head chief Terra who had sent them into the country for the following reason: Terra had built a new hut for some sacred purpose which he had tabooed. He had forbidden the cock from getting upon its roof, but in vain. No means that he could devise would prevent him, and therefore he had sent them both away for polluting this consecrated building. These fowls had been given to Terra when the Active was first at New Zealand. While we lay at Cowa-Cowa, Terra and his wife had mentioned this cock and hen and informed me that the hen had a number of eggs upon which she sat some time; at length she and the cock broke the shells and destroyed them all. They told me they went every day to view the eggs while the hen was sitting, and desired to know the reason why the fowls destroyed them. I told them that the hen had tabooed the eggs and was exceeding angry with them for touching them, and on that account she and the cock in their rage destroyed the whole. They were much astonished at hearing this and had a long conversation on the subject, and made numerous enquiries relative to the rearing of fowls. I told them they were on no account, in future, to touch the eggs. If they did the hen would again destroy them when she was sitting. I have no doubt but they will rigidly attend to my advice.

Having been accidentally led by the fowls in the canoe to make this digression, I shall now go back from whence I set out. The two canoes went in company for about three miles, when we put into a small village upon the east side of the harbour to see some of Weerea's friends.

AT WAIKATI



While we were here it came on to rain very much. After stopping about two hours, during which time many baskets of potatoes were dressed, we set off for Wycaddee. The rain fell very heavy. I was soon wet through, both to my greatcoat and other clothing. The wind and tide were against us and the fresh-water river had risen in consequence of some late heavy rain so that we made little progress. When we had gone about four miles further we came to another little village on the west side of the harbour. The chief came to invite us on shore, but this I declined, as I was as wet as if I had been in the river. The chief, notwithstanding the heavy rain, waded off to our canoe as he wished to know what was going on, and Weerea had much news to tell him which he had learned on board the Active. He pressed us much to take some refreshment with him, but I was too cold and wet to leave the canoe. When taking his leave Weerea said to me, "This chief is a great king; give him a nail." I complied with this request and gave him a few nails, and he returned on shore highly delighted with his presents.

We proceeded to Wycaddee, but the higher we got up the river the stronger the stream ran against us, so that at length the men could not stem the current with their paddles but were compelled to go close in shore and get out of the canoe and drag it along, and, with all their exertions, they could not reach the village with the canoe. A little after dark, therefore, we landed in order to walk up the remaining distance, being about one mile from the village. The rain still continuing, we had to walk through some low swampy ground which was in many places flooded with water. I, however, followed my guides, sometimes up to the knees in mud and sometimes sunk in deep water holes, for, the night being dark, we could not see to pick our way. At length I discovered a light, like the twinkling of a star, appearing and disappearing at short intervals, which was a signal that the village was near. There only appeared one light which, upon enquiry, proved to be the chief's residence.

Weerea was a little behind at this time, and I was walking along with one of his officers. Before we entered the village the officer that was with me called aloud to the inhabitants and informed them I was coming. Many of these people had visited the Active. I made for where I had seen the light in order to get some shelter from the rain, and as soon as I came up to the hut I crept into it through a small door about two feet ten inches in height. I found a number of women and children and a few servants belonging to Weerea. There was about a handful of fire in the centre of the hut made of a few small sticks, round which the little children, all naked, were reposing. Sometimes the little fire blazed for a moment and then went out. The hut was more full of smoke than a chimney, as there was no vent for it to get out but through the small door already mentioned. This strange group of natives were all rejoiced to see me. I took off the whole of my clothes, being excessively cold and wet. The children ran out to collect some firewood. Weerea brought me two clean mats to wrap myself in as bed clothing and a log of wood for a pillow. The women and children were busy in recruiting the fire and drying my clothes. I found the smoke very offensive, but I thought it more prudent to put up with this

MAORI TREATMENT OF THE SICK



inconvenience than undergo the risk of catching cold by sleeping in a hut where there was no fire. Weerea told me he could not remain in the hut on account of the smoke, and, as I would not leave it, he retired into another by himself and left me with my present company, who entertained me a great part of the night with talking about their chief and his concerns. The women and children were very kind and attentive, and did all they could to make my situation agreeable. When they sleep they lie upon the ground, have little covering and some of them none. A tree was laid in the centre of the hut, which ran the whole length, being about thirty feet, and the natives lay on each side of the tree with their heads reclined upon it.

At this time I had no Europeans with me, nor any others but Weerea's people. My object was to gain as clear a knowledge of the characters of these islanders as possible while I was in their country, which knowledge could not be acquired without sacrificing, for a time, the comforts and conveniences of civil life. I was under no apprehensions for my personal safety, as I had never met with the smallest insult from one of them. About midnight Weerea came to the hut and informed me one of his wives was very ill and a little child, and that he was afraid she would die, and requested I would pray with her in the morning, which I promised to do. He appeared much concerned about this woman. I had heard a person moaning very much for some time as if extremely weak and in infinite pain, and a young child cry occasionally. Early in the morning I rose and visited the poor woman. I found her lying with a little child about three days old, exposed to the open air, and a few reeds put up on the side which the rain and wind beat against, for shelter; here she had been exposed all night notwithstanding the storm. She looked very ghastly and as if death was near. I talked to her for some time. She could scarcely speak, but smiled feebly and seemed pleased with my attention to her. I kneeled down beside her, along with Weerea and some of his people, and offered up my supplications to the Father of Mercies on her behalf. She well understood the meaning of prayer though not my language, as the New Zealanders consider all their afflictions to come from some superior being whom they are much

accustomed to address in time of trouble. The poor woman wanting nourishment I presented her with a piece of biscuit, but she gave me to understand that she was forbidden to eat anything but potatoes. I spoke to Weerea, who told me God would be angry if she ate the biscuit. He took it, and repeating many petitions over it placed it under her head, and told me the presence of God was now in the biscuit, but his wife must not eat it. I lamented that the poor woman had been in the open air all night, which was enough to occasion her death, and learned it was the prevailing custom amongst the New Zealanders when a person was sick to carry them out of their huts and lay them in the open air lest the huts should be denied. These people neither eat nor drink in their houses but always in the open air, for the above reason. I could not discover that the New Zealanders had any graven images or likenesses of any heathen deities as other uncivilized nations have, but they consider their God as an intelligent spirit or shadow, for, when I enquired of one of them what God was like, he told me He was an immortal shadow. Yet they suffer much in times of



sickness from their superstitions in being compelled to lie in the open air, and to refuse, sometimes for days, either food or water, under the impression that if either is administered to the sick they will surely die. I had often, previous to my present visit to Wycaddee, been struck with the weakly and aged appearance of young women who had borne children, and attribute this now to the colds and other complaints which they catch during their confinement.

In passing through the village I saw a little naked child lying upon the grass and a number of people present. A chief informed me it was his child and was two days old. He pointed out the mother, who was walking about. She very probably would have been lying there too if she had been sick. The child appeared very well. I mention this as a proof that both women and children, at those times of danger, are exposed to sufferings unknown to civil society.

A small distance from where Weerea's sick were lying there was a little hut with a stage erected on it. Weerea took me to it and told me his father had been slain in battle, and that his body was wrapped up and placed upon that stage where it would remain till the bones mouldered away. I could not observe any part of the body as the covering had been drawn up in a round form, and not stretched out like our dead. The chiefs in New Zealand when they die are generally placed upon a stage in some sacred grove, several of which I saw. The natives do not like to visit the places of their departed friends, and have generally some frightful image erected near the spot to terrify all who approach near the repository of their dead. I was therefore much surprised that Weerea had his father so near him and in the centre of the village. This village is situated in the centre of a rich valley, the land very good and fit for cultivation. I here observed many noble pines. Weerea urged me much to send some Europeans to reside at Wycaddee. He pointed out the spot where their houses should be built, upon the richest banks of the river, and set forth the advantages they might derive from the richness of the soil for potatoes and its vicinity to the water. I told him that in time his wishes might be complied with, but that we must first see how the inhabitants of New Zealand conducted themselves towards the Europeans at Rangheehoo. If they were treated well more should be sent. He wished then to accompany me to Port Jackson. I told him the number I had already agreed to take were as many as the Active could hold, but I would give directions for a passage at a future time should he be then inclined to visit me. With this he was satisfied and said he would come. I then told him that as the vessel would leave Cowa-Cowa that day I must request him to order me a canoe that I might return. He replied he could not suffer me to depart till he had presented me with two or three hogs. He then immediately threw off the whole of his clothing, took a dog and a boy to the river, plunged into it with them, and swam across holding them above water with the one hand and swimming with the other. When he landed he ran off into the forest like a lion, the boy and dog following, and returned in a little time with three hogs, which were put into the canoe and all was got ready for my return. He made me a present of some mats at the same time, and told me he would accompany me to the vessel. When I had got into the canoe he put in one of his sons, a fine boy about nine years



old. I asked him what he was about to do with his boy. He told me he intended to take him to Rangheehoo to live with Mr. Kendall in order that he might instruct him. I answered that Mr. Kendall's house was not ready yet or he should go, but as soon as it was, and Mrs. Kendall could accommodate him, I would speak to Mr. Kendall and was sure he would receive him. With this he was satisfied.

It may not be improper here to notice a conversation I had with the two chiefs, Tupee (Tupehi) and Timmaranghee (Te Morenga), some time after this, relative to Mr. Kendall's school. He had already begun to teach the children, and had taken into the school two fine boys, the sons of a common man at Rangheehoo. These chiefs told me it was of no use to teach the children of the common people, that they had no lands or servants, and would never rise higher in rank than their parents; but that it would be very good to instruct the sons of chiefs. From what I could learn there appears to be no middle class of people in New Zealand, but that they are all either chiefs or, in a certain degree, slaves. At the same time, the chiefs do not give their commands to the people indiscriminately as a body with that authority which masters, in civil life, exercise over their servants, nor do their dependents feel themselves bound to obey such commands. It is true they have the power over any of their people to put them to death for theft, but, as the chiefs have no means of remunerating the services of their dependents, there being reciprocal compacts between them as master and servant, they cannot command the people as a body to labour on their ground, etc. In time of war and common danger they can command the people to put themselves under their authority, which they are compelled to do, and all inferior chiefs are also obliged to attend upon their immediate superiors with their people in the field of battle. The chiefs have their domestics to dress their provisions, attend them in their canoes, cultivate their land, or do any other menial services; and these only are wholly under their authority.

I now took my leave of this people and returned to the Active, which had got under way but was obliged to anchor again, the tide running so strong she could not stem it with the light wind she had. When I arrived some of the chiefs informed me that the Jefferson whaler had come in and was anchored in the cove near Terra's village, and that there had been a serious difference between the people on board and the chief Terra, whom they had threatened to shoot. They further stated that if any injury happened to Terra the Jefferson would be cut off and her people killed, and entreated me to go down and know the cause of the quarrel. I was much concerned to hear this account, and told them I would repair on board the Jefferson, and that if any injury had befallen Terra the person who had done it should be brought on board the Active and taken to Port Jackson, where he should be punished by Governor Macquarie. I took the largest carpenter's axe we had in the vessel as a present to Terra, knowing that nothing would be more acceptable to him, and set off in a canoe for his village. I found him at home, and after presenting the axe told him what I had heard. He stated that he had been on board the Jefferson, and that a pistol had been pointed at his breast by a person who threatened to shoot him. I desired him to accompany me and point out the person who had thus insulted him.



He ordered his canoe, and we proceeded on board accompanied by his brother and another chief. When we arrived on board he pointed out the person that threatened to shoot him and stated the cause of their difference, but as the matter was at length settled to the satisfaction of the chief and his friends it is not necessary to say more, only that it appeared to me that the Europeans were utterly to blame.

I remained on board the Jefferson all night, and in the morning, while walking the quarterdeck in company with the second mate, I saw one of the chiefs in a

dreadful rage, and Tupee (Terra's brother) pointing up to the masthead, at the same time making signs to some of the natives as if he wanted them to hang some person up. I immediately went with the mate and inquired the cause of the uproar. The chief who was so angry pointed to a young man with a sword in his hand, and said he had struck his wife several times with it, and when he forbade him he made several stabs at him. I urged him to be composed, and the man should be punished if he had done wrong. I then addressed the young man with the sword, who was very insolent when I spoke to him and used extremely bad language to me and his officer. He refused to become reconciled to the chief, though neither he nor his wife had given the smallest offence. I told the chief I should represent the man's conduct to Governor Macquarie, and that Mr. Kendall, who was appointed by the Governor to hear their complaints against the Europeans, should be sent for and he would commit them to paper, and I would take them with me to Port Jackson, which was done.

They attended the examination, when the young man was brought before Mr. Kendall as a magistrate, and they were perfectly satisfied with what was done. I also enquired of Tupee what he was pointing to the masthead for at the time of the disturbance. He said he was recommending to his countrymen not to injure any person on board but the man who had struck the chief and his wife with the sword, and to hang him up at the masthead. Masters of vessels should be very particular and not place swords in the hands of young, thoughtless, wicked sailors, more especially when among savage nations. The number of natives on board and alongside the Jefferson when this affair transpired, could have taken her in one moment. The natives should either be prohibited altogether, with the exception of the chief of the district, from coming on board, or care should be taken while they are on board not to insult any of them. Previous to this period I had frequent conversations with the chiefs relative to the loss of the Boyd, and pointed out to them the injustice of putting to death the innocent with the guilty as the people of Wangarooa had done in that instance. They readily admitted that the guilty alone ought to suffer, and what pleased me more was to find that Tupee was strongly impressing upon the minds of the natives the same idea, and directing them not to injure any person on board the Jefferson but the man who had given the offence.

All differences being now settled, I waited for the Active's arriving. She soon appeared in sight and anchored not far from the Jefferson, where we intended to take in our water and then proceed to the settlement of Rangheehoo. While the Active was taking in her cargo at Cowa-Cowa a number of native women came on board every day. I



told them I would not allow any of them to remain on board at night unless with their husbands. Accordingly every evening the vessel was searched, and if any women without husbands were found they were sent on shore, sometimes not very well pleased. During my stay on board the Jefferson I saw many of my old female acquaintances. They laughed and told me they were not on board the Active now and that the Jefferson was not tabooed, that when the evening came in that ship there was no iriauta,[177] literally meaning there was no command to be off. I replied that I was very displeased with the master and crew for suffering them to stay all night in the vessel, and that these were all very bad men. The women smiled and expressed their confidence that they would not be molested.

The next day I accompanied Mr. Kendall to Rangheehoo in the Jefferson's whaleboat, where I found Duaterra dangerously ill. This was a very distressing circumstance to me. I called to see him, but the superstition of the natives would not permit me for several days to do so. His people had fixed a guard about him and would suffer no person to approach. He was so very ill that they expected him to die in a short time. I entreated them time after time for two or three days together to admit me to see him, but they had tabooed the enclosure in which he was laid and dared not admit any person in to him. I was very much mortified, and understood that he was to have nothing to eat or drink for five days. I went again to the people that attended him. They would only speak to me through the fence and still refused me admittance. I then told them I would bring the Active near the town and would blow it down if they would not admit me in. They said if I thought proper I might, and finding I could neither persuade them by any entreaties nor intimidate them by threats I went to the chief, a nephew of Tippahee's, who possessed the greatest influence and principal authority in the place, and told him how I had been refused admittance to see Duaterra for several days, and that Duaterra had neither wine, tea, sugar, rice, or bread – all which he had been used to – and that if he did not get these nourishments he would die. I further told him that I was determined to fire the big guns belonging to the Active on the town as soon as I went on board.[178] He expressed his concern that they would not allow me to see him, and desired me to go with him and see what could be done. When he approached near the enclosure he seemed much alarmed, walked very slowly, and whispered as if he expected some divine judgment to come upon him. He made signs to some of the attendants who spoke to him through the fence, and pointed out to them what destruction these guns would make in the town, and that there was no guarding against them as they could not be seen. After several consultations between those who were with Duaterra and the messengers who came to the chief, permission was granted for my admission.

When I entered the enclosure I found Duaterra lying on his back facing the sun, which was exceeding hot, in a very high fever. His



tongue very foul; he complained of violent pains in his bowels, and from every appearance was not likely to survive long. I found two of his wives, his father-in-law, the priest, and several attendants with him. He was much pleased I had come to see him. I asked him if he had anything to eat or drink; he replied he had not, excepting potatoes and water. I told him whatever he wanted he should have, and ordered him a supply of tea, sugar, rice, and wine, for which he expressed his gratitude. 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, and seemed a little revived.

It was his intention to have laid out a new town with regular streets to be built after the European mode, in which ground was to be set apart for a church. I had gone to examine it before. The situation was delightful – on a rising hill in front of the harbour mouth distant about eight miles, commanding a view of all the harbour. He again mentioned his intention to me and hoped he would be better so as to have the town marked out before I sailed. I told him I should be ready to attend him and hoped to see him recover, and recommended him to take what nourishment he could. From this they gave me permission to see him at all times. I called the following day and found he spoke much better, and I entertained hopes of his recovery. The day after I called he appeared worse. He was supplied with all the necessaries he could wish for by Messrs. Kendall, Hall, and King, who willingly did all they could for him. Whatever vessels were used in conveying meat or drink to the sick chief were detained by his relations, who said if these were removed Duaterra would die. He was himself also of this opinion. So strongly rooted is superstition in the human mind when once admitted.

I had met everything in New Zealand to my full satisfaction, and nothing to give me pain till this unexpected affliction of Duaterra, which was to me very distressing as upon the wisdom, zeal, industry and influence of this serviceable man I had calculated upon many advantages to New Zealand. My hopes were now likely to be blighted as I could entertain little expectation of his restoration. I know infinite wisdom cannot err. What the Great Head of the Church ordains to be done will in the end be best, but as David mourned for Abner I shall long mourn for Duaterra should he be carried off by death; for as a great man fell in Israel when Abner died, so will a great man fall in New Zealand should Duaterra not survive his present affliction. So far as natural causes can be considered to operate, I attributed Duaterra's sickness to his exertions. He was a man of great bodily strength, with a very active, comprehensive mind, and, on his return to New Zealand,

exerted himself day and night to carry the plans he had formed into execution. His grand object was agriculture; he calculated that in two years he should be able to raise sufficient wheat for all his people and to supply other chiefs with seed, and in a short time to export some to Port Jackson in exchange for iron and such other articles as he might want. With this view he had visited his different lands for nearly forty miles distant from Rangheehoo, laid out the grounds he intended to clear and cultivate, and marked out the work for his men, having first enquired of me how much ground a man broke up in a day at Port Jackson. He



was seldom at home but constantly at his farms, excepting when he went with me to the river Thames. Under all these circumstances I fear he will be a great loss to his country. One consolation he has bequeathed to them, however, is that of having introduced agriculture and paved the way for the civilization of his countrymen. When he came to New South Wales last August in the Active he brought his half-brother with him and left him with me, desiring he might be instructed in useful knowledge. He is now about sixteen years of age and is a very fine, intelligent youth, exceeding well disposed and truly industrious. This youth is next in authority and will succeed Duaterra in his estates. I intend him to remain till he can speak the English language and gains a knowledge of agriculture. He is every day at work either as a carpenter or farmer, and I entertain hopes, in the event of Duaterra's quitting; this mortal life, that he will soon be able to fill his place. I have also a person instructing him to read a little before he returns. I trust in all these mysterious dispensations Divine goodness is preparing a way for these poor heathens to be brought into the Church of Christ, and that if one instrument fails another will be provided whereby we may always say with Abraham in the day of trouble – "God will provide Himself a lamb for a burnt offering."

On Friday, 24th of February, the Active was ready for sea, Duaterra still continuing apparently in a dying state, and, my time being limited by Governor Macquarie's orders, I could not remain to see the event of his sickness. I was happy, however, in the consideration that those I left behind would cheerfully administer to all his wants and would do everything in their power to restore him to health, as they were all very kind to him and anxious for his preservation.[179]

I had given permission for ten New Zealanders to accompany me to Port Jackson, eight of whom were chiefs or sons of chiefs, and two servants. They were all embarked on Friday, and their friends assembled from every quarter to take their leave of them. Before my final departure from New Zealand I wished to obtain and secure as far



as possible a legal settlement for the Europeans I had left upon the island. For this purpose application was made to the two nephews of the late Tippahee, who were proprietors of the ground which the Europeans at present possess and the adjoining town of Rangheehoo, to know if they would sell that piece of land upon which we had begun to build and increase the quantity at first marked out for the buildings, from our having no legal claim to it. These two chiefs readily complied with our request. They were related to Duaterra. I went along with them and the settlers to point out the boundaries of the land they were willing to dispose of, and purchased it on account of the Church Missionary Society. We could not ascertain the exact quantity for want of proper measuring instruments, but as it is situated between some natural boundaries expressed in the grant I considered that of no moment; at least I apprehended it to contain more than 200 acres – one side bounded by the harbour. The grant was made out and executed on Friday, the 24th of February, in the presence of a number of chiefs from different districts, who were assembled at Rangheehoo to take their leave of the Active, and publicly set apart for the Europeans. I took this opportunity of expressing to the assembled chiefs that as the land was now belonging to the Europeans, they were all at full liberty to come from any part of New Zealand for things they might want to purchase, or have manufactured, without interruption. I further told them the smith should make them axes, or hoes, or any other tools they might stand in need of, but that he was on no account to repair pistols or muskets or make any warlike instruments, not even for the greatest chief upon the island. Ahoodee O Gunna (Te Uri-o-Kanae),[180] one of the chiefs of whom I had purchased the land, publicly declared that the land was no longer theirs, but the sole property of the white people and was tabooed for their use. The signature of the grant or deed[181] contains all the curves and lines which are tatooed on the chief's face and their singular and curious drawings or figures.

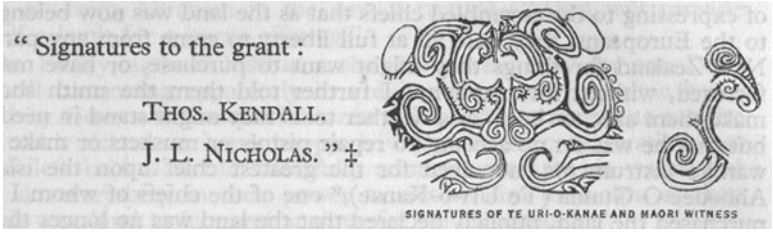
Three days previous to this Mrs. King was delivered of a fine boy, who was brought out and publicly baptized at the same time the deed was executed upon this newly purchased land. All these circumstances at such a juncture were very interesting to us and will be long remembered by the natives. The price paid for the land was twelve axes.

The deed is in the following terms: – "Know all men to whom these presents shall come, that I, Ahoodee O Gunna, King of Rangheehoo, 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, 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 situate in the district of Hoshee,[182] in the Island of New Zealand, bounded on the south side by the Bay of Tippoona[183] and the town of Rangheehoo, 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 opportunities 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."[184]



SIGNATURES OF TE URI-O-KANAE AND MAORI WITNESS

Ahoodee O Gunna (Te Uri-o-Kanae) was a very sensible man and extremely partial to the Europeans. He is the chief man in Rangheehoo, where the settlers reside. It is the largest and most populous town we met with, containing upwards of two hundred huts. Mrs. O Gunna, wife of the chief, is also a pleasant woman and had greatly improved in her appearance and cleanliness before we came away, and devoted much of her time in assisting the European women in anything she could do. Ahoodee O Gunna requested I would send him a suit of clothes to wear on the Sabbath, as he did not like to attend Divine service in his native dress, thinking it improper, which I promised to do.

Having finally arranged and settled every concern relating to the establishment of the missionary settlement at Rangheehoo, I embarked, accompanied by Mr. Nicholas, and on Saturday morning (26th) we weighed anchor and sailed. Many chiefs came on board to accompany us down the harbour which brought on much weeping and lamentation. Messrs. Kendall, Hall, and King were on board. The chiefs spoke very kindly, and





declared if Duaterra died they would protect the Europeans and none should injure them. Many solicited to go with me to Port Jackson, whom I was obliged to refuse, partly because we had no room and partly on account of the heavy expense of maintaining them on their passage to and from New Zealand and while the vessel lay at Port Jackson. I told them I would at all times permit a few to have a passage, but that should be in turns, which satisfied them.

The head chief's wife wept much, and cut her face, arms, and breasts with shells till the blood streamed down. She told me she would neither eat nor drink anything for five days and nights but would sit down in her hut and weep, praying for us all the time. She is a very intelligent young woman; she can speak a little English, and is very partial to the Europeans. Both she and her husband, Terra, were very urgent for me to send over two or three Europeans to live with them, and it is my intention to send a married couple when the Active returns if I have favourable accounts from the settlers and can meet with suitable persons.

We sailed down the harbour near the Heads when the canoes returned with our weeping friends, but were obliged to come to anchor again till the tide turned, and while we lay there we were visited by a chief from the river Thames, who had just arrived.

About twelve o'clock we got out and bore away for the North Cape, and on Sunday, 27th, about twelve o'clock, we saw the land. I was determined to put in here and pass a day according to my promise, if the wind permitted, and desired the master to steer for it accordingly. The wind was rather unfavourable during Sunday night, and on Monday morning (28th) we were four or five leagues from the shore with the wind from the land. The vessel had passed the north-east point where I had intended to touch, but as we could not make it we endeavoured to work to windward by carrying all the sail we could, and about ten o'clock a canoe put off to the Active from a different part of the shore where the chief lived whom I wanted to see. When the natives came on board they informed me the chief had got a quantity of dressed flax for me and that Jem, the Otaheitan, was in the country about four miles off. I desired the principal native to send his canoe on shore and a messenger to Jem to inform him of my arrival, which he immediately did and continued on board himself, he requesting I would allow him a passage to Port Jackson, but for want of room I could not grant his wishes. Shortly after another canoe came off in which I went on shore accompanied by Mr. Nicholas and the chief who arrived on board. We landed at a small village near the beach; the surf was high and the place we landed at very rocky. To me it appeared full of danger but, depending on the knowledge and dexterity of the natives in the management of their canoes, we ventured through the surf and got safe on shore with only a little sprinkling of the waves. We here found some pretty little cottages and their gardens in high cultivation, neatly fenced and laid out, and the potatoes, yams, etc., all planted in separate beds with not a weed to be seen.

In passing through the village I observed a man's head stuck upon a pole in the front of a cottage. The chief stole silently from behind me and took it down, and carried it into the hut; he was not





aware that I observed it, and by his cautious conduct I concluded he was desirous I should not. On that account I took no notice, but passed on. It was from this village the messenger had been despatched to Jem, the Otaheitan, but had not yet returned. We walked about two miles into the interior on the path where Jem was expected to pass, attended by a considerable number of natives. On our way we saw some beautiful plantations of potatoes and other vegetables. The women appeared as if they were little acquainted with Europeans, and most of them kept at a distance for some time and always fled away when we spoke to them.

At length we were hailed by some of the natives and informed Jem had taken another road and was gone down to the beach. We returned immediately and made for the sea, but in a contrary direction from that we had been walking in, being conducted by the natives on our way. We met the chief's son. He was dressed in the India print I had given to his father when on my way to the Bay of Islands. The edges of his garment were ornamented with white dog's skin with the hair on and looked very handsome; the print being red and white gave it a tasteful effect. He was an exceeding fine youth, and produced the printed orders of Governor Macquarie given by me to his father. They were wrapped up and covered with great care in order to keep them clean. He requested I would give him a passage to Port Jackson, to which I consented. He told me his father wished to see me and was waiting at the head of the bay about three miles distant. I set off to visit him, and was met by Jem, the Otaheitan, who told me the flax was ready. At this time it was nearly night and the wind still blowing fresh from the land, so that the Active could not get up. I was apprehensive she would be driven out to sea, and therefore thought it prudent to get on board as soon as we could. With this view we returned to the former village, and on our way met with two women leaning on a rock weeping and making loud lamentations. I enquired the cause and learned that their husband was the chief who had applied for a passage. I told them not to grieve; I would not take him with me as the vessel was full.

When we arrived at the village I observed to the natives I wanted a canoe to take us on board. They launched one immediately and filled her with men. At this time the sea was uncommonly rough and the Active a considerable distance from shore, and I expected we should meet with some difficulty in getting on board, but as the natives apprehended no danger I endeavoured to persuade myself that my fears were groundless, and therefore entered the canoe which soon passed over the raging surf and reached the Active in safety. Some of these canoes are eighty feet long, and it is astonishing to see with what skill they manage them in a boisterous sea. Previous to leaving the shore I informed Jem that the Active would lie to all night, if not driven off by the wind, and in the morning we should stand in for the land in order that I might see his father-in-law and get on board the flax he had prepared. The wind continuing the same all night we could not make the land, but were much in the same situation we were in the preceding evening (29th). Jem came off, however, pretty early in a canoe with a message from the chief requesting me to go on shore. I desired him

to return and tell the chief the sea was so high and I was not accustomed to their canoes and on that account was afraid to venture, and that if he had any to send the vessel should wait till I heard from him again. At the same time I sent him a present of some edge tools which I had reserved purposely for him.

In about three hours Jem returned with a quantity of potatoes and about three hundredweight of flax and a boy whom the chief wished me to take to Port Jackson, and that Jem also would go with me and return when the Active came back to New Zealand. I was unwilling to disappoint the wishes of this chief which placed such confidence in me in sending his son, and I therefore gave my consent for them both to remain in the vessel. We then immediately made sail and bore away with a fine breeze for Port Jackson.

Jem told me the chief's eldest son whom I had seen on shore was very anxious to come, but his mother would not consent at the present time. I had now twelve native passengers on board besides the natives belonging to the Active. It was with the most heartfelt satisfaction I left New Zealand, not having met with the smallest accident, provocation or insult. I had fully accomplished the object of my voyage and satisfied myself relative to the real character and disposition of these heathens. I was fully persuaded that there was no real obstruction to their civilization nor the introduction of Christianity amongst them, and that nothing more was requisite than common prudence on the part of those who might be engaged in this humane and benevolent undertaking.

Nothing material happened on our passage till the 20th of March, when we had a very heavy storm of thunder and lightning from the south-west blowing on a very hard gale, which compelled us to lay-to for almost two days and nights. At this time we were not far from the coast of New Holland. Some of the New Zealanders were much alarmed. They expected the vessel to be dashed to pieces every moment – and particularly the chief Timmaranghee. He wept much and said he should never see his wife and children any more, and begged the captain to take all the coats from the masts, meaning the sails, for they would kill the Active. Tupee, on the other hand, was quite composed throughout the gale; he said neither thunder, lightning nor wind would destroy the vessel while I and he remained in it, and exhorted Timmaranghee not to be afraid for he was safe enough. Notwithstanding all that Tupee advanced, Timmaranghee's fears continued with the gale; neither could he rest night or day. Tupee was accustomed to pray much, and sometimes he would have a few of the natives with him. He had strong confidence in some supreme being, the God of New Zealand, he was wont to call the object of his worship. I was very sick during the gale and could seldom get out of my cot. Tupee would sit beside me and put his hands on different parts of my body. At the same time he would pray to his God. Tupee is a dignified and superior character and at all periods the same, and was very mild and even tempered. In the above gale we were driven more than two hundred miles to the northward of Port Jackson. When it abated the wind became fair and we anchored in Sydney Cove on Wednesday, 23rd March, 1815.



I shall now conclude this narrative with observing that the New Zealand chiefs are a warlike race and very proud of their dignity and rank. They seem to be men who never forget a favour nor a wrong, but retain a grateful remembrance of those Europeans who have been kind to them and have the most sovereign contempt for any who have injured them. They appear to live in amity and peace amongst themselves when under the government of one chief. I saw no quarrelling while I was there. They are kind to their women and children. I never observed either with a mark of violence upon them nor did I ever see a woman struck. The settlers told me they had never seen any differences with the inhabitants at Rangheehoo during the time they had resided there, and I think differences are rare amongst those of the same tribe or belonging to the same village. Upon the south side of the Bay of Islands I was informed that no injury had been done to any Europeans since Captain Cook was there.

The two brother chiefs, Terra and Tupee, are exceeding well disposed men, and would never allow the least act of violence to be committed upon the Europeans. They frequently stated the injuries that they and their people had suffered from the English and that one master of a vessel not long ago had shot two of their men dead, but notwithstanding this outrage they had not retaliated upon the Europeans. They mentioned this as a proof how much they wished to cultivate our acquaintance. They told me I need not be under any apprehension for the safety of the Active while she remained with them, because she would be protected by the good-will of the people. In answer I said she should be constantly employed for their good and to enable them to improve their country, and that they might therefore consider her as belonging to New Zealand. She would not come to visit New Zealand from an expectation of receiving any advantage from them. One of the chiefs replied they were convinced of that for they had nothing to give. I recommended to them to procure and dress what flax they could against the return of the Active, which would be in three moons, and I would send such articles as they wanted to pay them for it, which they promised to do.

I am convinced that little good can be done amongst the natives of New Zealand without a vessel which would supply necessaries and secure the lives of the Europeans settled on the island, and materially conduce to the civilization of the people by offering frequent opportunities to the chiefs to visit Port Jackson, where they might see the habits and taste the comforts of civil life. They would acquire more knowledge in one month's residence in New South Wales than they could for a long time in their own country though the Europeans were with them. A single view of our houses with their furniture, our public buildings, His Majesty's stores and granaries, together with our arts and cultivation, would so much extend their views that they would never lose the impression.

When I took Tupee and Timmaranghee to view our general hospital in Sydney their astonishment was greatly excited. They immediately took its dimensions in order to be able to tell what they had seen, observing to me that their country was in an ignorant state and that no work was done there; but notwithstanding this remark of



Tupee I believe the natives are too active and industrious a race of men to be satisfied with the mere residence of a few solitary European individuals amongst them. They will require to be frequently visited and supplied with tools of agriculture.

Iron is the only article which they at present value, firearms excepted. They are very bold and daring, and will undertake difficult enterprises with little apparent means to accomplish them. They had little means of cultivating their lands for the want of iron, and were quite destitute of every kind of grain before the Active went. They have no commerce with other nations. The only profession, therefore, these chiefs may be said to follow is war. It is no uncommon thing for the people of the North Cape to travel through the country to the East Cape, lying beyond the river Thames, a distance of nearly 300 miles, to war. This is a great undertaking when it is considered there are no regular roads – no bridges over rivers, and little means of support in an uncultivated country such as New Zealand.

Jem, the Otaheitan, told me he had been three times within the last five years at the East Cape to war in company with one thousand men. When, with all this travel and toil, they arrive in the territory of those whom they are going to plunder, it is only for a few mats or a few prisoners of war.

While the Active lay at the river Thames we observed a number of canoes upon the beach and enquired where they came from, and were informed that they belonged to some warriors who lived on the west side of New Zealand, and had brought them overland for the purpose of going to war with some of the tribes at the East Cape.[185] I felt a great desire to visit their camp and view the men who could undertake so arduous an enterprise with heavy canoes so far through a

mountainous and uncleared country. Duaterra, however, recommended me not to visit their camp as it was unsafe. I took it very kind of him and followed his advice. The distance from the camp was about three miles from our anchorage.

The New Zealanders are all cannibals. They did not appear to have any idea that this was an unnatural crime. When I expressed my abhorrence at their eating one another, they said it had always been the custom to eat their enemies. I was unable to ascertain whether they ever ate human flesh as a meal, or from choice, or in cool blood; but it strikes me to be only from mental gratification and in retaliation for some great injury. As far as I can form an opinion of this horrid custom, I am inclined to believe that the New Zealanders do not consider it any more crime to eat their enemies than civilized nations do to hang an offender, although at the same time it stamps as much public disgrace upon the surviving relatives as the public execution of a criminal in Europe reflects upon the family of the sufferer.



MARSDEN'S HOPES FOR THE MAORIS

When I represented to them that this barbarous and inhuman custom was unknown to Europe and considered there as a foul disgrace to their nation they seemed surprised, and Shunghee, who is a man of high authority, told me that, as I had informed him it was wrong, he and his people would never be guilty of the like again, and others who stood by at the time expressed the same assurances. I took an opportunity upon all occasions that offered to impress upon their minds the horrors this practice excited in the breasts of other nations, and the dread and disgrace it attached to theirs.

It may be proper for me also to remark that, although we met with the most friendly reception throughout every part of the coast we touched at, I should recommend masters of vessels who visit New Zealand to be very cautious unless they can depend upon their crews behaving well. The New Zealanders will not be insulted with impunity and treated as men without understanding, but resent to the utmost of their power any injury heaped against them. At the Bay of Islands I consider a vessel to ride equally as safe as in the harbour of Port Jackson should ever any difference take place between the natives and the crew, but for any other part of the island I won't answer.

When I take into consideration what I saw of these islanders, and the frequent conversations I had with them during the time I was there upon various subjects, I am strongly inclined to believe that they will soon be ranked among civilized nations, and especially if their wants in iron are supplied. I am also of opinion that their own industry in collecting timber and flax, and any other articles of commerce which their country may be found hereafter to produce, will contribute in a great measure to repay the expenses; but I again assert that without iron these people can never rise above their present unpolished situation. If means are adopted to furnish them with this essential article, then, indeed, their country will soon supply them with all the necessary conveniences and comforts enjoyed in civil society, and as their comforts increase so will their wants stimulate their industry and lay a solid foundation not only for their civilization and mental improvement in the civil arts but also for the introduction of Christianity – the great final object in the contemplation of the Society, and the devout wish of all those who pray for the prosperity of Zion.[186]

I trust from what I have stated the Society will form a proper judgment of the situation and character of the natives of New Zealand, and that the British nation, in particular, will continue to feel and long



CONCLUSION

enjoy the infinite blessings derived from a preached Gospel, which renders England the glory and envy of all nations, and likewise commiserate for the miseries of these poor heathen who are literally without hope and without God. I am confident that the Society and all who aid their benevolent exertions will feel a lively interest in the temporal and eternal welfare of so great a nation as New Zealand, and have only to request you will present my respectful compliments to the Society and assure them that nothing shall be wanting on my part to second their benevolent wishes.

I have the honour to be,
Reverend and Dear Sir,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.



APPENDIX TO THE FIRST JOURNAL

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW ZEALAND MISSION

THE REASONS FOR THE PURCHASE OF THE ACTIVE

[Revd. Samuel Marsden to the Secretary]

PARRAMATTA, September 22nd, 1814.

DEAR SIR,

I beg leave to submit a few observations to the kind consideration of the Society in connection with their maintaining a vessel in New South Wales for the sole purpose of promoting the good of the Mission intended to be established in New Zealand.

In the first place the comfort and safety of the Missionaries, will at least for some time require a vessel to visit them, entirely under the direction of the Society's agent, or some Christian friends. Secondly, nothing would 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. Thirdly, the wanton acts of oppression, robberies, and murders committed upon the persons and properties of the natives of New Zealand have completely destroyed all confidence in the Europeans. They manifest every wish to cultivate our friendship, but woeful experience has taught them not to trust too much. Nothing but a practical knowledge of the English Christian's character can remove their prejudices and jealousies. If the Society or any Christian friends had a vessel wholly under their own directions, in which the natives could freely pass from New Zealand to Port Jackson and back again to their own country, and be kindly treated while on their voyage and cordially received on their arrival, a most favourable impression would soon be made upon them, as they are naturally a very superior race of men, of very quick and comprehensive minds. If such arrangements could be made, every reasonable hope might be entertained that the greatest success, under the Divine blessing, would attend the Mission, but if no measure of this kind is adopted the Mission may still succeed. Yet according to human estimation, the prospect of success will not be so promising.

I admit the expense will be very considerable where provisions, naval stores, and seamen's wages are very high. The annual expense of the Active I estimate at £1,500 per annum, as near as I can form an idea. I have no doubt but the timber, etc., etc., which the Active would bring to Port Jackson, would make a return of

£1,000 per annum, and probably more. She might clear her own expenses. After I have visited New Zealand and examined its natural productions I should be a better judge; however the object is of infinite importance. The whole inhabitants of that great and populous island are literally sitting in darkness, and in the Region and Shadow of Death. Should the natives of this island through the blessing of God be subdued by the sword of the Spirit to the obedience of Faith, all the neighbouring islands will be likely to fall under the same Almighty influence, as they are inhabited by a race of men who speak the same or a similar language.



New Zealand must be always considered as the great emporium of the South Seas, from its local situation, its safe harbours, its navigable rivers, its fine timber for ship building, its rosin, native flax, etc., etc., specimens of which I intend sending to the Society by this conveyance. I trust the Society will not be discouraged on account of the weighty expenses that will necessarily and unavoidably attend the first establishment of the Mission. I have no doubt but the great Head of the Church will provide, "as the gold and silver are His, and the cattle upon a thousand hills." I shall feel it my duty as well as pleasure to give every support to the Mission as far as my personal exertions, my pecuniary means, and my influences in this Colony will extend. I think the owners of South Sea whalers will readily contribute to the aid of the Society in the present instance, as their ships upon 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, and be under no apprehensions of their crew 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 ruined, from the dangerous connection which they form in New South Wales. I consider it would be greatly to the pecuniary advantage of all these concerned in the sperm fishery to give every support to the Mission at New Zealand. I also think His Majesty's Ministers will take the Mission into their favourable consideration from the official communication which His Excellency Governor Macquarie intends to transmit. Governor Macquarie is fully satisfied that much may be done for the improvement of the natives of that island; and has given me his full sanction to visit the island with the Missionaries, and the Chiefs, who are at present living with me. His Excellency has been kind enough to victual the chiefs and their attendants from His Majesty's stores during their stay in this settlement, which is the most favourable testimony of his approbation, and will very considerably lessen the expenses of their support. His Excellency has further manifested his goodwill by promising on the natives' return to present each of the chiefs with a new suit of clothes, their coats to be made of scarlet cloth, and each a cow from His Majesty's herds. From what has taken place and from present appearances I trust the Society will be fully satisfied that there is now a fair opening at New Zealand for the introduction of the everlasting Gospel of our Blessed Lord, and I most ardently pray that the attempt may not fail for want of pecuniary assistance, and am confident it will not.

With my most respectful compliments to the Society I beg to subscribe myself,

Reverend Sir,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.

To the REV. J. PRATT,
Secretary to the Church Missionary Society.

CERTIFICATE CONCERNING THE ACTIVE

September 22nd, 1814.

At the request of the Rev. Mr. Marsden we whose names are hereunto subscribed have been on board the brig Active lying in this Cove after a strict and careful survey and report as follows: –

That the brig Active is well adapted for the purpose of taking Missionaries from hence to New Zealand and being a strong, well built vessel will, with little occasional



repairs, last many years to carry on the communication between this place and the purposed settlement at the Bay of Islands, and it is also our opinion that the said brig is well worth the money given in purchase for her by Mr. Marsden, say Fourteen hundred pounds.

Given under our hands at Sydney, New South Wales, this 22nd day of September, 1814.

RICHD. BROOKS,
Agent for the Underwriters at Lloyds.
G. BUNKER,
Master of the Ship Seringapatam.
T. HANSEN,
Master of the Ship Active.

NEW ZEALANDERS AT PARRAMATTA IN 1814

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to the Secretary]

PARRAMATTA, September 30th, 1814.

DEAR SIR,

In a former letter I informed you that Duaterra (Ruatara) was very anxious to make a Sunday when he returned to New Zealand – he now tells me he made one for five moons or months, and then his countrymen told him they did not believe that Europeans had a Sunday. From the general conduct of the masters of vessels who had put into the Bay of Islands, they had not observed any difference between the Sabbath day and others. Only two masters of vessels, Duaterra told me, had been particular in this respect. When the Active was there, the natives went with their potatoes, etc., for sale on the Sabbath; they were then informed it was the Lord's Sabbath and a day sacred to rest, and that they could not receive any articles from them on that day. On board the Active they hoisted the English Colours on

the Sabbath. Terra (Tara), a chief on the opposite side of the Bay, when he saw the colours, immediately ordered colours to be hoisted on shore where he lived. Duaterra tells me the natives inquired what was the reason the people on board the Active would not trade with them on that day. He told them the same, which he had often done before, that it was a day of rest, and that God would be angry with them for working and selling things on the Sabbath. They were much afraid and told him that they now believed that there was a Sabbath. I had given instructions to the master of the Active to be very particular in keeping the Sabbath. The first interview Duaterra had with his Excellency the Governor, he requested that His Excellency would give him either colours to hoist or a bell to ring and drum to beat, to call the people together. He is still anxious to have a Sabbath day, and I trust he will see one established there to his present and eternal happiness.

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 smiths' and carpenters' shops, the spinning and weaving, brick-making and building houses, together with all the operations of agriculture and gardening, has a wonderful effect upon their minds; and will excite all their national powers to improve their own country. The idea of my visiting them is very gratifying to their minds. At present I spend all the time I can spare with them, in conversing with them upon all the different subjects that appear necessary for them to be acquainted with, particularly on the subject of religion, civil government, and agriculture. With respect to religion, I talk to them of the institution of the Sabbath day by God Himself, and they see it observed by us



with particular attention. They see the prisoners mustered on Sunday morning, their names called over, and then marched to church. They also see the soldiers and officers march to church likewise, and most of the people in the town of Parramatta. 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 sentence is passed upon them. With respect to agriculture, they visit different farms, observe the plough at work, some men with the hoe, some threshing, etc. They tell me when they return they shall sit up whole nights telling their people what they have seen and that their men will stop their ears with their fingers. "We have heard enough," they will say, "of your incredible accounts, and we will hear no more – they are impossible to be true." I am fully convinced that the chiefs, and particularly Duaterra (Ruatara), and Shunghee (Hongi), who commands 17 districts, will apply all their strength to agriculture, if they can only obtain hoes and axes. I think no society was ever engaged in a greater work than the Church Missionary Society is in this. The ground is wholly occupied by the Prince of Darkness, and great and powerful difficulties will no doubt one way or another spring up to oppose this great work. But the Lord is King amongst the heathen, and will I have no doubt establish His Throne there.

I am, dear Sir,
Yours very sincerely,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.

## THE EXPENSES OF THE MISSION

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to the Secretary]

PARRAMATTA, September 30th, 1814.

DEAR SIR,

I must now write to you upon the subject of a pecuniary nature. I am aware that the Mission, which is a very great undertaking, will be attended with a very heavy expense. In taking the steps I have done, I do not feel altogether warranted by the Society merely on account of the sum it will require at first to make a beginning. After the Mission is once established, I do not think it will be attended with any extraordinary expense. . . . I shall be obliged to draw upon the Society for present aid, and I trust they will honour my bills should they in any way disapprove of what I have done. I shall not draw for any sum but what I shall make a provision for in this Colony should any of my bills be dishonoured. Every kind of naval stores are very dear in this settlement, from one to two or three hundred per cent, more than what they are in England, on this account the fitting out a vessel is very great. The Society will take into their kind consideration the importance of the object of this undertaking; the temporal and eternal happiness of millions of the human race. Some sacrifices of a pecuniary nature must be made. I would also just remind them that no act of violence has been committed in any part of New Zealand upon any European where any of the natives live that are acquainted with my friend Duaterra (Ruatara). Ships may now put into the Bay of Islands for refreshments with safety. This is an object of some importance even for our own people. I have had the most ardent wish for some years past to see this island receive the blessings of civilization and the Gospel, and now trust the time is come when the great work will be entered upon. Had the Active returned without obtaining the object of her voyage, it was my intention to have sold her immediately, and not have called upon the Society for any money upon her account; but as the object of the voyage has been more than answered I cannot now withdraw, but must go on as long as my means will permit



me. When I purchased the vessel she was then bound to the Derwent on Government account, which made the voyage altogether ten weeks longer than it otherwise would have been and consequently increased the expenses. She had a larger complement of seamen the last voyage than what she will ever want again, as I did not think it prudent to send the vessel without a sufficient number of men to protect her, in case any unforeseen circumstance had taken place. She will now be navigated in a great measure with the natives of New Zealand, and her expenses will not be on that account so great. I trust the return she will make by bringing the natural productions to Port Jackson will go very far towards paying her own expenses. But this I shall know when I have visited the islands and examined the productions myself. The vessel's returns may one way and another be this voyage £300. I wish it to be clearly understood that I did not purchase the Active upon the credit of the Society, as I did not feel warranted in doing this. I am willing to take the whole responsibility of the purchase upon myself. If the Society or any friends of the Society are inclined to take her or any share in her she is at their service. I have only one object, which is the good of the heathen, and such an opportunity as the present of doing them good should not be lost for the want of money. I hope to be able to give you an account of what the annual expenses may probably be on my return from New Zealand, as I shall do all in my power to lessen the expenses; and if I can make the natural productions of the island pay the expenses of the Mission, of which I entertain some hopes, I shall be very happy.

I have the honour to be,
Reverend Sir,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
J. PRATT. SAMUEL MARSDEN.

MARSDEN UNDERTAKES THE WHOLE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ACTIVE

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to the Secretary}

NEW SOUTH WALES, June 10th, 1815.

REVD. SIR,

In consequence of the Church and London Missionary Societies feeling some hesitation to maintain a vessel in these seas for the accommodation and protection of those Europeans who are employed under their respective patronage, I have finally determined to take the whole responsibility of the vessel upon myself on the following conditions, viz., that the two Societies conjointly agree to allow the sum of £500 per annum towards the expenses of the vessel from November last when the establishment for New Zealand finally sailed from Port Jackson. Should the timber, etc., procured at New Zealand repay the expenses of the vessel so that no very material loss is sustained I shall charge nothing to either Society. I state the sum of £500 as the utmost that may be wanting on account of the expenses of the vessel.

I shall not draw upon England for any part of this sum at present, but request, if the above proposal is agreed to, the Societies to send me out to the amount of £500 annually as opportunity may offer, till further notice, in naval stores to the amount of £200, also iron, steel, spades, shovels, cast-iron pots of (various) sizes, and reap-hooks to the amount of £300. Iron I want for tools of agriculture for the natives, to purchase the timber with from them. Should the vessel pay her own expenses the above sum of £500 will go to the credit of the Societies towards paying their respective establishment. This measure will make the business very simple (for the) Societies, and probably remove every difficulty that has hitherto opposed the employment of a





vessel in these seas. With this system the vessel will be wholly my own, in which case I can act with confidence and shall meet with no interruption in carrying on my plan formed with the European settlers and natives of New Zealand for promoting the safety and comfort of the former, and the civilization and improvement of the latter. Under the persuasion that the above proposition will meet the approbation of the societies, it is my intention as soon as the Active returns from her present voyage to New Zealand to send her immediately to Otaheite with orders to touch at New Zealand on her passage out, and on her return to call there for a cargo of timber, etc. From the 25th of February, 1814, to November following, when she sailed for New Zealand, I trust the Society will pay all the expenses incurred in the two outfits as well as for the necessaries purchased for the use of the settlement and account of which I shall send by this conveyance. The vessel during the above period of eight months made some small return, which will be stated in the account and placed to the credit of the outfit; should the expenses be thought heavy, the Society will take into their kind consideration the high price of labour here as well as all naval stores, iron, tools of agriculture, etc. The first time the Active went to New Zealand I was compelled to have more sailors than were absolutely necessary to work the vessel as a protection, and also to give very high wages to the master, mate, and seamen. It was not easy to procure proper persons for such an undertaking without some strong inducement, as the natives were considered such cannibals few dared to venture among them; since my return the public opinion is much changed in their favour, the number of natives I brought with me to Port Jackson, their general appearance and conduct made the most favourable impression upon the minds of the inhabitants of this Colony, I shall not therefore find in future any difficulty in getting sailors to work the vessel at less wages. It was necessary that I should lay in considerable stores for the use of the settlement as well as provisions for supporting the natives who had returned with Messrs. Kendall and Hall, and likewise for the use of the settlers, their families, and those who accompanied them. I also conceived it prudent to take various articles as presents to the chiefs, and while the vessel remained on any part of the coast to treat liberally all the chiefs who visited us, as well as to show kindness to the common people , the Active was generally crowded with the natives while I was there, and ten chiefs and sons of chiefs with two servants came with me to Port Jackson. All these people could not be maintained without considerable expenses. In forming a new settlement there are a variety of expenses that cannot be foreseen. The settlement now being formed and all matters arranged relative to it, the expenses in future will not be very great; I think the rations of the settlers and families will not exceed £200 per annum. I have not time to review all I have wrote and am compelled to get my letter copied.

I have the honour to be,
Reverend Sir,
Your obedient and humble servant,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.
To REV. JOSIAH PRATT, LONDON.

A LIST OF ARTICLES WANTED FOR THE USE OF THE ACTIVEAND THE SETTLEMENT IN NEW ZEALAND, 1815

One ton of inch square iron, five tons of flat bar iron for hoes, axes, etc., half ton of hoop iron, half ton of common steel, a few spades, a quantity of gimlets and augers of different sizes, ten gross of pit and hand files, twenty dozen of carpenters' chisels of different sizes, twenty dozen of single plane-irons, half dozen steel wheat mills, a few dozen middle-sized iron pots, ten gross fish hooks of different sizes, principally





large, three casks containing 8, 10, and 12" nails, two boxes of tin, a few gross of common scissors, six dozen frying pans, some iron spoons and a few dozen tin pots, three sets of hackles (one fine and one set coarse for hemp), six gross of small tooth and common combs, twelve dozen of carpenter's adzes, three boxes of window glass, twenty dozen tommy hawkes, twenty dozen of sickles, eight pit and four crosscut saws (two pit saws as long as can be procured), six gross common knives and forks, six gross common knives, six brass wire flour sieves, six gross small looking glasses, one hundred cut glass beads of the best quality (red, blue, yellow, and green), three or four small anvils, three or four pair of smith's bellows, twelve gross of Jew's harps,[187] half ton common yellow soap, twelve gross of common flutes and twelve gross of fifes, twelve hand bells, one gross common pewter plate for the chiefs, twelve gross small garden hoes, a box of peacock's feathers, a few pieces of red, white, and blue bunting as colours for the canoes, a bale of red flannel shirts, one box of stationery.

For the brig Active. – Twenty rolls of canvas, cordage of different sizes and a few coils, three dozen blocks of different sizes, two barrels of tar and one of pitch, twenty or thirty sheets of copper for the use of vessel.

SAMUEL MARSDEN.

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to the Secretary]

Parramatta, June 14th, 1815.

REV.SIR

The following lines are rather of a private than a public nature. I wrote to you some time ago, and stated my opinion of Messrs. Kendall, Hall, and King. I have seen no reason to change my good opinion of Mr. Kendall – I think him a very valuable man for the situation he now is in. Mr. Hall has given me more satisfaction since he has got upon his station than I ever had before. His wife is a most excellent woman. I have seen few equals to her for patience, good nature, and industry, and she loves the best things. Mr. King is now recovered and I hope he will go on well. He was unhappy before he entered upon the work, but now he is very content. Mr. Kendall left his two daughters at Port Jackson. I fully approved of his doing this till such times as he was settled and able to judge whether or not it would be proper for his daughters to live in New Zealand. They are boarders with the matron of the Female Orphan Home.

With respect to the narrative[188] I have sent for the information of the Society, it has been written in very great haste within the last few days and in the midst of much public business. I do not think that I shall have time to look it over since it has been copied, but must send it with all its errors and mistakes. I can only say it contains facts as they took place, though simply related, and will give some idea of this noble race of men for whose welfare I have felt much concern for many years. I shall leave you and the Society to make what use you may in your joint wisdom think proper. Many pleasing circumstances occurred while I was amongst them which time will not allow me to mention. I left them fully satisfied in my own mind that much had been done in a few weeks towards laying the foundation for their improvement. When the Active returns, I shall be able then to write more fully my sentiments of any future measures which may appear to me necessary for the Society to adopt relative to the island of New Zealand. I should wish to act with great caution. The most benevolent undertakings meet with strong oppositions. The pious Israelites



could not build the walls of Jerusalem without holding the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other. If we attempt, even in these pious days, to build the walls of Jerusalem, we must expect to meet with the same spirit of opposition. I have met with hard contests in digging the foundation and laying the first stone for the Christian Church in New Zealand, but hope the building will go on – I believe the work to be of God; it has gone on slowly yet, but progressively. I have not had the means till lately to make the attempt, though I have wished most ardently to see the work begun. If the public prejudice had not been so strong against the natives of the island, the difficulty and expenses of forming the settlement would not have been so great. This island opens a large field for the exercise of Christian benevolence and missionary labours. Had I been a few years younger and circumstances would have allowed me to follow my own inclination I should have fixed my habitation amongst these people, but this cannot be now. I intend, when the Active returns, for her to visit Otaheite where the brethren are belonging to the London Missionary Society, and see how they are situated. These missionaries have suffered many privations, and have been greatly discouraged in their work for want of being more frequently visited. I think the Active would answer for both Societies. A vessel must be employed for New Zealand for reasons stated in my public letter, but she might visit the other missionaries at the same time, and I have no doubt but the London Missionary Society would pay any reasonable expense for the comfort of their missionaries who are now labouring with much success amongst the heathen there. I cannot tell what the annual expense would be to support a vessel besides the returns she would make. I think it would not be more than five hundred pounds at first per annum and it might be less, or nothing at all. The returns of her cargo might defray the whole. I would pledge myself that the sum would not exceed £500 for both Societies. At the same time it would be prudent to insure the Active for that service. Her first cost was £1,400 sterling, and her outfit was about £500 more, as she was badly supplied with stores at the time I purchased her. Will you have the goodness to insure the Active on my account, and let me know the amount of the expense? I value her in her present state at £1,500.

I am, dear Sir,
Yours affectionately,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.
REVD. J. PRATT.

## THE FIRST REGULATIONS REGARDING PRIVATE TRADE, 1815

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to the Secretary]

PARRAMATTA, June 15th, 1815.

REVEREND SIR,

Having already given you an account of the principal occurrences that took place in my voyage to New Zealand, I deem it further necessary to acquaint you for the information of the Society what arrangements I made for the present establishment of the settlement at Rangheehoo. Previous to leaving Port Jackson 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 that time of the local situation and many other circumstances connected with the intended settlement. After I had been at New Zealand some time and made my own observations I was convinced that it would be very unwise to allow any of the settlers to trade with the natives upon their own private account, as it would unavoidably lay a sure foundation for personal jealousies and differences amongst the settlers and was also likely to be productive of bad consequences amongst the natives. The settlers would be under strong



temptation to take advantage of the ignorance of the natives in the way of trade if they were to reap the profits, and one settler would have more means as well as natural ability to enrich himself than another by commerce, which would be productive of what the Apostle calls "bitterness, envyings, and evil surmisings" amongst them.

In order to guard against these serious 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 of 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, etc., and other 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 this matter to the consideration of the Society and had received their instructions upon it. A copy of their weekly ration I have the honour to enclose for the information of the Society, and shall be obliged by receiving

their directions for my future guidance.[189]

The settlers for this indulgence were to purchase from the natives whatever articles of consequence they might bring for sale on account of the general concern, the profits of which when sold would go towards defraying the expenses of the vessel or the support of the settlement. 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 especially, and it was at length finally adopted. The settlers were all equal in authority – they had no head – and good men when left without a guide are not always inclined to do what is right. There are comparatively few men who are capable of thinking for themselves, and as far as my experience of human nature extends, I think that good men should always be prevented from doing wrong as well as the bad when this can be done.[190]

I further told them I would allow them five per cent, upon the net proceeds of whatever cargo the Active might bring to Port Jackson. I am happy to say I left them all satisfied, and each in his proper station, and I think they will do well. The following number of persons were left at Rangheehoo: – Mr. and Mrs. Kendall, one servant and three boys, Mr. and Mrs. Hall and one boy, Mr. and Mrs. King and two boys (these belonging to the Society); one pair of sawyers and a blacksmith bound for a time; Mrs. Hanson (Hansen) and son remained on their own account (Mr. Hanson, sen., commands the Active). I have since sent over the wives of the smith and of one sawyer (the other being a single man) and two children. I also left three runaway convicts with the settlers to assist them till the Active returned, and took three away with me, having met with six at New Zealand. The total number of Europeans at Rangheehoo, including men, women, and children, are 25.



I cannot ascertain as yet what will be the amount of supporting this establishment; as soon as the necessary buildings are erected and the settlement formed it will be reduced. The settlers will soon be able to raise grain for their own support, and animal food will not be expensive. They will want continual supplies of tea, sugar, etc., and as their privations must unavoidably be many I have no doubt but the Society will cheerfully administer every aid that may tend to lessen their weight and number. I am not much afraid of the settlers doing their duty, being now upon their station, and I feel satisfied with them all.

I have the honour to be,
Reverend Sir,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.
REVD. J. PRATT.

RUATARA'S DREAD OF A EUROPEAN OCCUPATION

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to the Secretary.]

PARRAMATTA, October 26th, 1815.

Dear Sir,

I observe in Mr. Kendall's letter when speaking upon the death of Duaterra (Ruatara), that he remarks Duaterra had imbibed strong prejudices in his mind against the missionaries. These prejudices originated at Port Jackson just before I sailed with him to New Zealand, from some person or persons, with the most dark and diabolical design, telling Duaterra not to trust us, that our only object was to deprive the New Zealanders of their country and that as soon as we had gained any footing over there we should pour into New Zealand an armed force and take the country to ourselves, and to make the impression more deep they called his attention to the miserable state of the natives of New South Wales, who are going perfectly naked about our streets and from whom the English had taken their country and reduced them to their present wretchedness. This suggestion darted into his mind like a poisoned arrow, destroyed his confidence in the Europeans, and alarmed his fears and jealousy for the safety of his country, for which he had the most unbounded love. On our sailing from Port Jackson, I perceived him to be much dejected and castdown and a constant melancholy upon his countenance. I often inquired what was the cause of his grief, but he cautiously concealed the matter from me and always evaded giving me a satisfactory answer. I repeatedly pressed him to tell me, and a little before we arrived at New Zealand he informed me that he was told at Port Jackson that it was our intention to take his country from him and that the New Zealanders would be very angry with him if he should be the author of their country being taken and given to the English. I pressed him much to inform me who had told him these things, but no arguments I could use would induce him to tell me. I concluded he was bound by some solemn promise not to reveal the author of this intended mischief. I frequently endeavoured to remove his fears, but to no purpose. The poison infused into his mind was too subtle and infectious ever to be removed.



I have thought it necessary to explain that part of Mr. Kendall's letter which I have mentioned, as it cast a cloud over the character of a very great and extraordinary man whose memory will long be precious to them who knew him.

I am, Revd. Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.
REVD. J. PRATT.

THE SEIZURE OF THE VENUS.

The brig Venus was seized at Port Dalrymple by her first mate, Kelly, with the assistance of some convicts, on June 17th, 1806, and put to sea with eleven persons on board, including two convict women and an infant child. The vessel reached the Bay of Islands not later than December, 1806, where the two women, with Kelly and a convict, Lancashire, were left behind. These two women are the first white women known to have lived in New Zealand. One of them, Catherine Hagerty, died soon after landing, the other, Charlotte Edgar, mother of the infant, refused to leave the island when offered a passage by Captain Bunker of the Elizabeth in the early months of 1807. Her fate is unknown. Kelly and Lancashire were quickly seized by masters of visiting vessels and taken as prisoners to England. The Venus, with no one on board who understood navigation, sailed aimlessly on the New Zealand coast, until, as was subsequently reported by the Mercury, she was taken by Maoris, who killed and ate the pirates, burning the vessel for the sake of the iron. – McNab, Tasman to Marsden, pp. 110-112. Vide infra, pp. 154-5, 172-3, and 265.

112 Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 27. The Rev. Richard Johnson acted as Chief Chaplain of the Settlement until 1800, when he retired.

113 Tuke (Toki?) and Huru. – cf. S. Percy Smith, Peopling of the North (Wellington, 1898), pp. 105-6; Early History of New Zealand, edited Leys (Auckland, 1890), p. 79; and King's "Journal" in Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. II, pp. 539-40.

114 R. McNab, From Tasman to Marsden, pp. 79, 80. The Daedalus, in reality, sailed for Port Jackson, where her captives were landed on April 15th. Two days later they were put on board the Shah Hormuzear and sailed for Norfolk Island.
Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. II, p. 87.

115 McNab, Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. I, p. 169, et seq., and Vol. II, p. 535, et seq.
Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. II, p. 134, et seq.

116 Captain Townson, of the New South Wales Corps, succeeded Captain King as commandant at Norfolk Island in September, 1796. He was succeeded by Major Foveaux, who took command in July, 1800. Foveaux sailed for England in September, 1804, his successor being Captain Piper, who remained in the island till April, 1810. Captain Piper was thus the commandant who showed kindness to Te Pahi. – Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. IV, pp. 79, 97, 392, 393, 424; Vol. V, pp. 550, 569; Vol. VI, pp. 3, 184, 204, 403; Vol. VII, p. 343.

117 Te Pahi and his sons reached Norfolk Island in the colonial brig Venus, whose captain treated the Maoris very badly. – McNab, Tasman to Marsden, pp. 104-106; Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. VI, p. 3.

118 The Buffalo arrived at Sydney on 27th November, 1805. – Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. I, p. 258.

119 As a compliment to Te Pahi, Governor King presented him with a silver medal inscribed: "Presented by Governor King to Tip-a-he, a Chief of New Zealand, during his visit at Port Jackson, in January, 1806"; (and on the reverse) "In the reign of George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." He received also many presents from Government stores and from private individuals before sailing for New Zealand on 24th February, 1806, in the Lady Nelson. – McNab, Tasman to Marsden, p. 106.

120 Rev. Josiah Pratt, B.D. (1768-1844), Vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London; Secretary, Church Missionary Society, December, 1802-April, 1824. The Church Missionary Society was instituted on 12th April, 1799. – Rev. Josiah Pratt, A Memoir, by Rev. Josiah Pratt and Rev. John Henry Pratt (London, 1849).

121 William Hall, a shipbuilder, and John King, a flaxdresser, twine and ropemaker.

122 In the Ann, which sailed from Spithead on 25th August, 1809.

123 Tasman to Marsden, pp. 125-174.
Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. I, p. 293, et seq.

124 The whaling trade in New Zealand waters began with the visit to Doubtless Bay of the William and Ann (captain, Eb. Bunker) in 1791. By 1802 Governor King regarded whaling off the coast of New Zealand as established. – Tasman to Marsden, pp. 95-7.

125 Peter Dillon (1785-1847), an Irish seaman. In 1827 he discovered that La Perouse, the French navigator, met his fate on Vanikoro, the most southerly of the Santa Cruz Group. For this service he was awarded a life annuity of 4,000 francs and the distinction of the Legion of Honour with the title of Count.

126 The Rev. Thomas Kendall and William Hall. They were accompanied by Tuhi. – MS. Journal of Rev. Thomas Kendall, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

127 Marsden was granted leave of absence for four months by a General Order of November 12th, 1814, which also appointed Thomas Kendall "one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in the Bay of Islands in New Zealand and throughout the islands of New Zealand, and those immediately contiguous thereto." – cf. Sydney Gazette November 12th, 1814, and R. McNab, Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. I, pp. 329-330.

128 A letter from Marsden to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, dated Parramatta, 28th October, 1815, also gives an account of Ruatara. – cf. Henry Jacobs, Dioceses of New Zealand, pp. 7-9.

129 The first sealing gang placed on the coast of New Zealand was left in 1792 at Dusky Sound by Captain Raven of the Britannia. In the early years of the nineteenth century sealing on the coasts of southern New Zealand and the outlying islands attained large dimensions until indiscriminate slaughter practically put an end to the industry. – Sir F. R. Chapman, Notes on the Depletion of the Fur Seal in the Southern Seas (1893); R. McNab, Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. II, p. 509.

130 Thomas Kendall was engaged by the Church Missionary Society to act as teacher and catechist in New Zealand, and reached Sydney with his wife in October, 1813.

131 The Active (Captain Dillon) left Port Jackson for Tasmania on March 7th, 1814, sailed from Hobart on May 23rd, and reached the Bay of Islands on June 6th. – MS. Journal of Rev. Thomas Kendall, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

132 Ruatara died about March 1st, 1815.

133 Maui was born about 1796 and was a relative of Tara of Kororareka. – Vide S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, pp. 26, 27.

134 In February, 1812.

135 Nicholas, in the course of his account of Maui, who was usually called Tommy Drummond by his fellow servants in Australia, gives a glimpse of his general disposition: "On our visit to his native island being resolved upon," he writes, "it was determined that he should come on board, for the purpose of waiting upon us in the cabin; but we soon found him of very little use in this way. Poor Tommy was so much taken up with the songs and tales of his countrymen, which most probably awakened in his mind some early recollections of a pleasing nature, that, during the whole voyage, he was of no service to us that signified; and we were obliged, in consequence, to wait almost entirely upon ourselves. I often used to argue with him on his inattention, and reprimanded him very sharply for it; but this had no effect, his mind being wholly occupied with joining in the mirth of the other New Zealanders. He was always ready to mingle in the dance, but his attitudes were by no means so easy and unembarrassed as those of his countrymen, and it appeared to us as if civilization had cramped his limbs, and made him quite stiff and awkward." – J. L. Nicholas, Voyage to New Zealand (London, 1817), Vol. I, p. 258.

136 The Church Missionary Register, 1817, pp. 72-79; cf. J. L. Nicholas, Voyage to New Zealand, Vol. II, pp. 260-1.

137 Nicholas ultimately returned to England and was one of those who gave evidence with regard to the state of New Zealand before the Lords' Committee in 1838.

138 Nicholas comments as follows upon the missionaries who sailed to New Zealand with Marsden: – "Mr, Kendall, before he engaged in the service of the Church Missionary Society, was the master of a respectable school in the vicinity of London, which not only afforded him the means of supporting his family in comfort, but left a handsome sum annually which he was enabled to lay by for future exigencies; so that, had he chosen to remain in his own country, he could always have lived above want, and ultimately perhaps in comparative affluence. His attendance on the ministry of the Rev. Basil Woodd, whose celebrity as a divine and excellence as a man are so generally acknowledged, was the first incentive that kindled in his mind a zeal for missionary labours and induced him to devote the remainder of his life to the service of his dark fellow creatures. He did not, however, adopt this resolution in the precipitate ardour of an inflamed

imagination; but weighing coolly and deliberately the circumstances on both sides, he found a sense of duty to the many prevail over the selfishness of individual interest. As little were Mr. King and Mr. Hall influenced by pecuniary motives in becoming missionaries; the former, as I have understood, was in easy circumstances, and the latter, I know from unquestionable authority, was in the receipt of four hundred a year at New South Wales, where he resided for four years, and was acquiring that sum by his business as a builder and carpenter." – J. L. Nicholas, Voyage to New Zealand, Vol. II, pp. 204-5.

139 A Government and General Order of December 1st, 1813, required the masters of all vessels leaving Port Jackson for New Zealand or any other island in the South Pacific to enter into a bond of £1,000 penalty to refrain from misconduct with regard to the natives. This was followed by a more stringent Order dated November 9th, 1814, in which the Governor expressed his special desire "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," and declared that rigorous measures would be taken against any masters of vessels who should carry away any native of New Zealand or land any person in that country without first obtaining the written permission of Thomas Kendall, the Resident Magistrate in the Bay of Islands, or of the acting magistrate in New Zealand territory. The chiefs – Ruatara, Hongi, and Korokoro – were also invested with power and authority to enable them to exact obedience to the provisions of the Order. – Missionary Register, 1815, p. 479; R. McNab, Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. I, pp. 328-9.

140 Jem was living with the Aupouri tribe. – S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, p. 29.

141 The Cavalli Islands, so named by Captain Cook. "During this time several canoes came off to the ship, and two or three of them sold us some fish – cavallys as they are called – which occasioned my giving the Islands the same name." – Wharton, Captain Cook's Journal (London, 1893), p. 164.

The Cavalli or Trevally of the settlers is Caranx platessa of the zoologist. The fish "used to be a staple article of food with the Maoris, who assembled on fine calm days and drove the fish into weirs formed of branches of trees which they stretched across shallow bays." – Hutton and Hector, The Fishes of New Zealand, with Notes on the Edible Fishes by James Hector, M.D., F.R.S. (Wellington, 1872).

142 The tangi, a melancholy ditty, used, curiously enough, on certain occasions of both joy and mourning. The chaplet or branch of green leaves often waved during incantation generally consisted of the leaves of the karamu (coprosma), the waewae-koukou (lycopodium, club moss), or raurenga (trichomanes, kidney fern).

143 Te Pahi's Island, in the Kerikeri River, three miles below the old mission settlement.

144 On the shore of Matauri Bay, opposite the Cavallis – Marsden's first landing place.

145 The root idea of the word patu is "to strike." The word is applied by the Maoris to all weapons, and also, with a qualifying adjective, to pounders and beaters of flax, fern-root, etc. The early explorers, e.g. Cook, restricted the term to weapons of the mere type, and, as a generic term for this group of weapons is useful – in fact necessary – the usage, though not strictly a Maori one, has been followed by modern ethnographers.

146 Nicholas thus describes this chief: – "The public, I should suppose, are already aware from Mr. Marsden's statement, that the chief George, who is known by this name to the European sailors, some of whom in all probability first gave it to him, had been the principal agent in cutting off the Boyd, and certainly the face of this 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 intercourse 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." – J. L. Nicholas, Voyage to New Zealand, Vol. II, pp. 136-7.

147 Kakahu – a flax mat or dress.

148 Rangihoua – on the north headland of the Bay of Islands.

149 Nicholas thus describes the scene when these animals were landed: – "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 their 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, and following him with staring eyes they believed at the moment that he was more than mortal. Though Duaterra, on his return from his former visit to Port Jackson, had described to his countrymen the nature and use of the horse, his account appeared to them so preposterous that it only excited their ridicule. Having no name in his language for this animal, he thought that 'corraddee,' (kararehe), * their term for a dog, would be the best designation he could adopt; but as they could not elevate their ideas of it to the same height as his description they believed not a single word he said. On telling them that he had seen large 'corraddees' 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 desire him very indignantly not to tell so many lies. 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 'corraddees'; 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 Duaterra, as it afforded him an opportunity of convincing them by ocular demonstration of the truth of his statement. The cattle, on being landed, were all in a thriving condition, except the cow belonging to Shunghi, which appeared in a very weak state." – J. L. Nicholas, Voyage to New Zealand) Vol. I, pp. 171-173.

* Kararehe – a term for quadrupeds generally.

150 See note, p. 304. – The weapons described here were evidently the tewhatewha, long and axe-shaped, and the taiaha which was sometimes six feet in length and usually decorated with dog's hair and feathers.

151 This weapon, the hoeroa, was made almost invariably of whalebone. All specimens extant are made from the lower jaw of the sperm whale. Both ends are rounded, one end being elaborately carved; there is often, also, some carving about the middle. About five feet in length, it seems to have been used, for the most part, as a missile weapon. – Vide Elsdon Best, The Maori As He Was, p. 276 et seq.

152 Flax dyed with the berries of the hinahina (melicytus ramiflorus).

153 Nicholas describes the "dance" with which the Maoris after the service relieved their pent up feelings: – "The service ended, we left the enclosure; and as soon as we had got out of it the natives, to the number of three or four hundred, surrounding Mr. Marsden and myself, commenced their war dance, yelling and shouting in their usual style, which they did, I suppose, from the idea that this furious demonstration of their joy would be the most grateful return they could make us for the solemn spectacle they had witnessed." – J. L. Nicholas, Voyage to New Zealand, Vol. I, p. 206.

154 The Kawakawa district. The timber, kahika (kahikatea), or white pine, grew close to the present village of Taumarere on the railway line.

155 Maui. Vide supra, p. 70 et seq.

156 The Kawakawa, a tributary of the Waikare, which flows into the southern side of the Bay of Islands.

157 Okuratope, a pa long since abandoned, situated much nearer Waimate than Pukenui the now deserted pa named by S. Percy Smith in his Wars of Northern N.Z. Tribes (p. 34) as that visited by Marsden and Nicholas. The earthworks are still standing though overgrown with dense vegetation.

158 At the head of the Kerikeri River, close to where the missionary station was afterwards founded.

159 The Waianiwa (rainbow) Falls.

160 Omapere Lake. The fight with Heke at Okaihau in May, 1845, took place close to this lake.

161 The Utakura, which empties itself into the Waihou branch of the Hokianga.

162 A ceremonial fast – noho puku.

163 Captain Cook anchored in Bream Bay (Whangarei Bay) on 25th November, 1769. "We had no sooner come to an anchor," he writes, "than we caught between 90 and 100 Bream (a fish so called). This occasioned my giving this place the name of Bream Bay. The north head of the Bay, called Bream Head, is high land and remarkable on account of several peaked rocks ranged in order upon the top of it." – Wharton, Captain Cook's Journal (London, 1893), p. 162.

The Sea Bream or Warehou of the Maori is Serilella brama of the ichthyologist; a fairly abundant fish.

164 Te Haupa, of the Ngati-Paoa tribe.

165 Whaka-tiwai (Miranda) in the Hauraki Gulf, Ngati-Paoa headquarters.

166 Nicholas gives a further description of this episode: – "We had here an opportunity of observing how the natives transact the affairs of trade among each other. Gunnah's (Te Uri-o-Kanae) merchandise consisted of a number of the white feathers of the gannet, which are universally worn by both sexes in this country, but prepared exclusively in the Bay of Islands whence they are carried into the other districts and form a staple article of trade. These feathers are neatly dressed, and each of them has a small piece of wood tied round the quill end which serves to stick in the hair.
"Our humorous friend was now the magnet of attraction to all the ladies of the village in consequence of his valuable and ornamental wares, and seating himself in the midst of the gay circle he prepared to untie the box that enclosed the feathers to gratify their impatient eyes. The sight at once filled the whole group with rapture, and taking some of the feathers out of the box, in which he had laid them with as much dexterity as if they had been packed up by the most experienced man milliner in London, he stuck several of them In the heads of the surrounding ladies who, when thus decorated, congratulated each other with ecstatic transports; while they individually betrayed a ludicrous self-complacency. He then counted out twelve of the feathers and laid them down with much gallantry at the feet of the young damsel who had the mat, giving her at the same time a large bunch of the down of the gannet, which is used as an ornament for the ear. Upon receiving these she immediately gave him the mat in exchange, and Gunnah, carefully tying up his box again, walked off to supply more customers. The ladies now commenced dancing and singing, which they kept up for some time, much in the same style as we had witnessed in the Bay of Islands." – J. L. Nicholas, Voyage to New Zealand, Vol. II, p. 398.

167 Believed by S. Percy Smith to be Orere, but identified by Mr. George Graham as Tapapakanga – now Ashbys.

168 People of the Ngati-Paoa tribe.

169 Nicholas gives some further information with regard to these Maori garments: – "Some of the most beautiful mats we had yet seen were now exhibited for sale. Four of the ladies decorated with these, which were very large and richly ornamented, appeared to great advantage, being extremely handsome women, and not disfigured by any extraneous devices. On these mats they set a very high price and would take nothing for them but axes, of which we had none to barter, so that our desire to obtain them could not be gratified. I offered them tokees (tokis, adzes) and large fish-hooks, but they declined the exchange; and even our friend Gunnah's feathers were not of sufficient attraction. The common mats they parted with readily enough; but the dress ones were not to be bought, unless by articles that they considered of adequate intrinsic value."

With some difficulty Nicholas procured one of these garments: – "I bought a mat off one of them that exceeded in elegance even those displayed by the four ladies, and was a finished specimen of their taste and ingenuity. This mat, which I afterwards gave to Mrs. Marsden, was of a peculiarly fine and glossy texture; and it had a deep border of various devices and different colours worked all round it, the style of which would, even to a Parisian belle, appear chaste and fashionable. The man from whom I purchased this gay article hesitated a long time before he would take what I offered him for it, a large tokee, but at length accepted the proposal. It will not be matter of surprise that the New Zealanders set a higher value upon these mats than upon any other articles they supply when we consider the length of time that must be occupied in making one of them, and the ingenious elegance with which they are worked. Duaterra assured me that to complete a large-sized mat of this description would take at least from two to three years." – J. L. Nicholas, Voyage to New Zealand, Vol. II, pp. 403 and 406.

170 This anchorage is now known locally as Peach Cove, and is about two miles inside Bream Head.

171 In 1806. Vide infra, p. 142, " The Seizure of the Venus."

172 From the southern end of Ocean Beach where there was a Maori village in Marsden's time.

173 Moehanga. Savage calls him Moyhanger. – Vide John Savage, Some Account of New Zealand (London, 1807), p. 94 et seq.

174 The foregoing narrative cannot refer to Whangarei Harbour since according to geological evidence there has not been a bar across that harbour for many thousands of years. Marsden's first visit to Whangarei Harbour was made on November 1st, 1820, when he was accompanied by Messrs Butler, Shepherd, and Puckey, as he narrates in his third journal.

In the opinion of Mr. W. M. Fraser, Harbourmaster, Whangarei, "Marsden landed at Ngunguru, which is a fair day's sail with a head wind from Bream Head and would be the most likely place, under the circumstances, to put into for the night. At Ngunguru there is a bar across the harbour and plenty of broken rocks, both at the entrance to and inside the harbour. When describing the rocks which resembled ruins of old abbeys, steeples, columns, large arches and caverns, he was evidently referring to the very peculiar and interesting rock formation to be seen in places along the coast from Bream Head to the Bay of Islands. There are first the massive columns and castle-like rocks of Bream Head, then, as one proceeds up the coast, the most impressive view obtainable of that group of vertical rocks so famous in the Maori legend of Manaia. Further along the coast there are to be seen many caverns, and, on reaching the southern entrance to the Bay of Islands, the great archway of Piercy Island."

175 Cape Brett was so named by Captain Cook in November, 1769, in honour of Rear Admiral Sir Piercy Brett who was one of the Lords of the Admiralty when the Endeavour sailed. "At the very point of the Cape," wrote Cook, "is a high round hillock, and N.E. by N., near one mile from this is a small high island or rock with a hole pierced thro' it like the arch of a bridge and this was one reason why I gave the Cape the above name, because Piercy seemed very proper for that of the island." – Wharton, Captain Cook's Journal, p. 163.

176 Whiria (Whitoi – S. Percy Smith) was the original name of the celebrated chief Pomare, whose pa at the junction of the Waikare and Kawakawa Rivers was destroyed by the troops on April 30th, 1845. He took the second name of Pomare after hearing of King Pomare of Tahiti. – S. Percy Smith, Northern Wars, p. 56 footnote; cf. Cowan, New Zealand Wars, Vol. I, pp. 16 and 33.

177 Iriauta – Haere atu, "Be off!"

178 It must be remembered that Marsden regarded Duaterra as the mainstay of the New Zealand mission and, therefore, considered himself justified in threatening extreme measures if by so doing he could save a valuable life. It is certain that a moment's reflection would have sufficed to prevent him from carrying his threats into action.

179 Ruatara died on March 3rd, 1815. His generosity towards the Mission was the more praiseworthy since various enemies of missionary enterprise, during his stay in Sydney, had attempted to poison his mind against Marsden and his agents. – Vide infra, p. 141; cf. H. Jacobs, The Dioceses of New Zealand, pp. 20-21, and H. T. Purchas, The English Church in New Zealand, p. 24.

"I was much concerned," Marsden wrote to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society on October 28th, 1815, "to hear from Mr. Kendall's last communication that Duaterra died about four days after the Active sailed. . . . He was a man of clear comprehension, quick perception, and of sound judgment and a mind void of fear; at the same time he was mild, affable, and pleasing in his manners. His body was strong and robust and promised a long and useful life. At the time of his death he was in the prime and vigour of manhood, extremely active and industrious. I judge his age to be about twenty-eight years. He was seized with a bowel complaint and a stoppage in his breast attended with difficulty of breathing and a high fever, about four days before his dissolution. . . . From the whole of this little history you and the Society will be able to form some idea of the national character of these people. I do not believe that there is in any part of the world, or ever was, a native in a state of nature superior to the inhabitants of New Zealand in mental endowments and bodily strength, nor anywhere people who would in a shorter period render themselves worthy of being numbered with civilized nations, provided they were favoured with the ordinary means of instruction in these civil arts by which men are gradually refined and polished."

180 With regard to this name Mr. Nicholas writes: – -"Mr. Marsden has, I should think, made a mistake with respect to Gunnah's name in calling him Ahoodee O Gunna, which appears to me to be a misnomer, the word "Turee" and not "Ahoodee" being the preceding part, which was usually omitted for the sake of brevity. That young man, who was only a rangateeda (rangitira) is styled king in this deed in anticipation of his succeeding Duaterra (Ruatara) as sovereign of the district during the minority of Tippahee's (Te Pahi) daughter, to whom it belonged. But the land sold by him and his brother to the missionaries was their own independent property and subject in no particular to the existing chief of Rangeehoo (Rangihoua) though within his territory. J, L. Nicholas, Voyage to New Zealand, Vol. II, p. 193.

181 Cf. The Church Missionary Register, August, 1816, and Voyage to New Zealand, J. L. Nicholas, Vol. II, pp. 194-5.

182 Oihi (Houhi).

183 Te Puna.

184 The deed which was forwarded by Mr. Marsden with his journal to the Church Missionary Society in London was on parchment. The native signatures are the tattoo of Te Uri-o-Kanae and part of the tattoo of another New Zealander. This most curious and interesting deed has apparently been long lost; a faithful search instituted by Dr. Hocken failed to discover it.

185 This was probably a Waikato war party, which included Te Rauangaanga (father of Te Wherowhero) then on an invasion of Hauraki; Ngati-Tipa of Manukau were also with them. The Manukau or lower Waikato people, or Ngati-Whatua, sometimes dragged their canoes overland from the head of the Kumeu Stream into the Wai-te-mata, or by way of the Waiuku or Orahuhu portages.

Nearly all the northern expeditions along the east coast were made by water; the canoes usually travelled only by day and all cooking was done on shore.

Vide S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, pp. 30, 31.

186 "I am happy to say I left all the settlers satisfied, and each in his proper station, and I think they will do well," Marsden wrote to the Secretary on June 15th, 1815. "The following number of persons were left at Rangeehoo: – Mr. and Mrs. Kendall, one servant and three boys, Mr. and Mrs. Hall and one boy, Mr. and Mrs. King and two boys (these belonging to the Society); one pair of sawyers and a blacksmith bound for a time; Mrs. Hanson (Hansen) and son remained on their own account (Mr. Hanson, sen., commands the Active). I have since sent over the wives of the smith and one sawyer (the other being a single man) and two children. I also left three runaway convicts with the settlers to assist them till the Active returned, and took three away with me, having met with six at New Zealand. The total number of Europeans at Rangeehoo, including men, women, and children, are 25. . . . I am not much afraid of the settlers doing their duty, being now upon their station, and I feel satisfied with them all."

187 "The chiefs informed me the last night when in conversation with them the Jew's harp was very fine music. It quite charmed them when they were sleepy." Marsden to the Secretary, May 16, 1818.

188 The first New Zealand journal.

189 The Rev. H. T. Purchas remarks with regard to this scheme whereby all traffic with the natives was carried on by the whole community, the profits, being used to defray the expenses of the Mission that it is interesting "as foreshadowing the communism of Selwyn and as being the earliest example of socialism in white New Zealand." – H. T. Purchas, The English Church in New Zealand (Christchurch, Melbourne, London, 1914), pp. 26, 27.

190 The fact that "the settlers were all equal in authority" and that the Mission lacked a definite head caused Marsden's scheme for its conduct to break down in a short time. Kendall, the outstanding man, intellectually, of the party, resented the jurisdiction exercised by Marsden and his own lack of superior authority. His letters to Marsden, accusing his colleagues of various offences, made it plain to his correspondent that all was not well with the New Zealand settlers, and impelled him to undertake the journey of 1819.

# CHAPTER III. MARSDEN'S SECOND NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL



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MARSDEN'S SECOND NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL

Marsden, in the American brig General Gates, left Sydney on 29th July, 1819, and arrived in the Bay of Islands on 12th August. He left New Zealand in the Active on 9th November, and reached Sydney about the middle of that month.[191]

THE following statement contains an account of my second visit to New Zealand: – In the beginning of the year 1819 the Rev. John Butler, Mrs. Butler, and their son, with Mr. and Mrs. Kemp and Mr. Francis Hall, came out as missionaries from England to join the New Zealand mission. At this time the brig Active was gone to New Zealand and it was very uncertain when she would return. Independent of the missionaries there were several mechanics wanted at the Bay of Islands for the erection of the necessary buildings, as well as New Zealand chiefs waiting at Parramatta wishing to return to their friends. As the master of the General Gates,[192] an American brig then in the harbour, intended to proceed to New Zealand, I made an arrangement with him to convey the above missionaries, mechanics, and chiefs to the Bay of Islands. It was now about four years since my first visit and, wishing to see the



TO NEW ZEALAND IN THE GENERAL GATES

state of the mission, I made application to the late Governor Macquarie[193] to accompany the missionaries and obtained his sanction, having left directions for the Active to follow me in order that I might return in her. The number of persons that accompanied me were 22.

On Thursday morning, the 29th July, 1819, we embarked for New Zealand on board the General Gates, an American brig which I had taken up for the purpose of conveying myself, the Rev. Mr. Butler[194] and family, Messrs. Hall[195] and Kemp and Mrs. Kemp,[196] with Tooi (Tuhi) and Teeterree (Titore),[197] one New Zealand woman who has resided for a time with her husband at Parramatta, together with three mechanics and their families. We met Teranghee (Te Rangi), Tooi's brother, about ten miles from the heads of Port Jackson, coming to Parramatta to look for his brother in the Active. The whole on board belonging to the settlement at New Zealand amounted to twenty-two persons – men, women, and children.

We had not been long at sea before most of us were very sick. The first two days were favourable, though the winds were light; afterwards we met with variable winds, and sometimes very strong against us, with a very high sea, so that our passage, as far as concerned the winds and seas, was very rough and unpleasant and distressing to all who were subject to seasickness.



AT THE NORTH CAPE AND CAVALLI ISLANDS

On Tuesday night, the 10th August, about twelve o'clock, the master concluded from his reckoning that we were near the Cape Van Diemen on the southernmost point of the North Cape of New Zealand, and sounded, when he found the water to be 40 fathoms. He immediately stood off from the shore for about two hours when he again stood in for the land, and before the break of day we were close in with it. We had now a moderate fine breeze and the wind fair, and on the return of day to our great joy we had a near view of the North Cape and soon saw the native fires in different parts of the land. We sailed close in shore all along the North Cape.

In a short time we came up with about forty canoes full of people fishing, to some of whom we spake and were informed that they could not have any communication with us as they were tabooed. They were fishing for none but swordfish, with short lines, and all the fish they caught of this kind were tabooed, and could not be disposed of as they were to be preserved for their winter food. We saw a number of their stages on shore which were erected to dry their fish upon. I enquired after the chief and Jem the Otaheitan, and was informed they were on shore. There appeared to be about 250 or 300 natives in the canoes, but as they were tabooed we could not have any particular communication with them.

The wind continued fair and the weather fine till after we had passed the Cape, when, toward evening, it gradually died away so that We made little progress during Wednesday night. Towards noon on Thursday (August 12th) the breeze freshened, and became pretty fair, so that we came opposite to the Cavalle (Cavalli) Islands before sunset, when several canoes visited us, in one of which was the chief O Keeda (Kira) whose son had lived with me twelve months at Parramatta and was gone again in the Active. O Keeda informed us that they were assembling their men to go to war with the people of Wangarooa (Whangaroa), and that Shunghee (Hongi) was to leave the Bay of Islands on Friday morning with his war canoes and warriors to join the people on the main, opposite to the Cavalles. O Keeda requested me to remain on board till we arrived at the Bay of Islands, which request was complied with. The cause of the difference between Shunghee and the people of Wangarooa,



THE CHIEF HONGI

we were informed by O Keeda, was this: – A whale had been driven on the shore belonging to Shunghee, and the people of Wangarooa had taken and eaten it, which was considered as a public theft and for which Shunghee was going to punish them.

On Thursday evening, about twelve o'clock, the General Gates anchored safely off Rangheehoo (Rangihoua) in twelve fathoms, when the natives fired immediately several muskets to welcome our arrival, though midnight. Several of the natives with the pilot came off immediately, but we could not admit them on board till morning and therefore requested them to return on shore and inform the settlers, which they complied with.

At daybreak (August 13th) 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 crowd of natives flocking around us, our hearts were warmed within us and we considered that we had now arrived at the Land of Promise.

About eleven o'clock Shunghee arrived with his war canoes and fighting men on his way to Wangarooa. He received us very cordially as well as all the chiefs who were with him. I told him we had heard of his intention to go to war with the people of Wangarooa, and remonstrated with him upon the folly of carrying on a continual warfare one with another. Several of the subordinate chiefs urged me to speak to Shunghee to give over fighting as they wished to live at peace, and some of them requested me to take Shunghee with me to Parramatta, and that this would tend to promote the general quiet.

I used every argument with Shunghee to dissuade him from fighting; he laughed at me, and said it was very hard for him to comply with my wishes but that he

would not fight while I remained at New Zealand, and would accompany me to Port Jackson if I approved of his going. He would at present suspend his intentions against the people of Wangarooa, but he must go in a few days near that place to remove the bones of his wife's father; but he would not fight, and I might go with him if I chose. I told him I would if I could spare time. Shunghee is a man of the mildest manners and disposition and appears to possess a very superior mind.

Canoes continued to arrive for the greater part of the day at Rangheehoo till the beach was crowded with natives. Early in the morning we began to land our stores, and continued the whole of Friday and Saturday (August 13th and 14th). We had considerable difficulty, from the multitude of natives that covered the shore, to get through them with the stores; they were so eager to see either us or what we brought. They gave us every assistance to carry the stores to the house appointed for their reception, nor did we miss these two days a single article that I know of, excepting a silk pocket handkerchief which was taken out of my pockets. When I missed it I informed Shunghee, and in about ten minutes he brought me my handkerchief again. I made no inquiry who had taken it but left Shunghee to settle that matter. During these two days we landed all our light and many of the heavy stores as the weather was fine.

AT KERIKERI



On Saturday night (August 14th) a heavy gale came on, which drove the boats of the Active and General Gates from their moorings and broke them to pieces. This was an unfortunate accident, as we had only a whaleboat belonging to the General Gates, which was not sufficiently strong to carry our heavy stores on shore.

On Monday morning (August 16th) we resolved to build a punt 24 feet long by 10 for the purpose of landing the heavy stores and for general use. The gale continued on Monday with heavy rain, that nothing could be done. As we were confined to the house this day we deliberated upon the propriety of immediately forming a new settlement where the operations of agriculture could be carried into effect on an extensive scale.

Korro Korro (Korokoro),[198] Tooi's brother, arrived on Monday evening, who is Shunghee's opponent, and commands a large extent of the coast on the south side of the Bay of Islands. The two chiefs were soon acquainted with our intentions of forming a new settlement, and were both equally anxious to have us within their respective jurisdictions. Shunghee said he would give us our choice of all his lands and any quantity we might wish. Korro Korro was ready to do the same. It was agreed upon that we should proceed on Tuesday morning (August 17th) to Kiddee Kiddee (Kerikeri),[199] the district about twelve miles from Rangheehoo, where Shunghee carries on his principal cultivation of sweet and common potatoes. Accordingly after setting the natives to cut the timber for our punt, and giving the necessary directions to the carpenters, myself, the Rev. J. Butler, Messrs. Francis and William Hall set off with Shunghee in his war canoe for Kiddee Kiddee, where we arrived in the afternoon, and proceeded immediately to examine the country.

I had surveyed this part of the land and about fourteen miles to the west of it when I was in New Zealand in 1815, and considered this district the most promising for a new settlement of any I had met with in New Zealand, the soil being rich, the land pretty level, free from timber, easy to work with the plough, and bounded by a fine freshwater river, the communication by water free and open to any part of the Bay of Islands, and safe anchorage for ships of any burden within about two leagues of the settlement. Shunghee told us we were at full liberty to take what land we wanted, on either side of the river, as it was all his own to a very great distance. We determined, therefore, upon forming the principal settlement at this place, as we could not doubt but the rich soil would be grateful for any cultivation we should bestow upon it and return a plentiful produce. We accordingly told Shunghee we should, with his approbation, settle there. Shunghee was much gratified, as well as his people, with our determination.

After walking over the land till towards dusk, we returned to Shunghee's village where we were to sleep for the night. We found a fine sow about 140 pounds weight at the door of our hut, which Shunghee was going to kill for our supper, with plenty of common and sweet potatoes. As we had brought with us a sufficient quantity of provisions we requested Shunghee not to kill the sow, and with some

THE FOUNDING OF THE KERIKERI SETTLEMENT



difficulty we prevailed upon him at that time to spare her life. From the heavy rain the ground was wet, and since we had had some rain on the passage from Rangheehoo, together with walking through the wet fern, our clothes were wet. Those we took off when we entered the hut where we were to remain for the night, and had them dried.

After taking necessary refreshment, and spending the evening in pleasant conversation with Shunghee and his people, who were in the hut with us and about the entrance, we read a chapter, sang an hymn, and, returning our grateful thanks to Almighty God for His kind protection of us and for the safety and comfort we enjoyed in the very midst of cannibals, then laid down in peace to rest till the morning.

The next morning (August 18th) about three o'clock we rose, sang an hymn, and offered up our morning sacrifice of prayer and praise to our great Creator and Preserver, and, after breakfasting at four o'clock, crossed the river in order to examine the land on the opposite banks. Here we were much gratified with a fine clear country for cultivation and of great extent, though the soil in some parts did not appear so rich as the land we had passed over the preceding evening.

On the whole of the survey we had taken we were perfectly satisfied that a more suitable situation cannot be found in any of the adjacent districts to the Bay of Islands. There is a fine fall of water close to the place where we intend the new town to stand for a corn mill, saw mill, or any other purpose, without the expense and risk of making a dam, which is a valuable consideration. At Kiddee Kiddee any quantity of grain, etc., may be grown that the settlement may want for years to come, either for victualling the native children in the schools[200] or Europeans belonging to the mission.

Before our departure we marked out the ground where we wished our public store to be built, and requested Shunghee to put up a temporary building for the accommodation of the stores and the mechanics who had accompanied us from Port Jackson. Shunghee immediately set his people to work.

Having now gratified all our wishes as far as respected the object for which we had visited Kiddee Kiddee, in the evening we returned to Rangheehoo in Shunghee's war canoe, and with much pleasure he accompanied us back again. Korro Korro remained at Rangheehoo with Tooi till we returned in order that he might know what prospect there was of our forming a settlement within his jurisdiction. When we arrived he was anxious to know if we approved of the land we had seen and had come to any determination relative to forming a settlement there. We told him that the land was good at Kiddee Kiddee, and on that account we must form a settlement there. Korro Korro was much affected and said that Shunghee would now cut him and his people off. We replied that Shunghee had promised us he would leave off fighting if we would settle in his district and would reside himself with the Europeans. Korro Korro replied that Shunghee would make fair promises but we could not see into Shunghee's heart. He gave us to understand he would not believe a word he said, however fair he spoke, and recited instances how Shunghee had taken advantage of

KOROKORO IS AGGRIEVED

himself and others in former times, and contended what he had done formerly he was still capable of doing again.

We endeavoured to pacify Korro Korro as well as we could, but in vain. He said he should be perfectly satisfied if the Europeans were fairly divided between him and Shunghee, but it was too great an affliction for him for all the Europeans to reside with Shunghee. He made strong appeals to our feelings and urged his request by every argument he could advance. We all felt much anxiety to relieve his distress. I and Mr. Butler promised to accompany him and Tooi the following day to Parro (Paroa) where he resided and examine his land, and if we found a suitable place for a settlement we would build him and Tooi a house, and one or more Europeans should reside with him at present till more Europeans arrived from England, when his wishes would be complied with as far as we could. This assurance relieved him a little, though not much.

The next day (August 19th) I and Mr. Butler went with him to Parro. He was tolerably quiet on the passage. Tooi had not as yet seen his relatives and friends, and therefore he accompanied us with his brother Teranghee. After we arrived at Parro, Korro Korro brought on the subject again of the settlement on his district where he lived. He told us there was a fine tract of land called Manowowra (Manawara) which he would give us, and which we should see the next morning. We endeavoured to convince him that it was not in our power to form any extensive settlement at present within the limits of his jurisdiction. Korro Korro got extremely angry, told us that he was treated with great ingratitude; that his brother Tooi had been long absent from him and his friends, had gone to England, had brought out the white people with him, and after all he was not to have the advantage of any of them to reside with him; that this was an act of great injustice, and such as we ought not to be guilty of. His brother Teranghee joined him in his remonstrances with us, and at last both of them got warm. Tooi took our part, and endeavoured to convince Korro Korro that we had not the means at present of supplying him with Europeans. He then got extremely angry with Tooi, and Teranghee joined him. Korro Korro told Tooi he might go and live at Rangheehoo, or with Shunghee, or where he liked, for he cared nothing about him, as his request could not be complied with relative to the Europeans. Tooi wept and was much distressed. Mr. Butler and myself felt much pain on both their accounts. Tooi told us privately we must make our principal settlement with Shunghee. He was the most powerful chief and under his protection the missionaries would be safe, and that his brother must wait till we had it in our power to meet his wishes. After a long conversation and strong remonstrances from Korro Korro we retired to rest. Mr. Butler and myself were convinced we could not avoid doing something for Korro Korro. We also pitied Tooi. He was anxious to live a civil life and not to conform to the native habits and dress any more, but he said he could not stand his ground if he had not one or more Europeans to support him. The ridicule of the natives, if alone, would compel him to conform to their dress and to live in their manner, which he was greatly averse to do.



Tooi is a fine man, well informed and well disposed, and has a love to our religion, and will do all in his power to second the views of the Society. His family is of the first respectability, and his brother's influence and authority extend along the coast almost to the River Thames, and that of his friends from the North to the East Cape. We feel much interested in the future welfare of Tooi and must give him all the support possible.

The next morning (August 20th) Korro Korro was more calm, and appeared more reconciled than he had been before. He was very friendly, and expressed his sorrow for the warmth with which he had spoken to us the preceding evening. We assured him that we would assist him all in our power. As we had gone down to Korro Korro's place in the General Gates, where the master intended to fit out for sea again, we remained on board all night. Korro Korro had accompanied us with Tooi from Rangheehoo. As he knew the vessel would anchor off one of his settlements, he had given directions to his people previous to his visit to us that none of them should presume to come to the General Gates till the following day. It was dark when we anchored. We were hailed from the shore by one of Korro Korro's officers, when Teranghee answered and informed the people that Tooi was arrived, and gave directions that messengers should be immediately sent to the different districts to inform the inhabitants of Tooi's arrival.

A party of chiefs had arrived a few days before at Whycaddee from the river Thames, by whom one of Tooi's cousins had been cut off some time before, and they were apprehensive that the father of the young man and Korro Korro would revenge his death. Tooi ordered a messenger to be sent immediately to Whycaddee to inform the chiefs that a general pardon would be granted to them, and that, if they thought proper to come and pay their respects to him, their persons would be safe.

The next morning the vessel was crowded with chiefs and their friends who came to see Tooi; some wept for joy and all welcomed him home. The chiefs from the river Thames met us the next day at Rangheehoo. After breakfast we set off to Manowowra to examine the ground for a settlement accompanied by Korro Korro and many of his people. We found a level piece of good land surrounded by hills, whose soil was generally rich, at the head of a fine harbour. As this was the best situation for timber, water, and good land, we determined upon forming a small settlement here. The harbour abounds with the finest fish, the fresh water is good and safe anchorage for shipping, and a very convenient place for a public school. Korro Korro was much gratified with our choice. Here Tooi intends to reside. We gave directions for materials to be collected immediately for a temporary building for the Europeans, and afterwards returned in the evening to Rangheehoo. The distance is about nine miles between Manowowra and Rangheehoo.

On Friday morning (August 20th) we set all the hands on we could muster for our punt, as we could not land the remainder of the stores till this was completed. We had soon fourteen natives sawing timber, others cutting trees, and all the beach exhibited a scene of happiness and busy civilization. A more grateful sight could not possibly be seen



by a benevolent mind. Our hearts overflowed with joy and gratitude. We viewed the various operations with inexpressible delight, and considered them as the dawn of civil and religious liberty to this land of superstition, darkness, and cruelty. On the following day (August 21st) all our works went on well, and every preparation was made for completing the punt with all possible dispatch, in order that the stores might be landed and the settlements formed at Kiddee Kiddee and Manowowra.

On the Sabbath (August 22nd) we assembled on the beach for public worship, as there was no place for Divine service sufficient to hold the people. We were surrounded with the natives, and a number of chiefs from different districts, and some from the river Thames.

It was very gratifying to our feelings and afforded us a pleasing prospect to be able to perform the worship of the true God in the open air without any sensations of fear or danger when surrounded with cannibals, with their spears stuck in the ground, their pattoo-pattoos and daggers concealed under their mats. We could not doubt but the time was at hand for gathering into the fold of Christ this noble race of men whose temporal and spiritual wants are inconceivably great and call loudly upon the Christian world for relief. Their misery is extreme – the prince of darkness, the god of this world, has full dominion over both their bodies and their souls. Under the influence of darkness and superstition many devote themselves to death, and the chiefs sacrifice their slaves as a satisfaction for the death of any of their friends, so great is the tyranny which Satan exercises over these poor heathens – a tyranny from which nothing but the Gospel can set them free; and we

cannot hope for the Gospel having its full effect, according to the ordinary course of the Divine proceedings, without the united aid of the Christian world. Suitable means must be provided for the civilization and evangelization of the inhabitants of New Zealand, and if this is done there can be little doubt but the important object will be attained.

Monday, August 23rd. – We this day built a shed for the carpenter to work in, and in which Divine service might be performed while we remained at Rangheehoo, The natives continued to saw timber and to render us any service in their power.

Thursday, August 26th. – I went with Tooi, accompanied by Mr. Samuel Butler, to an island called Motoorooa[201] belonging to Korro Korro and where he principally resides. My object was to set the people to work the next day at Manowowra. We arrived about two o'clock and found that Korro Korro was on board the General Gates, about two miles distant. The first object that struck my eye near where we landed was a man's head stuck on a pole upon the summit of a hill close to the shore, and near the hut where we were to sleep for the night. I looked at the head; the face appeared beautifully tattooed or carved. I inquired of Tooi whose head it was. He told me it was the head of a prince near the East Cape who had been killed by Shunghee's people



Shungee's Grant of Land at Keddee Keddee

NOVEMBER 4TH, 1819
Recd June 24/20 Come. July 4/20

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME. GREETING. KNOW YE that I SHUNGHEE HEEKA Chief of the District of Ta Keddee Keddee at the Bay of Islands in the Island of New Zealand In consideration of Forty-eight Falling Axes to me faithfully paid and delivered by The Reverend SAMUEL MARSDEN Clerke for and on behalf of the Church of England Missionary Society HAVE GIVEN AND GRANTED and of my free will and accord by these Presents DO give and grant to the Directors of the said Church of England Missionary Society and their successors for ever All that and those that Parcel of Land now called Pookay Kohay Ta Weedingha Tou etc. situate and lying in the District of Ta Keddee Keddee, and now known by the name of the Society's Plains containing thirteen thousand acres more or less, bounded on the South East by the District of the Chiefs Ta Morengha and Whytaroro, on the South West by the woods Weedingha Tou, Kyketayha Roa and Maungha Paray Dooa and on the North West and North East by the Road from Ta Too Honay to Ta Keddee Keddee With all the Timbers Minerals Waters Rights and Appurtenances to the same belonging TO HOLD to the Directors of the said Church of England Missionary Society and their successors for ever IN FAITH AND TESTIMONY whereof I the said SHUNGHEE HEEKA have to these presents set and subscribed my seal at Ranghee Hou in the Island of New Zealand the fourth day of November in the year of Christ One thousand eight hundred and nineteen.

Sealed and Delivered in Presence of
JOHN BUTLER.
THOMAS KENDALL.

The Signature of Rawha a chief and relation of Shunghee

The Signature of Shunghee Heeka

Shunghee Heeka . . . Hongi Hika.
Ta Keddee Keddee . . . Te Kerikeri (the Te is not usual)
Pookay Kohay . . . Puke Kowhai
Ta Weedingha Tou . . . Te Whiringatau
Ta Morengha . . . Te Morenga
Whytaroro . . . Waiteroro
Kyketayha Roa . . . Kahikatea Roa
Maungha Paray Dooa . . . Maunga Parerua
Ta Too Honay . . . Te Tuhonae
Ranghee Hou . . . Rangihoua
Rawha . . . Rewha
Recd ..... Received by the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society
Come. ..... Placed before the Committee of the Church Missionary Society

[Inserted unpaginated illustration]

FACSIMILE OF DEED OF NOVEMBER 4TH, 1819,
Signed by Rev. John Butler, Rev. Thomas Kendall, Hongi Hika, and Rewha

FACIMILE OF DEED OF NOVEMBER 4TH, 1819.
Signed by Rev. John Butler, Rev. Thomas Kendall, Hongi Hika, and Rewha



and purchased by some of Korro Korro's people. This sight naturally excited sensations of horror in my breast, and caused me to value more and more the blessings of Divine revelation and the protection of civil government. These are blessings that can never be duly estimated by those who enjoy them, as they respect the life that now is as well as that which is to come.

As the afternoon was fine we walked over the island to the opposite side. When we got upon the top of the island, which is very high, we had a full view of Korro Korro's hippah or castle which was situated on top of another island less than two miles distant; a number of natives were at work on this island. I was anxious to visit it, and when we came opposite I hailed for a canoe which was sent. Tooi, Mr. Butler, and myself got into it and crossed over. We were received with much pleasure by the natives. We found Korro Korro's head wife, or queen, hard at work with a little wooden spade[202] digging the ground for potatoes, and Teranghee's wife with several more women and men. They were all much rejoiced with our visit to them. The old queen earnestly requested I would give her a hoe, and endeavoured to convince me how hard it was to turn over the ground with a stick. I promised to comply with her request. After spending about an hour amongst them we returned carrying with us a quantity of fish which they gave us.

The land on this island was rich; part of it was sown with turnips and part was already planted with potatoes. The women turned over the ground with sticks about two feet long and as thick as a broom stick. They wrought hard, but made little progress in cultivation for want of proper tools.

When we had reached the beach Tooi said one of his sisters was coming whom he had not seen since his return, and earnestly requested me to get into the canoe before she arrived as he did not wish to have his first meeting with her there. I begged him to wait for her, as she was hastening down the hill, and not to regard me, but I could not prevail upon him. He leaped into the canoe and urged me to follow him. I delayed till she had reached the beach, when I stepped in. Tooi ordered the canoe to put off, but at that moment his sister sprang into the canoe, weeping aloud, and passed me. She fell on her knees and grasped Tooi's knees; he saluted her, when she gave vent to her feelings in tears and loud lamentations which she continued for about an hour. When we landed on the opposite island she still sat weeping for a long time. Tooi conducted himself with great propriety; he suppressed all



the wild feelings of an uncultivated mind, and yet showed all the soft and tender feelings of nature towards his sister. I could not but view his conduct with admiration, and told him to indulge his affection for his sister without any respect to my being present. I saw he was anxious lest the warmth of his sister's affection, and the strong manner in which she manifested it, should overcome his manly fortitude and cause him to imitate her example as he had done on a former occasion when I first visited New Zealand.

When we landed we found Korro Korro and a number of his people who received us with much kindness. I told him I was come to set the people to clear the land at Manowowra, and to set out the house which it was necessary to build for their accommodation. He received this news with much joy, and said he would accompany me in the morning and give the necessary directions to his people to lend their assistance. When he saw the hoes for breaking up the ground he was much pleased. After conversing upon various subjects we had supper, sang a hymn and committed ourselves to the protection of the Angel of the Everlasting Covenant, and then lay down to rest. A number of the natives lay round about the hut and some within. I slept well till the day returned, being weary with walking when I lay down.

We took our breakfast (August 27th, 1819) and then set off for Manowowra, which lay a few miles distant on the opposite main. On our way we came up with a very large war canoe. I inquired how many men she carried, and was told sixty fighting men with their provisions, etc., when they went out to sea to the River Thames or to the East Cape, and eighty men in smooth water. On examining the canoe I observed in the stern the head of a chief, the features of the face as natural as life, and one of the finest countenances I ever saw. The chief must have been previous to his death about thirty years old. The hair was long and every lock combed straight, and the whole brought up to the crown and tied in a knot and ornamented with feathers according to the custom of the chiefs when in full dress, the hair and countenance both shining with oil with which they had been lately dressed. From the beautiful tattooing of the face, the chief must have been a person of high rank. I inquired whose head it was, and was told that it was the head of a prince who had been killed beyond the River Thames by Shunghee. It is possible that the

death of this prince may be revenged by his children's children if the tribe to which he belongs should ever have strength to retaliate upon Shunghee or his posterity. Hence the foundation is continually laid for new acts of cruelty and blood from generation to generation, as the remembrances of these injuries seem never to be forgotten by them.

I shall here mention an instance of retaliation some of the circumstances of which came within my own knowledge: –

"About fifteen or sixteen years ago a vessel belonging to the house of Campbell and Co. at Port Jackson, called the Venus,[203] was taken by the convicts at Port Dalrymple (Tasmania). When the pirates had possession of the Venus they sailed for New Zealand and touched at the

TE MORENGA AVENGES HIS SISTER



Bay of Islands, from whence they took the sister of a chief named Temmarangha (Te Morenga)[204] and afterwards sold her at an island near the East Cape for some mats. Two of the natives afterwards quarrelled about her, in consequence of which she was killed.

"Some time after some natives arrived from the East Cape at the Bay of Islands and gave information relative to the fate of Temmarangha's sister. Temmarangha's father was alive, and previous to his death caused Temmarangha to swear that he would revenge the death of his sister.

"In 1815 Temmarangha accompanied me to Parramatta, and two years after his return he mustered his tribe and set off to the East Cape to perform the oath which he had sworn to his father. He killed the chief of the island where his sister had been murdered, and brought away his wife a prisoner and gave her to his brother with whom she now lives.

"Mr. Kendall informs me that there is always some either remote or immediate cause that induces the chiefs to go to war, and that it is not for the mere motive of plunder and blood but to obtain satisfaction for some real injury done to them or to their tribe."

In the above canoe I met with Hooratookie (Huru),[205] his two brothers, and uncle, who were all officers under Korro Korro. Hooratookie was the first New Zealander who was introduced into civil society. About twenty-five years ago he had been landed at Norfolk Island with another of his countrymen by some vessel which had touched at New Zealand. The late Governor King had the command at Norfolk Island at the time. He received these two strangers with great kindness; they lived at his table, and received from him every attention. After remaining a considerable time with the Governor the Britannia whaler touched at Norfolk Island, when the Governor agreed with the master to take Hooratookie and his companion to New Zealand, and accompanied them himself to see that they were properly treated and safely landed in their own country. The great kindness of Governor King towards these New Zealanders made the most favourable impression upon all the natives who heard of it, and to the present day they always speak of it with gratitude and pleasure, and make enquiries after Governor King's oldest daughter, whose name is Maria and who was only a few years old when Hooratookie was at Norfolk Island. When he asked me about Maria, I told him she now lived at Parramatta. He said he would go and live with her till he died. Hooratookie was much rejoiced to see me. He left his war canoe, and some of the chiefs with him, and accompanied us to Manowowra.

MAORI SUPERSTITION



On our landing, I selected a small spot of ground to sow a little English flax seed upon, which was immediately cleared and broken up, and afterwards I sowed the seed. I then examined the ground for building upon, and staked out an house about forty feet by thirteen for the workpeople, and in the evening returned to Rangheehoo.

On Saturday (August 28th) all hands were busy either in cutting timber for the intended new buildings or working at the punt.

On the Sabbath (August 29th) Divine worship was performed in the new shed, where we enjoyed the administration of God's Word with little molestation. It was very interesting to see the eager countenances of the natives who surrounded the shed, and to hear them frequently repeat the word as it was delivered though they could not as yet understand it.

After morning service I and the Rev. Mr. Butler visited the native village and conversed with the natives. In walking over the ground near the village I had some conversation with a young woman who lives with a Mr. Hansen, brother-in-law to Mr. King. On asking if her father was alive, she told me he was killed and eaten at the East Cape by Shunghee's people, and that she was a prisoner of war.[206] I was also informed that it had also been determined to kill her since she was brought to Rangheehoo. A few months ago the brother of the present chief at Rangheehoo died. The people believed that he was killed by incantation or charm, as he told them before he died that this was the cause of his death. Towha (Taua?), the son of the late Tippahee, lived with me at the time of this man's death. He had two female slaves which he had left at Rangheehoo. When the chief's brother died, in order to give satisfaction to his departed spirit and to appease his anger, to prevent him coming again and destroying them, these two young women were killed by the relatives of the departed chief. They were both belonging to the school under Mr. Kendall at the time. Another relation of the chief demanded the death of the young woman who lived with Mr. Hansen as a satisfaction on his part, that the spirit of the departed chief might not injure him, and as it was the custom of the country she delivered herself up to be killed. But the chief, before he died, knowing that some would be sacrificed for him, had given directions that she should not be one of them, and on that account her life was spared. When the Active returned to Port Jackson the two young men who had been appointed to kill Towha's female slaves came in her. Towha was with me at the time. Mr. Kendall informed me of the above circumstances, fearing that Towha might be angry with them when he heard of the death of his servants. The young men when they arrived appeared alarmed: I spoke to Towha and told him what had taken place. He was much concerned for the death of his servants, but assured me he should show no anger to the young men who had killed them for he knew better now than to do so; which promise he strictly kept. These incidents will tend to show the superstition and character of these people.

VISITORS FROM HOKIANGA



In passing along the village we stopped to speak to a man and his wife. There were some fowls running on the premises. The man told me they had been bred from some fowls which I had given Terra, the head chief on the south side of the harbour, when I was first there, and that, when Terra died, his wife had taken Terra's nephew for her husband, who succeeded to the authority of his uncle. As this was contrary to the established custom of the natives, for a chief's wife to marry again, a party from Rangheehoo went over to punish her for the violation of their laws and stripped her of what property she possessed.[207] The fowls we then saw were part of the plunder which he had taken at the time.

We then returned from the village and had Divine service in the evening.

On Monday (August 30th) the weather was very stormy: we could do nothing out of doors. After dark, in the evening, I was called out by a chief named Towhee (Tau-hi) who informed me that Shunghee had made an attack upon a village between Wangarooa and the North Cape and had killed six persons, and told me neither to be angry nor afraid. I expressed my concern for what had happened. Towhee said the cause of the difference between Shunghee and those people was the; following: – His wife's father had died some years ago. The people had spoiled his sepulchre, and had taken his bones and made fish hooks of them for the express purpose of cruelly and wantonly sporting with the feelings of Shunghee and his relations, and had put his skull upon a pole to provoke him to revenge. Shunghee told me he was not going to fight when he left Rangheehoo, but only to remove the bones of his father's wife. When he returns we shall learn whether he knew previous to his departure that the sacred tomb in which the bones of his father-in-law were deposited had been spoiled or not.

On Tuesday, the 31st, about sixty men, women, and children arrived at Rangheehoo from a village situated on the banks of the River Shokee Hangha (Hokianga) distant between fifty and sixty miles. This river empties itself into the sea on the west side of the island about 100 miles to the south of Cape Van Diemen. They brought with them a few hogs for sale, and a large quantity of sweet potatoes as presents for their friends and relatives at Rangheehoo, where many of them reside. The complexion of these natives was fairer than any I had seen. They are a very fine race of people.

I told them it was my intention to visit them before I left New Zealand, which gratified them much. The chief wished to know how long it would be before I went, and said he would show me the way and carry me over the intermediate swamps. I promised to visit them in one moon, if I could. He expressed his fears that Shunghee would be offended if I went to Shokee Hangha lest any ship at a future time, when the river and harbour were known, should come to them. I replied that before he came to Rangheehoo I had formed an intention to visit them, and had already mentioned the circumstance to Shunghee,



who approved of my design, and would not be displeased with me or them for my visiting the inhabitants on the banks of the River Shokee Hangha. He expressed his satisfaction that Shunghee approved of my going, and said that he would supply the settlement with pigs and potatoes, when formed at Kiddee Kiddee, as it would be nearer to Shokee Hangha. I gave him a spade, and promised his people some fish hooks when I went to their settlement, which pleased them all.

On Wednesday, September 1st, the Rev. Mr. Butler accompanied me on a visit to the chiefs on the south side of the harbour. We arrived at Corroraddicca (Kororareka), the residence of the late chief Terra, who was at all times a kind and warm friend to Europeans. When I first visited New Zealand Terra wept much for joy, and both he and his wife showed us the greatest kindness. Mr. Kendall informed me that he died last November, and expressed his happiness on his dying bed that no European had ever been killed in his district.

We found his successor at home and who has long been known by the name of King George (Kingi Hori or Te Uru-ti) and Terra's former wife, with several of their people. They were overjoyed to see us. Terra's widow requested me to sit down by her, which I did. She then told me what troubles she had met since I was there, – that, when Terra was alive, they had plenty of hoes, axes, spades, fish-hooks, tokees, pork, sweet and common potatoes, and fowls from those I had given them, and clothing; but that now they were completely destitute. They had not a nail, fish hook, spade, axe, or hoe, and that she had not any clothes but the mat she had on. She wept as she related her misfortunes and spoke in a very feeling manner. She is naturally a kind, tender-hearted woman. Many instances of this I saw when first at New Zealand.

I told her that I had been informed that she had married King George, since Terra's death, which was contrary to the customs of their country, which offence against their laws had furnished her countrymen with a pretence to plunder her of all she possessed at the time of Terra's death. She admitted she had consented to marry King George, but as yet they were not united with the public sanction nor could they be for some time to come. When Terra died she wrapped up his dead body in mats, performed every other necessary service for the dead, and had the body deposited in the ahoodoo pa (uru pa) or sepulchre, in which the dead are laid till their bones are finally removed to the family vaults belonging to their tribe. She showed me where Terra was laid, and said she had his bones to remove before she could be married to King George, which ceremony she would perform in a little time. In consequence of having performed the above services and what she had still to do for Terra's remains, she was polluted and was compelled to eat and live with the common people, and could not enter into King George's house nor have any particular intimacy with him as man and wife; but when Terra's bones were removed she would then be received by King George as his wife and raised from her present low state. She said that what King George possessed at the time of Terra's death had also been taken from him in consequence of taking her for his wife.

King George confirmed what she said, and lamented that he had no pork nor anything to give us for our supper but fern-root; and also



regretted that he had not an English house for us to sleep in. He reminded me how he had been treated when living with me at Parramatta, which favours he could not return, but said we should have the best accommodation he could give us and should sleep with him and one of his wives in his own house.

We spent the evening very pleasantly with these poor heathens. At length King George informed us our lodgings were ready. I went to see where we were to sleep. He had prepared his hut in the best manner, spread new clean mats upon the ground for us to sleep upon, and a clean mat at the entrance. The hut might be about fourteen feet by ten. He had made a fire in the centre, which made it hot like an oven as there was no vent for the smoke or heat but at the entrance, which was very small, so small that I could not creep in without taking my coat off. I requested him to have the fire taken out, as we should not be able to bear the heat, which was done. When all was ready we crept into the hut along with King George, his wife, and nephew, a fine youth named Racow (Rakau) who succeeds King George in his authority should he survive him. Though the fire had been removed the hut was extremely hot. We perspired profusely when we lay down, and requested that the door of the hut might be kept open for a little air, as the hut was naturally, from its construction, as warm as a bee-hive.

The next morning (September 2nd) when we awoke we observed Terra's widow sitting at the outside of the door waiting for our rising. Our berth had been very warm though clean, yet we willingly left it on the return of day and crept out to breathe the morning air.

We ordered Teeterree to prepare our breakfast. While it was getting ready Terra's widow was sitting on a log with two or three females. She requested me to sit down by them, which I did. The conversation turned upon Terra and the former time when I was there. A fine young girl sat by as we conversed together; she burst into a flood of silent tears. They ran in streams down her cheeks upon her mat. She sat, wept, and never spake. Her grief was too excessive. I called the Rev. Mr. Butler to witness the scene. It was more than his feelings could support. He was melted into tears. We then turned to King George, who was sitting with his wife, Racow and Racow's mother, and some others. Mr. Butler inquired if they knew Mowhee (Maui):[208] he did not know at the time he was speaking to Mowhee's relations. The fine youth was Mowhee's first cousin, and his mother Mowhee's mother's sister. When she heard his name she was greatly agitated and wept bitterly, as did also his other relations, and told us that his mother was dead. The account Mr. Butler gave them of Mowhee having been at his house, etc., was very gratifying to them, and they did not know how to express their affection for Mr. Butler.

Racow is a tall, fine, handsome youth as can be seen in any country. His countenance is rather fair, and very noble, open, and placid. I told King George that he must not tattoo Racow – that it would spoil his countenance and disfigure his face. King George laughed at my advice, and said he must be tattooed, that this would give him a noble, masculine,



and warlike appearance. He would not be fit for his successor with a smooth face. The New Zealanders would look upon him merely as a woman if he was not tattooed. Poor Racow has much to suffer before his face is carved like his uncle's, and other parts of his body.

When we had breakfasted on the provisions we had with us we prepared to visit another chief on the opposite side of the harbour, named Tekokee (Te Koki), about five miles distant, not knowing at the time that King George had provided anything for us to eat. When we informed him that we must leave him, he told us his cooks had been providing for us some sweet potatoes and we must not depart till they came. We remonstrated with him for detaining us, but we resolved we should not go till we had partaken of his hospitality. We had every reason to believe that King George had sent a messenger in the night to Pomarree[209] to procure for us some sweet potatoes for our entertainment, as two of Pomarree's daughters arrived very early, and shortly after their arrival we saw King George's servants kindling the fires at a distance. In about half an hour six cooks arrived with a number of baskets of sweet potatoes, ready dressed, for ourselves and people. King George said we must take the whole of them, and what we could not eat we must take in the canoe, which order was complied with. King George expressed his regret that there were no Europeans to reside with him; he said he wanted a carpenter, a smith, and a clergyman. We promised that he should have a European to live with him as soon as we could spare one.

When we left Corroraddica (Kororareka) he accompanied us to the opposite side, where we were very kindly received by the chief and his people who were busy preparing their land for potatoes. The chief's name is Tekokee (Te Koki). He was much rejoiced with our visit, as well as his wife and people. He told me that since I was there he had buried four of his children, and had only one son remaining, and he was gone in the Active on a visit to me. I told him he had arrived safe at Port Jackson and was well, which gave him much satisfaction and his wife. He expressed a very ardent desire to have some Europeans to live with him, and pointed out the situation where a European house would stand to great advantage and be an accommodation to the ships which came into the harbour, as they could easily water on his shore from a stream of fresh water which runs into the cove. We promised to build him an house as soon as we could on the spot he fixed upon.

Tekokee is the chief of the timber district. Much timber will be wanted for the intended buildings, with which it was necessary to acquaint him. We promised him a few tools of agriculture, which he was much in want of, as he had only wooden tools to work with. He was much pleased with our promise and said he would come to Rangheehoo for them.

After staying about two hours we set off for Whytanghee (Waitangi) where Mr. Hall formerly lived. It lay in our way about three miles from Tekokee's. When we landed and the people observed us they ran in all directions to inform the natives of our arrival. They met us with great joy. The head chief's wife was much affected. Her



husband was gone to Parramatta on a visit to me. I told her he was well and would return in the Active, which gave her and the other natives much satisfaction. They earnestly solicited some Europeans to live with them, but were apprehensive from what had happened to Mr. Hall when there that none would come to them.[210] Their land is rich, and the finest fall of water for mills is here that perhaps has ever been seen. We were much gratified with these poor heathens while we remained with them.

In the evening we had a stormy passage to Rangheehoo in a small canoe with six natives to work it. The water was rough and the wind fresh. We were not without our fears till safe on shore at the settlement, where we arrived after dark, highly gratified with our visit to the natives and very thankful for our preservation, having for some time almost despaired of reaching the shore as we had about seven miles to pass through a rough sea, the water frequently over the sides of the canoe.

When we arrived I learned that Shunghee had returned from his expedition. I inquired what he had done in his absence. He informed me he had been told, some time previous to his present voyage towards the North Cape, that the inhabitants not far from Wangarooa had taken the bones of his wife's father from the sacred sepulchre and made fish hooks of them, as already mentioned, but he did not believe the report but went first to examine the sepulchre, where he only found a few ribs and the upper part of the skull, which was broken. The thigh and arm bones, and also the jaw bones, had been all broken and made up into fish hooks. Having satisfied himself of the fact he proceeded to the village where the people lived who had committed the above sacrilege, and went up within gunshot of them in the open day, and informed them that he was come to punish them for spoiling the



sepulchre where his wife's father's bones were deposited and for making his bones into fish hooks. They admitted the charge and the justice of his conduct. Shunghee did not enter the village, but fired upon them and killed five men. When the party who were attacked requested Shunghee to fire no more, that the death of those who were shot was a sufficient atonement for the offence committed, Shunghee answered he was satisfied and the business was decided with the mutual consent of both parties; and Shunghee returned after visiting the people who had taken the dead whale cast upon his shores and breaking the canoe in which they had gone.

Shunghee appealed to me, wishing to know if we did not consider it a high crime to rob the sepulchre of the dead and to offer such indignities to their remains, and if the people whom he had been to punish had not merited their punishment by their crimes. I replied I was sorry that any lives had been taken, and at the same time admitted that it was just to punish such offences; but I was apprehensive that what he had done would excite the other party to revenge the deaths of their friends. Shunghee said they were not able to make war upon him, and therefore would be quiet.

On Saturday (September 4th) Ahoodee O Gunna (Te Uri-o-Kanae), the chief from whom the land had been purchased where the present settlement stands, informed me that Mr. Kendall had insulted him and his brother by turning them out of his house. I assured him that Mr. Kendall had no intention to offend him at the time, as I was there and saw what passed. I was shortly after informed that his brother had gone to Mr. Hall's and stolen two earthen pots. In the afternoon I met Ahoodee O Gunna and his brother and charged them with the theft. Ahoodee O Gunna replied his brother had not stolen them, but had taken them away with an intention to bring on an explanation respecting Mr. Kendall's conduct, as he demanded some compensation for the insult and he should refuse to give up the pots till the compensation was given. I told him Mr. Hall was not to be punished for what Mr. Kendall had done, and that the pots ought to be immediately returned to the owner. Ahoodee O Gunna was willing to give them up, but his brother demanded an axe, not as a favour but as a reward for them. We conceived

that if we complied with this demand it would open a door for future robberies, and therefore told him he might keep the pots for we would not purchase them because they were stolen.

Ahoodee O Gunna was much hurt at his brother's conduct. In the course of the following week they differed seriously. Ahoodee O Gunna, in order to show his disapprobation, set his house on fire and burnt it and left Rangheehoo with a determination to return no more to his brother; he was so much ashamed of the theft after our kindness to him and his wife. A few days afterwards the Rev. Mr. Butler and I were walking through the village and met Ahoodee O Gunna's brother. He told us he had but one pot, which he would give up; the other had been taken by another native and was gone into the country. We pointed out to him the evil of stealing and that it was a crime we could not reward whatever we lost. He sent his son with us with the pot. We gave the boy six fish hooks, who soon returned with them and said



his father would take nothing for the pot. Thus by firmness we gained our point. We are concerned for Ahoodee O Gunna, and shall heal his grief and vexation by some act of kindness the first opportunity.

Our punt not being complete, the master of the General Gates brought up the remaining stores in a large canoe belonging to Korro Korro. The casks being chiefly filled with tools of agriculture, such as hoes, axes, etc., we could not land them without opening and exposing the contents to the natives. A miser never valued gold so much as they do edge tools. These are a temptation they cannot withstand. We now expected to be robbed, more or less, as the natives could not be kept from the canoe nor from the casks when opened. We were obliged to employ some of them to carry the stores to the public store. When about half of them had been landed a report was spread that the natives had stolen some of the axes, billhooks, etc. An immediate stop was put to the natives carrying any of the articles from the canoe, and several of them were charged with theft, which created general tumult and fermentation amongst them. We could not ascertain what they had stolen, but knew that some axes, sickles, etc., were missing. We remonstrated with them for their ungrateful conduct, and told them that we had come there to do them good – that we wanted nothing that they could give us as we had plenty in our own country – and that, as we had no object but to serve them, we could not allow them to rob us of our property. I told them that King George and the gentlemen in England would be ashamed of them when they heard of their thefts, and that I could allow no thief to go in the Active to Parramatta; and if they were there and stole there Governor Macquarie would hang them, and if any of them should come to Port Jackson in any other ship I should then catch them. After a long debate, some recommending the stolen property to be given up, others alleging that it was too valuable to be returned, the honest party prevailed and ran off in different directions for the axes, etc. A number were brought in on Saturday evening and laid down publicly on the beach, where we were assembled to discuss this important subject. Our object was to convince them of the injustice and immorality of their conduct, and to check as much as we could their disposition to steal.

Before we allowed the casks to be opened and the natives to carry the stores, I asked Mr. Kendall publicly if they would not steal them. Mr. Kendall said they would not, for he had never known them steal anything from him. When they were charged with theft, Towha (Taua?), Tippahee's son, who had resided twelve months at Parramatta, reprobated their conduct, told them that they had covered Mr. Kendall with shame, that he had given them a good character for honesty, but their theft proved that he was a liar when he said they were honest. At length they said they would return all they had taken excepting one axe, which was the first stolen, and that the man who had stolen it should be banished from Rangheehoo and not allowed to return again. The thief offered to return his axe, but the others said that if he was allowed to remain he would steal again, and therefore desired him to leave the place and take his stolen axe with him.



The remainder of the stores were safely landed, and the natives promised to return on Monday what property they could not recover on Saturday night, and thus ended the business to our mutual satisfaction.

I spoke to Shunghee upon the heinousness of their crime in stealing the axes. Shunghee said they were not his people, and that it was very wrong to take so many, and observed with a smile that, if they had taken one axe, he should not have thought much of it; which convinced me Shunghee himself could not have withstood the temptation had it lain in his way.

Sunday, September 5th, 1819. – Early this morning arrived King George and Racow, Mowhee's cousin, with their relations, and at the same time Pomarree with part of his tribe. I was walking on the beach when they landed, and told them it was the Sabbath day and on that account we could not do any business with them. They said they could not stop as they had brought no provisions. We ordered them what was necessary, and afterwards performed Divine service in the shed, where the four great men in New Zealand – Shunghee, King George, and Pomarree, with Racow, the young king – attended and many other natives. All behaved with decorum, and we hope the day is not far distant when they will know the joyful sound of the Gospel and have the Lord for their God in the fullest sense.

In the evening we had Divine service; and afterwards the Holy Sacrament was administered in this distant land, the solemnity of which did not fail to excite in our breasts sensations and feelings corresponding with the peculiar situation in which we were. We had retrospect to the period when this Holy Ordinance was first instituted in Jerusalem in the presence of our Lord's disciples, and adverted to the peculiar circumstances under which it was now administered at the very ends of the earth where a single ray of Divine revelation had never till now dawned upon the inhabitants.

Monday, September 6th. – This morning the greatest part of the articles stolen on Saturday were returned. We expressed our approbation of their conduct in attending to our remonstrances, recommending them to act honestly in future, and rewarded such as had given us information of thefts or exerted their influence to obtain the stolen property. A good understanding was soon established again between us and the natives, and they joined their respective work as before – to saw timber, etc.

Pomarree paid us an early visit with King George. He told me he was very angry that I had not brought a blacksmith for him; that when he heard there was no blacksmith for him he sat down and wept much, and also his wives. I assured him he should have one as soon as one could be got for him. He replied it would be of no use to him to send a blacksmith when he was dead; that he was at present in the greatest distress. His wooden spades were all broke and he had not an axe to make any more. His canoes were all broke, and he had not a nail or gimlet to mend them with. His potato grounds were uncultivated, and he had not a hoe to break them up with, nor a tool to employ his people; and for want of cultivation he and his people would have nothing to eat. He begged me to compare the land of Tippoonah (Te



Puna) with his, which belonged to the inhabitants of Rangheehoo and Shunghee, observing that their land was already prepared for planting because there was a

smith there and they could get hoes, etc. I endeavoured to pacify his mind with promises, but he paid little attention to what I said with respect to sending a smith at a future period. He was so angry with me for not giving him a blacksmith that he had taken twenty-five hogs to the brig General Gates and had brought none for us. I endeavoured to direct his mind from his disappointment in receiving no smith and asked him if he should wish to go to England. I asked the question merely to turn his mind from former conversation. Pomarree replied he should not, and observed he was a little man when at Port Jackson and should be less in England; but in his own country he was a great king. We then promised him a few hoes, etc., which operated like a cordial on his wounded mind. He begged hard for three hoes, one axe, a few nails, and a gimlet. I told him he should have them. The Rev. Mr. Butler, when he accompanied me to Corroraddica (Kororareka), had seen the distress King George was in for want of a few tools, and told us if he did not get an axe he would hang himself. We therefore agreed to give these chiefs fifteen hoes, two spades, two axes, four gimlets, a few nails, twelve combs, two looking glasses, two plane-irons, and nearly one hundred fish-hooks. They received this present with the greatest joy and gratitude, and returned to their own districts as happy as kings with the spoils of war.

Tuesday, September 7th. – The Rev. Mr. Butler and Mr. Francis Hall accompanied me to Tippoonah (Te Puna), a native settlement about two miles distant from the residence of the Europeans (Rangihoua). The land there is chiefly planted with sweet potatoes, which constitute the choicest food of the natives; the soil is generally rich and light and well adapted for the growth of this root. The principal inhabitants of Rangheehoo have their sweet potato gardens here. We found numbers of them at work in their respective allotments, some with spades and hoes, which they had received from us, and others with wooden spades with long handles to them, the mouth made about the same size as an English spade; and such as had got neither spade nor hoe turned up the ground with small spatulas about three feet long. The wooden spades and spatulas can only be used where the land is light and has been previously turned up. They have another wooden tool about seven feet long, pointed like a hedge stake, and a piece of wood lashed on about two feet from the ground to place the foot upon to aid in thrusting the instrument into the ground. They call the tool koko. With their hands they pull up all the weeds, and then cover them over with the spatula or wooden spade as they proceed in digging.

They were overjoyed to see us, and their universal cry was for hoes and spades. We regretted much that it was not in our power to gratify all their laudable wishes. We saw with pain the hard toil they endured and the little progress they made in cultivation with their rude instruments, and were convinced by ocular demonstration that the earth can never be subdued and made to bring forth its increase to reward the sweat and toil of man without iron, and that this valuable article is the only thing in the creation that can relieve the temporal miseries of this people.



In passing over these potato grounds we were informed Shunghee had an extensive allotment and was in his garden. We went to visit him, and found him in the midst of his people who were all at work preparing the land for planting. Shunghee received us with great politeness. I observed his head wife at work with a spatula, and her little daughter between four and five years old sitting on the bed which her mother was digging. I knew the age of this little girl, for she was born at Shunghee's hippah about thirty miles from Rangheehoo the very night I slept there when first at New Zealand. Shunghee's wife[211] reminded me of this circumstance, and said she had called the child Marsden from my being with them at the birth.

This woman is about thirty-five years old, and is quite blind. She lost her sight from an inflammation in her eyes about three years ago. She appeared to dig the ground as fast as those who had their sight and as well. She first pulled up the weeds with her hands as she went on, then set her feet upon them that she might know where they were, afterwards dug up the ground, and covered the weeds with the mould with her hands. I told her if she would give me the kahedu (kaheru) or spatula we would give her a hoe. The offer was immediately accepted with joy, and her daughter was sent immediately with the spatula along with the Rev. Mr. Butler for the promised hoe.[212]

When we viewed the head wife of one of the greatest chiefs in New Zealand – a man possessed of a very large and extensive territory of rich land, and one whose name as a soldier strikes terror into all the inhabitants from the North to the East Cape – labouring hard, though completely blind, with a wooden spade, to gain a scanty subsistence upon potatoes, this sight naturally excited in our breasts new sensations and reflections which created both pleasure and pain, and kindled within us the best feelings of the human heart. We most ardently wished that the Christian World could see this sight with all the surrounding scene. The means would then soon be raised to furnish every blind-woman, whether of high or low rank, who are willing to labour for their bread, with a hoe or spade, as well as to afford general relief to all that are in distress for these necessary instruments.

We have found in every district we have visited the body of the inhabitants industrious as far as their means extended; but their industry is universally checked for want of tools of agriculture. We need adduce no other proof of their habits of industry than the above. If a woman of the first rank and, at the same time, blind, can, from habit, labour in the field with her servants and children, what will not these people rise



to if they can procure the means of improving their country and bettering their situation. Their temporal situation must be improved by agriculture and the simple arts in order to lay a permanent foundation for the introduction of Christianity. It may be reasonably expected that their moral and religious advancement will keep pace with the increase of their temporal comforts. They are at present naked and hungry, and if we should say unto them: "Be ye warmed and filled" notwithstanding we give them not those things that be needful for the body, what doth it profit? I am sure the bowels of the Christian World would yearn over their temporal and spiritual miseries was it possible to make them known. Our God and Saviour Who is "loving unto every man, and Whose tender mercies are over all His works" (Psalm cxlv, 9) is now, blessed be His name, moving the hearts of His Church and people to send relief to the poor heathens, even to the very ends of the earth, which must cause the hearts of all who wish well to Zion to rejoice.

Wednesday, September 8th. – Early this morning several canoes left Rangheehoo for Wangarooa in consequence of some information that arrived in the night from the people who had been attacked by Shunghee. A number of our sawyers, we found, were gone with them. The report is that the natives in these districts are going to muster their tribes and demand satisfaction from Shunghee for the men he shot in his late attack upon the village. Shunghee has a hippah in the harbour (the Bay of Islands) about two miles from Rangheehoo which he is fortifying and preparing for the enemy. As they have no regular established government, all the crimes apparently are punished either by an appeal to the sword or by plundering the offender of his little property and laying waste his potato grounds.

Thursday, September 9th. – Last evening Tooi and his brother Teranghee (Te Rangi) paid us a visit. Tooi informed us that his brother Korro Korro wished him to be tattooed. We told him that it was a very foolish and ridiculous custom, and as he had seen so much of civil life he should now lay aside the barbarous customs of his country and adopt those of civilized nations. Tooi replied that he wished to do so himself, but his brother urged him to be tattooed as he could not support his rank and character as a gentleman amongst his countrymen unless he was tattooed; without this mark of distinction they would consider him timid and effeminate. At the same time he promised he would not be tattooed unless compelled by his friends.

I understand that in time of war great honour is paid to the head of a warrior if he is properly tattooed when killed in battle. His head is taken to the conqueror and preserved as the spoils of war, with respect, as a standard when taken from a regiment is respected by the victor. It is gratifying to the vanquished to know that the heads of their chiefs are preserved by the enemy, for, when the conqueror wishes to make peace, he takes the heads of the chiefs along with him and exhibits them to their tribe. If the tribe are desirous to put an end to the contest, at the sight of the heads of their chiefs they cry aloud and all hostilities terminate. This is the signal that the conqueror will grant them any terms they may require. If the tribe do not cry at the sight of the heads of their chiefs, they are determined to renew the contest and to risk the



issue of another battle. The head of a chief may be considered as the standard of the tribe to which he belonged and the signal of peace or war.

If the conqueror never intends to make peace, he will dispose of the heads of those chiefs whom he kills in battle to ships or any persons who will buy them. Sometimes they are purchased by the friends of the vanquished from the conqueror and returned to their surviving relations, who hold them in the highest veneration and indulge their natural feelings by reviewing them and weeping over them.

When a chief is killed in a regular battle the victors call aloud, "Throw us the man!" as soon as he falls – if he falls within the lines of his party. If the party whose chief is dead are intimidated, they immediately comply with the demand. As soon as the victim is received, his head is immediately cut off and a proclamation issued for all the chiefs to attend who belong to the victorious party to assist in performing the accustomed religious ceremony in order to ascertain by auguration whether their god will prosper them in the present battle. If the priest, after the performance of the ceremony, says their god is propitious, this assurance inspires them with fresh courage to attack the enemy. If the priest returns an answer that their god will not be propitious, they will then quit the field of battle in sullen silence. The head already taken is preserved for the chief on whose account the war was undertaken as a satisfaction for the injury he had received, or some of his tribe, from the enemy.

When the war is over, and the head properly cured, it is sent round to all the chief's friends as a gratification to them and to show them that justice has been obtained from the offending party.

With respect to the dead body of the chief, this is cut up into small portions and dressed for those who were in the battle under the immediate direction of the chief who retains the head. If he wishes to gratify any of his friends who were not present small portions are reserved for them, on the receipt of which they give thanks to their god for the victory obtained over the enemy. If the flesh should be so putrid, from the length of time before it is received, that it cannot be eaten, a substitute is eaten in lieu.

They not only eat the flesh of the chief but are wont to take the bones and distribute them amongst their friends, who make whistles of some of them and fish hooks of others. These they value and preserve with care as memorials of the death of their enemies.

It is also customary with them for a man when he kills another in battle to taste the blood of the slain. He imagines he shall then be safe from the wrath of the god of him who is fallen, believing that from the moment he tastes the blood of the man he has killed the dead man becomes a part of himself and places him under the protection of the atua, or god, of the departed spirit.

On one occasion, Mr. Kendall informed me, Shunghee ate the left eye of a great chief whom he killed in battle at Shokee Hangha (Hokianga). The New Zealanders believe that the left eye, some time after death, ascends to the heavens and becomes a star in the firmament. Shunghee ate the chief's left eye from present revenge and the idea of increasing his own future glory and brightness after death, when his own left eye should become a star.



From all that I have been able to learn, relative to the New Zealanders eating human flesh, this custom appears to have its origin in religious superstition. I could hear of no instance of any man ever being killed merely to gratify the appetite; nor of any killed for the purpose of selling their heads to the Europeans or other nations. The heads which are cured and sold are those of the slain in war which are not intended to be returned to their friends. At the same time I am of opinion that it is not safe or prudent for masters of vessels, or any of the crews, to purchase heads from the natives; for if a tribe knew that the head of their chief was on board any vessel it is more than probable they would make an attempt upon the vessel in order to obtain the head, from the high veneration and esteem in which they hold these relics of their departed leaders.

Sunday, September 12th. – Divine service was performed this morning upon the beach, in the shed, when some chiefs from distant districts attended. We met with no molestation from the natives. They behaved with decorum, and we trust they will ere long esteem this day above all other days and become true worshippers of the only true and living God. Then shall this heathen land in every sense "bring forth its increase and God will give them His blessing."

This morning (September 13th) Ahoodee O Gunna came to take his leave of us; he had been upon the spot where his house stood before he burnt it to weep with his friends. He had cut and lacerated his face, arms, and other parts of his body very much to express his grief according to their custom, and his friends had followed his example. We gave him a spade, hoe, axe, gimlet, looking glass, file, and two knives – one for himself and one for his wife. These presents contributed to heal his distressed mind. He told me he should never return to Rangheehoo but would take up his residence with his relation Tekokee, and pressed me much to send a European to live at Cowa Cowa (Kawakawa) with him and his friends. I promised his wishes should be granted as soon as we could. Whenever he turned his eyes upon his presents of tools his joy was visible in his countenance and appeared to swallow up all his late sorrows.

Ahoodee O Gunna is much attached to the Europeans, and was very serviceable when I first visited New Zealand.

We had also a number of chiefs to visit us to-day from different districts, some arriving last night and others this morning. Their object was to obtain a hoe or spade; some had come more than twenty miles. They urged their distresses with every argument in their power. We distributed about three dozen hoes amongst them and a few other tools, and regretted much that it was not in our power to give them 300, which number would only be like a drop in the bucket. They danced for joy when they were presented with these tools. A number of them will immediately be at work with those hoes, which will greatly increase the quantity of corn and potatoes the next season, as this is the Spring and the proper time for planting both, by which means their comforts will be increased and the settlers more abundantly supplied with pork, corn, and potatoes.

As the comforts of the native inhabitants increase so will their civilization be proportionately improved. All they seem to want is the means of procuring the comforts of civil life. They neither want industry nor natural ability of mind nor strength of body. All these they possess, perhaps, in a superior degree to any other barbarous nation upon earth. And as their climate and soil are both favourable for all the purposes of agriculture, they no doubt will make a very rapid progress in the attainment of the necessary comforts of civil life.

We this evening had the pleasure to launch our flat-bottomed boat, in the presence of the joyful natives, which is estimated to carry twenty tons. It is the first vessel ever built upon the northern island of New Zealand. We may view it merely like a grain of mustard seed if we anticipate the naval power and strength which the country is capable of attaining from the energy of its native inhabitants – their bold and enterprising spirit – with their harbours, rivers, and naval stores.

It was impossible to prevent the human mind from contemplating with secret pleasure on viewing the launching of this little bark into the bosom of the great deep, the infinite blessings the Christian world would impart to this nation by the introduction of the arts of civilization and the Gospel. It is not possible for persons in civil life to conceive the wants of those who are in a state of nature; nor can they estimate the blessings they themselves enjoy when compared with the miseries of a barbarous state.

This morning (September 14th) I met Korro Korro at Rangheehoo. He informed me he had been spending the night with Shunghee at Tippoonah. Knowing the jealousy that existed between these two chiefs, I wished to know what was the nature of his visit to Shunghee. He said he went to arrange some public matters with Shunghee previous to his own departure for the River Thames, where he was going on an embassy of peace, and intended to take the greatest part of the men of his tribe with him. He was apprehensive Shunghee might take advantage of his absence and attack his people whom he left behind unless Shunghee and he came to a good understanding before he went. I inquired if Shunghee and he had settled their differences to their mutual satisfaction. He replied they had, and that Shunghee had engaged not to molest his people during the period he was from home, which he expected would be about four months.

The object of his present visit to the River Thames was to make peace between some of the chiefs there and his uncle Kaipo.[213] Some months ago the son of Kaipo was poisoned, or supposed to be so, by some of the chiefs at the River Thames where he was on a visit. For this real or supposed offence Kaipo wanted satisfaction, and Korro Korro was going with all his fighting men, with his uncle, to settle this business, not with a view to fight but to bring the offending party to some honourable terms of settlement according to their customs.

Korro Korro is a very brave and sensible man. I have seen no chief who has his people under such subjection and good order as himself. Yet he is tired of war; he wishes there were no fighting at New Zealand, and we have reason to believe he will prevent war as much as he can.



After conversing with Korro Korro I set off for Kiddee Kiddee with our new boat full of scantling boards for the new settlement, accompanied by Mr. William Hall, the three carpenters, and Mr. Samuel Butler.[214] We arrived in the evening in the midst of a crowd of joyful natives, who immediately discharged the boat and conveyed the timber to the spot where we intended to erect the public store, smith's shop, etc. We set the natives to work to clear away the brushwood and clear the ground, when we marked out three buildings – the public store (sixty feet), the smith's house (thirty feet), and shop (twenty feet long by fourteen feet wide). The Rev. Mr. Butler could not attend us, being confined to his bed from a fit of the gout from a cold caught in consequence of having to sit for some hours in his own wet clothes when we were visiting some districts. After the boat was discharged and the ground marked out, I left Mr. Hall and the carpenters to begin the buildings, and returned with Mr. Samuel Butler in the boat to Rangheehoo where we arrived near eleven o'clock that night. The boat will prove of the most essential service to the settlement from the burden of timber, lime, and stores which she carries.

Wednesday, September 15th. – This morning I met some of the people who had returned from Wangarooa, and inquired how they had settled the difference relative to Shunghee having shot some of the people in his late attack on the village on account of his wife's father's bones. They informed me there had been a very large meeting of natives from different parts and several hundreds from the North Cape. The object of their meeting was to mourn and weep with Topira (Toupiro), the chief of Wangarooa, and to comfort him for the loss of his people. One of the chiefs from Rangheehoo informed me Topira wished me to go to Wangarooa and see him. If I could not go he would come to Rangheehoo before I returned to Port Jackson. He wished to obtain a hoe, spade, adze, and a few fish-hooks. Topira is considered as a very mild, sensible man, and much averse to war, and is greatly respected by his countrymen as well as by the settlers.

It is not intended to call upon Shunghee for satisfaction for his attack upon the village, the inhabitants having given the first offence by spoiling the sepulchres of the bones of his wife's father, as already mentioned.

In walking through the village of Rangheehoo this morning I observed the chief Towhee tattooing the son of the great Tippahee on the seat and upper part of the thigh. The operation was very painful. It was performed with a small chisel made of the wing bone of a pigeon or wild fowl. The instrument (the uhi) was about one quarter of an inch broad. It was fixed upon a little handle four inches long so as to form an acute angle at the head, something like a little pick with one end. With this chisel he cut all the straight and spiral lines by striking the head with a stick about one foot long, in the same manner as a farrier opens the vein of a horse with the fleam. One end of this stick was cut flat like a knife, to scrape off the blood as it gushed from the cuts. The chisel seemed to pass through the skin at every stroke and cut it as a carver cuts a piece of wood. The chisel was constantly dipped in a



liquid made of soot from a particular tree,[215] and afterwards mixed with water, which communicates the blackness or, as they call it, the amoko (moko). I observed proud flesh rising in some part of the breech which had been cut almost one month before. The operation is too painful to bear the whole tattooing at one time. They appear to be several years before they are perfectly tattooed.

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. I requested Mr. Kendall to accompany me to the hut in order that I might ascertain the cause of the death of these chiefs and from whence they had been brought. On making my inquiries of the people I received the following account: – Some years ago a vessel from Port Jackson called the Venus, which has been already mentioned, touched at the Bay of Islands, from which the crew took a woman belonging to Shunghee's tribe and afterwards landed her at or near the East Cape on the mainland. After Temmarangha had heard of the fate of his sister, who was taken at the same time, he sent spies towards the East Cape to ascertain the particulars and the situation of the people who had killed her. Temmarangha's spies travelled as traders all along the coast. When they returned they brought information of what had become of those two women: one had been killed and eaten on an island and the other on the mainland at a greater distance.

Temmarangha set off to revenge the death of his sister, as already stated, and Shunghee followed when he was ready.[216] They both returned, without meeting, after

taking vengeance on the respective people who had committed the above murders. The heads I saw were the heads of four chiefs whom Shunghee had killed in battle. He also brought with him two chiefs as prisoners and many more heads. Mr. Kendall tells me Shunghee was eleven months on his voyage, and returned eight months ago with about 300 prisoners of war which were shared between him and his subordinate chiefs.

I could not but reflect with pain and grief and shame upon the crimes of my countrymen who, by their wanton atrocities, spread war, misery, and death even amongst the poor heathen nations who



have never done them the smallest injury. What an amazing day that will be when God shall bring to light the hidden things of darkness.

Almost sixteen years now have elapsed since the Venus was pirated at Port Dalrymple, and, in consequence of that piracy and the crimes afterwards committed by the pirates, the heads of the fathers of families and leaders of tribes are this day exhibited in the town of Rangheehoo, and their wives, children, and servants either slain or delivered over to captivity.

Previous to closing this day's observations I accidentally met with Shunghee and Temmarangha. Wishing to know every particular relative to their late expedition towards the East Cape, I requested them to accompany me to Mr. Kendall that I might, with his assistance, examine them very minutely. After a conversation of nearly two hours, I collected the following particulars relative to their expedition and customs: – Temmarangha went mostly to revenge the death of his sister, as already mentioned. He took with him 400 fighting men and, after attaining his object, he returned with a few prisoners of war. He went on his expedition previous to Shunghee, but they never met on any part of the coast.

Shunghee had two objects in view – the one was 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 Houpah's party (Te Haupa),[217] a chief at the River Thames, to revenge three murders I which had been committed on their tribe several years before.[218] Houpah had long solicited Shunghee to aid him to punish the tribe who had cut off his people.

Shunghee left the Bay of Islands on the 7th of February, 1818, with his fighting men to join Houpah at the River Thames. When they sailed from the River Thames their forces amounted to 800 men.

On their arrival at the districts where they intended to make war, such of the natives as were able fled into the interior, leaving their habitations. Shunghee says they burnt 500 villages. The inhabitants are very numerous on the coast between the River Thames and the East Cape. Many of them were taken by surprise and had not time to muster, and therefore were compelled to fly for safety to the country as Shunghee advanced. A number of chiefs were killed, either by surprise or in defending their towns and people, and many of their heads brought away by the conquering party. The settlers informed me that about seventy heads arrived at Rangheehoo in one canoe. They also took 2,000 prisoners of war, which they brought back with them as their spoils, consisting of men, women, and children. These prisoners were shared amongst the chiefs and their officers and made slaves of.

I was anxious to know whether or not they eat those slain in battle, and therefore requested Shunghee and Temmarangha to inform me how they acted in the field, when the enemy met them, and also if they eat their enemies when killed. In answer to my request they gave me the following account: – They said that when a chief of the enemy's



party is killed his body is immediately demanded by the assailants, and, if the party attacked are intimidated, it is immediately delivered up. If the chief is a married man his wife is then called for, and she is also delivered into the hands of the enemy. She is taken along with the dead body of her husband and killed. If she loved her husband she voluntarily resigns herself up and her children, and desires the victors to do to her and her children as they had done to her husband. If the party refuse to give up the chief's wife, they are immediately attacked by the enemy who will not give up the contest till they obtain her, unless overpowered.

When they have got possession of a chief and his wife, after the woman is killed, their bodies are placed in order before the chiefs. The areekee (ariki), or high priest, then calls out to the chiefs to dress him the body of the man for his god. The priestess, who is also an areekee (ariki), then gives the command to the wives of the chiefs to dress the woman for her god. The bodies are then placed on the fires and roasted by the chiefs and their wives, none of the common people being allowed to touch them as they are tabooed.

When the bodies are dressed, the areekees take each a piece of the flesh in a small basket, which they hang upon two sticks stuck into the ground, as food for their god, to whom they are going to offer up their prayers and to consult relative to the present contest in order that their god may partake first of the sacrifices.

While these ceremonies are performing all the chiefs sit in profound silence in a circle round the dead bodies with their faces covered with their hands or mats, as they are not permitted to look on these holy mysteries during the time the areekees are praying and picking small pieces of the flesh from their sacrifices, which they eat at the same time. These consecrated bodies are only to be eaten by the areekees. When all the sacred services are completed, the areekees return the answer of their gods to their prayers and offerings. If their prayers and offerings are accepted the battle is immediately renewed, as was formerly mentioned, and all in common feed upon the after slain. They eat the slain, not so much as an object of food but as a mental gratification and to display publicly to the enemy their bitter revenge.

Wishing to know if the areekees prayed secretly to their gods at the time of performing the above sacred ceremonies, I asked them the question; to which they replied, No, but publicly, and with an audible voice, that all might hear what was prayed for, unless the areekees disapproved of their proceedings. In that case their prayers were not heard.

The New Zealanders are not only afraid of being killed in battle if they enter upon war without the permission of their god, but they are also afraid of spiritual consequences: that they will either afterwards be killed by the anger of their own god or the enemy's. They fully believe that a priest has power to take away their lives by incantation or charm, and attribute many of their deaths to this cause.

I may observe here that I never discovered that the New Zealanders offered up human sacrifices to their gods upon any occasion before Shunghee and Temmarangha made the above statement. I am now satisfied they do perform these cruel rites.

After we had ended our conversation, I was walking on the beach when I was met by a young woman of a very interesting countenance and address. She asked me to give her a hoe. I inquired who she was and from whence she came. She told me she was a prisoner of war, and had been taken between the East Cape and the River Thames by Shunghee's party and brought to Rangheehoo, and that her aunt's name was Heena (Hine-mati-oro)[219] and a great queen. I have often heard the natives when at Parramatta speak of this woman as possessing a large territory and numerous subjects. Mr. Kendall has occasionally mentioned her in his correspondence with me. This young woman informed me Shunghee attacked their settlement by surprise. She was taken prisoner in the town: her father, mother, and seven sisters escaped into the country. None of them were killed. The cause of the attack being made upon them was that her forefathers had formerly killed three persons belonging to Houpah's tribe at the River Thames and they came to revenge their deaths. This account confirmed what Shunghee had just stated.

While she was stating these circumstances the young man was standing by who had taken her in the attack upon the town, and she was part of his spoil. I observed that when the Active returned I might visit, if I had time, the place she came from. The young man said if she went in the Active he would go too, and would allow her to see the place but not to land as she would run away.

Thursday, September 16th. – In consequence of many of the principal inhabitants of Rangheehoo having never been able to obtain either an axe or a hoe since the settlement was formed, we resolved to make a few presents of these articles as far as our means would allow this morning, and for that purpose we requested the settlers to give us the names of those persons whom they knew to be the most needy and deserving. Our intention was soon known in the village, when the natives in great numbers collected about the public school which at present contains our stores. When the list was completed I went to deliver the presents, assisted by Mr. Francis Hall and Mr. Kendall, the Rev. Mr. Butler being confined to the house by sickness. The crowd was so great that I could not get into the school for some time. I told them I should be obliged to return if they would not make a way for me through the crowd. At length I got in. The schoolyard was as full of men and women calling out for an axe or a hoe as a sheep-pen. When no more natives could get in they got upon the roofs of the school and outhouses. After distributing twenty-three hoes and thirty-seven axes, I was obliged to steal away through a back door, as we had not the means to meet all their urgent wants, in order to avoid the painful importunities of those whom we could not relieve. No hungry beggars ever craved more earnestly for a morsel of bread than those poor needy heathens did for an axe or a hoe. Nothing could exceed the gratification of those who were so fortunate as to obtain one. Though many hundreds of axes and hoes and thousands of tokees have been distributed amongst these distressed people since the formation of the settlement, yet all that



have been received hitherto is only like a single passing shower falling upon some favoured spot in a barren and thirsty land. Many years must roll away before every native in this country is worth an axe or a hoe, notwithstanding the readiness of the Christian world to contribute to their relief.

Friday, September 17th. – I remained the principal part of this day in the house in order to avoid the importunities of those natives to whom we had not the means of giving an axe or a hoe. It was not possible to walk without being surrounded by them on all sides, some urging their request with savage rudeness and others with pleasing civility. Their universal cry is: "Give me a hoe, axe, or spade." In order to move compassion they will show their hands, and represent how sore their fingers are with scratching out the earth in opening the water furrows through the potato grounds. It is exceeding painful to refuse any of their requests, for their wants are real and their toil and sufferings great, in consequence of their not being able to procure those necessary implements of agriculture. When we consider that all their country produces which they can convert into any kind of tools is wood and shells alone, we cannot wonder at their distress. With stone axes they cut all their timber for making their huts, fencing in their potato grounds, forming their wooden spades and spatulas, and making their canoes. Hence it is totally out of their power to build permanent or even comfortable huts or to make fences, etc., for want of iron. Little can be done in cultivation for the same reason.

I believe there is ten times more land in cultivation at the present time in the districts round the Bay of Islands than there was in 1814, when the missionary settlement was first formed. This improvement in cultivation is wholly owing to the tools of agriculture which have been sent out from time to time by the Church Missionary Society.

The mortality amongst the natives was very great the first winter after the settlement was formed, for want of food. It is gratifying to say there have been for the last two years very few deaths amongst the natives in the above districts, which is to be attributed, under the Divine Providence, to the extensive cultivation, by which means the natives have been more abundantly supplied with provisions. Cultivation and the temporal comforts of the natives will most certainly keep pace with the means afforded for improving the agriculture of the country. Hoes and spades are the tools that will be principally wanted till the country is supplied with cattle and the plough is set to work. Cattle can easily be supplied from New South Wales, and, in a short time, the plough may be employed in cultivation, as the land is generally clear from timber, excepting small brushwood and fern, which can with little trouble be cut down and burnt off.

Saturday, September 18th. – The weather has been very stormy to-day, the wind easterly with heavy rain, so that we were not able to leave the house.

Sunday, September 19th. – In consequence of the wet we had Divine service both morning and evening in Mr. Hall's house.

Monday, September 20th. – This morning the gale abated. We began early to load the punt with boards and scantling for Kiddee Kiddee



for erecting the house there. We hope to get one or more buildings up this week for the present accommodation of the carpenters, etc. A number of natives arrived at a very early hour from remote districts, some twenty and others fifty miles distant. They were ready to tear us to pieces for hoes and axes. One of them said his heart would burst if he did not get a hoe. We are wearied with their importunities and exceedingly distressed that our means are so small that it is totally out of our power to meet their wants at the present time.

I told many of them this morning that I had written to England for a great number, and, as soon as the ship arrived, they should have some given them. They replied that many of them would be in their graves before the ship could come from England, and the hoes and axes would be of no advantage to them when dead. They wanted them now. They had no tools at present but wooden ones to work their potato grounds with, and requested we would relieve their present distress. It is exceeding difficult, nay, I may add impossible, to convince them by any argument that we have it not in our power to comply with their wishes. It would take 5,000 hoes and axes at the present period to meet the demand, and it is more than probable that when that number is distributed it would take as many more. The natives are so poor at present that they have no means to purchase a hoe or axe if we had them to dispose of, but when we can obtain these tools in sufficient quantities for general culture the produce of their labour will soon furnish the means to procure these necessary articles.

In the evening I walked over to Tippoonah (Te Puna), accompanied by Messrs. Kendall and Hall, to see what progress the natives were making in preparing their potato grounds for planting. We found more than one hundred in the field, men and women, and most of them at work – some with the hoes and spades they had

received from the missionary stores and others with wooden tools. Very considerable portions of land were cleared and broke up in different places and ready for planting since our last visit. Shunghee has built a small village here, on the ground which he is cultivating, for the accommodation of his workpeople. We visited his village. He was gone to Kiddee Kiddee. We found his three wives at home; two of them had been prisoners of war. His head wife, who is blind and has been already mentioned, told us with a smile that Shunghee was not so kind in his attentions to her since he had taken the two new wives, who were present. His head wife has a very fine family of children.

In this village I observed the heads of eleven chiefs stuck up on poles as trophies of victory. On enquiry I learned they were part of those Shunghee brought with him in his last expedition to the southwards. He had cured them all. Their countenances were very natural, excepting their lips and teeth which had all a ghastly grin as if they had been fixed by the last agonies of death. How painful must these exhibitions be to the wives, children, and subjects of these departed chiefs, who are prisoners of war and labouring upon the same spot with these heads in full view! My mind was filled with horror and disgust at the sight of this Golgotha; at the same time I anticipated with pleasing sensations that glorious period when, through the influence of the Gospel,

A SACRED ARK



the voice of joy and melody would be heard in these habitations of darkness and cruelty, where nothing now reigns but savage joy on one hand and weeping and mourning on the other.

In returning through the potato grounds we met with the chief Racow (Rakau), Duaterra's father-in-law. I wished to visit the sacred grove, which was near, where he died, but, as I understood it was tabooed, I could not presume to enter without permission of the chief. Mr. Kendall spoke to him and told him what I wanted. He came and pointed out the tree where his daughter, Duaterra's wife, hung herself, and showed us the spot where both their bodies were deposited. The sacred spot was enclosed with a fence about three yards square. Here the bodies remained together till the flesh was decayed, when their bones were carefully collected and carried to their respective family sepulchres.

How mysterious are the ways of God! Duaterra once prided himself in the prospect of raising his country to the rank of a civilized nation, and was cut down like a flower in his first attempt to put his benevolent intentions into execution. The ground where he intended the church and European town to stand is now under cultivation,[220] and divided amongst different families by his successors; while about half an acre is reserved as sacred to his memory, where no shrub or tree is suffered to be cut down, and where apparently no foot had trod before ours this evening since the last funeral rites were performed for him and his faithful partner.

In passing through the village of Rangheehoo on our return I stopped to speak to the chief Werrie, and observed the head of a woman upon a sacred ark near the hut. I inquired whose head it was formerly. Werrie said it was the head of his wife's sister; that his wife and her sister had been brought as prisoners of war by Shunghee to Rangheehoo. He obtained them both as his slaves. One of them he took for his wife and the other for his servant. The servant died a natural death. At the time of her death his wife requested to have her sister's head preserved, in order that she might relieve her mind by weeping over it, and it was kept for that purpose. Having never seen anything like the ark when last at New Zealand on which the head was placed, I wished to know the origin and use of it. Mr. Kendall and Werrie informed me that nearly two years ago the caterpillars made great ravages amongst the growing crops of sweet potatoes. The natives conceived this public calamity came upon them by the anger of their god. The inhabitants of Rangheehoo sent to Cowa Cowa (Kawakawa) for a great priest in order that he might, by offering up his prayers and ceremonies, avert from them this heavy judgment. The priest came and stopped several months; he performed his religious rites, and directed every principal cultivator to make an ark for his god, and to deposit in it sacred food for his god to feed upon.

In compliance with this order of the priest this ark and others were made. It is about five feet long, two wide, and eleven and a half inches deep. It is painted and ornamented with carving and various

A POWHIRI



figures, and within are placed the sacred provisions.[221] The caterpillars left their potato grounds in a short time, and the natives attributed their departure to the influence of the priest and not to any natural cause; and hence they preserve these sacred arks. Mr. Kendall informed me he had never seen or heard of any custom of this kind before the above.

Thursday, September 23rd. – This morning several chiefs arrived from the River Thames. When they landed they all sat down in solemn silence in one group on the beach. Shortly after the fighting men of Rangheehoo came running in a body from the village, quite naked, like so many furies, with their spears fixed in a threatening posture and making the most horrid noise. They advanced towards the chiefs on the beach as if they were going to make an immediate attack. When they came within a few paces they stopped and performed the war dance, distorting their features in the most frightful manner and making at the same time the most horrid yells.[222] When they had gone through all their martial movements they returned to the village, when the head chief Racow, an old man about eighty, came forward and made a speech to the chiefs. The chiefs had never moved from their place during these transactions.

I inquired what was the meaning of the fighting men coming so furiously out of the village, with their spears fixed, on the arrival of the chiefs from the River Thames. They replied that this was done as a mark of military honour and respect, and the oration of the chief afterwards was to assure them of his cordial friendship. He told them he was glad to see them, and that they had done well to pay him and his people a visit, and that all future hostilities between them and his people should cease.

On my asking why the chiefs on their arrival kept at such a distance, they told me that some time ago a man belonging to a friend of the people at Rangheehoo had been killed by their tribe; that the people of Rangheehoo had gone to revenge his death, and had killed two chiefs and two common men. The chiefs who now arrived were afraid lest the people of Rangheehoo should still retain their resentment against them and would not receive them with proper attention. At length a full explanation took place between them, and mutual confidence was apparently restored. The chiefs from the River Thames admitted that their tribe ought to be punished for the murder of the man they had killed, but contended that the people of Rangheehoo had taken more than ample justice for they had killed four persons belonging to them, which was more than justice required, and that they felt themselves the injured party.

After all matters were arranged, they went into the village to feast with the chief. They afterwards paid us a visit and requested an axe or a hoe, but we could only spare one axe for the head chief and a knife for his son. We were much distressed that we had it not in our power to give them the tools they so much wanted. I promised to visit them when the Active returned if my time would permit.

A MAORI BURIAL VAULT

Friday, September 24th. – This morning we loaded the punt with sawed timber for the new settlement, when the Rev. Mr. Butler, Mr. Francis Hall, and myself set off in her to Kiddee Kiddee. When we had got about halfway up the river the tide turned, when the boat anchored and Mr. Hall accompanied me on shore. We walked upon the beach towards the settlement with an intention of visiting the natives on the shore.

We observed in one place a deep cavern under the rocks, the mouth of which was neatly hedged up. We looked into this cave and observed a dead body laying on a mat upon the ground with a mat thrown over it. There was also a stage raised about three feet from the ground upon which there appeared some human bones. This was the first sepulchre we had seen where the dead appear to be finally deposited. This sepulchre must belong to some neighbouring tribe.

A short distance from the sepulchre we met with a native village. The inhabitants were overjoyed to see us. They had got some very good hogs running about. We made them a few presents of fish-hooks and passed on to another village about a mile distant. In this were a number of very fine children. They had got a tame cock which was very familiar with the children, sat with them, walked with them, and appeared to live entirely with them without fear. I promised the chief a hen when he came to the settlement. They urged us to give them an axe or a hoe, but we had none with us. Opposite this village, in the middle of the river, is a very large cockle bed which is dry at low water. Upon this bed about a hundred women were busy collecting cockles for food. Here we got a canoe to carry us up to Kiddee Kiddee, where we arrived about five o'clock.

About seven the punt arrived with Mr. Butler. We were much gratified to find that the carpenter had completed one building twenty feet by fifteen where we could be comfortably accommodated for the night. We found the work going on to our satisfaction, and our new settlement begun to put on a civil appearance – sawpits having been dug, timber lying in different directions, and a new European house built. We read a portion of the Scripture, sang a hymn, returned thanks to God for all His mercies in the midst of the wondering natives, and then lay down to rest.

Saturday, September 25th. – This morning we examined more particularly the ground in the neighbourhood, and set the natives to clear and burn off the brushwood, etc., where it is intended the town should stand and gardens be laid out. We had a small spot of land cleared and broken up, in which I planted about a hundred grape vines of different kinds brought from Port Jackson. New Zealand promises to be very favourable to the vine, as far as I can judge at present of the nature of the soil and climate. Should the vine succeed, it will prove of vast importance in this part of the globe. As the grapes blight so much in New South Wales, there is little prospect that New Holland will become a wine country.

Sunday, September 26th. – This day we returned to Rangheehoo and had a very stormy passage with heavy rain. We were about ten hours in the boat and were very wet and cold.

DEPARTURE FOR HOKIANGA



During the residence of the late Duaterra with me at Parramatta, he often mentioned a river called Shokee Hangha (Hokianga) which empties itself into the sea on the west side of the island, and described it as a very fine river, the land rich, the timber good, and the inhabitants numerous on its banks and neighbourhood. It was my intention when at New Zealand in 1815 to have visited this river, but my leave of absence being limited I had not time to gratify my wish in this respect. On my arrival in August last I learned from Messrs. Kendall and King that they had visited Shokee Hangha about a fortnight before and found that Duaterra's information was correct.[223] I had conversed with several natives of New Zealand at Parramatta relative to the harbour, wishing to know if there was any entrance for a ship. They all were of opinion that no ship could enter, as there was a bar across the harbour mouth upon which the surf broke with such violence as to prevent a vessel getting in. Messrs. Kendall and King had not the means to ascertain this point when they were at the river. I therefore resolved to put my original intention into execution, and to visit Shokee Hangha and to examine the entrance and the harbour to see how far it would be prudent at a future period to make a missionary station upon its banks.

As Mr. William Puckey,[224] whom I had hired in Port Jackson and brought with me to assist in putting up the necessary buildings at the new settlement, had commanded a vessel for several years out of England and was better versed in the knowledge of navigation than any other person at New Zealand, I determined to take him with me to examine the mouth of the river and the harbour, in order that he might ascertain whether or not the entrance was safe for shipping and good anchorage in the river, and requested Mr. Kendall to accompany us as he was acquainted with several chiefs and could speak the native language.

Accordingly on Tuesday (September 28th) we took our passage to Kiddee Kiddee with the Rev. John Butler, Messrs. Francis and William Hall, and the carpenters and labourers who were going to the settlement to forward the buildings, prepare the ground for sowing such seeds and planting such fruit trees as had been brought with us from Port Jackson; where we arrived about one o'clock and immediately proceeded on our tour, accompanied by three chiefs – Shunghee's son, Werree Pork (Whare Poaka) from Rangheehoo, and Rora (Rora or Roraka of Te Roroa) from the River Shokee Hangha – with six natives to carry our baggage and more who accompanied us on their own accord – our whole party of natives amounting to seventeen.

About four miles from Kiddee Kiddee we rested and took some refreshment. Here we met the daughter of Shunghee's brother and her husband with two servants laden with potatoes. They immediately put down their baskets and presented us with a portion for ourselves and another for the servants who attended us, and compelled us to receive them. They were much pleased with meeting us and greeted us with every mark of attention.

A NIGHT IN THE BUSH



About four o'clock we left our present station. The day had been very fine, but now the clouds began to gather very black and threatened very heavy rain. We had passed over about four miles of very fine land and fit for the plough as soon as the fern and brushwood is cut and burnt. There is not a single tree upon some thousands of acres of good land to the right and left of the path, and in general the ground is very level.

We had not walked more than a mile before we came to a swamp lying upon some rising ground. The swamp was about one mile across and our road directly through it. It was covered very thick with bushes and other aquatic plants, with the water generally from one to three feet deep. The native chiefs proposed to carry us over, but the distance was so great that we should have been more fatigued by being carried than by wading through. We therefore stripped off part of our apparel and waded through.

After we had passed the swamp we came into a very open country, for many miles round, covered with fern. The part through which we walked was gravelly and not very good in general.

The wind increased towards evening and blew strong from the rainy quarter; so that we had the prospect of a very wet night without a single tree to shelter us from the storm, for about eight miles from the swamp we had passed. At this distance was a wood through which our road lay which we were anxious to reach, if

possible, in order to shelter ourselves from the wind and rain, under the trees. With this hope we pushed forward and arrived at the edge of the wood about nine o'clock. The rain now began to fall heavily. The natives cut down some branches of fern and boughs of trees and made us a little shed under the trees to shelter us a little from the wind and rain. The blackness of the heavens, the gloomy darkness of the wood, the roaring of the wind amongst the trees, the sound of the falling rain upon the thick foliage, united with the idea that we were literally at the ends of the earth, with relation to our native land, surrounded with cannibals whom we knew had fed on human flesh and wholly in their power, and yet our minds free from fear of danger – all excited in my breast such new, pleasing, and at the same time, various, sensations as I cannot describe.

While I sat musing under the shelter of a lofty pine, my thoughts were lost in wonder and surprise in taking a retrospective view of the wisdom and goodness of God's providential care, which had attended all my steps to that very hour. If busy imagination inquired what I did there, I had not an answer to seek in wild conjecture. I felt with gratitude that I had not come by chance, but had been sent to prepare the way of the Lord in this dreary wilderness where the voice of joy and gladness had never been heard; and I anticipated with joyful hope the period when the Day-star from on high would dawn upon this dark and heathen land and cause the very earth on which we then reposed to bring forth its increase, when God Himself would give the poor inhabitants His blessing. After reflecting upon the different ideas which crowded themselves upon the mind, I wrapt myself up in my greatcoat and lay down to sleep.



AT ORAKA

Wednesday, September 29th. – Arose this morning at the dawn of day. The natives immediately kindled their fires and prepared for breakfast, which was no sooner over than we prepared for our journey. After walking through the wood for about a mile, through a very difficult and bad path, partly from the heavy rain and partly from the roots of the trees which cover the road, we came once more into an open country. The rain fell very heavily. After walking about six miles we arrived at the edge of another wood through which we had to pass. Before we entered the wood the rays of the sun, from under the edges of a cloud, gilded the side of a distant hill. A New Zealander who was walking by me called my attention to the spot where the sun shone and asked me if I saw it. I answered in the affirmative; he replied, "That is the whydua (wairua) or spirit of Shunghee's father."

The chiefs of New Zealand are full of pride, and many of them assume to themselves the attributes of the Deity while living and are called gods by their people. The natives will occasionally call Shunghee a god when he approaches them, in the following terms: "Hairemi, hairemi, Atua! " – Come hither, come hither, thou God! [225] These Divine honours being paid to the chiefs fill their minds with the most proud and profane notions of their own dignity and consequence. When they die their posterity deify their departed spirits and offer up their prayers to them. The above New Zealander compared the departed spirit of Shunghee's father to the glory of the sun, which evidently showed what veneration they paid to the manes of their ancestors and what dominion the Prince of this World hath obtained over their minds. The observations of the native furnished my mind with serious reflections on the miserable state of these poor heathens.

As we walked along through this dreary wood the whole road was the worst I had ever walked over. The roots of the trees entwined themselves over the whole path which made it painful to travel upon – as if we had to walk upon bars of round iron. We were several hours before we got through.

Within about a mile of one of the branches of the Shokee Hangha river, the wood rises to a very high summit from which there is an extensive view of the river and the western shore. On the left hand of the hill a large plain appears covered with pine and various timber. The tops of the trees below are like a level sea as far as the eye could reach, but our prospect was in some degree obstructed by the heavy clouds and rain which fell in torrents; at the same time it thundered aloud.

The descent from the hill into the river is very difficult from its exceeding steepness. When we arrived upon the banks we had this branch to wade through several times before we reached the first village, Ko Raka (Oraka). [226] As soon as the inhabitants discovered us, they invited us to visit them and, as a signal of welcome, immediately fired a musket; which was returned by one of the chiefs who accompanied us. Our guide directed us to proceed first and the natives to follow us,



HOKIANGA CHIEFS

The chiefs were seated upon the ground. The old chief, Warree Maddoo (Te Wharemaru), I had seen at the Bay of Islands when I was there the first time, and had made him some small present. His son Matanghee (Matangi) and his son-in-law Te-Tau-Nuee (Te Taonui) I was not acquainted with.

Their first inquiry was to know what was the object of our visit. We informed them that we had a desire to see the river Shokee Hangha and to examine the mouth of the harbour to see if a ship could come in with safety, and at the same time to visit the chiefs and see the different inhabitants. Warree Maddoo and Te-Tau-Nuee were very much pleased, and expressed their earnest wish that a ship might visit their river and some Europeans come to reside with them to learn them agriculture and to make good roads.

Matanghee, who has now the supreme authority, his father being a very old man apparently eighty years old, told us we had better go no further at present. We wished to know his reason. He said there was a serious difference between him and a neighbouring chief named Moodee Why (Muriwai) and that Moodee Why had speared a young man in the thigh the preceding day, who was lying upon the ground, and showed us where the spear had entered. He stated that the following was the cause of their quarrel: – Their lands lay contiguous. Moodee Why's slaves had carried away part of Matanghee's fence for firewood, in consequence of which Moodee Why's pigs had got into Matanghee's sweet potato grounds, and he had shot several of them. Moodee Why in retaliation had shot some of his pigs. They had met the preceding day to settle the difference, when the young man mentioned above was speared. We replied we had nothing to do with their quarrels and should proceed on our journey.

When they found we were resolved to visit the river they insisted we should not leave them for two nights. To this demand we agreed, as we were very wet and weary, having been travelling through bad roads from an early hour till about four o'clock in the evening. The chief accommodated us with the best hut he had and our people with another. He also gave us an hog and plenty of common and sweet potatoes. I presented the chief with an axe and a few trifles with which he was much gratified. We spent the evening in conversing on various subjects, such as agriculture, commerce, and religion.

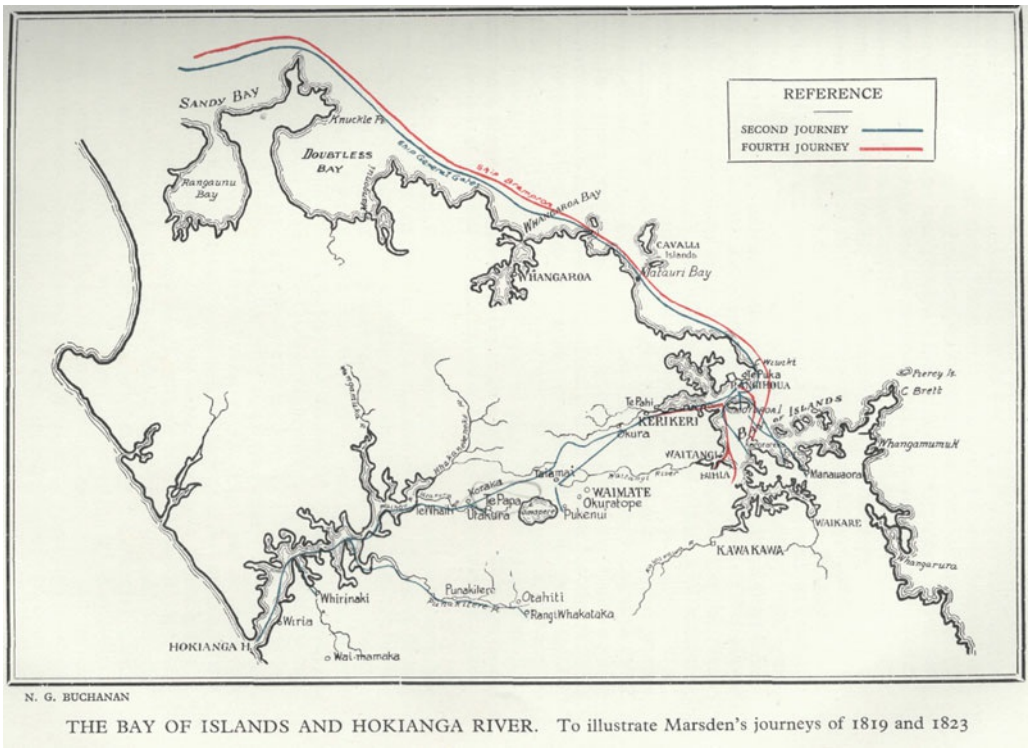
Te-Tau-Nuee is a very well informed man. He appeared to have lost no opportunities of gaining instruction, was very anxious for some European to reside with them, and hoped we would consider them at some future period and send a missionary to them.

Matanghee, though very kind to us, seemed deeply involved in thought and uneasy in his mind from what had taken place between Moodee Why and him.

Before we retired to rest we read a portion of Scripture, sang an hymn, and committed ourselves to the protection of Him Who keepeth Israel.

Thursday, September 30th. – Early this morning a chief arrived to inform Matanghee how Moodee Why was affected towards him and his people, and how they were resolved to act. We now learned that Moodee Why had been speared in the arm, but the wound was slight.

[Inserted unpaginated map]




THE BAY OF ISLANDS AND HOKIANGA RIVER.
To illustrate Marsden's journeys of 1819 and 1823.
N. G. BUCHANAN

A MAORI QUARREL



Soon after this messenger had given his information, several chiefs arrived on the same business. One of them began to make an oration, while all the other chiefs sat on the ground in profound silence. He spake with great force. His action was warlike and graceful, and his weapon of war, which he brandished in his hand, added emphasis to every expression and gesture. He exhorted Matanghee to act with courage and firmness and to vindicate his own and his tribe's rights. He stated that he was a friend to both parties and, as one had been wounded on both sides, he recommended the difference should be settled as amicably as they could, consistent with their rights.

After this chief had ended his address another principal man belonging to the village started up, and taking a long spear in his hand began to state all the particulars of the present difference. He spake with great feeling, stamped with his foot at every turn and brandished his spear, while warlike indignation fired his countenance. The whole of his manner and dress reminded me of what I had read of the chiefs of the ancient Britons. I am of opinion the New Zealand chief resembles very much the character of our ancestors.

Shortly after this chief had ended his speech they all, in a moment, threw off their mats, girt up their loins with their war belts, took their muskets, spears, and pattoo-pattoos, and left us in the village with old Warree Maddoo and his son-in-law, and ran off towards Moodee Why's.

In about three hours the hostile party returned. We then learned that the cause of their sudden departure was in consequence of hearing that Moodee Why had been killing their pigs, and that Matanghee had gone with his party to ascertain the truth of the report. They appeared very indignant at the conduct of Moodee Why and threatened to punish him.

In the evening old Warree Maddoo threw off his mat, took his spear, and began to address his tribe and the chiefs. He made strong appeals to them against the injustice and ingratitude of Moodee Why's conduct towards them. He recited many injuries which he and his tribe had suffered from Moodee Why for a long period: mentioned instances of his bad conduct at the time his father's bones were removed from the ahoodoo pa (uru pa) to their family vault. He also stated acts of kindness which he had shown to Moodee Why at different times, and said he had twice saved his tribe from total ruin. In the present instance Moodee Why had killed three of his hogs – one of them was very large and fat, being two years old. Every time he mentioned the large hog the recollection of his loss seemed to nerve afresh his aged sinews: he shook his hoary beard, stampt with indignant rage, and poised his quivering spear. He exhorted his tribe to be bold and courageous, and declared that he would head them in the morning against the enemy, and before he would submit he would be killed and eaten. All they wanted was firmness and courage: he knew well the enemies they had to meet, their hearts did not lie deep, and if they were resolutely opposed they would yield. His oration continued nearly an hour: all listened to him with great attention.

When he sat down I requested Mr. Kendall to tell him that I was very anxious for a reconciliation to take place between Matanghee and Moodee Why, and proposed to give each of them an adze on

A MAORI WAR PARTY



condition of peace being made between them. In reply Matanghee said his young man had been severely wounded and Moodee Why only slightly. If Moodee Why had been equally wounded he would have come to terms of peace. However, we still urged our request for peace.

In the meantime the chief Werree Pork (Whare Poaka) had been to visit some of Moodee Why's people, and brought us a message from Moodee Why saying that he could not visit us at Matanghee's but wished to see us at his village in the morning. We therefore informed Matanghee that we should proceed to Moodee Why's in the morning, as we had nothing to do with their differences but were friends to both parties, and wished as far as we could to reconcile them. Matanghee said he and Moodee Why were to meet in the morning and we might go with them. If they could not settle their differences without fighting, no injury would happen to us as they would direct us how we were to act. After this conversation we retired to rest.

Friday, October ist. – Very early this morning old Warree Maddoo appeared fully armed for battle. His long beard was painted with red ochre to show that his mind was thirsting for blood. His loins were girt with a broad war belt in which he carried his pattoo, and his spear was in his hand. In a few moments Matanghee and all his tribe and friends were ready, some armed with muskets, others with spears, pattoos, and other warlike weapons.

With this feudal clan we marched from Koraka towards Moodee Why's village, which was situated about four miles distant. We were joined on the road by numbers of men, women, and children, and some chiefs, amongst whom was the brother of Moodee Why, which induced us to hope that matters would be accommodated. One chief spake to me and Mr. Kendall and requested us to make peace, or, in their own language, "to make Matanghee and Moodee Why both alike inside." This observation struck me as very strong and worthy of being recorded.

When we reached a field about a quarter of a mile from Moodee Why's village (Utakura), the fighting men stopped and arranged the plan of their future operations. As soon as this was settled all marched forward till we came near Moodee Why's residence, our party being on one side of the river that runs through the village and Moodee Why's on the other. Moodee Why's was ready to meet them. After some parley across the river, our party discharged all their muskets and saluted Moodee Why. They then performed the war dance, and returned into the ground where the young man and Moodee Why had been wounded. Moodee Why and his men marched five abreast, all naked and armed, with him by their side. Mrs. Moodee Why marched in front with a long spear in her hand, and her daughter in the rear waving a white mat as a flag.

There appeared 300 of Moodee Why's tribe in this body. Their spears were very long – more than twenty feet. The men marched in a very close body, and Moodee Why, with a long spear, regulated their movements. When they came opposite to Matanghee's party Moodee Why and some of his men plunged into the river. Matanghee's party made a sham opposition to their landing, and the whole scene closed with savage shouting and dancing. Old Warree Maddoo led on



AT UTAKURA

Matanghee's party. When the public confusion was a little over, Moodee Why and the hoary warrior rubbed noses as a token of reconciliation, but Matanghee refused this salutation and appeared sullen.

No sooner were matters adjusted than old Warree Maddoo with his slaves began to burn and destroy the fence of the enclosure belonging to Moodee Why, in which we were assembled. Moodee Why took no notice. I asked Mr. Kendall if he knew the reason why they destroyed Moodee Why's fence and burnt it before his face. He told me it was a satisfaction required for the fence, which Moodee Why's slaves had destroyed in the first instance, and that the New Zealanders, if they make peace, always demand satisfaction as an invariable condition – life for life, wound for wound, property for property.

We now accompanied Moodee Why to his village called Hoota Koora (Utakura).[227] It is very populous, and situated in a rich valley. A branch of the Shokee Hangha, navigable for large canoes, runs through it. Moodee Why received us with great kindness and hospitality, and gave us an hog and abundance of sweet and common potatoes for ourselves and our attendants. The place was all bustle and confusion. Nothing was to be seen, in all directions, but weapons of war. Several chiefs from other districts were assembled on account of the difference between Moodee Why and Matanghee, who were all eager to gain information of our object in coming to Shokee Hangha, and were much gratified when we told them, as they hoped at some period to see a ship in their river.

In about half an hour after our arrival, while talking with Moodee Why and his friend, a sudden noise and tumult started up in the village on the opposite side of the river. All flew to their arms, threw off their mats and rushed like furies into the river in a moment, and Moodee Why amongst them, leaving us without taking time to tell us the cause. There was nothing to be seen or heard but noise and spears. We inquired the reason, and were told that a married woman had been acting improperly. The natives continued tearing and pulling one another about the hair of the head for about an hour, and some got a few blows.

After this business was settled a chief came to salute me with his bloody nose, having got part of the skin knocked off in the bustle. I laughed at him presenting his bloody nose for me to rub with mine, and pointed to the wound he had received; he smiled and said it was New Zealand fashion.

When Moodee Why returned we asked him if the woman had been guilty of adultery; he replied, No, but she had been seen playing wantonly with another man.

We spent the afternoon very pleasantly in conversing upon various important subjects, such as the education of their children, the advantages of commerce and agriculture, and the richness of the soil around their village. The number of children in this village is great, and of a proper age to be taught the English language. Moodee Why was very urgent for a missionary to reside with him, and begged we would send him one soon, as he would be of no use to him if he came after his death.



AT WIRIA

I never saw a finer race of men than in this village, nor finer children. Hoota Koora would be an important missionary station, as an easy communication could be had with all the inhabitants upon the banks of the river of Shokee Hangha for forty miles.

After the noise of the day was over we read a chapter, praised God, and committed ourselves to His gracious keeping.

Saturday, October 2nd. – This morning we requested Moodee Why to accommodate us with a canoe to visit the different chiefs on the banks of the river; this he readily granted and said he would accompany us. He, his wife, daughter, and two small children, with some of his slaves were immediately ready to embark in his war canoe, which measured sixty-three feet and was very safe and commodious for ourselves and servants. At the top of the tide, about seven o'clock in the morning, we left Hoota Koora. On the eve of our departure a priest performed certain religious ceremonies, praying for our success and that we might accomplish the object of our visit. The war canoe, with the tide and more than twenty natives to paddle, went swiftly down the stream.

About ten miles from the village, in the middle of the river, is a small island[228] of little more than half an acre. This island is formed by the meeting at a certain point of the tide from two rivers – the main river Shokee Hangha, and a river that falls into it on the north-east side. On this island stands a little village full of inhabitants. The chief is a very old man. We stopped to speak to him. He appeared to have his children and his children's children around him. He was much

pleased to see us. I presented him with a plane-iron. He would not let us leave the shore till he had presented us with about 300lbs. of potatoes for the present he had received. It is more than probable he esteemed the plane-iron the greatest present he had ever received. I was anxious to reach the heads of the river as soon as possible, as the weather was now fine, and therefore left the venerable chief.

When we had gone about three miles further we came opposite to a village called We-te-wha-hetee (Te Whaiti)[229] situated upon an hill. As soon as the people saw us they waved a mat as a flag, and called aloud for us to visit them. The fighting men came running down with muskets, spears, etc. They fired their muskets and danced the war dance in order to pay us military honours, according to their custom. We stopped to speak to them; we told them we could not visit them on our way down the river, but promised when we returned to spend a night with them. I gave the chief a plane-iron, and we passed on.

About four o'clock we got within a mile of our journey's end. Our servants were hungry and tired and wished to go on shore to cook some provisions. We therefore landed near the residence of the chief who had accompanied us from Rangheehoo. He immediately caught an hog and, having killed it, our servants dressed it for themselves in a short time. While we were having some refreshment the inhabitants of the village nearest the Heads, called Weedeea (Wiria), had observed us, and immediately a great priest named Ta-man-hena (Te Manene), who is priest of the Heads of Shokee Hangha and supposed to have

MARSDEN MEETS TE MANENE



absolute command of the winds and waves, came to visit us and to invite us into the village to the chief Mowenna (Mauwhena) who is the head chief of the river. When we had dined we proceeded to the village, where we were cordially received by the joyful inhabitants. Mowenna had heard of our coming to see him and had prepared a good shed for us.

We spent the evening in conversation with the priest and the chiefs upon the works of creation, the being and attributes of God, on the institution of the Sabbath Day, and the resurrection of the dead. The priest was a very sensible man as far as the law of nature could direct him. He spake of having communication with atua of New Zealand, that he answered him when he prayed unto him. I told him that I had never heard the atua of New Zealand, nor could I believe he had, unless I could hear him myself, and I wished him to pray while I was with him that I might hear him. He replied that when he came to see me at Rangheehoo I should hear him. He believed all the New Zealand chiefs went to a place of happiness when they died.

The power of their chiefs, the rites and ceremonies of their religion, and the glory of war are the grand subjects of their conversation. Their memories are very strong, and they show a great anxiety to increase their knowledge. They are very great and enterprising travellers in their own country: many of them are absent on their journeys ten and twelve months at a time. We learned from them a more particular account of a river called Why-coto (Waikato) about the centre of the island where the great body of the inhabitants appear to reside. They describe them as innumerable.

The chiefs and priest wished to know what our business was. We informed them our first object was to examine the mouth of the harbour to see if any vessel could get in. They asked us if we had mentioned our coming to Shunghee, for they feared the chiefs on the east side would not be pleased if any ship should visit them. I told them; I had acquainted Shunghee with our intention, and he had sent his son to show us the way. They were much pleased at this information and remarked that, as we had come of our own accord, without invitation, the chiefs had no ground to be offended with them.

The priest then stated the situation of the entrance of the river, and described the rocks on each side, and a sandbank on the right hand out at sea, as one got out of the mouth of the river. He stated how many fathoms of water there were on the bank and in the channel, and said that he would accompany us in the morning to examine the entrance and sound the depth of water. We told him that we could not go in the morning, for to-morrow was sacred – a day appointed for us to pray to our God; but the morning after we should wish him to go with us if the weather would permit. He said he was priest of the winds and waves and would command them to be still.

After talking upon various subjects till a late hour, we sang an hymn as usual and thanked our God for the blessings we enjoyed in an heathen land, and then lay down to rest. Our place was very full of natives who remained with us all night, and the priest never left us for an hour, night or day, till we arrived at Rangheehoo.

AT HOKIANGA HEADS



Sunday, October 3rd. – Being the Sabbath, after breakfast I read the church service and made a few observations on the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. The chiefs and their people behaved with great propriety. The head chief ordered all the children away lest they should disturb us. Great numbers of men and women crowded round our shed.

The priest said he wished to learn to pray as we did, but he did not understand the reason why we prayed to our God when we appeared not to want his assistance. He said he never prayed but at those times when he wanted the aid of the atua. We endeavoured to explain to him that our God made everything, that He was always present with us and continually took care of us, and heard and saw all that we did or said. The chief wished that an European would come to teach them, and said he would give him a farm and that he should live near him.

Mowenna and his people live in a rich and fertile valley. Here are a great number of fine children, and a very important station might be established in this valley for missionaries; and I cannot doubt but they would be kindly received. We had much conversation on this subject with the priest and Mowenna, who appeared a very mild man.

After dinner, in order to relieve ourselves from the pressure of the people, we took a walk upon the beach. The natives followed us in crowds. We desired them to return as we wished to be more alone. They immediately complied with our request. We returned in a few hours and spent the evening in useful conversation.

Monday, October 4th. – We rose early this morning with an intention to examine the entrance into the river. It blew very fresh. The priest said we should have his war canoe, and he would accompany us and prevent the winds and waves from rising. As soon as breakfast was over, the priest, Mr. William Puckey, and a very fine crew of native young men launched the canoe, and we set off for the Heads which were about four miles distant. Ta-man-hena told me not to be afraid; he would not allow the winds and waves to rise. There are two large rocks at the Heads in which the gods of the sea reside, according to the opinion of the priest and the inhabitants on the banks of the river. The priest said he would command the gods to be still and not to disturb the sea till we had made our examination and sounded the shoal and channel.

We were no sooner in the canoe than the priest began to exert all his powers to still the gods, the winds, and waves. He spake in an angry, commanding tone; however, I did not perceive either the winds or waves to yield to his authority, and when we reached the Heads I requested to go on shore, as the water was rough, till the priest and Mr. Puckey went out to sea to sound the sandbank. I landed near a sacred rock, and had one chief with me who expressed great alarm lest I

should tread on the consecrated ground, and said the god would kill him if he suffered me to do so; and he frequently laid hold of me in great agitation when he thought 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 this imaginary deity.



After Mr. Puckey had taken the necessary bearings and soundings, I returned again to the village and prepared for leaving our hospitable chief, who had supplied us and our followers with the greatest abundance of potatoes and such provisions as he had. About seven o'clock the chief, his brother, and many of the people with the priest, were determined to accompany us in our visit to the other chiefs till we finally left the river. The canoes were immediately got ready, and we set off for the next village called Weedenakke (Whirinaki), about eighteen or twenty miles distant, where we arrived about twelve o'clock that evening.

When we landed I felt very cold, having sat in the canoe for about five hours. One of the chiefs of Weedenakke was waiting to receive us. This village is situated, literally, in a very dark corner of the earth behind some lofty hills which are mentioned by Captain Cook.[230] It stands at the head of a large salt-water creek which runs up from the main river for about ten miles, and is there met by a very beautiful fresh-water stream which comes down from the neighbouring hills and passes through an extensive valley of rich land.

When we arrived there were very few inhabitants in this village. The chief informed us that the body of his people were living in the valley with the head chief, preparing their grounds for planting their sweet potatoes, and that we should visit them in the morning. He then conducted us into a very close hut, where we were to remain till the return of day. The entrance was just sufficient for a man to creep into. Being very cold we were glad to occupy such a warm berth. I judged the hut to be about eight feet wide and twelve long, with a fire in the centre, and no vent either for the smoke or heat. The chiefs who were with us threw off their mats and lay down close together in a state of perfect nudity.

I had not been many minutes in this oven before I experienced the heat and smoke – above, below, and on every side – to be insufferable. The heat under the roof of the hut was excessive. Though the night was cold, Mr. Kendall and myself were compelled to quit our habitation. I crept out of the hut and walked in the village to see if I could meet with a shed that would keep me from the damp air till the return of day. I found one empty, into which I entered.

I had not been long under my present cover before I observed a chief who had come with us from the last village come out of the hut I had left, perfectly naked. The moon shone very bright. I saw him run from hut to hut till at length he found me under my shed and urged me to return. I told him I could not bear the heat, and requested him to allow me to remain where I was. At length he consented with reluctance. I was surprised to see how little effect either heat or cold seemed



to have upon him. He had come out of the heat smoking like an hot loaf drawn from the oven, walked about till he found me, and then sat down to converse for some time, without any clothing, though the night was cold. Mr. Kendall remained sitting under his mat in the open air till morning.

Tuesday, October 5th. – As soon as the day dawned we heard the distant sound of native music through the woods, and in a short time observed men, women, and children peeping through the trees – most of the men armed with spears. Many of them slowly advanced towards us as we were preparing to proceed to the village where the head chief resided.

At the moment we were ready to walk, a messenger arrived to say that we were to remain at our present station for further orders as the chief and his people were not quite ready to receive us. This information was not very welcome: as we had had no rest all night we wished to get to our journey's end. At length another messenger came to inform us they were ready. We then proceeded. Our party now consisted of about 100 persons.

When we came within about a quarter of a mile of the chief's residence, the natives began to salute us with the discharge of muskets, and continued to fire till we came up to the head chief, who was seated with his subordinate chiefs at the entrance of a very commodious shed which had been expressly prepared for us. A chief who had attended us where we spent the night walked before us and introduced us to the head chief.

This village is situated in a very rich and extensive valley, which rang with the welcome salutations of the inhabitants. The chiefs expressed their joy at our visit. After breakfast I walked with them through their cultivated grounds. The land is very good and produces great crops of common and sweet potatoes. A fine stream of fresh water runs through the village. Here we found a greater population than in any other part we had visited – one hundred children of a proper age might be taken at once into a school. They have also plenty of provisions, and their land is fit for all the purposes of agriculture or gardening. Many hundreds of acres of land are here that would repay the labours of the husbandman.

I walked to the head of the valley and followed the stream of fresh water, which descends from the hills, till I met with a fine situation for a water-mill where the natural fall appeared to be not less than twenty feet, which, at a future period, may be of infinite service in grinding grain when the growing of corn is generally introduced amongst the inhabitants. The inhabitants of this valley appeared to live in peace and plenty, and quietly to enjoy the fruits of their industry. Whether their security depended upon the strength of their tribe or their secluded situation I cannot say. The chief presented us with two large fat hogs, each about 200lbs. weight, one of which we had killed for ourselves and people, and also many hundredweight of potatoes.

There was nothing but feasting and rejoicing all that and the following day 111 we took our departure. There were more than 200 baskets of potatoes dressed at one time. I had never seen such heaps



of sweet and common potatoes before. A certain number of baskets were dressed for every chief, his friends, and his servants; and every party sits in a circle round their provisions, by themselves, when they eat.

After feasting, dancing, and conversing all day, in the evening, before they retired to rest, the cooks heated their ovens in the ground in which they put pork, potatoes, and greens, all in heaps, in large quantities sufficient for 200 or 300 persons, and covered them up, leaving them till morning to roast.

At the early dawn (Wednesday, October 6th) the New Zealanders were up. The cooks opened their ovens and served all their separate portions.

The chief of this tribe appeared a very mild man. He expressed an ardent desire for some Europeans to reside with him to instruct his people. He offered each of us a farm all ready for planting. We thanked him for his kindness, but told him that it was of no use for us to accept as we could not attend to their cultivation. This valley would be an excellent station for missionaries from its population, the richness of the soil, and from its apparent tranquility. It enjoys many advantages as a

missionary post which time will not allow me to point out at present. While we remained here we had long conversations upon the advantages of education, agriculture, commerce, navigation, etc.

The chiefs are in general very sensible men and wish for information upon all subjects. They are accustomed to public discussions from their infancy. The chiefs take their children from their mother's breast to all their public assemblies, where they hear all that is said upon politics, religion, war, etc., by the oldest men. Children will frequently ask questions in public conversation and are answered by the chiefs. I have often been surprised to see the sons of the chiefs at the age of four or five years sitting amongst the chiefs and paying close attention to what was said. The children never appear under any embarrassment when they address a stranger whom they never saw. In every village the children, as soon as they learned any of our names, came up to us and spake to us with the greatest familiarity.

At the age of eight or ten years, they appear to be initiated into all the customs and manners of their ancestors by being the constant companions of their fathers, and attending them in all their public councils and in the field of military glory. In this village the number of children is very great and ready for instruction.

While we remained in this village we found much pleasure in the conversation of the priest of the Heads of Shokee Hangha. I, on one occasion, asked him if the winds and waves would not take advantage of his absence and do much injury to the Heads of the river. He replied he should prevent them by his prayers till he returned. I observed he was so great a man that some of the chiefs would wish him dead in order that they might succeed to his dignity. He then pointed to his son who was sitting by him, and said that he was preparing him for the sacred office, and that he was to succeed him in the command over the winds and waves.

AT TE WHAITI



Thursday, October 7th. – After breakfast this morning we intended to take our departure, but the chief wished to detain us till the middle of the day in order that he might give another great feast. About eight o'clock numbers of slaves arrived laden with potatoes and some large snappers just caught. They were preceded by a company dancing and shouting. As soon as they had laid down their baskets, all the cooks went to work immediately, and as soon as the potatoes were dressed each party sat down to their portion. When the feast was ended a musket was fired; all the fighting men flew to their arms in a moment, some armed with muskets, others with spears, clubs, etc., and entertained us with a sham-fight and war dance which closed the scene.

We now packed up our baggage and walked about a mile to our canoes, where we were to embark, attended by more than 200 natives. In our large canoe we estimated the pork and potatoes with which the chiefs of the former villages and this had laden us at more than three tons. Besides our provisions and baggage we had thirty-six persons. We took our leave of this friendly chief and his people about one o'clock, thanking him for his attentions and expressing our highest approbation of the conduct of his people while we remained with them, which much gratified him.

We now proceeded to the village on the banks of the main river, called We-te-wha-hetee (Te Whaiti), which was distant about twenty miles, where we had promised to spend a night on our return. We arrived about six o'clock in the evening. Tarawheka (Taraweka), the chief, had built a neat shed for us ten feet wide by twenty-four feet long; it was very clean and neat. He had built also a convenient place for the sake of decency in a retired situation, sufficient for the accommodation of at least ten persons, about forty yards from our shed, and had made a clean walk to it. He received us with great kindness. I went with him to the summit of the hill where his castle or hip pah is situated; his village is built on the lowest side. From the top of the hill there is a very extensive prospect of the river Shokee Hangha and the surrounding country.

As we passed along I observed a chief's wife making loud lamentations and mourning. On inquiring the cause of her deep distress, they informed me that since our passing down the river she had lost her two sons, and one child belonging to the village with them. The children had been sent to gather cockles in a canoe on a sandbank in the river, which is dry at low water. The wind rose on the flow of the tide and carried away the canoe, leaving the children upon the bank: when the tide rose it swept them all away. She added that her husband was also lately dead. She was a young woman. Her mother was sitting beside her mourning and weeping with her. They had cut themselves after their manner for their dead. I felt for her affliction and would gladly have relieved her distress. I had nothing to give her but a few fish-hooks and my pocket knife, with which I presented her and which she thankfully received.

This chief, like the rest, presented us with large quantities of potatoes, giving a certain number of baskets to us, and then to the chiefs and their servants and also to our party of common people, with a good hog. Tarawheka is a very stout man and very modest, with little of the

ON THE PUNAKITERE RIVER



appearance of a savage about him. His people also were well behaved. We told him we wished to visit the river Poonakketerre (Punakitere) but the crew of our canoe were very tired and were not able, without a day's rest, to go with us. He offered his services, and said he would supply us with a crew in the morning and accompany us himself. We thankfully accepted his kind offer.

We spent the evening as usual in conversing upon various subjects and in gaining all the information we could relative to the rivers in New Zealand, the number of inhabitants upon their banks, upon what they lived, and the mode of communication which they had with distant parts of the island. We could seldom ask them a question but before they answered it they would inquire our reason for asking. If we asked how far any mountain or river was off, they would say, "What do you want to know for?" "Are you going there?" When we had satisfied them they would give us every information we required. When we had conversed till late in the evening we performed our evening service of prayer and praise, and then lay down to rest.

Friday, October 8th. – This morning we prepared early to visit, according to our intention, some villages on the banks of a river called Poonakketerre (Punakitere) lying on the south side of Shokee Hangha, in two canoes, accompanied by about fifty persons. As we went up the river we saw several villages which we had not time to visit. The inhabitants fired their muskets and hailed us as we passed. Our wish was to go as far up the river as we could, with a strong tide in our favour, so as to return in the evening. The river is very beautiful, and will be very convenient for the navigation of small vessels should this country ever become a commercial nation.

About one o'clock we came to two villages situated near to each other upon the high bank on the south side of the river, one of these villages being under the authority of an old woman – a chief's wife – the chief being dead. Many of these people had never seen a white person. They received us with a war dance, and presented us with several baskets of potatoes which were immediately dressed. While the cooks were doing their duty, we walked into the villages and conversed with the people and made the principals presents of a few fish hooks. One of these villages is called Otaheite (Otahiti); Ranghee Wakka-Takka (Rangi-whakataka) is the name of the other. These villages stand at the head of a most beautiful valley into which a small creek, navigable for canoes, runs from the river. In this valley we observed several small villages and a large portion of land cultivated with potatoes. In this part there is a large quantity of good land that never has been in cultivation and which would make a beautiful settlement. There appeared a great number of people here in this very retired nook. As I passed along the village I

observed a young man lying and a chief tattooing or carving his breech. The operation appears to be painful: he cut deep every stroke and continually wiped away the flowing blood. This is a very barbarous custom.

After remaining a few hours we left these villages with the return of the tide. An old chief with a very long beard and his face tattooed all over had accompanied us from where we slept last night. He wanted



an axe very much. At last he said if we would give him an axe he would give us his head. Nothing is held in so much veneration by the natives as the head of their chief. I asked him who should have the axe when I had got his head. He replied I might give it to his son. At length he said, "Perhaps you will trust me a little time, and when I die you shall have my head." I promised him he should have an axe, and he gave me two mats in order to secure one. I told him I had not one left – they were all at Rangheehoo. He said he would send a man for it, which he did, when we finally left the river. We hastened back as fast as possible and arrived at our lodgings at about eight o'clock, having gone by estimation little less than forty miles by water. The war canoes go at a great pace when well manned.

We told the chief Tarawheka that we must leave him in the morning. He provided us with his presents of potatoes and two hogs to take with us. The priest of the Heads was our constant companion. As he was so well informed upon all subjects relative to his country and religion, I wished to learn from him who was the first man at New Zealand. He answered that the first man who visited New Zealand, from whence all originated, was Mowhee (Maui); that he had left his own country with his followers on account of public troubles, and was afterwards conducted by the god of thunder to Showrakkee (Hauraki) or what we call the river Thames. He said that Taurekke (Tawhaki), the god of thunder, sat at the head of his canoe and brought him safe to land. His name is held in great veneration and he is worshipped as a deity.

For several miles on the south-west side of the river the beach is covered with round stones of various descriptions, from one to six feet in diameter. I asked the priest whence they came, as I had seen nothing like them in any part. He said Mowhee dug them out of the bed of the river at the time he made the channel. They attribute to Mowhee many of the natural productions in the island. We conversed with them on the motion of the earth, the relative situation of other countries to their own, the number of moons a ship would be sailing to different parts, what countries produced iron, coal, wheat, wine, spirits, tea, sugar, rice; etc., and what articles their own country was capable of producing when once they had means to grow them, and all these subjects gratified them very much. During the conversation they often made many judicious observations, expressing their ardent desire that they might only be able to try what their country would do. We closed the day with reading a portion of Scripture, singing a hymn, and prayer.

At daybreak this morning (Saturday, October 9th) we heard the lamentations of the poor widow on the summit of the hill, weeping for her children. Her affliction of mind was very heavy. She was left wholly to the feelings of nature, which appeared to be intolerable. The consolations of religion could not pour the oil of joy into her wounded spirit. She knew not God, and evidently had no refuge to fly to for relief. In the fullest sense of the Apostle's meaning she was "without hope and without God in the world." Her situation will apply to the whole of her countrymen when under any affliction. I am informed they will sit for months, night and day, mourning in a similar manner for the loss of their dearest relations.



What infinite blessings Divine revelation communicates to the whole body of a nation who are favoured with it, can never be estimated. The knowledge of the only true God spreads its genial influences to the king on the throne and through all the different ranks of his subjects, down to the condemned felon in his cell. The wickedness of men, however great, in a Christian country, cannot prevent Divine revelation from imparting its common blessings to them, any more than the barren soil can prevent the sun from imparting its genial rays. I have been accustomed to attend for more than twenty years condemned criminals, and I never met with an instance, however great the guilt of the felon might be, but his mind was relieved from the common knowledge of God when under the prospect of a speedy execution. He would plead God was merciful and upon that attribute he built his hope, and that hope would support his mind, more or less, till he was launched into eternity.

In a Christian country, to whom do ungodly persons in the day of trouble fly for relief, when they are deprived of their children or friends by death, but to the wisdom and righteous government of God, and console their minds with the hope that their dearest connections are in a better world, and whatever the living have lost the dead have gained? But the widow and the fatherless in a heathen country have none of those sources of consolation. Their wounds are only healed by the hand of time, and if this fails their last resource is suicide, which is common amongst the New Zealanders. The knowledge of the true God, Who made and still governs the world, is the only remedy that can relieve the immortal mind in this respect. Though no comparison can be drawn in a moral point of view between the better part of society in New Zealand and the worst in a civilized Christian country, yet the latter have greatly the advantage in this world over the former, inasmuch as they derive consolation in the day of trouble from Divine revelation, which the poor heathen, from his total ignorance of the true God, cannot do.

I have been led to make the above observations from what I have repeatedly seen, not only in this afflicted widow but also in others under distress of mind. By reflecting upon the infinite blessings bestowed upon a nation which is favoured with the knowledge of Divine revelation, we may see the force and justice of our Saviour's declaration when He said that it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the Day of Judgment than for those who are favoured with the Gospel and despise its gracious invitations.

After commiserating the affliction of the above poor widow I returned to breakfast, which was no sooner over than we prepared for our departure to a village about eighteen or twenty miles distant up the river called Ta Pappa (Te Papa). Our company now was large. We left We-te-wha-heetee (Te Whaiti) in fine canoes, all laden more or less with provisions and with several live hogs. On our passage up the river we were joined by the brother of Poro and his son. Poro is a great chief not far from the North Cape. None of the men in the canoe belonging to Poro were tattooed. I made inquiries after Poro, though I had never seen him. About three years ago he had sent one of his people over to Port Jackson in the Active, when I sent him a few presents.



I gave Poro's brother a plane-iron and a pocket knife, having nothing more left, and promised to give him an axe. He said he would go to Rangheehoo with us for it, but as this would be a great and laborious journey I told him I would send him one to Moodee Why's, with which he was satisfied.

Poro and Moodee Why were friends. Poro had heard of the difference between Moodee Why and Matanghee, and had sent his son and brother to know the particulars and to offer his assistance, if wanted.

I wished to know how they had come from their own place, whether by land or sea, as the distance must be very considerable. They replied by land. I wished to

know if there were no rivers to obstruct them. They answered, none but such as they could easily swim across.

When he came to the branch of the river that led to Hoota Koora, Moodee Why's village, he left us, and we proceeded towards Ta Pappa where we intended to rest for the night. The chief's name of this valley is Patu-ona.[231]

We arrived at Ta Pappa in the afternoon. Patu-ona had made every preparation for our reception. He had constructed a new and commodious hut for us and was greatly rejoiced to see us. Our party was large. Patu-ona is one of the most pleasant chiefs I had met with. He has a fine open countenance in which the greatest kindness and good nature are expressed. He told me that he had a great desire to visit Port Jackson in the Active, and would be glad to go over even in the capacity of a cook, which is one of the meanest situations that their slaves are placed in, and added if I considered him a gentleman he would then go as my friend. I promised him that his wish should be granted when an opportunity offered. He made inquiry about the growth of grain. He had a small patch of wheat growing from seed which he had received from the missionary settlement. Patu-ona was very anxious to improve his countrymen and to better their situation. Should he ever visit Port Jackson, he will derive the greatest advantage from seeing the comforts of civil life and the improvements going on there in building, agriculture, etc.

## MAORI RESENTMENT OF SACRILEGE



Moodee Why, whom we found with Patu-ona, was very urgent with me to send him a red flannel shirt, a night cap, and a pair of spectacles: observing if he could only get those articles he should be a great man.[232]

We had not been long with Patu-ona before a messenger arrived and informed Moodee Why that Matanghee had been removing the bones of his ancestors from the sepulchre where they had been deposited, which greatly wounded Moodee Why's feelings and roused his indignation. When he received the information of the circumstance he was greatly distressed. The news pierced his very heart. He said that if it was not for the respect he had for us he would go that night and kill Matanghee. He further observed that it had been his intention to have visited Port Jackson in the Active, but now his distress would be so great and of long continuance that he could not go. He had no prospect of relieving his mind but by travelling from place to place in his own country and amongst his friends. He wished to know our opinion – whether he should go immediately and kill Matanghee or not. We told him that we could not interfere with the customs of their country; but in England great men did nothing hastily but always took time to deliberate, and we thought he had better not be in too much haste to punish the offence.

Moodee Why never recovered his spirits while we stayed. His mind was gloomy and oppressed. Matanghee and he were near relatives, or there would not have been that forbearance in either party which there had been. They would soon have settled their difference by an appeal to arms, but family connections prevented them from indulging their natural feelings and their love of war. Shunghee had punished with death five men for sacrilege since my arrival, as already mentioned, and no doubt but Moodee Why, from the same influence of superstition upon his mind, would, to relieve his own distress and as a satisfaction to the spirits of his departed ancestors, act in the same way was it in his power to do so.

Patu-ona was a relation and friend to both parties. He was concerned for the quarrel, but said that they were both wrong. Matanghee was wrong in shooting Moodee Why's pigs, and Moodee Why was equally wrong in shooting Matanghee's. Patu-ona said if Matanghee had shot his pigs he would not have retaliated upon him by shooting Matanghee's, but would have had no connection with him in future – he would have considered him to have acted so unlike a chief. But he observed that his brother, who was by, would have acted as Moodee Why did. How they will accommodate their difference we cannot say. We were obliged to them for suppressing their mutual resentments while we were with them. This was an attention we could not have expected from savages.

We spent our time at this village very pleasantly: our accommodations were comparatively good and our companions were very entertaining, particularly the priest of the winds and waves.

## DEPARTURE FROM THE HOKIANGA



October 10th. – This morning we prepared for our final departure from the River Shokee Hangha. We had left several villages and chiefs whom, for want of time, we could not visit though they had provided for us.

We were now to part with Moodee Why and Mowenna, the head chief of the river, who had never left us since we met. Mowenna wept at our departure, and directed the priest to accompany us to Rangheehoo and to learn if the Active had arrived and whether there was any prospect of her visiting their river, in order that they might prepare the timber for her. It would have been impossible for any civilized nation to have paid us more attention, as far as their means and knowledge extended, than those poor heathens did.

When we left Patu-ona's village we were more than fifty in company; the most of them were going for an axe, or hoe, or some small edge tool. They would have to travel by land and water, from 100 to 140 miles, in some of the worst paths through woods that can be conceived, and to carry their provisions for their journey. A chief's wife came with us all the way, and I believe her load could not be less than 100lbs., and many carried much more than that weight. We had to travel upon the banks of the upper part of the river Shokee Hangha. Patu-ona took myself, Messrs. Kendall and Puckey in his canoe for some miles up the river till we came to a fall, when we landed in a wood about the middle of the day. We estimated our distance from the Heads to be between forty and fifty miles, or upwards. The body of our party had gone on.

We had now to travel through a very thick wood on the banks, and at particular points had to wade the river. Some very fine young men went before us and cleared the way, as well as they could, by treading and breaking down the brush and branches of trees. It was very fatiguing to walk in this wood, and, from the very heavy rain that fell in the morning, very wet and dreary.

Near dusk in the evening we came to the last station on the banks of the river, where we put up for the night under a little shed open both to the wind and rain. The party with us made a shed for themselves. The night was cold, and we were very wet and weary. Our servants kindled the fires and dressed some pork and potatoes on which we dined. The chiefs had sent nine hogs with us and many hundredweight of potatoes. One hog we killed and dressed this evening.

All had now returned home who did not intend to accompany us to the end of our journey, though we still mustered in our little camp between fifty and sixty persons.

This was a very solitary station – on the banks of a river in a very deep valley surrounded with lofty timber of various kinds, and a day's journey from any native village or farm – our only companions being men in a state of nature, some of them having never seen a vessel or ever visited the missionary settlement.

October 11th. – We arose early this morning after a very cold and uncomfortable night, and prepared for our journey in hopes of reaching Kiddee Kiddee in the evening, which we estimated to be twenty-six miles from our station. We had still a very difficult part of the wood



to pass. After walking for almost two hours we reached the open ground, near which stands a large stump of a pine, the remains of a tree cut down by the great Tippahee for his canoe. The chips still remain round the place where he made the canoe. I sat down upon the stump and reflected upon the conversations I had had with Tippahee fourteen years before, and the events that had since occurred relative to his country. How would he have rejoiced had he now been alive to see the present opening prospect for the benefit of his native land! I may here observe that he just planted the acorn, but died before the sturdy oak appeared above the surface of the ground. When Tippahee had completed the canoe he had more than twenty miles to carry it overland by mere muscular strength.

When we left this wood we had a clear open country before us, through which our road lay for more than twenty miles, some of the soil good, some gravelly, and others swampy. Some of the swamps we passed may be easily drained as there appeared sufficient fall. Our road was very good excepting the swamps, and, in general, level. We found it easy and pleasant to travel compared to what we had passed the preceding day.

After walking very hard till about six o'clock in the evening, with only resting once for a short period, we arrived at Kiddee Kiddee very tired and weary. When we arrived at Kiddee Kiddee we found Shunghee there. The Rev. Mr. Butler and carpenters were at Rangheehoo. I immediately laid down to rest in the only building yet completed.

Shunghee informed me five days before a chief, Tenana (Tinana), had killed his wife for adultery. She had been caught in the act, and acknowledged her guilt, when her husband knocked her on the head with a pattoo. The punishment, he said, was just. Her brother had been and taken away the dead body, which was conveyed to the sepulchre of her friends. She was a woman of rank. Her friends would not punish the surviving husband, as he had acted according to the established customs of their country, further than taking away a few baskets of potatoes as a satisfaction for the death of the woman. A man will sometimes put away his wife for adultery, but he may put her to death when the fact is fully proved, if he wishes to do so, and his conduct will meet with the approbation of the public.

After conversing with Shunghee, we read a portion of God's word, sang an hymn, returned our grateful thanks to God Who had preserved our going out and coming in, and had prospered us in our journey and brought us in health to our resting place. Shunghee and several of the natives remained with us while we paid our praise and thanksgiving to God. I pointed out to Shunghee that it was our duty to pray to our God – to thank Him for keeping us by night and day; that His eye was over us and His ear heard us when we prayed, and that He did us good at all times. Shunghee behaved with much propriety and said it was right we should pray. We then lay down and enjoyed a good night's rest.

October 12th. – This morning we intended to return to Rangheehoo after breakfast. Shunghee had a quantity of sweet potatoes dressed for us and our friends. I was much gratified with the progress that



had been made in our new settlement. During our absence a considerable quantity of ground had been broken up and part planted with maize. A number of seeds had been sown in the garden, which had been brought from England to Port Jackson, and were up. The vines 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 could be more gratifying to the mind. A building had also been erected for the accommodation of the labouring natives. From what I saw I was convinced all hands had been very busy, and much done in a short time with the small means that Mr. Butler and his colleagues can command.

About nine o'clock we left Kiddee Kiddee, and in our way down the river we called at a village on the south side of the river called Moo-too-etee (Motuiti) belonging to a chief named Showrakkee (Hauraki)[233] whom I had promised to visit. We found him at home with several chiefs from other parts. He was much pleased with our calling to see him. While we stopped, the wind rose very strong and it began to rain heavily. After waiting till evening without any prospect of the weather clearing up, and the waters being rough, I resolved to remain till the next day. Showrakkee told me that it was not safe for me to venture in the canoe, as it would be in great danger of upsetting, and recommended us to stay till morning. Mr. Kendall was very anxious to get home, and therefore I left him to act as he pleased, when he embarked for Rangheehoo, having about seven miles to pass through a very open and rough sea, leaving me with the chiefs, where I remained all night.

I here met with Moyanger (Moehanga) a chief who had visited England about twelve years ago with Mr. Savage.[234] He made particular inquiries after the Queen, whom he had seen, said she was an old woman, and wished to know if she was alive. I told him she died about eight moons before. He wished to know if the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and the other parts of the Royal family were well. He gave the surrounding chiefs a particular account of what he had seen in England, mentioned London Bridge and the waterworks there, told them how the water was conveyed by pipes into the different houses in the city, and many other particulars relative to our mode of living, houses, carriages, shipping, churches, roads, agriculture, etc., and how the cooks dressed the food for the gentlemen's tables, and that they never ate it but only tasted it in the kitchen before it was served up. They heard him with great attention.

There was an old chief called Teekopedee (Te Kopiri) who was a cripple in both his legs, and a man as proud of his consequence and dignity as I had ever seen. He informed me that his land and subjects extended from Shokee Hangha (Hokianga) to the Why-Coto (Waikato), near 150 miles, and that he had heard King George was so great a man that he never went on board a ship, and that he was equally great in New Zealand and, for that reason, he never went on board any vessel.



They talked nearly the whole night upon various subjects relative to civil fife, and were very anxious I should visit the very long river Why-Coto, on the banks of which, according to all the statements of the natives, there is a very great population. I promised to go if my time would admit, and the chiefs agreed to accompany me.

October 13th. – On the return of day Showrakkee ordered his large canoe, when himself, Moyanger, and some of his people accompanied me to Rangheehoo, where I found Mr. Kendall arrived in safety. The chiefs of Shokee Hangha who accompanied us on our return were waiting for my arrival, in order to receive those presents which we had promised to them. They all assembled at the store, where we gave them twenty-one axes, seventeen hoes, fifteen flat tokees, two dozen plane-irons, two adzes, and a quantity of fish-hooks with a few pocket knives and Jew's harps. Ta-man-hena, the priest of the winds and waves, was in the number. He had

promised that when he came to Rangheehoo I should hear his god speak to him, as I told him that I could not believe he ever did converse with him unless I heard him myself. I now called upon him for the fulfilment of his promise, as I wished to hear his god, Ta-man-hena replied that his god was not at Rangheehoo at that time, and therefore that I could not hear him. I smiled at him and told him I believed he never heard him himself.

When they had all received their presents they returned much gratified with our visit and conduct to them.

October 14th. – On my return to the settlement (Rangihoua) Mr. Butler informed me that a chief from Ti-Ami (Tai-a-mai) had been very turbulent and troublesome when he was up at Kiddee Kiddee, by going to the house of Mr. William Hall in a very threatening manner and demanding an axe. On Mr. Butler's return he renewed his application, when Mr. Butler gave him two hoes and an axe. He came again on the Thursday following, bringing with him two hogs for sale, which were purchased from him. He was still dissatisfied and wanted another axe.

There were several chiefs belonging to his tribe with him, who remained upon the beach, and though they did not appear to countenance his violent conduct yet they took no steps to check him. We could not but infer from their silence that what he did was with their consent, and, if he could not obtain by fair means the articles he wanted, they did not disapprove of his trying what threatening would do. We remonstrated with them on the impropriety of his conduct, and told them that the Europeans would not remain in New Zealand if they were not protected from insult. We came for their good, and not for our own. They expressed their regard for us, and pretended to be displeased with the conduct of the chief which was so extremely violent. At length I told them Mr. Kendall and myself would visit their district and hear what the different chiefs had to say, and if they had any complaints to make we would hear them and redress them as far as we had the means to do so. With this assurance they were well satisfied, and the following Monday was fixed upon for our departure from Rangheehoo to Ti-Ami.

On Saturday (October 16th) five of the principal chiefs came to conduct us, with their slaves to carry our provisions.

On Monday (October 18th) we were prevented by heavy rain from leaving the settlement.



AT OKURA

On Tuesday morning (October 19th) we prepared for our departure. When we had got our boxes all ready for the canoes an old chief took them up in order to examine their weight. From their lightness he suspected there were no axes in the boxes. His countenance lowered immediately, and he kicked the boxes away from him with indignation. I remonstrated with the chiefs, and told them that if they behaved in that disrespectful manner I would not go amongst them. When they found that we were not likely to visit them they became very earnest in their entreaties. As they had now been anxiously waiting for us for three days, I was as anxious to meet their wishes as they were: at the same time I was determined we would not go until all matters were finally arranged relative to our visit – what we should pay for the canoes, for the slaves to carry our baggage, and what presents the chiefs belonging to the different villages would expect us to make them. These were all finally settled before we embarked to prevent any disputes when we returned. After every arrangement was made to our mutual satisfaction we left Rangheehoo about eleven o'clock in the morning in two canoes.

On our passage up the river Kiddee Kiddee a canoe, very beautifully carved, from the river Thames, passed us. Those canoes are well made, will live in a rough sea, and go very fast. In our canoes were several young slaves from the southward and one from near the East Cape. I inquired what price the chief had paid for them. For one, a fine youth, he had given twenty baskets of sweet potatoes, and an axe for another; the others, I believe, were prisoners of war.[235]

We arrived at the village Okoora (Okura) of the head chief Whytarow (Whatarau) about six o'clock, where we landed, and where we were to sleep for the night. The chief had got one of the neatest huts I had seen in New Zealand.[236] At each corner stands a carved wooden image, one representing a man, the other a woman, painted red, both naked. They are placed there to perpetuate two victories which the chief obtained over two islands in the Bay of Plenty, and are named after these islands. The chief himself has assumed the name also of one of them.

After we had taken some refreshment and the darkness of the evening had closed upon us, the chief ordered a fire to be made around which we all sat down. We then desired the chiefs to state the grounds of their grievances. They began by saying that they had no private complaints to make – that their grievances were of a public nature. They stated that when the Europeans first came to New Zealand they all settled with Duaterra and Shunghee: by this means the power and wealth of Shunghee were greatly increased – that when the last Europeans came, they expected to have got one to reside with them; but these also were appropriated to Shunghee, which threw all the trade into his hands. They alleged that they could not go to trade with the missionaries within Shunghee's jurisdiction: on one hand this would lower their dignity, and on the other Shunghee's people would not allow them, as this was contrary to the custom of their country for one



CHIEFS' JEALOUSY OF HONGI

chief to interfere in matters of trade with another within his own district. What they wanted was an equal advantage of trade, which they could not enjoy without the residence of a missionary amongst them to whom they could dispose of their property without any of those degrading restraints which they were now under. What they have to sell is a few potatoes and hogs. These are their principal commodities. They further alleged that people had cast reflections upon them and charged some of their people with theft, which had made them very angry. They did not attempt to deny that some of their tribe had, with or without their knowledge, taken some trifling things from the Europeans; but that Shunghee's people had been more guilty in this respect. They asked us who had put up the boys to steal our chisels, etc., when we landed the stores, intimating that this had been done privately – either by Shunghee himself or his secret agents. They thought it hard they should be equally blamed with Shunghee's people for theft, without deriving any of those profits from trade which Shunghee's people enjoyed. They conceived that they had not been treated with that respect and attention which their rank and power in New Zealand entitled them to – that the Europeans were equally indebted to them as they were to Shunghee for their protection; that their tribe was as powerful and respectable as his and their lands more extensive; and that they had the same right to the harbour where the ships anchored and the shores where the boats landed. They said they were not offended that we had made a new settlement at Kiddee Kiddee, where Shunghee resided; all that they wished was that Shunghee should not monopolize the whole of the trade by having all the Europeans living under his authority, as this made him and his people assume more consequence than they were entitled to, and tended to lower their tribe in the public opinion. The principal articles of trade are spades, hoes, axes, etc., which are missionary stores and the articles they are so urgent for. These and many other strong arguments they urged to convince us that they had sufficient public grounds to be dissatisfied.

I could not but admit the justness of their reasonings, and regretted much that they should have any just cause of complaint, and in answer to their statements I wished to lay before them the real reason of this apparent partiality. At the same time I assured them that we were equally anxious to administer to their wants and to the wants of all their countrymen as we were to Shunghee's, as far as we had the means to do so.

In the first place I stated the cause why we paid our attentions to Shunghee – that Tippahee was a near relation to Shunghee and the first New Zealand chief I had

seen at Port Jackson, and with whom I had formed a particular intimacy – that when I returned from England I brought Messrs. Hall and King with me, with the intention to send them immediately to New Zealand – to Tippahee – to teach his people, but when I arrived at Port Jackson I was informed that the Boyd had been cut off by the people of Wangarooa and all her crew killed and eaten; and soon afterwards Tippahee died, and a number of his people were killed by the Europeans in consequence of the destruction of the Boyd. Shortly after these events the New Zealanders killed and ate three men belonging to the ship called the New Zealander, a whaler.



These dreadful crimes which their countrymen had been guilty of struck the Europeans with horror. I was afraid to send Messrs. Hall and King lest they should kill and eat them also.

After they had waited more than four years in Port Jackson, Mr. Kendall came from England with the intention of coming to teach the New Zealanders, and, after he had remained for some time at Port Jackson, I then sent him and Mr. Hall to visit Duaterra to know if they wished any of the Europeans to come to live with them. If they did, I wished him and two or three chiefs to come over with Messrs. Kendall and Hall to Port Jackson for their families. Duaterra returned, and Shunghee and Korro Korro accompanied him, with Messrs. Kendall and Hall. Tippahee being dead, and Shunghee promising, with Duaterra, that he would take care of the missionaries, they came, and were placed under their protection by me. I told them that I should have come the first time the Active came if Governor Macquarie would have allowed me; but he would not give his permission, fearing they would kill me and eat me as they had done the crew of the Boyd.

We further stated to them that their crimes were viewed with horror by all Europeans, which made them afraid to come amongst them; that if they wished for any Europeans to live in their country they must show great kindness to those who are now with them, in order to remove the bad impressions from the minds of the Europeans which their past conduct had made.

In answer to the above, they said it was right that the first settlers should come to Shunghee, and they did not wish to have any of the missionaries who lived under his protection; but they were very desirous to have one at least of those that had lately come. I replied that the number were so few that I could not divide them – if I did we should not be able to show them the advantages of a farm and other improvements which we intended to make – but assured them if they behaved well to the missionaries in the island at present, I would, as soon as I could, get them one or more to live in their district, but I could not make them a full promise; adding if one should come he might be unwilling to live with them. They answered they would not wish to compel a missionary against his will to live with them, but if he was sent for their benefit, and did not, they should request that he might be sent back again to Port Jackson and not permitted to live with Shunghee. Temmarangha (Te Morenga), who is one of the principal chiefs and had lived with me a short time at Parramatta, said he wanted a man who could preach, teach little children to read and write, administer medicine when they were sick, and show them how to cultivate their land.

With regard to the charges of cruelty against them, they stated that the Europeans had killed many of their countrymen upon the most trivial occasions, and some instances they mentioned where they had been shot without committing any offence. They had also often defrauded them of their property and ill-treated their women. The Boyd was cut off in consequence of the chief being flogged by the captain. And with respect to the ship New Zealander, they said a chief – a near relation to Tippahee, named Tarria (Taraia) – stole a musket from the people who were wooding upon his land, as a satisfaction for the Europeans storming Tippahee's island and killing his people. When the



men returned to the vessel and informed the captain, he sent two armed boats, which fell in with a party belonging to the chiefs who were giving us this account. They informed the sailors that they were not the people who had stolen the musket; but the sailors, either through ignorance of the language or from wantonness, fired upon the innocent party twice, when the natives attacked them and two of the white people were killed. Afterwards the sailors shot Tarria's uncle, in which fray an European was killed. The chiefs on the south side of the harbour, as three white men had been killed and only one New Zealander, demanded satisfaction according to the law of retaliation for the death of two Europeans; when two New Zealanders were killed by themselves, belonging to the tribe who had killed the two Europeans, and afterwards their dead bodies were taken in a canoe alongside the ship to show the master that they had done further justice to his crew by punishing with death their own countrymen for the murder of his men.

They mentioned instances where their own people had been shot, and no satisfaction made for their lives by the Europeans; and that a great number had been killed by Captain Howel, who commanded a vessel out of Port Jackson, in an harbour between the river Thames and Mercury Bay, and intimated that these people would take satisfaction at some future period for the lives of their relatives, when opportunity offered.

I then told them that a law had been passed in England for the punishment of any European who should wantonly kill a New Zealander, and that if any of the New Zealanders killed an European, if they came to Port Jackson afterwards they would be hung. They were much gratified with this information. I told them that King George wished to protect them from violence as well as his own people, and that he would punish the guilty whenever they could be caught, whether they were Englishmen or New Zealanders. They said if any European should kill a New Zealander they should wish to see him executed.

After conversing till a late hour upon all these subjects, in which we received mutual satisfaction, we lay down in our clothes to rest.

We rose early this morning (October 20th) and prepared for our journey to Ti-Ami where we arrived in the evening, about half past five o'clock, very weary with our walk. The distance we estimated at more than twenty miles. In our way lay several swamps, through some of which we waded, and through others we were carried. One of them is about one mile through. We passed through only two small woods; the country is very open, some of the land is exceeding good and other parts either gravelly, stony, or swampy. The swamps in most places might be drained. The land in general is pretty level. It is well watered in all directions, with fine falls of water for mills of any kind. The whole country through which we passed belonged to the chiefs who accompanied us.

About five miles before we came to any of the villages in the district of Ti-Ami we passed through a very fine plain where the soil appeared very rich, though stony. The whole, from the grass that was upon it, appeared to have been in cultivation at some former period, and there were evident traces of a large population. We passed near



the ruins of two villages on the edge of this plain. They are now wholly uninhabited. A few potatoes I observed growing upon the sides of the hills on which they stood. They had been strongly fortified at no very distant period. The chief informed us they belonged to him and his friends, and at one time contained 1,000 inhabitants; but the inhabitants had been besieged, and were compelled at length to yield to the enemy and to quit their stronghold. The hills are very high upon

which the villages stood, and so strong by nature that they could not be easily taken unless the inhabitants were starved out for want of water and provisions.

When we arrived at the first village of Ti-Ami we were introduced to the old chief, who appeared to be more than eighty years old but was all life and spirits. He danced for joy when we gave him a chisel. He expressed the greatest satisfaction at our visit. From his hands he appeared to have just returned from labour in the potato grounds. He informed us that he remained upon the farm to attend to its cultivation, but that he would come to Rangheehoo to see us. He told us 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.[237] Two other ships came afterwards before Captain Cook. The captains of the two ships before the arrival of Captain Cook were killed by the natives near Cape Bret (Brett). Before their death they had killed many of the natives and destroyed one whole village in the Bay of Islands. This old chief appeared in perfect health.[238]

This village stands in a fertile spot, sheltered by lofty pines, and watered by many beautiful small streams sufficient to turn a mill. Here we spent the evening in conversing upon agriculture and other useful arts, the laws and customs of other countries, the object of the missionaries in coming to live amongst them, the manner in which they should treat them if they expected others to come to live in their country, and the advantages they would derive from the richness of their soil when once wheat and barley were introduced amongst them. We told them it was not the custom in England for gentlemen's wives to cultivate the land, whereas their wives were working from morning to night in the field; that gentlemen in England had only one wife while some of

MAORI ATTITUDE TOWARDS POLYGAMY



them had ten, that so many wives created much trouble and quarrels. They observed that what we said was very true, that such a number of wives caused great disputes amongst them, that it often happened that the women in those quarrels would go and hang themselves; but they alleged that, notwithstanding those evils, they could not dispense with their number of wives, for they had no money to pay for the cultivation of their land and without the assistance of their wives, either as labourers or overseers, they could not cultivate their lands at all. If they had the same means that the gentlemen had in England of cultivating their land with cattle, their wives should be employed in a different way, but they could not alter their present plan till they could get the means.

We told them that we hoped in time they would have those advantages, but much would depend upon their own conduct towards the Europeans. If they behaved well to them, others would be encouraged to come to live amongst them; if ill, those that were now in New Zealand would return to their own country. They only wished for an opportunity to show their attention by having two or three with them. The New Zealanders are eager to gain instruction, have a quick conception and a very retentive memory.

We conversed till a late hour, when we sang an hymn, returned thanks to God for His goodness, and committed ourselves to His gracious protection for the night.

Thursday, October 21st. – We rose early this morning, and afterwards walked over the potato grounds with the chief, where his people were at work. Some were planting maize, but did not understand how that grain was planted. They put the grains near together, which would prevent the growth of the plant. I showed them how we planted our maize, by planting some. The chief saw immediately the advantage of giving the plant sufficient room, and directed his people to follow the instructions I had given them.

The chief treated us with every mark of attention in his power. On our arrival he addressed his people with much warmth, commanded them not to steal the smallest articles from us on any account; if they did, Shunghee's people would hear of it and they would be disgraced. He said if they behaved well to us, I, perhaps, would send an European to live amongst them. He would not say I should, but perhaps I might. If they did not behave well they would have no hope of ever having any Europeans in their district.

After breakfast our next visit was to the village of the chief who had been so sulky and shoved the boxes about at the settlement previous to our setting off on our journey. This old chief made an apology for his conduct, and said he was not angry but he had heard of our generosity and had come to see if we would bestow an axe upon him; thinking there were none in the boxes, his mind was hurt as he was afraid of being disappointed. He now showed his anxiety to do all he could to make our visit to him pleasant. We were attended by a large number of natives. He gave us an hog, which we ordered to be killed for our attendants, and abundance of sweet and common potatoes were dressed for all present. He prepared a clean shed for us to sleep in and exerted all his ability to make us comfortable.

HOT SPRINGS



After dinner I went to see an hot spring in a wood about four miles distant.[239] The water was warm and very offensive; it sent forth a continual steam. There was a thick scum upon the surface like yellow ochre, with which the natives paint themselves. It has rather a redder cast than common yellow ochre. The water has a strong sulphurous smell. I brought away with me some of the stone about it, which is hard and flinty.[240] The natives informed me there was another spring about six miles from the village, where the water was white and very offensive; no wild ducks or fowls were ever seen on this water.

After returning to the village and performing our evening devotions, we conversed with the chiefs on various subjects till a late hour. The night was cold and dark, and our shed open on three sides and no roof, which made our accommodation very uncomfortable. The New Zealanders lay down – men, women, and children – round about the shed like the cattle in a farmyard, and apparently as unconcerned about the rain and cold.

Friday, October 22nd. – After breakfast I visited the white spring. It is a small lake about half a mile round. At a distance it appears white like milk, but not quite so white when at the edge of the lake. About a mile before I came to this lake, I fell in with a lake of clear water upon which were a number of wild ducks. A quantity of brimstone was lying upon the ground in different directions, specimens of which I brought away with me. The whole surface of the country for miles appears as if there had been some volcanic eruption – swamps, lakes, and barren soil. It appears as if there had been a wood of pines, which is now all burnt, not so much as one tree remaining. There is here and there the root of a pine which has been burnt into the surface of the ground, and pieces of rosing,[241] which have come from the pine tree, are lying on the ground in all directions. The soil is extremely poor, spongy and wet, and of a white nature like pipe clay.

The natives told me, as we walked along, where there were other springs of a similar nature not far distant. A quantity of rosin lies upon the banks of the white lake, and in various parts of the lake there is a froth upon the surface like yeast upon new beer when working in the vat. I brought a bottle of the water with me with an intention to take it to Port Jackson, as perhaps it may be analyzed there. The stony creek through which the water from the lake continually runs appears as if it was covered with lime, from the sediment left by the water in its course through the rocks, and all the stone in the creek was hard as flint, specimens also of which I brought with me.

THE LAW OF TAPU



Before we left this village for the next I took a fire-stick into a shed, where our boxes stood with our provisions, and laid a little brimstone upon it to see what effect

the fire would have. As soon as the chiefs saw the smoke they were all dreadfully alarmed, and called aloud to me to take the fire out of the shed. I asked them why they were so afraid. They replied their god would kill them all, for there were provisions in our boxes in the shed, and if fire was taken into the shed where there were provisions they would all die. To allay their fears I threw the fire-stick down, and then endeavoured to convince them that all their fears were groundless and that their tabooing their provisions, the vessels they eat out of, their houses, etc., were all a delusion – that there was no such thing in Europe – that I was not afraid to eat anything, nor to sleep in any house, nor to have fire and provisions in the same house.

They said if they did not pay very particular attention to all that their priests told them they would die. If they went to battle and neglected any ceremony relative to their food, etc., and a spear only touched them they would die immediately; but if they observed the ceremonies and a spear should go through their body they would not die. I told them that the observance of those things would have no effect in preserving their lives in battle. They contended warmly that it would; and one of the chiefs came forward and showed me where a spear had passed through his lungs, and both his blood and his breath came through the orifice of the wound, and yet he recovered because he paid attention to the injunctions of the priest. In answer to this I said that I had seen a large barbed spear taken out of the body of a white man at Parramatta, which had been thrown at him by a native and had wounded the intestines so much that the food which he ate for a considerable time came through the wound which the spear had made; and yet he recovered and was alive and well when I left Parramatta, though he had never been tabooed, nor his food, nor his house. They expressed their astonishment at this – that he should recover from such a wound without attending to similar ceremonies with themselves, upon the observance of which they believed the issue of life or death depended. I further told them that instances had occurred where soldiers in battle had been shot through the lungs with a ball, as the chief had been speared, and nevertheless had recovered, and yet they were not tabooed. I asked them if the chief had been speared through the heart or through the temples of the head whether he would have recovered or not, admitting he had been tabooed; they replied he would not. I then wanted to know of what use their tabooing was, as Europeans recovered from similar wounds with themselves without tabooing.

They said that some time ago one of their tribe went on board a ship where he ate some provisions contrary to their customs, when their god in his anger slew a great many of them. I inquired in what manner those who died were affected. They represented their tongues to be foul, and their whole bodies in a burning heat.[242] The natives, supposing the heat they experienced to proceed from a secret fire within

MARSDEN CONTROVERTS MAORI SUPERSTITIONS



them, threw off all their mats, drank cold water, bathed themselves in cold water, and exposed themselves as much as they could to cold, under the idea that the cold would quench the heat which they felt. We informed them that this was the way to increase the heat and to kill them, and that, instead of exposing themselves to cold and going naked and lying naked in the open air in the nights, they should have kept themselves warm in order to make them perspire, as the perspiration would carry off the burning heat from their bodies and not cold air and water. They laughed at this idea, and supposed that this would increase their complaint. I then asked them if they remembered any time, when they perspired freely, feeling that burning heat in their bodies which they mentioned. After some reflection and consultation together, they thought from what they felt when they perspired freely we might be right in our opinion.

They then asked me how Duaterra came to die. I told them that, by great exertions and lying out in the air, he had got a violent cold, which brought on that burning heat which they spake of and a violent complaint in his bowels. The priest then tabooed him, would let him have nothing to eat or drink for five days, and would not let me see him for fear their god should kill him and them. Duaterra had been accustomed to eat our bread, rice, and sugar, and to drink tea and wine, and when he was ill the priest would not allow him to have any of these articles which he had been accustomed to and which might have relieved him. On account of the taboo and for want of proper nourishment it was not possible for him to live, and many of their countrymen, like Duaterra, died in consequence of the taboo and lying in the wet and cold when they felt that burning heat.

These arguments had some weight with them and appeared to convince them that they were mistaken.

We further told them that Pomarree (Pomare), King of Otaheite, thought some time ago as they did: he tabooed his houses and his provisions, and was continually under fear lest his god should kill him and his people; but, since the missionaries have lived at Otaheite, and he and his people had been taught the meaning of God's Book, he had abolished all tabooing, and had eaten any proper food, and had slept anywhere, like the Europeans; and was under no fears of being killed by his former gods. They were much surprised at this information, and inquired how long it was since Pomarree had ceased to taboo. We told them that it was more than three years ago since Pomarree had embraced our religion. The chiefs then replied that if we would send missionaries to instruct them and to convince them that their religion was wrong, and to prevent their gods from killing them, they would think and act as we did. Several of them expressed an ardent desire to visit Port Jackson as they wished to see how we lived. I promised them that some of them should be permitted to go when opportunity offered.

After dinner we left this village in order to visit another about four miles distant, at the foot of a very high hill, called Pooka Newee.[243]

A MAORI INVOCATION



During our walk we passed through some of the richest land I had ever seen in this island, free from timber and fit for all the purposes of agriculture.

We arrived about sunset, when an old venerable chief, upright as a column and his teeth as white as ivory, came forward with a long spear in his hand and stood at a distance, where he offered up an oration and prayer according to the New Zealand custom in receiving strangers, bidding us welcome and entreating that his gods would be propitious during our interview, meaning the manes (wairua) of his departed ancestors. He invoked the heavens above and the earth below to render our visit advantageous to his people and agreeable to us, and that no harm might happen to us, whom he esteemed as gods of another country. We heard the profane adulations with silent grief, and could not but wish most ardently for the light of Divine truth to shine upon such a dark and superstitious mind.

As we could say nothing at that moment to the profanation which shocked our feelings, Mr. Kendall took an opportunity afterwards in the course of conversation to explain to them – as we made a practice to do at all times – that there was only one God – Jehovah – Who made and upholds all things and Whom we acknowledged as our God; and that we were but men, looking for happiness in Him in consequence of what His Son Jesus Christ had suffered for us; and that after death we were not considered as gods, as they considered their departed friends,[244] but merely as the creatures of God brought by His goodness into a state of happiness; and that we did not cut ourselves for the dead, as they did, nor mourn without hope, but went quietly into the grave in the assurance of meeting our friends again.

In the course of the evening Mr. Kendall had a long conversation with the chiefs Too-Hoo (Tuohu), Temmarangha, and Whytarow, in consequence of the two latter chiefs speaking to Too-Hoo on the different subjects that had been discussed the preceding evening. They had accompanied us from Rangheehoo and had been with us all the time. When they informed him of what we had said of the burning heat in their bodies and how they should act under it, he said we were gods.

Amongst other things, they had ignorantly supposed that I had it in my power to command Europeans to live amongst them; but Mr. Kendall fully explained to them that this was not the case – that I, Mr. Kendall, and my colleagues were only members of a general body, the chiefs of which resided in England, and their united numbers consisted of some thousands who were influenced by motives of gratitude to their God for the blessings which had been conferred upon us and them and on our ancestors, who were formerly in the same situation that they were at present, to impart unto them that knowledge which had been so productive of their happiness both in this world and in the next.

Mr. Kendall further told them that the Society in England had never thought upon them till after I had seen Tippahee, when I informed the Society what situation they were in, and stated that they were men of strong understandings and capable of improvement, and earnestly





solicited the Society to send out some of their members to instruct them; and that, in consequence of my application to the Society in their behalf, an inquiry was made and persons were asked who would go into this foreign country to instruct them.

Mr. Kendall stated further that there was a doubt amongst the members of the Society whether or not any European could safely live amongst a people who were in the habit of eating human flesh, which caused a general fear and hesitation. At length, however, Messrs. Hall and King offered their voluntary services, as none are compelled to come without their free consent. They accordingly accompanied me to Port Jackson. When they arrived there they were under considerable distress of mind on account of the destruction of the Boyd, and waited four years until Mr. Kendall's arrival (as has been already stated) when I purchased the Active and sent Mr. Kendall and Mr. Hall over to see whether or not they dared to venture to live amongst them. After Messrs. Kendall and Hall had visited them, they resolved to come, with their families; whether they were killed and eaten or not. Accordingly they came along with me. After remaining a short time and observing the conduct of their countrymen, they wrote to England for more Europeans. But masters of ships and other persons, who were prejudiced against them from the reports of their savageness and eating human flesh, wrote against them, which had intimidated the Society and had tended to discredit all that Mr. Kendall and I could say in their favour.

It was not until the missionaries had resided in New Zealand for more than three years that the Society ventured to send any more from England, and, if they wished those missionaries to remain in the island, they must be kind to them and not alarm them and make them uneasy by tedious applications for axes, hoes, etc., lest they should retire quietly from them – as the missionaries had formerly done from Otaheite, with an intention never to return, had not Pomarree from time to time solicited them to do so.

In answer to the above, the chiefs said that they had never understood the object of the missionaries so clearly before; and with respect to the main ground of the Europeans' fears – of being killed and eaten – they contended that this was altogether on our part groundless, and that it was absurd to suppose that they would act so contrary to their own interests as to kill and eat people who came to live quietly amongst them and introduced so many articles of real value. Besides, they said, we lived here under the approbation and protection of all the chiefs, and if one chief was against us he could only trouble us by his vexatious applications; he would dread the power of the other chiefs, and durst not do us any further injury; but if all the chiefs, or the major part of them, were against us we could not live.

They further remarked that, as we had done them no injury, they had no satisfaction to demand from us and no just feelings of retaliation to gratify, and observed with a smile that, if they naturally craved after human flesh, we might make ourselves easy on that head, as the flesh of New Zealanders was much sweeter than that of an European in consequence of the white people eating so much salt.





At length the conversation led to the origin of eating human flesh. They first alleged that it originated from the largest fishes of the sea eating other fishes, and of some even eating their own kind – that large fish eat small ones, small fish eat insects, dogs will eat men and men will eat dogs, and dogs devour each other. The birds of the air also devour one another – the louse that sucks the blood of man, that man will eat as a just retaliation – and one god will devour another god. I should not have understood how the gods could eat one another unless Shunghee had informed me, when he was to the southward and had killed a number of people, he was afraid their god would kill him in retaliation – esteeming himself a god; but he caught their god (being a reptile) and ate part of it, and reserved the other part for his friends, as this was sacred food, and by that means he rested satisfied that they were all secure from his resentment.

With respect to their tedious importunities for axes, etc., they said that their anger was merely feigned and that they were urged to their importunities by their pressing necessities for those things; that they had tried every method in their power to get an axe or hoe. When they had means to pay for an axe, etc., they were always ready to do so, and said we could scarcely bring forward a single instance where a man had troubled us for an article when he was able to purchase what he wanted. They then stated the general satisfaction that it would give the chiefs if two missionaries were sent to each district, as this would prevent all jealousies and tend to make the missionaries more comfortable. As for their children, they had no objections for them to be taught either reading or writing.

From all the information we could collect on our tour we were fully satisfied that missionaries would be kindly received amongst them, and that it was only the want of them that has created any discontent amongst the chiefs.

Saturday (October 23rd). – We rose early this morning in order to prepare for our return, as we wished, if possible, to reach the settlement before the Sabbath.

About six o'clock, while I was set taking my breakfast, on a sudden I heard the loudest lamentations. On turning to the place from whence they came I observed several women crying aloud and the blood streaming down their countenances. On inquiry I learned that the chief's wife, who had accompanied us, had buried a child a short time before, and these women were come to mourn and weep with her on this account. They held all their faces together, mingled their blood with their tears, and cried aloud, cutting themselves at the same time with pieces of flint stone. I was much shocked at the sight of the blood and cuts. The chief came to me and asked me if I was afraid. I answered I was not afraid, but I was much grieved to see them cut themselves in such a manner – that this custom did not prevail in any nation of Europe, and that it was a very bad one. The chief replied the New Zealanders loved their children very much, and could not show it sufficiently without shedding their blood. I replied, to weep was very good but not to cut themselves. This is a very barbarous custom d universally prevails amongst the natives of this island.



New Zealand Chiefs.

Hongi, Tuhi, Tuhi's brother (probably Korokoro, his eldest brother), and a young woman.

From the Atlas of the Histoire du Voyage de la Coquille (Paris, 1826).

"Shongui (Hongi)," Dumont d'Urville remarks, "was the supreme chief of the tribe living at Kidi-Kidi (Kerikeri), better known under the name of Ngapouis (Ngapuhi), and the most powerful rangatira (chief) of those resident at the Bay of Islands. In spite of his long intercourse with the missionaries and his voyage to England he renounced none of his cruel practices and showed himself as vindictive and fierce as before his contact with civilisation. He was a fine looking man, full of dignity, whose appearance, nevertheless, proclaimed his falseness of character and wickedness. . . . Touai (Tuhi), in speaking of him, never failed to recall the fact that Shongui's family was less ancient than his own and reproached his rival, moreover, with several weaknesses, asserting especially that he never entered a combat without donning the armour given him by King George, whereas a brave warrior should have no other armour than his lance. . . . Mr. Kendall, however, was much attached to Shongui, whom he constantly praised, saying that when not engaged in warfare he was the best of men. . . . Although Touai took much more pains than Shongui to imitate European modes and manners, his character had not, in reality, profited by his voyage to England. He was only more adroit, more insinuating, and more anxious to pay court to Europeans, taking great care to disguise his real sentiments by a show of civilisation. During our stay we could not but praise his conduct; suave and insinuating, he hoped to obtain from us much powder and many muskets. Touai had acquired European manners to such an extent that, when he first came on board dressed in his 'gentleman's' clothes and spoke to me, I took him for an Englishman who had settled in New Zealand and, as sometimes happens, had himself tattooed. . . . Captain, officers, and sailors, all had nothing but praise for him; and I frequently admired the tact and adaptability shown by this Maori in judging the quality of those with whom he dealt and in using the necessary means to cause his advances to be welcomed by all." – Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de la corvette V Astrolabe (Paris, 1831), Vol. Ill, pp. 675-8.

[Inserted unpaginated illustration]

HABITANTS DE LA NOUVELLE ZELANDE
Jeune femme. Shonghi chef de Kidikidi. Toui chef de Kawera. Frere de Toui.
Lejeune et Chazal delint.

A BAPTISMAL CEREMONY



As soon as we had finished our breakfast we were presented with a large hog and a few bushels of potatoes, and then took our leave of this fine old chief. Nothing material occurred during our return, and after a tedious journey by land and water we arrived at the settlement about twelve o'clock at night, very weary. The chiefs and their servants attended us home, and on Monday morning we paid the porters who had carried our baggage, and all returned, much satisfied, to their respective homes. We were equally satisfied with the whole of their conduct towards us, and happy that the object of our journey, which was that of conciliating the goodwill of the rival chiefs of those districts and convincing them that our good wishes were general, and not partial, towards them and their countrymen, had been accomplished.

Ti-Ami is a very rich part of the country and only wants a population to improve its natural soil, which at present is burdened with luxurious weeds and pines and other timber of various kinds. The chiefs informed us that they had a large number of people, one day's journey further, who were cultivating a rich soil with sweet and common potatoes. I should estimate the extent of their territory, from what I walked over and what they pointed to us belonging to them, at not less than fifty miles in extent.

On Sunday (November 7th) I preached, administered the Sacrament, and christened nine children belonging to the settlers born in the settlement.

I trust that the Divine Word and Ordinances will now continue in this land of darkness to the end of time. I have no doubt but that the Lord has a people which He will prepare for Himself in New Zealand. He never fed any nation with manna from Heaven but the Israelites, and as He has now sent the manna of His Word amongst the heathen we may fairly infer that He will provide Israelites in this wilderness to feed upon it. His promises are sure, and known unto Him are all His works from the beginning.

No permanent mission could have been established in New Zealand or in any other islands of the South Seas unless His overruling providence had led the British Nation to establish a Colony at New South Wales. Through the medium of the British Nation He has sent His Gospel now to the very ends of the earth, and the Gospel Trumpet of the Jubilee has been sounded from pole to pole.

What means has Infinite Wisdom adopted to accomplish the Divine purposes! Did it please God to send an army of pious Christians to prepare His way in this wilderness? Did He establish a Colony in New South Wales for the advancement of His glory and the salvation of the heathen nations in these distant parts of the globe from men of character and principle? On the contrary He takes men from the dregs of society, the sweepings of gaols, hulks, and prisons – men who had forfeited their lives to the laws of their country. He gives them their lives for a prey and sends them forth to make a way for His chosen, for them that should bring glad tidings – that should publish peace to the heathen world – that should say unto them: "In the name of the Lord, look unto Me and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth! for I am God, and there is none else." Well may we exclaim with the Apostle: "How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out! "



I cannot help combining the Colony in New South Wales, in the grand chain of Divine Providence, with all the missions to these islands, as they could not have been carried on without this settlement.

Monday (November 8th). – It was my intention to have sailed to-day for Port Jackson but, having returned late on Saturday evening from the interior, I had many secular affairs to arrange previous to my departure for the future government of the settlement. This occupied me all the day.

The Active weighed anchor and crossed over to the opposite side of the Bay in order that she might be ready to put to sea the moment I embarked.

Tuesday (November 9th). – This morning I prepared at an early hour to leave Rangheehoo; the natives flocked together from various parts to take their leave or to accompany us on board. 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. William Hall's son should proceed to New South Wales in the Active, the former to instruct some native youths, sons of the chiefs at Parramatta, and the latter in order that he might be educated at some of the schools in the Colony.

We took our leave of our friends at Rangheehoo with mutual affection and respect. When I arrived at the Active, which lay off about seven miles, 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 with their patooes and spears as formerly but as men forming one civil body. They all claim an interest in the vessel, and therefore they are under no restraint in their visits. Their friendly meetings will tend much to their mutual confidence and friendship. The chiefs pressed me to take their sons with me to Port Jackson.

As the wind was against us, and wishing to visit a district up the River Cowa Cowa (Kawakawa), I ordered the boat and the Rev. Mr. Butler accompanied me. When we arrived at the native settlement, about ten miles up the river, we found the chief whom I wished to see was from home. The natives in the village gave us the most cordial welcome. Here we met with some of Mowhee's relations. When they knew Mr. Butler had seen him they were much affected, and Mr. Butler and the natives wept together while he gave them an account of Mowhee. They expressed the greatest affection for Mr. Butler and he was equally affected towards them. He promised to visit them again. We stopped and dined at the village, as there was plenty of fine fish, and we left the hospitable natives deeply affected with joy and sorrow when we departed. They rejoiced to see us, and mourned and wept at the remembrance of Mowhee.

We returned to the Active in the evening. After the sun had gone down the wind became fair, and we weighed anchor and got under way. The chiefs still remained on board with their sons. I had promised to take some of them, but was compelled to refuse others. The



chiefs took leave of their sons with much firmness and dignity in the cabin; while on the deck the mothers and sisters of the boys were cutting themselves, after their manner, and mingling their blood with their tears. Shunghee, the head chief, parted with his favourite son in the cabin without a tear. I afterwards heard him on deck giving vent to his feelings with the loudest bursts of weeping.

I now ordered the Active to be searched and all the natives who had not permission to go to Port Jackson to be turned into the canoes. I promised some of the chiefs, who were very urgent for me to take their sons to Port Jackson, that their sons should come at a future time. By dint of promises and threats I got the Active cleared with much difficulty, and Mr. Butler and his colleagues left us in the mouth of the harbour about an hour after dark and returned to the settlement, and in a short time we were clear of the Heads.

From the time of my arrival in New Zealand to my departure I had spent about three months in the island, and regretted much that my time was so limited. I wished very anxiously to have visited Why Kotto (Waikato), a river to the southward and westward of the River Thames. A number of the chiefs urged me very much to see this river; they informed me it was of a very great length – that they were four months in going up it, that the population was very numerous upon its banks, and that there was no part of New Zealand where there were so many inhabitants. This river empties itself into the sea on the west side of the island, and it is there that all the fine mats are made. The natives also mention two rivers of great extent,[245] which run one into another at a great distance from the sea; whether these rivers are navigable for ships or not remains to be ascertained, but that the population is very great in this part of the island there can be no doubt.

With respect to the origin of the natives of these islands we are still in the dark. I could not learn that they had any traditions amongst them from whence they came. Such information as I was enabled to obtain with the assistance of Mr. Kendall or any of the chiefs of the island, I have stated in my journal. I am inclined to think that they have sprung from some dispersed Jews, at some period or other, from their religious superstitions and customs, and have by some means got into the island from Asia. They have like the Jews a great natural turn for traffic; they will buy and sell anything they have got. When they go to war the priest always accompanies them, and when they draw near to the enemy he addresses them in similar language to that which the Jewish High Priest addressed to the Jews of old, as recorded in the 20th Chapter of Deuteronomy, verses 2, 3 and 4.: "And it shall be when ye are come nigh unto the battle, that the Priest shall approach and speak unto the people and shall say unto them, Hear, O Israel! ye approach this day unto battle against your enemies: let not your hearts faint; fear not, and do not tremble, neither be ye terrified because of them. For the Lord your God is He that goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to save you." When a chief falls in battle they cut off his head and preserve it as a trophy of victory, as David cut off the head of Goliath and took it to Jerusalem. The conquering

chief at New Zealand carries the heads of the chiefs he kills into his own village, where they are exhibited to public view. The conqueror also burns the bodies of the chiefs he kills in battle, and the dead body when the head is cut off can only be handled by the chiefs. No common person is permitted to touch it, but it is placed on the fire by the chiefs. We find a similar custom mentioned in the 31st Chapter of the First Book of Samuel, verses 11 and 12, respecting the bodies of Saul and his sons when they were killed by the Philistines: "And when the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead heard of that which the Philistines had done to Saul, all the valiant men arose, and went all night, and took the body of Saul and the bodies of his sons from the wall of Bethshan and came to Jabesh, and burnt them there."

When a chief is killed in battle and his body roasted by the chief who slew him, it is consecrated by the priest and no common person is permitted to taste it. The priest takes a portion of the flesh and sets it apart for his god. He then takes a portion for himself which he eats, and also tastes the blood. The chief follows his example. The New Zealanders believe that the soul of a chief, when departed from the body, becomes a god and has the power of life and death. They also believe that, by eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the departed chief, his system becomes incorporated into their system, and by that means they are secured from all danger from the departed ghost of the dead chief, and his spirit will then take up its residence in their bodies as being part of its former habitation. This is a singular idea, and one would be led to think that it had been derived from Divine revelation. Our Saviour told the Jews: "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me and I in him." Their eating human flesh is a part of their religion. The New Zealanders cutting off the heads of the chiefs, their enemies, and collecting them together, is similar to what was done to Ahab's sons when Jehu rebelled against him.[246]

They are also very particular in preserving the bones of their ancestors from generation to generation. To spoil the sepulchre of the dead by carrying away any of their bones is a very serious crime and often punished with death. Five men were killed when I was in New Zealand in August last for robbing the sepulchre of a chief's bones, as already mentioned in my journal. The Israelites were very particular about their bones. Joseph gave commandment concerning his bones before his death, and four hundred years afterwards, when the children of Israel departed from Egypt, they took the bones of Joseph with them, that they might perform the oath which Joseph had made them swear unto him before he died.

I now submit the preceding observations to your candour and judgment. You will make what use of them you please; I will vouch for their correctness in point of fact, for my object has been to relate simple facts as they occurred and to communicate as much information relative to these interesting people as my limited time and various other objects that called for my attention would allow. When I was in the different districts and wished to note anything down that appeared to me worthy of notice, I had to steal away into the thicket and conceal





myself as well as I could from the eyes of the natives while I minuted down any circumstance or conversation that tended to throw any light upon their customs, manners, or religion; but it was seldom that I could steal away unobserved, and on that account was obliged often to write in the midst of a crowd what I wished to record. You will, I am sure, Sir, make due allowance for any tautology or want of arrangement you may meet with in these sheets, as these observations were not studied but merely originated from daily occurrences. Should they induce any friends to the heathens to cast their mite in aid of the Society's funds, and soften the prejudices of the civilized world towards the New Zealanders, my wishes will then be fully gratified. I am convinced that the wants of these poor heathens have only to be made known to the Christian World and then they will be relieved. Their country, which is now only an uncultivated wilderness, will then stand thick with corn, and the voice of joy and gladness will then be heard in these dreary regions of darkness, superstition, cruelty, and sin.

SAMUEL MARSDEN.
Rev. J. PRATT,
Secretary, Church Missionary Society.



## APPENDIX TO THE SECOND JOURNAL

## CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE STATE OF THE NEW ZEALAND MISSION 1816-1819

### THE FIRST SCHOOL IN NEW ZEALAND

Marsden, during his first visit to New Zealand in 1814-5, had the satisfaction of witnessing the opening of the first school in New Zealand by the Rev. Thomas Kendall. His influence with the natives, however, seems to have been necessary for the maintenance of the attendance of these first scholars and, upon his departure for New South Wales, they quickly fell away. William Hall, the carpenter, writing from the Bay of Islands to the Secretary of the Society on August 22nd, 1816, informed him of this. "When Mr. Marsden was here," he wrote, "there were a small number of children collected and a school commenced in Mr. Kendall's house, but after: Mr. Marsden went away they were dispersed and there has never been a school since. But now we have built a schoolhouse thirty feet by eighteen, with a small apartment raised seven inches above the floor intended for the teachers and the European children, divided off by a low partition about breast-high. The whole is nearly completed, and then as soon as provisions can be obtained, we hope that we will be able to give some account of a school. There has been a small book printed at Port Jackson for the use of the school, composed of words and sentences out of our vocabulary, which Mr. Kendall has put together, and although very defective yet it will be of some use, if it were but to teach them the alphabet and a beginning for further improvement.[247] I find it is almost impossible to make mechanics of them or to teach them the arts at New Zealand. They are not arrived at that stage yet. . . . They cannot let anything remain amongst them that has got any nails in it, neither do they make any use of a wheelbarrow. I had one at Wythangee that I used to wheel the stones off the ground with, but they would as willingly bear them off in baskets, and when I was robbed they chopped it all to pieces to get the nails out of it.[248] . . .

In this environment Kendall opened the first school building in New Zealand in August, 1816, with 33 children, the number increasing to 70 by April, 1817. William Carlisle of New South Wales, who had reached New Zealand early in 1816, acted as Kendall's assistant,[249] returning to New South Wales a year later to bring over his brother-in-law, Charles Gordon, who was employed as an agriculturist. Accompanied by their wives and families they reached New Zealand in April, 1817.[250]

By April, 1817, the number of children on the roll had increased to 70, half boys, half girls, varying in age from seven to seventeen, and it still stood at this number when Marsden, in 1819, paid his second visit to the Bay of Islands. The scholars, as he indicates in his journal, were maintained by the Mission, their rations consisting chiefly of potatoes and fish, which they themselves cooked.[251]





William Carlisle and Charles Gordon remained in the Mission until 1820, when they resigned their positions and returned to New South Wales. A certificate granted by the Rev. John Butler to Charles Gordon, dated Sydney, January 24th, 1822, certifies that he served the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand "for two years and eleven months," and "did of his own free will give up his situation."[252] Carlisle was asked to resign by Marsden on account of his conduct.[253]

THE STATE OF THE NEW ZEALAND MISSION, 1816

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to Mr. Wm. Hall and Mr. J. King]

PARRAMATTA, December 7th, 1816.

DEAR SIRS,

I received your respective letters by the King George. I have carefully read them, and, after maturely considering their contents, I am sorry to say that I perceive there is a great want of mutual confidence, brotherly love, and Christian affection between you and your colleague Mr. Kendall. This want of unity of sentiment, mutual co-operation, and Christian forbearance will tend not only to injure but to defeat the great object of the Mission. Under this painful impression I feel it my indispensable duty, as Agent to the Church Missionary Society, to say that if you are dissatisfied with your present situation and conscious in your own breasts that you do not possess those kind, benevolent, and Christian feelings towards the natives that will call forth your cordial and willing exertions for their present and eternal welfare, you have my full approbation to return to Port Jackson and to retire from your engagements with the Society till I receive directions from the committee respecting you.

If you can lay aside all your prejudices and join hand and heart together in the great work, it is much to be wished. But if you cannot love as brethren and exert your respective abilities for the good and comfort of each other and the general benefit of the natives, it would be more for your happiness and the interest of the cause in which you are engaged for you to leave your stations to be supplied with others who may not meet with the same difficulties that you seem to imagine you have to struggle with. I am fully aware while you feel those sentiments expressed as implied in your letters, you will never be happy in New Zealand and can never discharge, from that cause, your duty to the Society. I have felt it my duty to express myself in this plain manner that you may no longer halt between two opinions, but either engage with all your talents in the work of the Lord, or retire from it as soon as you can judge yourselves. Therefore examine yourselves closely and see how you are affected towards the work, and act honestly as in the sight of God, that if your feelings are such that you cannot promote the welfare of the natives, you may not injure the cause. I shall leave what I have now said to your serious consideration. It is a matter of infinite importance to yourselves and to the Mission and probably to thousands yet unborn. In what way you determine to act may the Lord direct you in the right way, that, whatever your determination may be, you may never have cause to repent either in time or eternity.

This is the sincere prayer of,
Dear Sirs,
Your friend and well-wisher,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.



MARSDEN'S DIFFICULTIES AND TRIALS, 1817

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to the Secretary]

PARRAMATTA, March 3rd, 1817.

REVD. AND DEAR SIR,

Allow me now to write you a few lines of a private nature relative to myself. I have passed through very severe trials during the past eighteen months. The settlers at New Zealand from their improper conduct have given me much pain, with the exception of Mr. Kendall whose conduct I cannot too highly approve. When I was at New Zealand Mr. Hall formed a determination to remove from the place where I had fixed them. This I would not consent to. I considered the safety of the settlers and their usefulness to the natives to be the two grand considerations. Both these objects were sure where they were settled. They were settled in one of the largest villages and under the protection of one of the greatest chiefs. Mr. Hall had set his mind on a place called Whytanghee (Waitangi) because the land was rich and it possessed other local advantages. He had influenced both Messrs. King and Kendall for a time, and it was with some difficulty I could persuade them from their purpose. I made them promise that they would remain where I had fixed them and if they would not agree to this I would bring them and their families back again with me to Port Jackson; as I was sure they would be robbed, if not murdered, if they went to live in a lonely place where they could have no protection. At length, after considerable difficulty, they promised to remain where they were, and I saw them comfortably settled before I left them. Mr. Hall was to procure a cargo of spars for the Active against her return, Mr. King was to collect the flax which the natives brought for sale, and Mr. Kendall was to devote himself to the school. Messrs. Hall and King were also to instruct the natives in agriculture or anything they could for their general improvement. Under the idea that they would attend to these arrangements I left them, and returned to Port Jackson leaving them sawyers to cut timber for their houses and also to prepare some flax for the Active against her return. When the Active returned to New Zealand, Mr. Hall had left the settlement and had gone to Whytanghee (Waitangi); not a spar nor a plank had been procured for the vessel to bring back, which was a very great disappointment as well as a very heavy loss. I made up my mind to hear of Mr. Hall and his family being murdered for their property, and was apprehensive this might occasion civil war in the island, as the natives were so partial to the Europeans where they lived. I knew they would immediately seek revenge for any injury offered to the people I had left. Mr. Hall had employed the sawyers to build his house at Whytanghee (Waitangi) and neglected the whole of what he ought to have done, and incurred a heavy loss to me and also great expense to the Society.

When the Active returned and brought me these distressing accounts, as I was sure something serious would happen, I knew not what to do. Mr. Hall had too much property to live in a lonely place ten miles from the settlement without danger. He would have been murdered even in this Colony in situations not half so exposed to danger. I tremble for the consequences. At length information arrived that Mr. Hall had been robbed and that Mrs. Hall had been wounded, and that he had been compelled to return to the settlement. The chiefs rose in every direction to revenge the injury and destroy the houses of those who had come to rob Mr. Hall; and some of their countrymen to be put to death. The head chiefs recommended that they should not die but be punished some other way, and the business ended. The workmen had lost their property and claimed remuneration, and at Mr. Kendall's



request I have paid them. All the buildings and other materials which the workmen and Mr. Hall had built at Whytanghee (Waitangi) were an expense that was now lost. Besides disappointing the vessel of a cargo of planks, I had sent over a carpenter and two pair of sawyers to assist in building the school, and from one circumstance and another the settlers disagreed amongst themselves and this brought on misunderstandings between the workmen, some preferring one and some another, so that there was no unity amongst them. The sending of the sawyers and workmen has been a very heavy expense, and had not answered what I had

reason to expect. I had disappointment after disappointment and vexation after vexation that I knew not what to do. I had only one comfort, and that was that everything that the natives could do for the settlers where they lived they did with great pleasure, and the prospect of finally succeeding in the object was very gratifying to my mind even if the present settlers should relinquish the work. I have already expressed my approbation of Mr. Kendall's conduct, and a more proper man in my opinion could not be found. He will have had his trials and I feel for his situation; as his colleagues will not settle in the work but hinder him all they can, and traduce, I fear, his good name unless they should show a very different spirit from what they have hitherto done. Mrs. Hall is a good woman and a good missionary.

You will easily perceive how all these things must distress my mind and particularly from a pecuniary point of view, as the expenses have been so much increased by all these unpleasant circumstances.

The last time the Active went, the voyage proved very unfortunate. The master, who is an aged man and a good sailor, behaved very ill. After conveying supplies to New Zealand, the Active went on to Otaheite with the missionaries belonging to the London Missionary Society. He stood in the North Cape of New Zealand so close to land to trade with the natives that he got the Active aground twice. Her false keel was knocked off; and before they got to the Society Islands she became very leaky, and was afterwards obliged to be hove down upon one of the islands. The Active returned again to Port Jackson with very little cargo through the neglect and drunkenness of the master. I had fitted her out at a very heavy expense, and she was to have returned with a cargo of pork but brought about twelve tons. From the injury she has sustained I am compelled to new-sheath her bottom, which will be a very heavy expense in this Colony where labour is so high. All these things have been almost more than I could bear. I have none to assist me, either with advice or money. The cloud is at present so thick that I cannot see my way through, and what the end will be I cannot tell. My soul is pained within me and my sleep is often departed from me. None know what I suffer and what I fear.

In the midst of all, my enemies are many and powerful and they hate me with a tyrannous hatred. I know no cause that I have given offence by, excepting my endeavours to promote the welfare of the poor heathen. This is the only crime that they can lay to my charge. I feel fully confident that the Society will give all the support they can; but it will be out of my power ever to lay my real case before them. I am strongly inclined to return to England. If the same difficulties continue and the same opposition is made it will not be possible for me to remain. If it was not for my large family I could take up my residence in New Zealand immediately. I would not hold my public situation in the Colony

With respect to New Zealand, I have no doubt but the Mission will succeed. All is well with the natives. Some of the persons sent out as missionaries will always turn out bad characters when they arrive at their destination, and this must at all times be expected. Many missionaries sent out to Otaheite by the London



Missionary Society have turned out men of very bad characters – have been guilty of drunkenness, etc. The missionaries at the Society Islands are men that can now be depended upon – the bad ones have been sorted out from time to time. This will be the case, with the greatest care, amongst those that are sent to New Zealand. Some will turn out bad men and will injure the cause. This I expect, but their misconduct will not prevent the Divine purposes from being accomplished. I shall feel much more happy when the time comes that my colleagues will feel themselves at liberty to espouse this important work. I do not hope for this favour under the present administration. However, whatever may be the issue of this Mission and whatever may be the opinion of the Society and my friends, I can solemnly declare that I have done all that my means or body or mind could do. Unforeseen and distressing circumstances could not be avoided, and the heavy expenses from the misconduct of others cannot be justly charged upon me. A vessel must be maintained for some time yet, for the benefit of the natives and the comfort of the settlers, and I hope the Society will see the necessity of this, and that the Head of the Church will open the hearts of those who have the means to assist in this glorious cause. Had I not persevered in urging the missionaries of the London Missionary Society from time to time to return to their work in the Society Islands, when they came despairing and had given up the cause altogether and told me it was no use, the poor heathens in these islands would not now have cast their gods, their idols, into the fire. Many of them now believe the Gospel, and nearly all profess it – nothing like this has happened since the Apostles' days. They are consoling thoughts to me in my trouble.

I am, dear Sir,
Yours truly,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.
Revd. J. PRATT.

## THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COLONY IN NEW ZEALAND MOOTED, 1817

[The Revds. S. Marsden, Cartwright, and Youl to the Secretary]

PARRAMATTA, March 27th, 1817.

REVD. SIR,

We have maturely considered the plan of establishing a small colony at New Zealand as suggested by the Revd. Andrew Cheap, and have little doubt but it would answer, provided suitable persons could be met with who would act in unity and conduct themselves with propriety. All who are conversant with mankind know that this can hardly be expected in a body of people who are remote from all legal restraint and left so much at liberty to act and think for themselves. There are a thousand motives in a regular civil government that operate upon men's minds and induce them to live in subordination and good friendship, which exist not in uncivilized nations. To introduce the arts of civilization at New Zealand by the establishment of a small colony is a very desirable object, and we think there would be little difficulty in doing this as far as the New Zealanders would be concerned, since they are so anxious for Europeans to reside amongst them. The danger would be from the want of subordination amongst the colonists. When men are placed in new situations and do not meet with all those comforts and conveniences which they expected they generally become discontented, fretful, and ungovernable. This has been the case repeatedly in the Society Islands amongst the missionaries there, by



which a very heavy expense has several times been brought upon the Society. We are of opinion that this evil, in the nature of things, cannot by any human wisdom be avoided, and therefore ought to be taken into estimation when a colony is formed. The vicinity of this country to New Zealand would no doubt greatly facilitate the establishment of such a colony, as many of the disaffected or disappointed might at a small expense be removed to New South Wales and relieve both themselves and the colony at New Zealand. Horses and horned cattle might easily be transported from hence to New Zealand, and here they are now becoming very

cheap. The colonists might soon have all the common necessaries of life within themselves. They would have a good soil, a fine climate, a well watered country, plenty of timber, and would command what labour they might require at a small expense from the inhabitants to carry on all their various operations of agriculture, etc. With respect to the plan of the vessel which the Revd. Andrew Cheap also recommends, we think this could hardly fail of success and would greatly aid the exertions of your Society towards the civilization of the New Zealanders. Those who employed their money to such a benevolent purpose might upon fair grounds expect to reap some advantage in a commercial view. We have consulted some of the most intelligent merchants in this colony, who think such a plan would answer well. The vessel would no doubt be able to get a freight out, either from Government or private merchants who trade to this colony, if the owners should not send out a cargo themselves, but in case they should do this we enclose a list of such articles as are most in demand here and which would sell in general. The vessel might return to England with a cargo of wool and oil from this country and New Zealand. On the plan of a vessel the Active brig might then be profitably employed, making the Bay of Islands her regular station; during all the fishing season she might be procuring oil for England. We have sent you a letter upon this subject from the present master of the Active, a very respectable married man. If Mr. Cheap's plan was adopted many of the New Zealanders would be employed in the vessels, which would bring them forward very fast.

At present the articles of export from New Zealand would be sperm oil, timber of various kinds, and flax which might be made into cordage upon the spot for both the vessels and the natives. The Active cannot at present furnish the means to bring these articles to market to meet her own expenses, but if employed as Mr. Thompson points out she might clear herself and aid the Mission. Since the settlers have been so kindly treated by the natives, ships can now enter their harbour with safety. We strongly recommend the Revd. A. Cheap's plan both of a vessel and a small colony of select characters composed of agriculturists and mechanics. If this plan is not established by those who are real friends to religion, it is our decided opinion that some such measure will be adopted by others who have no pious feeling towards the heathens, which may prove injurious to the Mission. We regret that the expenses have been so heavy up to the present time. This has arisen partly from many untoward and unforeseen circumstances, and partly from the high prices of labour here and the difficulty there has been to induce workmen to go to New Zealand to assist in erecting the necessary buildings. As the buildings are now completed and the workmen withdrawn, the expenses will be proportionately decreased. No more stores need to be sent out for a long time, as we are now well supplied excepting a little clothing for the settlers and native children. We have engaged a very respectable young man, Charles Gordon, for the term of three years from the first of last January at £60 per annum, as superintendent of agriculture: his father came out originally a free settler. We hope by his exertions the settlement will soon be rendered independent of this country for supplies of grain. From the knowledge we have of the



principal chiefs who are and have been at Parramatta, we can have no doubt but the New Zealanders will soon become a civilized nation.

We have the honour to be,
Revd. Sir,
Your obedient humble servants,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.
ROBERT CARTWRIGHT.
JOHN YOUL.
To the REVD. JOSIAH PRATT,
Secretary to the Church Missionary Society.

## A TESTIMONY TO MARSDEN FROM AN AUSTRALIAN COLLEAGUE

[The Revd. John Youl to the Secretary]

LIVERPOOL, NEW SOUTH WALES,
March 29th, 1817

REVD. SIR,

You will see by Mr. Marsden's letters the state of things here, and what he has to endure for his active exertions in the Missions established in the South Seas. The attack on his character and reputation as well as that on the whole of the clergy is most unfounded, and proves that those concerned are not friendly to religion, however they attempt to do something in a public way.

If Mr. Marsden's conduct is weighed since he has been in the Colony amidst all his weakness, the world will find his worth to be of the higher order. The service he has done this Colony speaks very loud, but that done the Missions never ought to be forgotten. It was this zealous man of God who urged the exiled missionaries to return to Tahiti and we see the rich harvest.[254]

And where have we an example in modern days of a man of like zeal who has left his family and dared dangers, unknown to most, as that we have seen in Mr. Marsden in his journey to New Zealand? You, Sir, as well as the Society, know his abilities and properly appreciate his worthiness.

I take the liberty further to observe that I fear Mr. Marsden has injured himself more than he will be able to recover in the Active's speculation. That vessel, with all your assistance, has never paid the disbursements by hundreds – it is said by many hundreds. Therefore, instead of the charge of being sordid or selfish, we should esteem his benevolence of a superior kind, and that God has raised him up for your joy and the spread of His Gospel; and if you were to see him and hear his daily conversation you would find he is a missionary in soul and in body, and this is why they hate him, calling him "the head of visionaries and sectarians," "the Christian Mahomet," etc., etc.[255] I trust Mr. Marsden will meet with all that assistance from the two Societies his active services claim, and that, as it is for their sakes he now suffers, every hand will be held up that the enemy may not triumph. I am of opinion that Mr. Marsden has many friends in the Colony and, as the attack is so odious and unfounded, many more will be found ready to step forward if required.

I have been detained by the Governor and at present do duty at Liverpool, an inland district about twenty miles from Sydney, where we have a tolerable attendance. This place was appointed for Mr. Vale who has returned to Europe. There is a very good parsonage house, and the Governor is preparing to build a neat church – we now

assemble in a large schoolroom. This station leads to a very extensive country and will be a very populous town in a few years.

I am, with all due respect.
Your obliged servant,
JOHN YOUL.
To REVD. JOSIAH PRATT.
This letter is private to my friend the Revd. Mr. Pratt.

THE INTRODUCTION OF CATTLE

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to the Secretary]

PARRAMATTA, March 30th, 1817.

REVD. SIR,

Should any small colony be sent to New Zealand, I shall have no objection to go there for a time to assist in forming the settlement and arranging matters with the natives. I am of opinion that New Zealand will repay, at a future period, any reasonable expenses if what its seas and land produce can be brought to market. I am well acquainted with the natives for one hundred and twenty miles on the east side of the island, and some of the chiefs I know as far as the River Thames. I should be under no apprehensions of danger in examining the country for the most advantageous situations for forming a colony. With a view to a settlement being formed at some distant period, I shall send over cattle from time to time as opportunity offers in the Active. I have six young cows which are now ready to embark when the vessel sails. These I shall send at my own expense and risk and as my own property. When the Colony (in New South Wales) was established it was a great oversight in the British Government the neglect of sending any quantity of cattle for many years. The Colony was victualled principally from England for more than twenty years, and so scarce were cattle that they sold at the highest prices. A cow would sell for £80 to £100 after the Colony had been established almost twenty years, and horses from £100 to £150. At length Government imported cattle from India and the Cape, and, though the first expense was very great, yet it was comparatively small to victualling the Colony from Europe. We have now the greatest abundance of animal food.

I am not afraid of the natives killing my cattle. I have no doubt but they will take care of them for a small reward. The horse and mare I took over with me are doing well. The mare has got two females. These are the property of the Society. There can be little doubt but the islands will be stocked with horses from these, if no more are imported in time. Cattle I consider of vast moment in a new colony, as they will supply so many of the real wants of the colonists. There are numbers of islands along the east coast upon which cattle might be put and taken off as they were wanted. Whether a colony is established or not, I have resolved to introduce a number of cattle into New Zealand and let them take their chance. The males may be killed to supply the English whalers or any other vessels with fresh meat if no Europeans should settle there, and if they should they will be ready to supply them with animal food, milk, and butter.

I have merely mentioned these circumstances to you in consequence of Mr. Cheap's letter. I am ready to render all the services I can to promote the object of the Society, and in any way that Divine Providence may point out. My long experience in this Colony might be of some service in the first instance.

I am, Revd. and dear Sir,
Yours affectionately,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.
Revd. J. PRATT.





THE NEW ZEALAND MISSION, 1819

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to the Secretary]

PARRAMATTA, February 24th, 1819.

REVD. AND DEAR SIR,

Wishing to ascertain as soon as it could be done what quantity of articles the settlers would require per annum to furnish them with pork, potatoes, fish, firewood, etc., I wrote to them on the subject, and received the enclosed answer from which the Society will be able to learn the expense of maintaining the settlement in these articles. The whole amount may cost in England about £100. I shall endeavour to supply them for one year with the stores that came out in the Tottenham, agreeable to their requisition. These supplies are wanted for the support of the settlers and families. In addition to these supplies, articles of a similar nature will be wanted for hiring labourers to cultivate their wheat and maize grounds. At present they must get the natives to work the land for wheat till cattle and ploughs can be introduced, which I hope will not be long before this takes place. I should think £30 per annum would supply all the articles necessary for agriculture.

As the timber from New Zealand from the heavy duty put upon it will not pay for bringing to the Colony, it is my present intention to employ the Active in procuring oil at the proper season, or any other natural production of the seas or land on the east coast of New Zealand, by which means the natives all along the coast will be visited and a communication opened as far as the East Cape, and a way prepared for any future establishments that the Society may think proper to make. Should the vessel be fortunate in procuring oil, she will cover much of her expense. The civilization of New Zealand could not be carried on without a regular communication, and therefore she must be for a time at least employed in the service. I have little doubt, if a change takes place in this Government, but we shall be able to do something for New Zealand in the Colony. Some are willing, others think that it would not be prudent at the present time as the opposition might be too strong. I am very happy God has been so gracious as to prosper all that we have set our hands unto. No accident has happened to the vessel nor to any belonging to her. No injury has been done to the natives, nor a single circumstance occurred that can give cause to the enemy to blaspheme. Difficulties have been very great and many, but they have not prevented the work from going on. Nothing has happened that can give the Society pain. Everything has succeeded better than the most sanguine hopes could have warranted us to expect in such a new and important undertaking.

I understand that the natives have killed two of the horses for trespassing in their gardens. I blame the settlers wholly for this accident. I understand the horses were very fond of sweet potatoes and rooted them up very much as they ran at large. These are the chief food which the natives value, and I am not surprised that they have killed them. They have been suffered to run where they pleased for two years. Had the settlers fenced a part of land off for them, they would then have

done no injury and the natives would not have molested them. The natives with me are much distressed at this circumstance, as they are very fond of horses. Since they have been with me they have learned their value in all agricultural purposes. I have promised to send them some more and to give them into their own charge, and then I shall be sure they will take care of them. I am happy to learn from the settlers that they will have wheat for their support and will only want a little seed wheat this year. When agriculture comes to flourish amongst them, schools may then be maintained at a very little expense. The children will want no clothing; bread will be



the principal article they will require, but rice as yet is the cheapest. This will not be the case when they get plenty of wheat. I shall send over all kinds of fruit trees, vines, etc. I have no doubt but New Zealand will be the finest country in the world for wine from what I saw. If grape vines get into the island they will be ready for anyone who may come afterwards and turn his attention to these things. The chief's sons who are with me visit our orchard and vineyards, and are much astonished to see the fruit and anxious to promote their growth in their own country. Various things here which they had never seen furnish us with much conversation about God. They cannot be persuaded that the same God made them and us. They see such a difference between our civilized and their savage state. When I tell them there is but one God they advance many arguments to prove my assertion incredible.

The following is part of a late conversation with them upon this subject: – When I told them there was but one God and that our God was their's, they asked me if our God had given us any sweet potatoes. I replied, "No." They answered, "Our God has given us sweet potatoes, and if He had been your God also He would have given you some." I told them our climate was too cold, they would not grow, and therefore He knew it would be no use to give us any. They said, "Your God has given you cattle and sheep and horses and many other things, which He has not given us. Were He our God as well as yours He would not have acted so partially. He would have given us cattle, etc., as well as you." This brought us to the creation of the world and to Noah's flood, from which I showed them how the different animals came to be spread over the world, and told them that England was for a long time without cattle, etc., but in due time God had given them to England and now He was going to give all these things which we had to them, as they had already got cattle, horses, etc. They then replied, "But we are of a different colour to you, and if one God had made us both He would not have made such a mistake as to make us of different colour." This I endeavoured to explain also, and told them when they could read the book which God had given to us and which they would soon have, they would then believe what I told them to be true. Many other arguments they used to prove that there must be more than one God. Their reasoning faculties are strong and clear and their comprehension quick. When once they obtain a true knowledge of the Scriptures they will improve very fast, and may then be ranked with civilized nations. Their improvement is not doubtful, but certain, and the Society are not labouring in vain.

In one of the committee's resolutions relative to the seminary at Parramatta, the committee direct that the natives of this Colony be received into it with the New Zealanders. It is the opinion of all who wish well to the cause that this would be impossible at the present time. There are difficulties in the way that could not be removed. The Governor has established a school for the native children in which there are about sixteen young children, many of these the sons or daughters of European fathers and native women. They are very young. The natives of the Colony, when they attain the age of thirteen or fourteen years, always take to the woods. They cannot be induced to live in any regular way, and as they increase in years they increase in every vice, and particularly drunkenness, both men and women, and still go naked about the streets. They are the most degraded of the human race, and never seem to wish to alter their habits and manner of life. I have not known one single instance where a boy or girl who has lived for a time with Europeans has not taken to the woods again immediately they attain a certain age. They are all addicted to drunkenness and idleness and vice. The New Zealanders would never be induced to live with them if it was possible to confine them. They cannot bear their degraded



appearance; their conduct is so disgusting altogether, as well as their persons. Whether the half-caste children will take to the woods remains to be ascertained. Time will show how they will act. I do not think the Governor would sanction any interference with the natives so as to unite them in the same seminary with the New Zealanders, if this could be done. I consulted the Revd. Mr. Cartwright and the Judge of the Supreme Court with a few more friends, who were all of opinion that the plan would not do, and that it would not be prudent to mention the subject to the Governor at the present time. It will be best to keep the New Zealanders by themselves as much as possible in the seminary. We shall therefore for the present continue unconnected as we are. Time may alter the present circumstances and something then may be done, but, if we may be allowed to judge from what we see and know of the natives of New South Wales, the time is not yet arrived for them to receive the great blessings of civilization and the knowledge of Christianity. I trust from the above remarks the committee will approve of that line of conduct with respect to the natives of New Zealand we have adopted, as it was out of our power to carry the resolution of the committee into effect.

I have now stated all that occurred to me, and perhaps much more than necessary. You will pardon my long correspondence. It must be tedious to you.

I have the honour to be, Revd. Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.
Revd. J. PRATT,
Secretary to the C.M.S.

THE MISSIONARIES AND PRIVATE TRADE

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to the Settlers]

PARRAMATTA, February 24th, 1819.

DEAR SIRS,

I am greatly at a loss what to say to you respecting private trade. If you engage in it further than your wants require, you act in that case in violation of the instructions of the Society and contrary to your general happiness and interest. This conduct will always give occasion of offence, and destroy that brotherly love and pious Christian feeling which you ought in your peculiar station to cultivate one with another. You are all placed in the most important and honourable station in the world; in the centre of the enemy's camp. The eyes of the angels and all good men are turned towards you. Satan trembles for his kingdom. "All things," says Paul, "are lawful for me, but all things are not convenient." You should not do a single thing, though it may be lawful, if it give offence to any of your brethren. I know offences will come in the best society, but they will be attended with the most pernicious effects upon those that give them. I have no wish that you should for the want of anything that your necessities may call for be under the smallest temptation to private trade. This will prove a curse like the wedge of

gold in the camp of Israel. Let me entreat you then to put away that accursed thing from amongst you. Perhaps you may not all be convinced of the evils attending upon private trade. It will turn away your heart from God, and that spirit of meekness, that heavenly-mindedness, which should reign amongst you, will be lost. You will not be able to love as brethren, nor will you be kindly affectioned one towards another unless you be joined together in one spirit in the Lord. God has been very gracious to you since you have been amongst the heathen. He has preserved you in all dangers, and your wants have been supplied. I wish to write to you in the spirit of meekness, and to beseech you



in Christ's stead to lay no stumbling block in one another's way. I have to gratify no private feelings excepting those of a Christian in my advice. After reading all your letters and combining all the information, I perceive there is something wrong amongst you. No! I could not tell where the fault lay, but I was convinced it originated from private traffic and from this baneful root with many bitter evils springing up and troubling you. As this is an internal evil existing among you, I am at a loss how to remedy it or where to meet it. I should be sorry to give an order to the master of the Active not to receive anything from you individually on board for Port Jackson or at Port Jackson for the Bay of Islands, as this on the one hand would degrade you in the opinion of each other and on the other might deprive you of some comfort. If you can suggest to me individually or as a body how the evil can be remedied, I will most readily come into your line, but it will be better, if possible, to settle it amongst yourselves, as any breach that this might make would be sooner healed. The evil is not confined to New Zealand. The very same difficulties exist in the Society Islands, and perhaps more or less where any missionaries are settled amongst the heathens,

I hope you will resolve one and all to have nothing to do with private trade. We never find a man engaged to build a temple selling pans. His thoughts have more rational employments. You are called upon to build a temple for God in a place where no stone has been quarried, no timber cut, nor a spit of the foundation dug. You have work for the employment of all your time and thoughts. With what gratification must you behold the dawn of civilization rising upon those around you, and the Day Star from on High visiting them! I think I should feel a joy inexpressible to see the New Zealander returning home from his cultivated field with his sheaf with him. I anticipate the day when he will plough with his yoke of oxen like the ancient prophets and rejoice with the joy of harvest when his crops are gathered in. What will you not feel when the time shall come that he shall meet in the great congregation and worship with you in spirit and in truth! Consider the honour that is put upon you; you are gone to prepare the way of the Lord, to make ready a people for Him. Act in all things becoming the dignity of your character. Were the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to spend their time in low pursuits, in menial traffic, how would they degrade their office! Their exalted station is not to be compared with yours. Let me exhort you to love as brethren, bear one another's burdens, watch over one another's souls with a godly jealousy and exhort one another daily, and the God of Peace will then bless you and the heathen amongst whom you live shall fear Him.

I am, with much esteem and affection,
Yours,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.
Messrs. KENDALL, HALL, KING, CARLISLE, and GORDON.
[The above is a copy of a letter I deemed necessary to write to the settlers on private trade. A line from you may have more influence upon them.]

## THE SEMINARY AT PARRAMATTA

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to the Secretary]

PARRAMATTA, February 25th, 1819.

REVD. AND DEAR SIR,

I shall now inform you what I am doing relative to the Seminary at Parramatta. 1 was unwilling to go to any very heavy expense till I was fully convinced from actual



experience that the object would answer the ends proposed. After having the natives living with me for more than four years, I cannot entertain a doubt of the success that will attend the final establishment of a Seminary here for them. I am now erecting a commodious building upon 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, with the simple arts. When I get the building 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, and 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 become acquainted with a team of bullocks, to let him take them home with him. If I find that I can put up the buildings and complete them without assistance from the Society, I shall do so. Should I be pressed for £200 I then shall draw upon you for that amount as a loan. Should any future circumstances render the Seminary unnecessary, the buildings will still be upon the estate and no loss of any moment will be sustained by me if I keep them as my own. I hope to have the buildings completed in a little time, as they are now in a forward state. Hitherto I have either hired a house for the natives to lodge in or provided them with lodgings in my own house. Sixteen natives are with me at the present time.

You will excuse any mistakes, as I have much to do.

I am, Revd. Sir,
Yours very sincerely,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.
Revd. J. PRATT.

## AGREEMENT AMONG THE SETTLERS AT THE BAY OF ISLANDS

BAY OF ISLANDS,
March 30th, 1819.

We the undersigned missionary settlers in the service of the Honourable the Church Missionary Society, actuated by a desire to promote the general comfort and prosperity of this settlement, do hereby promise and agree: –

That from and after the date hereof we will not enter as individuals into any plans of private commerce nor at any time dispose of to captains of ships or any other persons, either by way of presents or barter, any hogs, pork, potatoes, or Indian corn except for the benefit and by the consent of the whole body of settlers and at such a time as the affairs of the settlement will admit; and that we will in such cases each contribute according to the number of persons in our respective families a proportionate quantity of the article so disposed of in order that each family may be made partaker of a proportionate share of the benefit.

And provided any individual settler should procure from the natives at his own private expense, or by means of his own industry, any of the above-mentioned articles, and be willing to part with them to the body of settlers and the body of settlers agree



to receive them, then each settler shall bear a proportionate part of the prime cost or contribute a proportionate part of the value at New Zealand.

Witness our hands,
WM. CARLISLE.
CHAS. GORDON.
THOS. KENDALL.
JOHN KING.

[I have taken a copy of this agreement sent to me and have forwarded the original. Hall's name is not to it. He is a very stubborn ass and never will be properly broken in to the yoke. – Samuel Marsden.]

THE SETTLERS TO THE SECRETARIES

BAY OF ISLANDS,
May 17th, 1819.

Dear Sirs,

In answer to your remark to Mr. Kendall in a letter bearing date June 7th, 1817, respecting muskets and powder, and to a letter from the Revd. Samuel Marsden to Mr. Kendall bearing date February 25th, 1819, of the same import, we think it our duty to state that it is our wish to abstain entirely from disposing of such articles to the natives of New Zealand, and that we have no doubt but we could carry the same into effect without injury to our families or to the general welfare of the settlement, provided no such dealings were allowed to be carried on by any individual settler and a complete stop should be put to private trade as expressed in our agreement dated March 30th last.

We are, Revd. Sirs,

Your most obedient and obliged servants,
WM. CARLISLE.
JOHN KING.
THOS. KENDALL.
WM. HALL.
CHAS. GORDON.
THE REV. JOSIAH PRATT, and THE REV. EDWARD BICKERSTETH, Secretaries.

[The above was written in expectation that the whole of the settlers would not sign but only a part of them. But it was the same as the other agreement presented to the whole for signature.]

THE SECRETARY TO THE MISSIONARIES AND SETTLERS AT NEW ZEALAND

CHURCH MISSIONARY HOUSE,
LONDON, July 20th, 1819.

Dear Friends,

The Committee find it necessary, in consequence of information received from various quarters, to call your attention to the subject of private trade. It never was intended by them that any such trade should be carried on. Inconveniences and difficulties have manifestly arisen from the want of regulations relative to trade



generally, and to the distribution of supplies in the Colony. The Committee have given this subject their serious consideration. They felt it was become indispensably necessary to lay down some fixed principles by which the conduct of all the settlers should in future be regulated.

The Committee cannot doubt but that all their settlers in the Bay of Islands will perceive that the principles embodied in the resolutions are equally calculated, if adhered to, to promote their individual comfort and the objects of the Society in placing them in their present situation. Under any circumstances, but especially under such as yours, in the midst of an uncivilized people and destitute of all human force for your protection, self-denial, concord, and firm union tend fully as much to your mutual comfort as to your common welfare, and the success of the Mission. To you the exhortation of the Apostle applies with peculiar propriety: "Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth." And, doubtless, your success in bringing those among whom you dwell to a saving knowledge of Christ crucified may be anticipated with more sanguine hopes in proportion as your own hearts are subjected to the influence of those self-denying doctrines, which are so strongly opposed to the pride and selfishness of our fallen nature.

Mr. Marsden, and the Society's other friends who act with him, will be requested to frame proper regulations on these principles for the distribution of the common stock to the settlers and their families, to the children in the schools and the natives employed in the settlement, and to place the said common stock under the charge of such person or persons as they shall judge fit.

The Committee hope that these regulations will prevent the recurrence of painful circumstances, but it is only an increase of brotherly love among yourselves, and

a more pure zeal for the glory of God, which can effectually secure you from a line of conduct unbecoming the Gospel of Christ.

The idea of aiming at independence or superior advantages, on the part of any of you, while living on the Society's land and supported in whole or in part by its funds, is inconsistent with the obligations which you contracted to the Society when you entered into its service. Everything requisite for your support, in as comfortable a manner as is compatible with the circumstances in which you are placed, the Committee will gladly supply; but they do so on the supposition that your hearts are in your work, and that success in extending the blessings of the Gospel and of civilization to the natives of New Zealand is your highest aim. Whilst your minds are in this frame you will cheerfully renounce the pursuit of personal gain and of independence in circumstances, and will strictly conform to the regulations by which the best interests of your heathen brethren will be most effectually promoted.

I am, dear friends,
Ever faithfully yours,
JOSIAH PRATT.

**191** Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1820-21, pp. 198-201, and Appendix XIV, pp. 282-345.

**192** The General Gates, so styled after a United States general who served in the War of Independence, was one of the numerous American sealing vessels which at this time frequented the coasts of Australia and New Zealand. Sailing from Boston on October 20th, 1818, under the command of Abimeleck Riggs, she had reached Sydney on June 4th, 1819. With her voyage to New Zealand, upon which Marsden was one of her passengers, began a career which made the name of this vessel notorious. Riggs, a man of the most brutal type, had, in defiance of all regulations, induced eleven mechanics from the convict settlement to ship with him. Ten of these were convicts while the eleventh was a free man who had not obtained a clearance. When he arrived at the Bay of Islands, Riggs entered these men as seamen on the ship's books and utilised them in a sealing expedition at Dusky Sound, for which he sailed from the Bay of Islands on September 15th. The sealing expedition proved unsuccessful and Riggs vented his spleen on the unhappy convicts who, on various pretexts, were imprisoned, cruelly flogged, and put in irons. Finally, as one of the convicts put it, he ordered us to have nothing served out to us, and only to be allowed one hour on deck in the day for the purpose of catching fish; and, if we did not catch fish, we might starve."

The General Gates returned to the Bay of Islands in April, 1820, while Marsden was in New Zealand upon the occasion of his third visit. The Rev. J. Butler, in his capacity as Resident Magistrate, lodged information with Captain Skinner of H.M.S. Dromedary who, on April 12th, accompanied by Marsden and Butler, boarded the vessel, placed her under arrest, and sent both ship and convicts to Sydney in charge of a British crew. She arrived at Sydney on May 12th, 1820.

Riggs was brought before the Sydney Court, charged with having violated the bond given under the Port Regulations not to take away a convict without the permission of the Governor, and fined £6,000 – "twelve penalties of £500 each – eleven for carrying away so many persons and one for quitting the harbour without a clearance."

After a detention of nine months in Sydney, the General Gates was released in January, 1821, and resumed her unhappy career.

Three of her sealing gangs were massacred upon the New Zealand coast. Riggs, returning about the beginning of 1824 to Stewart Island to pick up the gang left there and finding that his men had been killed and eaten, took his revenge with characteristic brutality a little later when he met in the open sea some canoes containing natives of the district and promptly sailed them down.

By February, 1825, the General Gates was coasting out of Manila. The subsequent history of the vessel and her infamous captain is unknown. – R. McNab, Murihiku (Invercargill, 1907), chapter XX, passim; R. McNab, Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. I, pp. 522-30; R. A. Cruise, Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand, pp. 99-104; see also Chapter IV of this volume.

**193** Governor Macquarie left New South Wales with his family for England in the Surrey on February 15, 1822. He died in London on July 1st, 1824. J. H. Heaton. Australian Dictionary of Dates (Sydney, 1879), pp. 128-9.

**194** The Rev. John Gare Butler was the first ordained clergyman to reside in New Zealand. Born in March, 1781, he was married in 1798 to a Miss Hitchman and, until seized with the desire to become a missionary, was accountant to a large London carrying company. He was prepared for the work of the Church Missionary Society by the Rev. John Bishop of Paddington, in which district he resided, was ordained by the Bishop of Gloucester in 1818 and sailed for New Zealand in the Baring on 15th December of that year, arriving at Sydney on 26th June, 1819. He left Port Jackson for the Bay of Islands on 29th July, 1819, and reached new Zealand on August 12th. There he acted as superintendent of the New Zealand mission under Marsden until 14th November, 1823, when, owing to his suspension by Marsden from the work of the Society in New Zealand, he sailed for Sydney in the Dragon, ultimately reaching England in the Midas in December, 1824. He served the Church of England in various temporary situations until 1839 when he again sailed for New Zealand as Native Guardian and Interpreter to the New Zealand Land Company. He lived at Petone, Wellington, near Colonel Wakefield, until his death on 18th June, 1841, at the age of 60. – Vide R. J. Barton, Earliest New Zealand (Masterton, N.Z., 1927), Butler's MS. Letters and Journals, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

**195** Francis Hall, a schoolmaster, an excellent missionary, who retired in December, 1822.

**196** James Kemp, a smith and catechist, was a zealous, high principled man, who served the Church Missionary Society till 1852, when he resigned owing to a dispute with regard to the land question.

**197** Tuhi and Titore. – After residing with Marsden for two years at Parramatta, these young chiefs visited England in 1818 at Marsden's request. They returned to New South Wales in the convict ship Baring under the care of the Rev. John Butler, Francis Hall, the schoolmaster, and James Kemp being fellow passengers. The vessel ran aground, and did not finally leave the English shores until January 27th, 1819. During her detention, Tuhi, who had suffered much from sickness, again fell seriously ill. The Baring reached Sydney on June 26 and, after another sojourn with Marsden, Tuhi and Titore embarked with him in the Dromedary.

Marsden had hoped for much from these young men, and was greatly disappointed when they relapsed to their old savage ways, for Tuhi could not withstand the temptation to join his brother Korokoro against Hongi, while Titore, who was much the inferior character of the two, also fell away. When, in 1823, Korokoro died he was succeeded as leader by Tuhi. The latter, however, did not long survive his brother. Worn out by the hardships of war, ill and starving, he was taken on board the whaler Mary whose commander, Captain Lock, had long been acquainted with him. In spite of all attention, however, Tuhi died on October 17th.

Captain Cruise, of the 84th Regiment, who visited the Bay of Islands in 1820, says of Tuhi: "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." – Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand (London, 1823), p. 148.

**198** Korokoro, whose district was Paroa on the east of the Bay, behind Kororareka.

**199** Kerikeri, where Butler and Kemp settled.

**200** Vide infra – "The first school in New Zealand," p. 222.

**201** Moturoa. – The island on which Captain Cook landed with Banks and Solander on Monday, 1st December, 1769, and which he described. It lies not far from the mouth of the Kerikeri. Marsden was wrecked near this island in the course of his fourth New Zealand journey in September, 1823. – W. J. L. Wharton, Captain Cook's Journal, p. 167.

202 The agricultural implements employed by the Maori were of a remarkably crude nature. The principal tool was the ko whose blade was only about three inches wide, the lower end pointed; the whole implement was formed of one piece save the foot-rest, and often ten feet in length. The ko was employed for loosening soil, not for turning it over, as we do with a spade. The latter was not an old native process. A form of widebladed wooden spade, called a kaheru, was used in cultivation grounds, and for other purposes, but only in soil already loosened by the ko. A small paddle-shaped implement known by several names as pinaki, ketu, and wauwau, was used in cultivating. A kind of wooden grubber, called a tima, timo, and timotimo, was also used. Apparently the implement referred to in the text was a timo. – Vide Elsdon Best, The Maori As He Was, pp. 168-171; V. F. Fisher, Some Notes on Maori Agricultural and Earthworking Implements, (Records of the Auckland Institute and Museum, Vol. I, No 2).

203 Vide supra, pp. 108, 142 ; infra, pp. 172-3, and 265.

204 Te Morenga, Marsden's greatest friend, belonged to the Uri-Kapana hapu of Tai-a-mai, some fifteen miles west of the Bay of Islands. His sister, left by the miscreants of the Venus among the Ngati-Porou people near the East Cape, was subsequently killed and eaten. Te Morenga's expedition of revenge to the East Cape took place in 1818. – S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, pp. 25, 37, 38.

[It is to be noted that in the old missionary records the East Cape seems to include any place south of Mercury Bay.]

205 Vide supra, p. 58. S. Percy Smith states that Huru was known as Te Huru-kokoti. – Peopling of the North, p. 106.

206 Hongi's expedition to the East Cape took place in 1818. He returned to the Bay of Islands in January, 1819. – S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, p. 39 et seq.

207 This plundering of those who had committed an offence against the community was called muru, muru meaning "to plunder." – Vide Elsdon Best, The Maori As He Was, p. 87.

208 Maui ("Tommy Drummond"), Marsden's Maori servant during his first visit to New Zealand, of whom a full account is given in his first journal.

209 Pomare (at Kaikohe).

210 "Mr. William Hall has been exposed to the violence of some marauders in consequence of being withdrawn from the protection of the chiefs. The circumstances of the case were these: –

The number of children at Rangheehoo and the security of the residence there make it desirable as a station; though the steepness of the hills, and the want of depth in the soil, disqualify the immediate vicinity for profitable cultivation. A purchase of fifty acres of land at Wytanghee was mentioned in the last report (1816-17). It was well adapted for agriculture. Mr. Hall removed thither in July, 1815, erected a substantial house, and began to employ the natives in clearing ground, sawing timber, etc. He soon cleared two acres, reaped both wheat and barley, and had a garden full of vegetables. But these promising prospects were more than counterbalanced by the dangers to which the solitariness of the situation exposed them. A party of strangers attacked him, injured his wife considerably by a violent blow, and plundered his house. They returned, in consequence, to Rangheehoo. Mr. Marsden had foreseen the danger of being withdrawn from the immediate protection of the chiefs, who were both able and willing to secure the settlers from injury.

Mr. Hall finds the natives not yet prepared to make a rapid improvement as mechanics. Their natural fondness for a rambling and active life must be brought by degrees to yield to more steady occupation. They are, at present, more easily induced to assist in agriculture. Parties, willing to work for a time, will make rough fences, cultivate land, or do any work which it requires but little time to learn. Their fondness for iron has led them to cut a wheelbarrow to pieces, to pull a house down, and to break up a boat, for the sake of getting at the nails rather than avail themselves of the proper use of these things. At present they have not patience to wait for such future benefits: it is immediate gratification which such minds seek after." – Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1817-18, pp. 126-7.

211 Turi-ka-tuku. – She is said to have accompanied Hongi in all his expeditions and to have been his most trusted adviser. Hongi's daughter, mentioned here, was afterwards christened Harata (Charlotte), and was also known as Rongo (Peace). She became the wife of Hone Heke ; vide Hongi Hika's Genealogical Tree, p. 550.

212 Marsden sent the kaheru thus obtained to the Church Missionary Society. "Mr. Butler," he wrote, "will give Mr. Kermode for the Church Missionary Society a wooden spatula with which the head chief's wife was digging her potato ground amidst her slaves when the Revs. Messrs. Marsden and Butler visited the potato gardens of her husband, whose name is Shunghee. Although she is a woman of the first rank in New Zealand and quite blind, yet she was labouring as hard as any common slave." – Rev. Samuel Marsden to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, July 4th, 1820.

213 Mr, Graham is confident that this should be Pokai – (of Kaiaua, Whakatiwai).

214 Samuel Butler, only son of the Rev. John Butler. He reached New Zealand with his parents in the General Gates in August, 1819, and was employed in the Mission as teacher and catechist until November, 1823; vide infra, p. 395 et seq.

215 The pigment, or dye, with which the process of tattooing (moko) was completed was called ngarahu or kapara, and consisted of the burnt and powdered resin of the kauri pine, kahikatea, or of koromico, a veronica. This was said to give the finest tint to the moko, always a blue black. The Tuhoe people also burned the curious vegetating or vegetable caterpillar (awheto hotete) to obtain the desired black pigment. Mixed with water or the juice of berries of the mahoe tree the soot was formed into lumps and was thus preserved for years, being, in this condition, called kauri. Charcoal and even gunpowder have been employed to yield the necessary colour.

The tattooing implement, the uhi, was usually made from a piece of albatross bone, ground flat and pointed.

Tattooing was practised by both men and women. "Women invariably had the lips and chins tattooed, sometimes a small design on the forehead, and rarely the ngu or nose design. . . . A fully tattooed man had his face covered with designs of varied form; his buttocks and thighs were also so adorned. Curiously enough the breast and arms were not tattooed." – Vide Elsdon Best, The Maori As He Was, pp. 219-223; and Robley, Moko or Maori Tattooing, p. 57 et seq.

216 Te Morenga's fleet sailed for the East Cape early in January, 1818. Hongi left the Bay with his fleet on 7th February, 1818. – S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, p. 37 et seq

217 Te Haupa of Ngati-Paoa (Whakatiwai).

218 At the hands of either Ngati-Porou, Ngati-Tai, or Ngati-Kahungunu of the East Coast.

219 Hine-mati-oro of Tologa Bay. – S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, pp. 39, 40.

220 The sloping ground at the back of Te Puna which is referred to in Marsden's first journal.

221 No example of this receptacle has been preserved, and apart from Marsden no other observer seems to have recorded it. Mr. Graham notes that this custom prevailed also among the Arawa, and that the Ngati-Whakaue of Mokoia Island observed it until 1887.

222 Strictly speaking this was not a war-dance but a powhiri, or dance in reception of visitors.

223 Kendall and King were thus the first white men to visit the Hokianga. For the most part, however, the pioneer missionaries found their energies absorbed by the duties required of them in the Bay of Islands settlement and made no attempt to explore the interior of the country.

224 A Cornishman, engaged by Marsden as a carpenter for the work of the Mission. – Vide infra, pp. 445 and 523.

225 Mr. Graham notes that Marsden's translation of the greeting is in error. "Atua" should be E Tua. Tua is an abbreviation of Whatua, the name of a common ancestor. The greeting Haeremai! Haeremai! E Tua is still in use in northern districts.

226 Oraka, on the Upper Waihou.

227 Utakura. – Standing on a branch of the river finally running into the Hokianga and draining Lake Omapere.

228 Motu-kauri.

229 Near Herd's Point.

230 Cook observed these "lofty hills" on January 4th, 1770. The passage from his Journal to which Marsden refers reads thus: – "In about the latitude 35 deg. 45' is some high land adjoining to the sea; to the southward of that the land is of moderate height, and wears a most desolate and inhospitable aspect. Nothing is to be seen but long sandhills with hardly any green thing upon them, and the great sea which the prevailing westerly winds impell upon the shore must render this a very dangerous coast. This I am fully sencible of, that was we once clear of it I am determined not to come so near again, if I can possible avoid it, unless we have a very favourable wind indeed." – Wharton, Captain Cook's Journal, pp. 177-8.

231 Patuone. – The celebrated Ngapuhi chief to whom missions and colonization owed so much. Mr. George Graham notes that he received his name from the fact that his father was killed (patu) on the seabeach (one). He was one of the first to support and sign the Treaty of Waitangi, and always stood for law and order. He died at Auckland in September, 1872, at the reputed age of 108, and was buried on Mount Victoria, Devonport, Auckland. Over his grave stands a headstone, appropriately inscribed, erected by the New Zealand Government.

An interesting circumstance concerning Patuone is that he consistently averred that, as a boy of four, he had witnessed the coming of Captain Cook in the Endeavour in 1769. The Rev. J. J. Lewis, an Auckland clergyman, who died in 1931, conversed with him just before his death in 1872 and wrote, in a letter dated July 15th, 1927: – "I felt my visit to Patuone to be a memorable one. . . . He was a big man, very tall, and with features expressing courage, force, and kindness. . . . I see no reason to doubt that Patuone had passed his hundredth year, and, as a lad, saw Captain Cook." Mr. Graham, however, from his intimate knowledge of Ngapuhi genealogy, states that there is reason to doubt the age attributed to Patuone by himself and by his biographer, C. O. Davis, and is of opinion that he was probably not older than 96 at the time of his death, and had certainly not visited Cook's ship but that of a later visitor. The coffin plate gave his age as 96. – C. O. Davis, The Life and Times of Patuone (Auckland, 1876); A. H. Reed, A Link with Cook (New Zealand Herald, July 25th, 1931); S. Percy Smith, Peopling of the North, p. 9, and infra, p. 550.

232 Marsden usually travelled with a red nightcap and comforter, and these were greatly coveted by the natives. The coloured woollen articles worn by sailors were constantly unravelled and woven in with their flax mats.

233 Hauraki (Te Wera). – Hongi's chief priest, well known later on the east coast at Te Mahia peninsula. He was the friend and father-in-law of F. E. Maning, the author of Old New Zealand, who named his son Hauraki Maning after this chief.

234 John Savage (Surgeon), Some Account of New Zealand (London, 1807), pp. 94-110.

235 It is worthy of note that slaves brought in this manner to the Bay of Islands were those who were most profoundly affected by the teaching of the missionaries and who ultimately became the pioneers of Christianity in the south. – Cf. W. Williams, Christianity Among the New Zealanders (London, 1867).

236 The house was named Nukuroa, an ancient name for New Zealand.

237 Staivers. – Hence another name for the potato, taewa, since he apparently supplied some seed.

238 The chief evidently had in mind the massacre in June, 1772, after a month's stay at the Bay of Islands, of the French commander of the Mascarin, Marion du Fresne, with some seventeen of his crew, although the chief erred in stating that that incident took place before Captain Cook's visit to New Zealand in 1769-70.

The first French officer to reach New Zealand was Captain de Surville of the St. Jean Baptiste who arrived in December, 1769, when Cook was exploring the North Island. Neither commander knew of the other's proximity. Marion's was the second French expedition to visit New Zealand. His two vessels, the Mascarin, commanded by himself, and the Marquis de Castries whose captain was the Chevalier du Clesmeur, were on the New Zealand coast from April to July, 1772. Crozet, Marion's lieutenant, took command of the Mascarin upon his chief's death, and general reprisals ensued which included the destruction by fire of the village whose chief, Tacouri, was suspected of the murder of Marion. – Robert McNab, Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. II, pp. 230-479; The Abbe Alexis Rochon, Nouveau Voyage a la Mer du Sud (Paris, 1783), and English translation of this volume, usually styled Crozet's Voyage, by H. Ling Roth (London, 1891).

239 The word ngawha means a sulphurous spring, hence the name of this place is still Te Ngawha.

240 Marsden's quarters at Tai-a-mai were close to the present main road between Pakaraka and the Ohaeawai post office. About four miles beyond are the Ohaeawai hot springs, which contain mercurial constituents.

241 Kauri Gum (kapia). – It exuded from the kauri pine and, becoming fossilised, lay buried sometimes for hundreds of years. Its recovery became eventually one of the principal industries of the Dominion. Hundreds of thousands of tons have been dug from the ground, of an export value of above twenty millions of pounds. The industry of late years has declined, owing to the growing scarcity of the gum and the use of substitutes in the manufacture of varnish.

242 This feverish ailment was known as kiri-ka – burning skin.

243 Pukenui. – A volcanic hill close to Pakaraka, Archdeacon Henry Williams's property.

244 Marsden and Kendall evidently misunderstood the chief who welcomed them, since the Maoris did not regard their dead as gods.

245 The Waikato and the Waipa which meet at Ngaruawahia.

246 Second Book of Kings, Chapter X.

247 Kendall's A Korao no New Zealand; or The New Zealanders' First Book, a small book of 54 pages, printed at Sydney in 1815, vide infra, p. 522.

248 MS. Journal of William Hall (Hocken Library).

249 "There is a Mr. Carlisle come out to join us by Mr. Marsden's recommendation, and he seems to be a very quiet man." – William Hall to the Secretary, August 22nd, 1816. – (M.S. Journal, Hocken Library.)

250 The Church Missionary Register, 1819, p. 463.

251 MS. Journal of Rev. Thomas Kendall (Hocken Library); The Church Missionary Register, 1817-20; McNab, Tasman to Marsden, pp. 205-6; A. G. Butchers, Young New Zealand (Dunedin), 1929, pp. 30-2.

252 The Church Missionary Register, 1821, p. 79; Butler MSS. (Hocken Library).

253 "Mr. Gordon is a pious man but very timid. I think he will return to Port Jackson from mere apprehension of danger." – (Marsden to the Secretary, June 8th, 1819.) "On examining into Carlisle's conduct I found it most abominable. He immediately wrote to me saying he wished to resign. I accepted his resignation and gave him and his family a passage to Port Jackson." – (Marsden to the Secretary, February 10th, 1820.)

254 Vide supra, pp. 40-41.

255 Vide supra, p. 48.

# CHAPTER IV. MARSDEN'S THIRD NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL





MARSDEN'S THIRD NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL

Marsden left Sydney on February 13th, 1820, in H.M.S. Dromedary (Captain Skinner), and arrived at the Bay of Islands on February 27th. After a tour in the interior, he sailed on June 7th to the Thames in the Coromandel, tender to the Dromedary, and again travelled inland, rejoining the Coromandel on August 1st. He left that vessel on August 12th and made his way to the Bay of Islands, arriving there on September 4th. On September 17th he embarked in the Government schooner Prince Regent for New South Wales, to be driven back to the Bay by bad weather on the 24th. He then made a further stay of six weeks in New Zealand, leaving in the Dromedary from Whangaroa on November 25th and the Bay of Islands on December 5th. He reached New South Wales on December 21st, 1820.[256]

IN the beginning of the year 1820, His Majesty's ship Dromedary,[257] commanded by Captain Richard Skinner, arrived in Sydney Cove with male prisoners, Sir Byam Martin, comptroller of the Navy, having instructed the master that this ship, after landing her prisoners and being prepared for sea, should proceed to New Zealand for spars. At the same time it was stated that the Coromandel was on her passage out, and that her commander had received similar instructions. It was intimated also that I should be requested to accompany the Dromedary in order to promote the object of her voyage to these islands.

I gladly availed myself of this favourable opportunity to renew my intercourse with the settlement, and to use the influence I had obtained among the natives in preventing disputes and misunderstandings between them and the Europeans of the King's ships; being fully aware that it was of the utmost importance, for the future prosperity of the mission and the general happiness of the islanders, to make a good understanding between the natives, the soldiers, and the ship's companies during the time each vessel was procuring her cargo of spars. I was apprehensive if any misunderstanding should take place between the natives and the Europeans some unpleasant consequences might follow. I also conceived if these ships accomplished the object of their voyage, His Majesty's ministers might adopt some public measures that would second the views of the Society and promote the general benefit of the inhabitants. In order to prevent any unfortunate event and to promote the good of the public service as far as my knowledge, experience, and influence would tend, I felt anxious to accompany the ships, and for





this purpose solicited permission from His Excellency Governor Macquarie, which he was kind enough to grant. I immediately prepared for my voyage, and we sailed on February 13th.[258] I took with me sixteen head of cattle, fifteen females and one male, two mares and an entire horse, with sundry stores for the settlement. I was unwilling to lose so good an opportunity of introducing a few more cattle into New Zealand, as Captain Skinner was so kind as to afford every accommodation for them. We had a pretty good passage over and I was fortunate enough to take all the stock safe. We anchored in the Bay of Islands on Sunday evening, the 27th, and shortly after the missionaries came on board, all well. Monday and the following days (February 28th to March 4th) during the week were spent by myself and several officers in examining the timber in the different districts in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands; but what we met with was not considered of the best quality for duration, which determined Captain Skinner to send over the second master, Mr. Morley, and the carpenter, Mr. Mart, to Shokee Hangha (Hokianga) river in order to examine the spars upon the banks of that river and the entrance into the Harbour. I accompanied them along with Mr. William Hall, and we left the missionary settlement on Monday, March 5th, for the above river on the west side of New Zealand, and in one fortnight returned to the Dromedary,[259] Messrs. Morley and Mart, the carpenter, made their separate reports to Captain Skinner. Mr. Morley gave it as his opinion that the Dromedary could cross the bar, and Mr. Mart was very much satisfied with the spars as to their dimensions and quality.

From their reports Captain Skinner determined to go round to Shokee Hangha river with the Dromedary, and as soon as all the necessary arrangements were made we sailed from the Bay of Islands on Friday, March 31st. When we came off the mouth of the river Shokee Hangha, Captain Skinner and his officers examined the bar as well as the Harbour for four days, and at the end of that time Captain Skinner did not think it prudent to venture the taking in of so large a ship as the Dromedary, and we returned again to the Bay of Islands. I have already given you some account of this river and the inhabitants upon its banks when I returned from thence after my former visit, and therefore shall refer you to what I then stated.





After our return to the Bay of Islands from Shokee Hangha, I determined to take a tour into the interior for a short time. On Monday, May 1st, I left the Dromedary with an intention of visiting several districts to the south-west. Lieutenant McCrae of the 84th Regiment,[260] and a Mr. Clark, who was sealing master on board the General Gates at the time that vessel was taken possession of by His Majesty's ship Dromedary and sent to Port Jackson,[261] accompanied me. On leaving the Dromedary we proceeded to Kiddee Kiddee (Kerikeri), where we arrived the same evening and remained for the night. The missionaries were busy preparing ground for wheat, etc., assisted by several of the natives, and the carpenters were working at the public buildings. I spent the evening in conversation with the Rev. John Butler and his colleagues on the general affairs of the mission.

Tuesday, May 2nd. – This morning I paid a visit to O Kora (Okura) to see how Mr. Shepherd was going on, and gave him some directions relative to his future operations. I found him at home with the chief Wyeterra (Waitara), who is a near relation to Temmarangha (Te Morenga) and a powerful chief. He had two sons with me at Parramatta; one died there, the other returned with me in the Dromedary, and is now very ill and not likely to recover. Wyeterra was very much rejoiced to see me. He requested I would allow him to return with me to Port Jackson for his son's bones, that he might deposit them in their family sepulchre. He was uncommonly fond of this boy; he was the son of his head wife and he considered him his heir. He wept much when he thought of him, and told me he was sprung from one of the first families in New Zealand. He had a fine boy sitting beside him, a younger son. I pointed to him and endeavoured to console his





DECORATED BOXES.

These boxes were of different sizes, and were designed to store objects of value of various kinds. Perhaps the largest single group are waka huia, intended to contain huia feathers when not being worn. Such a box is mentioned in the quotation from Nicholas on page 106. Other larger waka may have held specially venerated weapons such as the mere pounamu. Many diverse styles of decoration can be recognised, arising, doubtless, from the different districts in which the waka were carved, but at present no research has been carried out along this attractive line.

They are always provided with terminal knobs which are usually carved to represent human heads. To these were attached cords by which the waka was hauled to

the roof of the dwelling, to hang there till wanted. For this reason the under-surface is often more richly decorated than the upper. The boxes were usually coloured in red and black, but time and the varnish beloved by mid-nineteenth century collectors have wrought havoc, and the colours can rarely be detected without very careful scrutiny.

All three of the waka here shown are of medium size and their carving has been executed with stone tools. The topmost exhibits a beautiful design, almost purely geometric, the human figure appearing only at the ends. Next below it is a box which has preserved the red and black colouring better than is usually the case. A line of small figures forms the handle of the lid. The third example, of which lid and side-view are shown, is probably from the Bay of Islands district.

[Inserted unpaginated illustration]

WAKA (DECORATED BOXES).
SCALE 1:5
OTAGO UNIVERSITY MUSEUM





mind by observing that this son would be his heir. He remarked that the mother of this boy was not of that noble family that the mother of the boy was who was dead, and on that account he regretted his death. I felt very much for his affliction for he wept sore. He said he had made a new canoe for his boy that was dead and wished me to see it. I went with him. This canoe was very small, would carry about three boys, and in every respect fitted up like a war canoe, painted and ornamented with feathers. He told me I must take it to Parramatta and keep it as a memorial of his son. His other son who was sick was a young man about seventeen years old. I saw he was too far gone to entertain any hopes of his recovery. When I conversed with him he said: "My eyes will soon be dark in death; I can live no longer in New Zealand. It is a bad country; I do not like the chiefs who are always fighting and distressing one another. It is a country also where there is no tea, sugar, rice, or bread; I cannot eat fern-root; I shall soon sleep in the ground." I never heard any persons speak with more feeling than this young man; he mourned over the degraded state of his country and appeared to have little wish to live any longer.

I seldom ever visited Wyeterra, or he me, but the death of his boy was the subject of his conversation, and at all times he expressed a wish to have his bones conveyed to New Zealand, and, if he could not go himself for them, as he was then very poorly, that I should allow his wife to go. I promised that when I returned he should have them sent, if no person went for them. Everywhere the New Zealanders are very particular about the bones of their departed friends.

After conversing some time with Wyeterra and his son, I went with Mr. Shepherd[262] to examine what he had done. I found he had got peas, beans, turnips, etc., growing and a quantity of fruit stones planted. I hope from this little spot he will be able in a short time to furnish most of the principal chiefs with fruit trees and

seeds and plants of vegetables. I now returned to Kiddee Kiddee for the night, intending to set off the next morning on our tour.



Wednesday, May 3rd. – This morning we prepared for our journey, but before we started I had the gratification to see the plough for the first time at New Zealand enter the ground and make the first furrow. I could not but anticipate the day when these valleys and hills will stand thick with corn and the wilderness blossom like roses. The districts I intended we should visit before we set off were the following: Wyemattee (Waimate), Pooka nuee (Pukenui), and Tiami (Taiamai). Wyemattee lies about twelve or fourteen miles west of Kiddee Kiddee. We set off for this settlement first. On our road we met a number of travellers who enquired whither we were going. When we told them they immediately informed us that there was the atua at Wyemattee. I could not comprehend what they meant, as they all seemed much interested about the atua ; I thought some chief was either dead or near death, as they told us there were a great number of persons at Wyemattee.

We arrived there about sunset, at a farm belonging to a chief named Tarria (Taraia). Here we met the largest assemblage of natives I had ever seen. Tarria received us very cordially, and furnished us with a good hut and plenty of potatoes for ourselves and porters. There were some of the heads of tribes with their fighting men from Shokee Hangha on the west side of New Zealand to Bream Head on the east. We walked round the different groups as they assembled in separate bodies. We found a number of chiefs sitting in a circle in deep consultation. We understood that the heads of the different tribes had met to settle some war expedition and that each tribe had to furnish a certain number of men. The concourse of people and the bustle occasioned thereby resembled more a country fair than anything else I can compare it to. I inquired what had occasioned so very large a meeting of the chiefs from such distant parts, and was informed that, previous to the destruction of the Boyd (which happened ten years ago), Shunghee and his tribe had made war against the inhabitants of Kiperro



(Kaipara) when he had been defeated and had lost a number of his officers and men, and amongst the number were two of his brothers;[263] that the heads of Shunghee's tribe had called this meeting to arrange an expedition against Kiperro, in order to revenge the deaths of those who fell in the above war. I was also informed that Shunghee had been collecting ammunition ever since his defeat to enable him to renew the war with the people of Kiperro, and that he had left instructions with his officers to do so in a few months after his departure for England.[264]

We spent the evening in conversation with the different groups. They appeared all very cheerful and happy. There was great feasting in their way: some hundreds of baskets of sweet and common potatoes with fish were eaten, and the bustle continued more or less during the night. When we retired at a late hour we left the assembly of the chiefs sitting in a circle where we had first found them carrying on their deliberations.

Ever since our arrival we heard loud lamentation from a distant farm which appeared to be near a mile off; when we inquired the cause the natives told us the atua was there, and that was all we could learn. These lamentations continued without interruption, and we determined to visit the atua next morning in order to know what it was that interested almost everyone we spoke to.

Thursday, May 4th. – This morning we rose at the dawn of day and walked through the camp again. We found the chiefs sitting still in a circle from whence they appeared never to have moved from the time we arrived the preceding day to the present. After walking round and taking leave of the chiefs, we left this extraordinary assembly, intending to breakfast with Shunghee's son, who had lived with me at Parramatta and whose village was near at hand, purposing afterwards to visit the atua, as the lamentations continued with increased cries. When we arrived we found him at home, his mother and sisters in the midst of their people. Mrs. Shunghee gave us a very hearty welcome, and ordered some provisions to be got ready immediately. While we were sitting talking with 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 into a posture of defiance. As soon as Shunghee's son and daughters observed them they instantly flew to arms. At the first I was not certain whether we were going to have a real or a sham fight, but, when I observed that Shunghee's daughters only charged their muskets with powder, I was convinced they were only going to make a sham battle. When both parties were ready and drawn up in military order, which was done very quickly, they began to fight. The women loaded and fired their muskets with much military spirit and appeared to be very fond of the sport, and I could not doubt but they would be equally active and brave in a real



battle. The men fought with spears and pattoos (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 in this way for some time, they closed the whole with a war-dance and we then took our breakfast. The party who appeared in the wood belonged to Shokee Hangha, and had come to the general congress.

When our breakfast was over we took our leave of Mrs. Shunghee and went to see the atua, the lamentations still continuing. On our arrival we found a dead chief seated in great state. His hair was dressed according to their custom and ornamented with feathers and a garland of green leaves. His countenance was bright and clear, having been recently anointed with oil, and retained its natural colour. Whether there was a body or not we could not tell, as the mats covered the whole up to the chin; he had the appearance of a living man sitting upright in his chair. I had seen one some time before whose head was dressed in a similar way, and the body had been dried and preserved as well as the head. This chief had been a young man when he died, apparently about thirty years old. His mother, wife, and children were seated before him, and the skulls and other human bones belonging to his family and ancestors were placed in a row on his left hand. I inquired where he died, and was told he was killed in battle beyond the River Thames some months ago. This chief was called the atua, of whom we had heard so much the preceding day. The New Zealanders appear to entertain an idea that the deity resides in the head of a chief, as they always pay the most sacred veneration to the head. If they worship any idol it is the head of their chiefs, as far as I am able to form an opinion of their worship.

On the present mournful occasion a great number of persons had assembled together from a great distance, to comfort the mourners and to pay their respects to the remains of the departed chief. His relatives cut themselves according to their custom till the blood streamed from their faces, arms, and breasts. The more they wound their bodies the more they believe they show their love for their departed friends. When I told them that the Europeans did not cut themselves in such a manner for their dead, but only wept, they replied the Europeans did not love their friends as the New Zealanders did or they would do so too. To hear their loud lamentations, night and day, for the loss of a relative, shows what a state of darkness and ignorance they are in. They sorrow as men without hope. Reason can find no sufficient remedy to relieve the human mind in the day of trouble. It wants a more solid consolation than reason can give. It wants a Divine revelation to enable the surviving husband, wife, or father to say with David: "I shall go to him but he shall not return to me."

After we had visited the atua and mourners we proceeded on our journey, and met, as we passed along, the natives coming from different parts to see the atua. We also fell in with Kiterra (Kaitara), a chief of Tiami (Taiamai), and his wife; Kiterra had lived with me at Parramatta. I informed him it was my intention to visit him

before I returned. He wished to accompany us, but he could not leave the mourning at that time, but said he would follow us during the day and that his wife should return the following morning.

A QUARREL AT PUKENUI



We now left Wyemattee. This settlement is very extensive, the land rich and well adapted for cultivation. There appeared to have been more than an hundred acres in sweet and common potatoes this season; part were dug, and part were not. Some hundreds of baskets were heaped up one upon another when we were there, and a number of slaves were busy in drying the sweet potatoes,[265] which were spread upon hurdles raised about three feet from the ground with small fires under them. When dry they take up little room, will keep a long time, are easily carried from one place to another, and retain their sweet taste which is very grateful to the natives' palate. They consider the sweet potatoes, whether dried or not, their richest food, and prefer this root to all other kinds of provisions.

On leaving Wyemattee we proceeded to a settlement called Pooka nuee (Pukenui), through some rich land, and arrived in the evening at the house of a chief belonging to the place. He pressed us to stay all night with him. We very readily accepted his invitation, as the evening was threatening for rain. The daughter I had often seen before at the missionary settlement. She was much rejoiced to see us, and ordered some provisions to be got ready for our supper. They wished to kill an hog, but we would not consent to this as it was our intention to leave them early in the morning. Shortly after our arrival several natives came to see us from the neighbouring farms, with whom we spent the evening.

The following circumstance occurred while we were in conversation, which created a little bustle: – Lieutenant McCrae had seated himself on the stump of a tree, with his boat cloak thrown over his shoulders, where he was closely surrounded by the natives. When he got up he found the buttons cut off his cloak, and the clasp from the collar, which some one of the natives had carried off. He immediately told the chief he had been robbed, and showed where the buttons had been cut off. A boy whom we had observed in the company was accused of the theft but upon examination he could not be found, which confirmed the suspicion. Persons were immediately dispatched to apprehend the boy; in about half an hour he was brought before us and examined. The chief's daughter insisted that he had committed the theft; another stout woman warmly vindicated the boy's character, when she was as warmly opposed by a third woman. The altercation got to such a pitch that in a short time they came to blows with their hands, and at length they armed themselves with thick sticks. I now interfered, and laid hold of the woman who was the most violent and who contended that the boy had stolen the buttons, to prevent her from striking the other woman who advocated the boy's cause. The chief's daughter was very much vexed that the theft had been committed there, and desired me to let the woman alone and allow them to fight, for she was sure that the boy had stolen the buttons and no person ought to defend him. I, however, thought it more prudent to prevent any more blows passing between these ladies, and put an immediate stop to the

EFFECT ON CHIEFS OF RESIDENCE AT PARRAMATTA



quarrel. I had never seen any fighting amongst the New Zealanders before. It is not common for them to strike one another. The chief's daughter and the other woman belonging to the family were very indignant indeed that any insult should have been given to us while we were at their residence. The chief was equally hurt that anything should have occurred to give us offence, and said he would endeavour to have the stolen things returned, and thus the business ended for the night.

Before daylight the next morning (Friday, May 5th) the clasp and buttons were brought back, but we never could learn who had actually stolen them. The chief informed us that the boy who had been accused was innocent.

Pooka nuee (Pukenui) is a very fine district, the land very fertile and capable of great improvement. This settlement is called Pooka nuee[266] from a very high hill on which part of the houses stand. The land is rich to the very summit of the hill, though stony, and the sides of the hill cultivated with potatoes. We went to the very top, from whence there is a very extensive prospect over a great part of the interior and also of the neighbouring ocean. It is situated about thirty-five miles from the entrance of the harbour of the Bay of Islands to the south-west.

On leaving Pooka nuee we proceeded through a very fine country to Tiami (Tai-a-mai). Kiterra, the chief of Tiami, had joined us the preceding day, and now conducted us to his residence. Here we found a young man named Ari (Arai), who had lived some time with me at Parramatta, very ill, past all hope of recovery. He was much gratified when he saw me, and requested me to pray with him. He had only returned in the Dromedary from Port Jackson; he was a fine healthy young man when we arrived at New Zealand, but was now reduced to a mere skeleton. He was affected with a bowel complaint probably occasioned by a change in his food and lodging, as he was compelled to adopt his former mode of living. Three of the young men who lived with me at Parramatta and returned in the Dromedary have died; two of them were strong healthy young men. Ari was possessed of three mats at the time of his death, which he directed his father to send to me after he was dead; these I received with the news of his death at the Bay of Islands.

Seven have died this year who were living with me at the beginning of it – four at New South Wales and three at New Zealand. These young persons belonged to the first families in the Bay of Islands. How mysterious are the ways of God! – they are past finding out. I had fondly imagined that some of these youths who are now no more would upon their return to their native country have promoted the general welfare of their countrymen, and forwarded, by their superior knowledge of civil life, their civilization; but God's ways are not as man's ways, neither are His thoughts as man's thoughts.

When I have conversed with the parents of these youths I have been much struck with the patient resignation of some of them to the afflictive dispensation. One of the principal chiefs, when he heard

THE DESIRE OF MAORIS FOR CIVILISATION



that his son was dead at Parramatta, came on board the Dromedary with his wife. They both wept very much. He was a fine youth and their only son. He requested me not to fret for his son, observing that, as he was dead, he was happy he had died at Parramatta, for he was sure he would want for nothing in his sickness that could do him good. His wife said she was childless now, that they had large possessions of lands but no heir, and requested me to send them one of my children, whom they would adopt as their own and who should succeed to their lands. They both ardently wished to have their son's bones conveyed to New Zealand in order that they might be deposited in their family sepulchre, and requested that one or both of them might be allowed to go to New South Wales for them.

The deaths of the above youths seemed to have attached the New Zealanders more than ever to the Europeans, though I cannot account why this should be the case. I should have thought it would have had an opposite effect. Notwithstanding the death of so many of the chiefs' sons, yet others are urgent to send their children to Port Jackson. When I have told them I was afraid to allow them to go lest they should die, they replied they would run the risk of their death if I would only permit them to go. Koro Koro, Tooi's (Tuhi) brother, has a fine boy about eight years old, whom he has pressed me very much to take with me to Port Jackson. When I told

him I was afraid to take him since he would most probably die, he replied, "I will pray for my son during his absence, as I did for Tooi, and then he will not die."

Though the New Zealanders have no idea of a God of mercy, such a God as Divine revelation exhibits, yet they have a strong belief that they can appease the anger and avert the judgment of their god by their prayers. Notwithstanding the above mysterious dispensation, I have no doubt but the time is at hand for these poor heathen to receive the Gospel; but how, or by what means, God will accomplish His gracious purpose, I am unable to comprehend, as clouds and darkness are round about His footsteps.

From finding Ari near death on our arrival at Tiami, I have been led to make the above digression. 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 a similar effort, so anxious do they seem to introduce themselves into civil society.

Saturday, May 6th. – I shall now return to my narrative. We arrived at Tiami on Saturday evening. Kiterra accommodated us with a good hut with two rooms. He told me he had built this hut after the form which he had seen when at Port Jackson. The door-places were about the same height as the Europeans build their huts at New South Wales, and the whole building was much more commodious for us than the low huts of the natives.

On the Sabbath (May 7th) we rested. A number of the natives came to visit us, to whom I explained the institution of the Sabbath, and conversed with them upon the works of the Creator, and the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as visible in His works. Kiterra was very anxious to accommodate us in the best manner he could, and supplied us with pork and potatoes both of which were excellent in this



district. The land is very dry and rich, and produces the finest potatoes. The fern-root upon which the hogs feed is, on account of the goodness of the soil, very fattening. The fern upon the cultivated land in some places is twelve feet high, and the roots very good to eat. Kiterra has got some peach trees and vegetables growing very fine, which had originally come from New South Wales. He was very urgent for some Europeans to live in his district, and promised he would give them some of the best of the land.

On Monday (May 8th) I went with Kiterra over the cultivated ground where his slaves were preparing the soil for planting. I also fixed upon a place for the missionaries to settle upon if any should at a future period come out for that purpose. The situation commands wood, water, and good land – wood for the purpose of building, water for domestic use and a mill if necessary, and land for cultivation. There is also grass upon an extensive plain for cattle.

A circumstance occurred to-day which annoyed me very much. Lieutenant McCrae, Mr. Clark (Clarke), and myself had agreed to visit a hot spring about three miles distant from the settlement, and several of the natives were to accompany us. A European who had been transported to Port Jackson, a gardener by profession, had come over in the Dromedary to collect seeds and plants; for this purpose he left the Dromedary with us, as he would have an opportunity in our tour to add to his collection in passing through the woods and forests which had never been visited by any European. He set off with us to the hot spring. In our way we passed several potato fields where the people were at work. One of the chiefs called to me as we passed along. I turned out of the path to speak to him while the rest of the party walked on. The gardener took this opportunity unobserved by me to skulk behind. After I had left the chief and walked on a little distance after the party who had got now ahead, I heard a great noise behind me and, turning round, saw some of the natives running after me and calling aloud for me to return, which I immediately did. I soon met a chief named Evey (Iwi) in a most violent rage, with the gardener in charge, accompanied by several more natives. When he came up he stated that the gardener had stopt behind me and had violently dragged his wife into the bush and committed an assault upon her person, at the same time stopping her mouth to prevent her cries from being heard; and that he himself had taken the gardener in the very act of committing the assault, and would instantly have put him to death if I had not been there. He had struck the gardener one blow with the musket which he had in his hand when he caught him. I observed the gardener had received a blow upon the mouth. I felt very indignant at the conduct of the gardener. The evidence was so clear against him that there was no room left to doubt his guilt. All he could say in his own justification was that the woman was not a virtuous character in his opinion.

Evey had lived with me at Parramatta, which induced him to forbear inflicting that punishment which he otherwise would have done. I have no doubt if we had all been strangers but that the gardener would have been immediately put to death, and if he had, the cause of his death would probably never have been satisfactorily ascertained and might



have been attributed solely to the savage disposition of the natives. I expressed my approbation of Evey's conduct, and assured him that I would report the bad behaviour of the gardener and I had no doubt but he would be punished.

Evey's wife was a young woman apparently about twenty. I had passed her in the field and spoken to her about a quarter of an hour before the assault was committed. It is much to be lamented that the Gospel with all its attendant blessings cannot be introduced into any heathen nation without the introduction of the crimes and diseases which obtain in civil society. Men of vicious principles and corrupt habits will always find their way into every state, and New Zealand must suffer much from her intercourse with Europeans before the people become a civilized nation, as well as afterwards.

After I had got Evey and the natives who were with him pacified we proceeded to the warm spring. It is situated in a wood on the bank of a small fresh-water stream. There are two warm springs opposite each other, one on each bank of the creek, about ten feet above the level of the fresh water, which runs between them. The warm water is offensive and possesses something of a sulphurous taste. They are both running springs, and the surface where the water lodges in small quantities is covered with a brown-yellowish scum which the natives use in painting themselves. The wood through which we passed contained very fine timber, and the land about is very good but stony.

In the evening we returned to Kiterra's residence where we remained until the next morning (Tuesday, May 9th). The natives informed me that there were several places a few miles distant where the water was very offensive, which we determined to visit. On our arrival at one of these places we found several hot springs, and in some of them the water was boiling hot. As we walked over the ground it shook under us and in some parts it was not able to bear our weight. The volcano was burning underground, and not very far from us the surface of the ground was hot. Some of it had been thrown up in small heaps and sent up a steam like boiling water. We removed some of the tops of these little hillocks and found them to be hollow within, in the cavities of which the sulphur was forming in the most beautiful pyramids, as close together as an honeycomb. When we looked into these cavities the little spires of sulphur shone with the most sparkling lustre that can be imagined. The sulphur was hot, and under the hillock the water was boiling and burst out in several places. There was one spring where the water was almost as thick as batter pudding and nearly as white as flour and water. I went as near as I could to examine it but the ground would not support my weight, but gave way

with me when within a few feet, and I sank with both feet about one foot into this thick white batter, and found some difficulty in returning as the ground shook at every step and the surface broke. The whole surface of the neighbouring grounds had the appearance of volcanic eruptions.

There was one spring where the water was boiling hot, and another where the water was cold. The land for some miles is full of springs and swamps, very barren, composed principally of white sand, pipeclay, and peat. Here and there I observed small quantities of sulphur





in the roots of trees which had been burnt at some former period, but I saw no appearance of coal, iron, or freestone in any part of this district. We visited a small white lake, which I have mentioned in a former account, and then returned to our lodgings with Kiterra. The land at Tiami is very good, well wooded, and with abundance of fine water. Kiterra is very anxious for some Europeans to reside in his district. He treated us with every attention while we remained with him. After we had accomplished the object of our tour into the interior, we returned to the missionary settlement [Wednesday, May 10th (Cruise)].

During our absence Captain Skinner had been cutting spars on the banks of the Cowa Cowa River.[267] This timber was not considered of a good quality, which determined Captain Skinner to visit the River Thames. On the Dromedary's return from Shokee Hangha to the Bay of Islands, Captain Skinner purposed to take in some spars of the kikatea (kahikatea)[268] and afterwards to examine the River Thames or some other part of New Zealand for timber, as he was anxious if possible to get kowree (kauri) spars, as that wood was deemed of a much superior quality to the kikatea.

Shortly after our return I met with George, the chief of Wangarooa, and inquired of him if there were any spars of kowree at his land. He informed me there was. I promised to go over to see them and know whether his brother and he would consent to the Dromedary taking a cargo, and the following day Mr. Hall took George on board the Dromedary in order that Captain Skinner might converse with him on the subject. After this interview with George it was determined that Messrs. Mart and Hall should go round to Wangarooa in a boat, and I resolved to walk across the country from Kiddee Kiddee a distance of about twenty-three miles.

On the following Tuesday (May 30th) we set off. I arrived at George's settlement that same evening, and remained with him and his brother all night. They were much pleased with my visit. The next morning (May 31st) Messrs. Mart and Hall arrived. When the woods were examined and the timber approved of by Mr. Mart, and all matters arranged with the two chiefs to the satisfaction of all parties, we left George's village in the boat in order to return by sea. About ten o'clock we went on shore and lay on the beach till towards morning, when we proceeded down the river and reached the Heads of the harbour before sunrise. The morning was very fine when we first put to sea, but the weather soon changed and the wind blew very strong with a high sea, which compelled us to make for the shore, when we left the





boat in charge of the native crew, having determined to walk to Rangheehoo. For this purpose we took two native guides and set off on our journey. We had a very laborious day's walk, as the road was very bad and the afternoon very rainy and stormy. We arrived at a native village just at dark, very wet, where we took up our lodgings for the night, during the whole of which the storm continued.

The next morning (Thursday, June 1st) it rained hard and blew a very heavy gale which continued the whole day. We proceeded on our route early, but met with many difficulties from the creeks and rivers being filled by the rains, several of which we had to ford.

About seven o'clock in the evening we reached Rangheehoo. This was one of the severest day's journeys I ever remember to have travelled, occasioned by the badness of the road, the heavy wind and rain.

During our absence the Coromandel had arrived in the Bay.[269]

Mr. Mart and myself remained at Rangheehoo the following day to rest, and the next morning returned on board the Dromedary, being the third of June, where I found some of the officers belonging to the Coromandel, who informed me that Captain Skinner intended in a day or two to proceed to the River Thames. On Mr. Mart's report of the spars at Wangarooa to Captain Skinner, and all matters now being arranged with George and his brother Tippoohee (Te Puhi) by our visit, Captain Skinner determined upon taking the Dromedary round to that harbour and load her with spars at that place. As I conceived Captain Skinner would find no difficulty in procuring his spars at Wangarooa from the assurances the chiefs there had given me, I now wished to accompany the Coromandel to the River Thames in order to prevent any misunderstanding between the natives of the Thames and the officers and crew on board the Coromandel.

Monday, June 5th, 1820. – I went on board His Majesty's ship Coromandel, and was politely received by Captain Downie. We had some conversation respecting the spars. I gave him what information I was possessed of respecting the timber I had seen in different places which I had visited. He informed me it was his intention to go to the River Thames and see what spars he could meet with there, as Captain Skinner had determined to take in his cargo at the Bay of Islands and Wangarooa; and expressed a wish I would accompany him. I told him I should have no objections after stating the circumstances to Captain Skinner, as it was my intention to have gone with him if the Dromedary had proceeded to that river. On my return to the Dromedary I mentioned the substance of our conversation. Captain Skinner approved of my going in the Coromandel as the chiefs at the Bay of Islands and Wangarooa were fully acquainted with Captain Skinner's intention to take his cargo from them, and, a good understanding existing at the time between all parties, my presence was no longer necessary on board the Dromedary.

The following day I went again on board the Coromandel with Captain Skinner, when it was settled for me to embark the next morning. I wished to take with me Tooi (Tuhi), Temmarangha (Te Morenga),

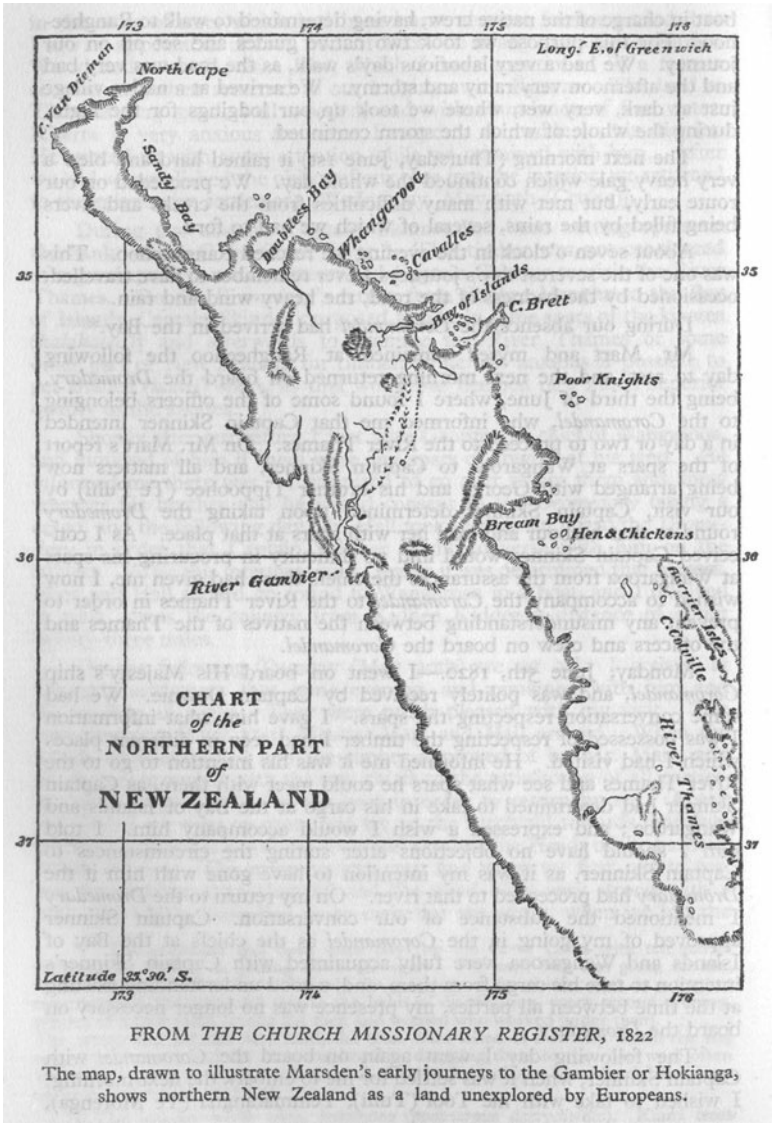



CHART of the NORTHERN PART of NEW ZEALAND
FROM THE CHURCH MISSIONARY REGISTER, 1822
The map, drawn to illustrate Marsden's early journeys to the Gambier or Hokianga, shows northern New Zealand as a land unexplored by Europeans.





and a chief named Enakkee (Te Hinaki) belonging to the Thames who happened to be at the Bay of Islands at the time. Tooi I knew could be of great service as an interpreter to Captain Downie from his knowledge of the English language and his attachment to the Europeans, and Temmarangha also from the rank he has in New Zealand and from his firm friendship to the English. Temmarangha had lived with me for some time at Parramatta. I knew his character well, and that he was a man that every confidence might be placed in.

On the 7th (Wednesday) in the morning I left the Dromedary and embarked on board the Coromandel) which was then under sail in the mouth of the harbour standing out to sea. The morning was exceeding pleasant and all was calm and serene, and the sea as smooth as glass and continued during the day, so that our progress was very small. For the five following days our passage to the Thames was rough and stormy and the wind generally strong against us, so that we did not reach the entrance of the Thames till the evening of the 12th when we came to anchor under the head of Cape Colville. [270]

Tuesday, June 13th. – The next morning I accompanied Mr. Anderson, second master, in the boat along the south side of the harbour to see if there were any spars in that quarter. We entered several of the coves in which a number of inhabitants had lately resided, but we saw none. Their hippahs were all in ruins, and had been lately burnt or destroyed in their wars. We observed some remains of the slain. Tooi pointed out one beach which he said was covered with dead bodies like a butcher's shop only a few months before, and that one tribe had been wholly cut off, within two or three individuals who had been fortunate enough to escape. He had heard his brother Koro Koro was engaged in this destructive war. The alleged cause was that a near relation of Koro Koro's had been poisoned (bewitched – makutu) when on a visit at the Thames. He was the son of Kipo (Kaipo), who is better known to the Europeans who visit the Bay of Islands by the name of "Old Benny." The young man did not die at the Thames but was taken ill there, when Tooi was sent from the Bay of Islands for him, and he died in the canoe before he reached home. Kipo offered up several human sacrifices for him and then commenced war against the suspected tribe at the Thames. Nothing will ever relieve these people from public calamities but the knowledge of Divine revelation. They find themselves bound by the chain of superstition to revenge the death of their relatives, whether they are killed in war or are supposed to have died by poison or incantation.

After we had examined the different coves and found no timber that would answer, we returned on board through a very heavy sea and reached the ship about nine o'clock, the wind blowing very strong.

Wednesday, June 14th. – Early the next morning Captain Downie weighed anchor and stood up the Thames, and in the afternoon anchored again on, or very near,

the ground where Captain Cook anchored





when he was in the river.[271] The river here is about ten miles wide and very open and exposed to the sea, which made the ship pitch very much. The captain deemed it necessary to lower the main yards and to relieve the ship as much as possible to prevent her from driving.

Thursday, June 15th. – This morning the weather moderated, but in consequence of the roughness of the water no canoe had ventured off to the ship, which lay about six or seven miles from that part of the river where it begins to narrow and into which the fresh water river falls. Captain Downie wished me to take one of the small boats and go up the river to see if I could fall in with any of the natives and gain any information there relative to the timber, and he would send Mr. Anderson after me in the launch in order that we might go up the fresh-water river and examine that part of the country for spars. I accordingly left the Coromandel and pulled up the river; after we had gone about four miles we were opposite a native village[272] and stood in. The natives came crowding to the beach inviting us to land, but the surf was so high, and the sea and wind, that we were afraid to venture near the shore lest the boat should be stove. I called to the natives and informed them I wanted a pilot and that I could not come on shore for the surf. One of the principal men of the village waded through the surf and came into the boat, when we stood from the land. I now observed the launch was following us, and, fearing she would not be able to find the channel, as it is very difficult, I got into a canoe and sent the pilot in the boat to meet the launch which was in some danger, as the wind was very strong, the sea high, and water shallow except in the channel, which Mr. Anderson did not know. I now proceeded up the river in the canoe to the first village:[273] where I could conveniently land, in order to wait for the launch. The village belonged to one of the principal chiefs named Tippoohee (Te Puhi) whom I had formerly known. I found him at home. He was very much rejoiced to see me.

I told him the object of my voyage to the Thames; that I had come in a large ship belonging to King George for spars, and wished to know if he could inform me where they were to be met with and by what means they could be conveyed to the ship; that the ship's boat was coming up the river to see if any could be found. He said there was a great quantity of spars growing upon his land which we might have if they would answer, and that he would go up the river with us to show them. He told me he was in great trouble; that the chiefs on the west side of the Thames, who are distinguished by the name of "Howpa's Tribe,"[274] had lately made war upon him and killed a number of his people, amongst whom was his brother, and that he expected they would renew their attacks on him in a short time; that most of his hogs had been killed, his potatoes destroyed, and himself and people reduced to great want. I expressed my concern for his calamities and





felt very much distressed for him and his people, and promised that I would see the chiefs on the west side and use my influence with them to bring about a reconciliation. He observed they were too powerful for him, as their friends at the Bay of Islands furnished them with firearms and ammunition, so that he was unable to meet them; and that he believed it was their determination to dispossess him of his land and to drive him away altogether, and he thought nothing short of this would satisfy them.

While we were conversing upon these subjects Mr. Anderson arrived with the launch boat, when Tippoohee and I got into her, and we proceeded up to the next village which belongs to another chief, Towretta (Te Horeta of the Ngati-Whanaunga tribe).[275] Mr. Anderson anchored the launch opposite this village, and we all went on shore for the night. Towretta I had also known before, and he gave us a very cordial reception. These (Te Horeta and Te Puhi) are the two principal chiefs on the fresh-water river, both of them very tall, fine, handsome men.

June 17th. – The following morning we proceeded up the river in the launch with a fair wind and tide. The two chiefs accompanied us and about fifty of their people in canoes. Mr. Hume, the surgeon of the Coromandel, the carpenter, and the captain's clerk were also of the party. We had a very fine day, and arrived in the evening at a settlement called Kowpah,[276] situated at the junction of two fresh-water rivers whose united streams form the Thames.

On a point of high land where the two streams meet, and by which it is surrounded, stands the hippah of the head chief or areekee (ariki) as the natives call him. The hippah was very full of people, who welcomed us on shore with loud acclamations and conducted us to the areekee who was seated in the midst of his family. He was an old man, apparently not far from seventy years of age, well made and of great muscular strength. His mother was still alive with three generations by her. The natives' houses here were much larger and better built than any I had seen in New Zealand. The areekee appropriated one for us, which afforded lodging to us and the fifty natives who had attended the launch up the river.





The 18th being the Sabbath, we rested in the hippah, and I spent part of it in conversing with the natives upon the works of creation and the institution of the Christian Sabbath, Temmarangha acting as my interpreter on all occasions when I could not make myself be understood. This settlement would be an eligible situation for a missionary station at some future period, should God be graciously pleased to visit the people of this dreary and benighted land with His salvation.

On the following morning (Monday, June 19th) Mr. Anderson went to examine the spars in the neighbourhood, and I got a canoe with some natives and proceeded up the left river; the land on the banks was very rich, and here and there adorned with lofty pines; some small farms were cultivated for potatoes, upon which the poor slaves were at work.

The tide runs a few miles up this river,[277] and when we had proceeded about ten or twelve miles, in which space the water was close confined by thick wood on high banks, it opened into a plain and became shallow, and, as night was coming on, I returned to the hippah. On my arrival, which was just at dark, I found the launch had returned also, and I immediately hired another canoe and proceeded down the river, and in about two hours found her at anchor and the officers and crew in their tents on shore, where I landed and joined them for the night.

The next day (Tuesday, June 20th) we proceeded down the river, and in the evening, after dark, we again anchored opposite Towretta's (Te Horeta) village, where we went on shore and remained till daylight, when we returned to the Coromandel after ten days' absence.

Wednesday, June 21st. – On and near the banks of the river there are spars of all dimensions, with a convenient carriage way; but the quality of the timber is not considered good enough for masts, especially a species of the Cyprus (cypress) which composes the principal forests here and is called by the natives kikatea.[278] It is a light wood – some of it white and other parts of a red tinge – and it is more fit for planks than for masts. Many of the trees are from eighty to one hundred feet without a branch, and from two to six feet in diameter, and some much more. I believe it is Captain Downie's intention to carry home a few of them as specimens. The timber already examined not being approved of, it became necessary to look elsewhere for better sorts. Towretta and the areekee informed us that some fine

timber called by the natives kowree (kauri) grew on the east side of the saltwater river. Mr. Anderson was therefore sent in the launch to examine the woods in those parts, and on the following day (Thursday, June 22nd) Captain Downie weighed and followed the launch in hopes of finding a more commodious and secure harbour for the ship. In this he succeeded to his wishes, having found a most excellent harbour about sixteen miles from our first anchorage in the spot where Captain Cook's ship lay, which is behind two small islands on the east side of the Thames. This harbour is perfectly safe for ships of any burden, being completely sheltered from the sea.



A PROJECTED VISIT TO WAIKATO

When Mr. Anderson and the ship's carpenter, who had accompanied him, returned, they reported that they had met with some spars which would answer for masts. We were all rejoiced at this information, and on the following day (Friday, June 23rd) arrangements were made with the natives and part of the ship's company for cutting some of them down and preparing them for shipment.

As Captain Downie had now determined to take what spars he could procure from the neighbouring woods, and as the natives had come on the most friendly terms with the Europeans, I felt my time to be in a great measure at my own disposal, and I spent it chiefly among the natives of the different bays in examining the creeks, woods, and natural productions, for about three weeks.

At this time I told Towretta that I wished to visit Wyekotto (Waikato), a river in the interior where the population is very great. He dispatched a messenger to inform some of the chiefs of my intention, and a number of them came to conduct me to their settlement. At this time the weather was very stormy and a deal of heavy rain fell. I was, however, determined if possible to visit Wyekotto. The route to this settlement being on the west side of the Thames, it was not practicable to cross it in a canoe owing to the boisterous state of the weather, the river being here about fifteen miles over. Mr. Anderson had been on a cruise for about ten days on the east and west shores of the Thames looking for spars. On his return he reported there were some that would answer for masts on the east shore about seventeen miles from where the Coromandel lay, in a wood belonging to Tippoohee who would assist to get them down to the river. This induced Captain Downie to send a midshipman and some of the ship's company to cut down and prepare this timber, and July 12th was the day appointed to proceed on this duty. As Mr. Anderson intended after landing the party with their provisions and tools, etc., to proceed again to the west side of the river, I determined to take a passage in the launch across the water and so get on to Wyekotto, as the people from that settlement had been waiting some time to conduct me thence.

At four a.m. (on the morning of Thursday, July 13th) I arose to prepare for my journey. The wind had blown hard during the night, attended with heavy rain, and the morning was on the whole very threatening. The launch was, however, got ready and at daylight we sailed from the Coromandel with a fair wind, and by twelve noon we arrived at the place where the spars grew. A number of the natives were on the beach ready to receive us, as they knew of our coming; among them were several from Wyekotto.

Immediately on our arrival all hands were busily employed in erecting two huts, one for the officers in charge of the party and the other for the men. Before evening one hut was completed, and two tents, which had been brought with us, were pitched, in one of which I took up my lodgings for the night. The whole day had been unpleasant, attended with thunder and rain, which continued during the night and beat through the tent, which made it very cold and wet. I lay down in my clothes but had little rest.



A CHANGE OF PLANS

The following day (Friday, July 14th), we were visited by a chief from Towrangha (Tauranga) attended by his son and daughter. The old man was much astonished at the sight of Europeans as he had never seen white people before. I paid him some attention and made him a small present, which he thankfully received, and in the evening he returned. A chief also arrived from Wyekotto with a fine hog to sell; he offered it to Mr. Anderson for an axe. Mr. Anderson had no axe to spare; but he had a small tomahawk which he offered him for it and which he refused, observing that he could not cut down the large trees on his farm with so small a tool, and requested Temmarangha to speak to me that I might give him an axe. Temmarangha told me his wishes, and I informed him that I had no use for the hog and therefore did not wish to purchase it. He, poor man, seemed much distressed – said he had come a long way with the hog, and felt a great pain at his heart for the want of an axe, which I relieved by giving him one, and the hog was given to the work-people.

Last night was extremely cold and wet, the rain fell in torrents, and the morning threatened bad weather. The natives who had come as my guides from Wyekotto informed me that I could not return with them, because I should not be able to pass the rivers and creeks on the road – they would be too deep for me to ford. This was a great disappointment to both parties, as I had long had a wish to visit that part of the country. I therefore took my leave of them, and they returned. I next inquired if it was possible for me to go to Kiperro (Kaipara), a settlement on the west side of New Zealand, which I had often heard mentioned. The natives informed me I might; that there were no rivers in my way to prevent me. I therefore changed my intention and determined to visit Kiperro, and to take a passage in the launch with Mr. Anderson to the west side of the Thames, where he intended to proceed as soon as he had settled all his arrangements with the workmen.

Saturday, July 15th. – The stormy weather and heavy rain continued during the whole of the night: in the morning the sea was very rough with a strong wind from the western shore, which would prevent the launch from crossing the river that day. Mr. Anderson then determined to return to the Coromandel if possible. I had sent my baggage on board, with an intention to accompany him, but before I could get on board the surf broke so high upon the beach that I could not reach the small boat without wading through the breakers. As she could not approach near the shore, and as there was no prospect that the launch could possibly reach the ship that night, I thought it more prudent to remain on shore than to lie exposed to the wind and rain in an open boat all night and in my wet clothes. I therefore requested Mr. Anderson to put my luggage in the small boat, and the natives waded through the surf and brought it on shore again. I took my lodgings with Mr. Emery, who had charge of the workmen, in one of the newly built huts through which both wind and rain penetrated. Thus my prospect of visiting either Wyekotto or Kiperro was for the present at an end.

I was aware that the launch would not return again to Mr. Emery in less than a week, and therefore ventured to take a trip to Towrangha (Tauranga) by the head of the Thames. In order to gain correct



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information with respect to the route I should take, I examined several natives, among whom was the chief Tippoohee, who informed me that by going up to Kowpah (Kaupa), a settlement already mentioned, where the areekee resides, I could get across the country to Towrangha.

Sunday, July 16th. – Last night was very stormy; I had little rest from the open state of the hut being extremely cold. In the morning a native informed me that the launch had not been able to get down the river and was lying at anchor round a point not far from us. Though my berth had been bad, it was much better than what

I could have had on board the launch, which was some little consolation to think I might have been worse. The wind and rain still continued and, as it was the Sabbath, I explained to the natives the institution of this sacred day, with the assistance of Temmarangha as my interpreter when I had occasion for him. He told them that many of the public calamities, such as wars and famine, from both of which they greatly suffer, were owing to their ignorance and neglect of this day, and that he had learned from the white people that there was but one God and that the God of the Europeans was also the God of New Zealanders, which caused them to ask many questions about our God.

After I had finished my conversation with the natives I explained the commandments of God to the sailors for about an hour. This class of our fellow subjects are exceedingly to be pitied, both officers and men, as far as concerns their religious edification. The want of the sacred ordinances of religion and the means of duly administering them to these people is a great calamity. Wherever the Sabbath is neglected and forgotten, there God is neglected and forgotten also. These men fight our battles, defend our country, expose themselves to every hardship, and support our church and state against all foreign enemies; yet no adequate provision is made to administer to them the Bread of Life, but they are left to perish for lack of knowledge. I have felt much pained in reflecting upon their state while I have been on this service.

Monday, July 17th. – We have had another stormy night, but towards morning the weather began to moderate and I determined to set off on my route to Towrangha. Temmarangha and his nephew agreed to accompany me, but there was no canoe at the place we were in sufficiently large to venture up the Thames during the then turbulent state of the water produced by the preceding storms. The natives informed me I could get a large canoe at a village about two miles up the river. After dinner I engaged two natives to carry my luggage to the aforesaid village, where we arrived about two o'clock and were kindly received by the natives.

I informed the chief where I was going, and requested him to furnish me with a good canoe and crew to take us up to Kowpah – a distance we estimated at more than fifty miles. He told me I should have one, and ordered a canoe to be got ready and manned immediately. A subordinate chief offered to go with me, and to take his servant to assist in carrying my luggage, for an axe which I readily consented to give him. We then embarked, but were soon compelled to return to shore again from the violence of the wind and waves. As the natives were apprehensive the canoe would be upset they recommended me



to walk to the next village, where the river would be much narrower and consequently with less sea, and I could there procure a canoe. We therefore relanded and set off for the next village where we arrived a little after dark. The natives received us kindly, made us a large fire, and gave some provisions to my companions: they accommodated me with a good hut. We spent the evening in useful conversation, and then lay down to rest for the night. After committing myself and associates to the care of Him Who numbereth the hairs of our heads, I felt myself as secure as if I had been resting in the bosom of my family.

Tuesday, July 18th. – In the morning the stormy weather returned with great violence. There was no venturing on the river in a canoe from the village, and our only other alternative was to walk up the banks of the river till it became narrower and shut in by the land on both sides. With this view we left this village, and passed through four more villages upon the river's bank where we stopped to breakfast. The chief's wife at the latter village was very attentive: she made her little hut as comfortable as she could, laid down a new mat for me to sit upon, and, by every little act of kindness, showed her anxiety to please. During our stay here the rain fell very heavy and the wind blew a gale. In about an hour the storm moderated, and we proceeded and passed three other villages when we arrived at the hippah of the head chief Tippoohee.

This hippah (Te Puke) is situated at the mouth of the fresh-water river on a beautiful eminence which commands the River Thames both above and below. The prospect is very extensive, and there is a large quantity of good land around the hippah well adapted for the growth of grain. A creek of salt water, about one hundred yards wide, runs from the main river round to the rear of the hippah till it meets a fresh-water stream. The creek was navigable for small craft where I crossed it. A battle had been fought upon its banks a few months before, when a chief was shot. They showed me the spot where he had stood and the bush behind which his enemy had lain concealed when he was shot.

When we arrived at the hippah it was too late to proceed up the Thames; I therefore, after taking some refreshment, got a canoe in the evening and went up the fresh-water stream which flows down between some high hills from the interior. A large body of water comes down this creek occasionally. The land upon its banks is exceeding rich and could easily be cultivated by the plough. In the valley through which it runs I met a number of natives returning from their work with whom I walked back to the hippah.

Tippoohee's brother and several other chiefs were in the hippah, and I spent the evening with them in conversing on the various consequences of war, the advantages of peace, civil government, agriculture, and commerce. Tippoohee was not there. His brother appeared to be a mild, sensible man, and he expressed his disapprobation of the conduct of many chiefs, who were always fighting and thereby brought great distress upon the inhabitants. Their tribe had been attacked the year before by the people at the Bay of Islands and the tribes on the west side, from whom they had suffered much, and they expected



to be again attacked by the latter. I told him I would on my return see the chiefs on the west side and endeavour to make peace between them. Temmarangha informed me that this chief disliked war and never engaged in it. He presented me with some fine mats for which I gave him some edge tools.

I was accommodated with a large hut for the night, and, on retiring to rest, I informed him I should want a good canoe in the morning which he promised I should have.

This hippah has been made a very strong place both by art and nature. It is guarded by very deep fosses and a high fence made of split timber. In their former mode of warfare it must have bid defiance to any force which might be brought against it, but it cannot now afford security against an enemy armed with muskets. The natives showed me where the musket balls had penetrated their buildings, observing that it was impossible for them, armed with spears only, to contend against the power of fire-arms.

Should the British Government ever form a settlement at the River Thames, the ground on which this hippah stands is, in my opinion, the most eligible for the purpose that I have yet seen. It possesses many local advantages; it could easily be fortified and made impregnable. It commands the entrance into the fresh-water river, is surrounded by a tract of fine land for cultivation, and is convenient to timber for building. Though ships of burden cannot be brought close up to the place, it is yet more convenient to the anchorage ground, where they may ride in perfect safety, than any other situation: and small vessels, under 150 tons, may come up the river and anchor opposite to the settlement.

Wednesday, July 19th. – This morning we rose very early and prepared for our journey, having some distance to walk before we could be accommodated with a good canoe. We passed two villages, and at the third we embarked. While the men were launching the canoe and getting all ready the inhabitants of the village assembled round us, among whom was a very aged, sage priest who entered into close conversation with my friend Temmarangha (Te Morenga) for some time; the latter was all attention and at length became much agitated. I asked him what was the matter; he said the priest had told him he had seen his ghost in the night, and had also had an interview with the atua who had said that if Temmarangha accompanied me to Towrangha (Tauranga) he would die in four days, because he had when last there killed two chiefs, and the god of Towrangha would now kill him if he went: the priest concluded by recommending him to return.

Temmarangha then told me of his war expedition against Towrangha and that he was returning from that expedition the morning on which Mr. Kendall sailed for England,[279] and that the prisoners of



war and the chiefs' heads I had seen at Rangheehoo that morning were all brought from Towrangha. In consequence of this information I conceived there might be some danger to Temmerangha if he accompanied me; the people there might take advantage of him and cut him off. I was therefore induced to ask him if he was afraid that the people at Towrangha would kill and eat him if he went with me. He replied that he was not afraid of the people – they would not take advantage of him – but he was much afraid, from what the priest had said, that their god would kill him. I observed that, if he was only afraid of their god and not of being killed and eaten by the inhabitants, I would take care that their god should not injure him, because the God that would be with us was the true God and He would take care of us both. Upon this assurance Temmarangha said he would venture.

Though his mind was considerably enlightened and he had seen the absurdity of many superstitious customs practised by his countrymen, I frequently observed that his feelings were influenced less or more by his former notions of such things whenever any serious cause called it forth. When I have reasoned with him on the foolishness and groundlessness of his fears in believing that the atua can do him or his friends this or that injury, he would reply that it was very well for me to talk in that way, whose God was good and over Whom the atua of New Zealand had no power, but he and his countrymen were very differently situated; their god was always angry, and in his anger would cut their bowels out.

After Temmarangha had got a little the better of his fears, we embarked for Towrangha with a strong tide in our favour. The men pulled hard all the day, and we went up the river very pleasantly and did not stop till the evening, when we went on shore for a short time, kindled a fire on the bank, and dressed a basket of potatoes according to their custom. We had no other means of cooking anything, my kettle having been by mistake left in the launch; I had a small tin pot only to serve all purposes.

As soon as we had taken some refreshment we proceeded up the river till nearly daylight, when we found ourselves opposite a small



village. The night had been dark and cold, with some rain. Some of the men went, therefore, on shore to call up the inhabitants of the village, who kindled a fire on our landing and accommodated us with a hut. I supposed that I was then on the banks of the river.

Thursday, July 20th. – When the day broke I was astonished to find myself on the banks of a creek, upon which stood two small villages. The chief of the place was a very fine youth about sixteen years old. His name was Awaugh (Awa-huka?). His father, he informed me, was killed in battle. The land around appeared to be a very fine description of soil, and the slaves were then preparing it for planting. I informed Awaugh where I was going and he said he would go with me. He presented us with plenty of fine potatoes and a good hog. I saw his father's hippah, which was not then inhabited: it had been a large, strong place. I observed several sepulchres within it; some of them are raised above the ground, painted, carved, and ornamented with feathers.

We breakfasted at this village, killed our hog, and roasted him whole for our journey. The inhabitants were much gratified with our visit, and I made them all small presents of fish-hooks, etc. The chief woman of the village had a little house about a yard square, neatly built, painted, and ornamented with feathers, in which she deposited the sacred food for her god; it stood on a post close to her hut.

We met here a chief from Towrangha named Towarroro (Tuwharoro). I enquired of him how long we should be in walking to Towrangha and he answered two days, and that he would attend us. After breakfast we set off, and in about an hour reached the banks of one of the main branches of the Thames, called O Emanonee (Ohinemuri), above Kowpah. About four miles up this river stands a hippah upon a very high, stony hill called Tipporari (Te Puriri). It commands a very extensive prospect of the Thames, some immense forests and plains, as well as of the mountains in the rear. It had formerly been a strong place and was then inhabited.

We crossed the river O Emanonee at a ford at the foot of the hill on which Tipporari stands. The ford was breast high, and the stream rapid: four New Zealanders carried me over on their shoulders in safety. They are so accustomed to the water that rivers and swamps present nothing difficult to them in their long journeys. I had fourteen natives, including chiefs and their servants, with me; so that I was under no apprehensions of meeting impediments which, with their assistance, I could not overcome.

At this part the country is very hilly and covered with timber: some of the trees are exceeding lofty and fine. The woods extend to the right and left of the pathway further than the eye can reach. O Emanonee runs through a deep chasm in a mountain, at the foot of some very high conical rocks on the right, and afterwards runs on to the left towards the sea-coast. We had to ford this river three times, and our path lay through the wood directly across the summit of the hill.

The wood may be about three miles wide at the place we passed through it, but of its length I could form no opinion as I could see no end to it even after I had got upon the high, clear land on the opposite



side, from which, as the country in rear of the wood is all open, the hills that encompass Towrangha are clearly to be seen. They appeared to be about sixteen miles distant, situated on the skirts of an intervening plain which is pretty level, covered with fern and completely clear of timber. In this plain there are a number of natural springs of water by the foot of the hills which overlook Towrangha, all sending their tributary streams to the O Emanonee – this river being formed and supplied by the union of these waters.

The natives informed me that the spars in the immense wood opposite to the plain leading to Towrangha might be floated down the O Emanonee to the Thames,

but, as I had no opportunity of ascertaining the fact, I can say nothing on the subject. The timber is good, if it can be conveniently procured, should it ever be wanted.

The day was far spent when we reached the plain. We walked on till the sun was nearly set, when we stopt and prepared for the night. The servants who had the provisions to carry were very tired. There were no huts on the plain nor any inhabitants, and we were therefore compelled to take up our lodging in the open air. I was very weary, having had no rest the preceding night and having come a long day's journey, so that I felt that rest would be very acceptable even on a heap of fern or on anything else.

The peculiar scene that surrounded me furnished the mind with new matter for contemplation on the works and ways of God; the mystery of His providence, and the still greater mystery of His grace, were all unsearchable to me. I had come from a distant country and was then at the ends of the earth – a solitary individual, resting on an extensive wild upon which no civilized foot had ever before trodden. My companions were poor savages who, nevertheless, vied with each other in their attentions to me. I could not but feel attached to them. What would I have given to have had the Book of Life opened, which was yet a sealed book to them; to have shown them that God Who made them, and to have led them to Calvary's Mount, that they might see the Redeemer Who had shed His precious blood for the redemption of the world, and was there set up as an ensign for the nations! But it was not in my power to take the veil from their hearts. I could only pray for them and entreat the Father of Mercies to visit them with His revelation. I felt very grateful that a Divine revelation had been granted to me, that I knew the Son of God had come, and believed that He had made a full and sufficient sacrifice or atonement for the sins of a guilty world. With compassionate feelings for my companions, under a grateful sense of my own mercies, I lay down to rest free from all fear of danger.

Friday, July 21st. – We rose this morning at the dawn of day and immediately prepared for our journey. I felt much refreshed from the comfortable rest I had enjoyed. We walked for two hours and then sat down, made a fire, and cooked our breakfast. The day was favourable and our walk over the plain pleasant, as the road was tolerably good except where a few small swamps, produced by the springs, intervened. The land in this plain is, for the most part, fit for cultivation and might easily be wrought by the plough.



After we had walked a few miles we observed five young women coming on towards us who became alarmed and turned back on seeing us. One of our party ran after and overtook them, when they stopt till we all came up, and they then informed us that Anee-nee (Te Rangi-a-nini), one of the head chiefs, was gone on a war expedition to the southward, but that his wife was at home and Awarru (Te Waru) a chief with whom Temmarangha had lately been at war. After answering our enquiries, they started off before us to inform the people of Towrangha of our coming.

When we reached the high hills that overlook Towrangha, which lies about a mile distant below them, I sat down on the summit of one of the highest to take a view of the ocean, the islands in sight, and the mainland around. The prospect from this height is truly grand. I observed one of the islands distant fifteen leagues from the main sending up immense columns of smoke.[280]

I desired Temmarangha to give me some information respecting the islands in sight, the hills on the coast and in the interior, as far as he knew. He satisfied me on these points, and then gave me an account of his last visit to Towrangha as follows: – The last time he came to Towrangha was on a war expedition, which originated in the following circumstances: Some years before a niece of his had been taken from Bream Head by a brig from Port Jackson,[281] and afterwards sold to a chief at Towrangha named Shewkoree (Hukori or Hukere) who still resides there, and she became his slave. Shewkoree and another chief named Awarru (Te Waru) had some difference, when this young woman was killed by Awarru or by some of his tribe who roasted and ate her body.

Some time afterwards Temmarangha got information of his niece's cruel fate and felt himself bound to revenge her murder, in justice to his departed relative and for the honour of his tribe, as soon as he could put himself in a condition to demand satisfaction of Awarru. About sixteen years[282] elapsed before he thought himself strong enough to attack this chief. He had also a sister taken by the same vessel from the Bay of Islands who was used in a similar manner, at a place further to the southward, whose death he had revenged before that of his niece.

I mentioned the taking of the women in a former statement. It was not till January in the year I now write of that he mustered a force of 600 men, viz., 200 of his own tribe, 200 from the Bay of Islands, and the other 200 from Bream Head; the last 400 were auxiliaries. He proceeded with this force to Towrangha and landed on an island[283] at the mouth of the bay (Mercury Bay). Awarru came out in his canoe to know what had brought him to Towrangha. Temmarangha replied that Awarru had killed, roasted, and eaten his niece and he had come to demand satisfaction for that offence, and wished to know what he was disposed to offer on that account. Awarru said, "If that be the object of your expedition, the only satisfaction I shall give will be to



kill, roast, and eat you also." This gross insult roused the angry feelings of Temmarangha, who instantly appealed to arms for the settlement of the dispute. Awarru stated he was ready and would fight him that day. Temmarangha declined engaging that day, but was most willing to meet him on the following day to which the other agreed. The ground on which they were to meet was settled on; it was a level spot opposite to where Captain Cook anchored, as pointed out to me by Temmarangha.[284]

The parties met at the time and place appointed, and, when they had both drawn up their forces respectively, Temmarangha directed his men not to fire their muskets till he gave the word of command; he had 35 muskets, while Awarru depended solely on spears and patooes (patus). Awarru made the first charge with a shower of spears in which Temmarangha had one officer wounded. He then called upon his men to fire, when twenty of Awarru's men dropt dead at the first shot, amongst whom were two chiefs, one named Newkopango (Nuku-panga) Awarru's father(?), and the other Hoponeku (Hopu-nikau). The moment these two chiefs fell, Awarru's men were thrown into disorder and ran off the field of battle. Temmarangha commanded his men immediately to halt and not to pursue the fleeing enemy. He said he was satisfied with the sacrifice that had been made, as two chiefs were killed, and he did not wish to shed any more blood.

The allies were dissatisfied with his leniency, and the chiefs called a council of war and censured Temmarangha's conduct for not following up the advantage he had gained. They contended that, if Temmarangha was satisfied with the death of the two chiefs for the murder of his niece, yet Awarru ought to be punished for the insolent language he made use of at their first interview, when he said he would kill, roast, and eat Temmarangha – that this language was such as no chief ought to use to another – and recommended that they should immediately renew the attack. Temmarangha wished first to learn how Awarru was disposed. His father being killed, he thought he would readily come to terms of peace. He therefore went out of the camp in order to gain some information respecting Awarru, as he had fled along with his men. Temmarangha fell in with Awarru's wife and children, and some of his friends to the amount of thirty persons, and brought them into his camp under the assurance of personal safety. He inquired where their storehouses of potatoes were, when Awarru's wife pointed them out, from

which Temmarangha and his men got a supply. Temmarangha wished to learn from Awarru's wife and friends if Awarru was inclined for peace. They informed him he was not.

The next day, while they and the chiefs were consulting together in the camp, they observed that Awarru had rallied his forces and was coming down upon them. They immediately flew to their arms, and in a very short time killed a great number of the enemy with their muskets, threw them into confusion, and pursued them when routed. Many were driven into the sea and perished; between three and four hundred were left dead upon the field of battle, and two hundred and sixty were



made prisoners of war. Two hundred of these prisoners came to the share of the chiefs at the Bay of Islands – part of them we saw landed at Rangheehoo on March 2nd – and the other sixty to the chiefs of Bream Head.

Awarru was now completely conquered. He fled to the woods with the few men he had left. Temmarangha went in search of him and, when he at length discovered his retreat, asked him if he was now willing to submit, reminding him at the same time of the insolent language he had used at their first meeting. Awarru acknowledged he was conquered, and said he had no idea that muskets would have produced such effects, and had till now despised them as instruments of war; but experience convinced him of their efficacy and power, and he therefore submitted.

He inquired if Temmarangha could give him any information respecting his wife and children. The other told him they were all safe in the camp, and would be delivered over to himself if he would accompany him for that purpose. Awarru expressed a grateful sense of Temmarangha's kindness in sparing their lives, and promptly attended him to the camp of the allies and received them there in safety as Temmarangha had promised.

He then observed that he was much distressed for the death of his father, and solicited some compensation for his great loss. Temmarangha gave him a musket, and the other chiefs made him also some presents which satisfied him, and he returned home with his wife, children and several friends who had all been preserved under Temmarangha's word of honour.

The conquerors remained three days on the field of battle, feeding upon the slain, and then sailed with their prisoners of war, taking Awarru's canoes also to the Bay of Islands. This fleet of canoes got to the Bay three days after the Dromedary arrived in New Zealand.

When I had noted down the foregoing statement from Temmarangha, he asked me if I intended to send it to England. I replied in the affirmative. He said he was afraid that, when those things were public in Europe and he should afterwards go on board an English ship, they would put him to death. I assured him that the custom of eating human flesh was condemned by all nations. New Zealanders were dreaded by all Europeans on that account, but they would not kill him merely because the habits of his country were bad.

I beg to observe here that I noted these particulars while we sat on the hill near which the battle was fought, and on our return to the Coromandel I reviewed my notes with Temmarangha by my side in order to have the facts repeated from his own mouth and more correctly set down.[285]



When we had finished this interesting conversation on the hill we walked down to the settlement, and first visited the residence of the head chief A-nee-nee (Te Rangi-a-nini) whose wife gave us a cordial reception, and appropriated one of the best huts for our accommodation, as also a new mat for me to lie on, etc.

Provisions in abundance for our whole party were immediately got ready, and we spent the evening very pleasantly. Most of the inhabitants came to see us, composed chiefly of women and children, as a number of the men had gone to war. I arranged the children in a row and gave each of them a fish-hook, which they considered a great present. I also made Mrs. A-nee-nee a present of some edge tools for her husband's use when he returned from the war.

As far as I could learn no ships had been at Towrangha since Captain Cook was there, and I saw an old chief who remembered seeing that great navigator. They are much in want of tools of every kind as they are not visited by any Europeans. Supplies for ships might be got here, as they had plenty of potatoes and also pork.

We inquired after Awarru (Te Waru) from Mrs. A-nee-nee. She informed us he was gone to war, but his brother Awerree was at home. These were my friend Temmarangha's opponents. He now urged me to see Awerree and make a final reconciliation with him. He had not seen him since the day of battle. I promised to call upon Awerree in the morning and hear what he said, which quieted his mind. I asked Temmarangha if he was not afraid of Awerree taking advantage of him now as he was alone; he replied no, but he wished for an opportunity to talk over their past differences, and he thought if I spoke to Awerree a reconciliation would easily be accomplished.

Saturday, July 22nd. – Early this morning we had a number of visitors. Awerree came also, full dressed, with a number of his friends. They all sat down in a row according to their rank. They were all strangers to me. Temmarangha came and whispered that Awerree was arrived and pointed him out. He is a very stout man, well made, and was well dressed according to the fashion of their country. His hair was tied up very neat, and he had a pattoo-pattoo in his hand, about six feet long, made of the jaw-bone of a whale.[286] Temmarangha requested me to take him by the arm, and walk up with him to Awerree, and tell Awerree what his wishes were. I immediately complied with his request, and we walked up to him. I told Awerree I had waited upon him to express my own and Temmarangha's wishes that mutual friendship might be in future established between them, and hoped that he was equally inclined to a reconciliation. He replied he was very willing to meet Temmarangha upon terms of peace. They now talked the subject publicly over, and finally settled that Awerree should send a person of rank to reside with Temmarangha and Temmarangha should send a man of rank to live with Awerree. Awerree then stood up and made a speech, informing the people that there now existed no more differences between the two chiefs, and they now sat down together



as friends. Awerree presented me with his pattoo-pattoo, which I have sent by Captain Downie in the Coromandel for the Society's museum. Temmarangha expressed himself much gratified with the observations Awerree made in his speech, and they both appeared very happy.[287]

I made Awerree a present of some edge-tools, and invited him to see the Coromandel. He excused himself by saying that his wife was very near her confinement, and he was unwilling to be absent from home lest anything should happen; but after she had recovered he would come to the Thames to see the Coromandel, and it was his intention to pay Temmarangha a visit in two or three moons. I told Awerree, as they were so much in want of tools such as axes, etc., if he should set his

people to make mats and send them to Temmarangha, he would forward them to me, when I would sell them and send him some tools. They all approved of this proposition, and Temmarangha promised he would act as their agent at the Bay of Islands. I wished much to remain with these friendly people two days, but before the middle of the day the weather began to threaten for rain. I was apprehensive, if much rain fell, I should not be able to ford the River O Emanonee. I was, therefore, anxious to return without delay, and acquainted the natives with my intention. They urged me much to remain with them a few days, but admitted we could not ford the river if there was a fall of rain, and for that reason they yielded to my wishes. They now furnished us with more provisions than we could either possibly carry or consume. Mrs. A-nee-nee ordered two slaves to assist in carrying what our servants could not take. When we took our leave, they accompanied us up the hill with songs and dances. We here met a chief and his wife belonging to Tipporari, the hippah I have already mentioned, who accompanied us on our return. We reached before dark the spot on the plain where we had lodged before and remained there all night, having made a screen of brushwood and fern to shelter us from the rain which now began to fall.

Sunday, July 23rd. – As soon as the day returned we prepared again for our journey. I missed the chief's wife of Tipporari (Te Puriri) and her servant woman. On inquiring where they were, I was informed that they had gone away very early in order to prepare dinner for us at the hippah, where the chief invited us to dine with him as we passed. We reached the hippah about two o'clock, and found the lady had got a plentiful supply of provisions for us and all her slaves ready to attend us. I observed several sepulchres in this hippah, painted, carved, and ornamented with feathers; some of them had cost much labour. One I took particular notice of which stood near where we dined. I inquired whose sepulchre it was, and was informed that one of the chief's wives who had been blown up with gunpowder was deposited in it.

At the time we arrived one old chief had just died. A number were assembled together to mourn over him. After we had dined we took our leave of this hospitable chief and his wife, and made the best





of our way to Awaugh's residence where we intended to rest for the night. Awaugh, myself, and three of our companions arrived a little after dark, very weary, having had a long day's journey. We saw no more of the rest of our party till daylight the next morning. They were too tired to reach the end of our journey and had rested by the way.

Monday, July 24th. – As the tide answered early for going down the river we took our leave of this fine youth, who appeared to possess every natural endowment for making a great man and good member of society if the means of improvement were only within his reach. I gave him an invitation on board the Coromandel, and he promised to pay me a visit. His residence from the ship I estimated to be about twenty miles.

After leaving Awaugh we proceeded down the Thames with a strong stream and tide from the late rains, and arrived about midnight at the place where the men belonging to the Coromandel were cutting spars. It had rained very hard in the evening, which still continued. We were very wet and cold. On my arrival I found the two huts, which had been built before I went to Towrangha, were both burnt by accident, and what things I had left with Mr. Emery were consumed in the flames, amongst which I regretted the loss of some fine mats. On this account there was no place for me to sleep in, as the hut which was just put up was too small to afford me any accommodation. I was therefore compelled to sit up till the return of day. The Coromandel's launch had also arrived that evening with provisions for the workmen, and Mr. Anderson informed me it was his intention to proceed in the morning to the west side of the river to see if he could meet with any spars. I now determined to embrace the opportunity to cross the river in the launch in order to visit Kipero (Kaipara).

After a cold, wet, and uncomfortable night the morning of the 25th (Tuesday, July 25th) returned with a fair wind, but stormy and rainy. We now embarked in the launch and sailed from the eastern shore and got well over to the west side, when we ran up a river called the Wyeroa (Wairoa)[288] in which there are a number of islands. We anchored under one of them during the night. A native we had on board informed Mr. Anderson that there were some fine spars up a river called the Wyeteematta (Waitemata) which fell into the Wyeroa, which determined Mr. Anderson to run up the Wyeteematta the following day.

Wednesday, July 26th. – This morning we weighed anchor and sailed up the Wyeteematta with a strong fair breeze, as much as the launch could carry. The Wyeteematta is a large river, in some places five or six miles wide, with a sufficient depth of water for large ships. It runs direct towards the west side of New Zealand. We anchored about five o'clock in the evening in five fathoms of water near the shore, tying the launch with a rope to a tree. I suppose we could not be much less than fifty miles from the Coromandel. There were some very fine spars, but not long enough for first-rate men-of-war. We remained here all night. I was now a considerable way on my route towards Kiperro, but was at a loss for a canoe as we had passed all the native villages.





Thursday, July 27th. – Early this morning we heard the report of three muskets, and soon observed a canoe full of natives pulling towards the launch. When they arrived we found the party to consist of a chief from Kiperro and his people, and Enakkee (Te Hinaki) a chief of Mogoea (Mokoia)[289] belonging to a settlement on the west side of the Thames. We informed them what our object was in coming up the river Wyeteematta. The chief of Kiperro, Kowhow (Te Kawau)[290] said the land upon the Wyeteematta belonged to him, but if any of the timber would answer he would very readily give it to us, and informed us there was much more up some other branches of the river.

Mr. Anderson said he would remain at his present situation all the day to examine the woods, and that he should not leave Wyeroa for three days as it was his intention to visit Mogoea before he returned to the Coromandel.

I now inquired of the chief what distance we were from Kiperro and whether I could walk there in one day or not. He informed me I could, and if I would go he would accompany me. Mr. Ewels, Government Timber Purveyor, said he would join us. Kowhow immediately ordered his canoe to get ready and thirteen men to attend us, and in a few minutes we left the launch and proceeded up the river and landed about six or eight miles higher up. When we landed we saw the high sandhills on the western shore of New Zealand, the apparent distance eighteen or twenty miles. We walked very smartly in order to reach the place of destination before dark. Our road lay through one continued plain, free from timber and with very little rising ground till we came near Kiperro. We had one stream of water to cross, which was too deep to ford, about six or eight miles from the place where we landed from the canoe. This forms one of the branches of Kiperro River. The natives swam across, cut down some small spars which they lashed together, and made a rope of some native flax which they tied across the stream to the trees as an hand-rail, by which contrivance we got safely over.

A messenger was now sent forward to the chief's friends to inform them we were coming. We arrived at the first village[291] about sunset, where a great abundance of sweet potatoes were provided for our supper, and, amongst other things, a cat was roasted. When we declined taking any of the cat, as an inducement to partake of it they assured us it was an English cat. This we knew, for we had seen it in a basket during our journey.

On our arrival we found the chief's brother lying under a shed, unable to stand from the wound of a spear which I understood he had received some considerable time before. Kowhow and two others who had attended us made great lamentations over him and wept aloud.



The place where he lay, and the ground for some distance round his shed, was tabooed. His wife and a pretty little girl were set apart to attend him. No other person was permitted to tread upon the sacred ground excepting myself and Mr. Ewels. I sat down by the side of this poor afflicted warrior. He showed me his thigh. The flesh was wasted away, and he had no power to move it. We gave him a little tea which he relished very much. They all seemed to feel much for his afflictions. We spent the evening in conversation upon the dreadful calamities of war, the advantages of agriculture and commerce, etc., subjects upon which they were anxious to gain information. Kowhow showed great aversion to war; reprobated the conduct of many of his countrymen; stated how much the people of Kiperro had been destroyed and cut off by war – that they had been fighting for years with the Napooes (Ngapuhi) and the tribes in the Bay of Islands; and that the Napooes were then in the districts of Kiperro, plundering and murdering the inhabitants. I lamented these public calamities, and hoped when more Europeans resided amongst them an end would be put to their mutual contests.

Friday, July 28th. – This morning Mr. Ewels and myself set off to the sandhills, accompanied by one of the chiefs, in order to take a view of the western ocean and shores. We passed a hippah upon a commanding spot, but the chief told us it now afforded them no protection against their enemies since firearms had been introduced into New Zealand. He showed us where their enemies had fired upon them in the hippah with balls, and that the distance was too great for them to throw their spears. The sandhills are very high, and command a wide prospect on the sea and in the interior. There is no vegetation upon them and the sand shifts with the contending winds. They are several miles broad, and extend along the coast both to the right and left further than the eye can reach.[292] We saw the rivers running from the interior into the harbour of Kiperro, but we could not see the harbour or entrance into it. It lay to the northward, many miles under the high land, the sea lying at the foot of those we were upon, and a small flat of about half a mile intervening between them and the beach.

As our time would not allow of our visiting the harbour of Kiperro, which would have taken several days, we determined to return immediately to the Wyeteematta in order to secure a passage in the launch



to the Coromandel. On the sandhills we met a young man about twenty-four years old, his complexion very fair, with light hair. His master was with him. I saw he was an European from his countenance and asked his master, who informed me his father was an European and he had got him originally from the Bay of Islands. I wanted to redeem him with a view of sending him to the missionary settlement for instruction, but his master did not seem willing to part with him.

We now returned to the village, and on our arrival found Kowhow and the two young men, who had made such bitter lamentations over the afflicted chief the preceding evening, had been cutting themselves till their faces were covered with blood and had renewed their mournful cries. Kowhow requested me to pray to our God for the poor afflicted man. I promised him I would, and told them there was but one God, and that our God was their God also. I went up to the sick man's shed and kneeled down. He crept out upon his hands and laid himself down on his side, uncovering his thigh, laying his hand upon the affected part, and looked wistfully at me as if he thought I had the power to heal him. His conduct called to my recollection what Naaman the Syrian leper thought when he went to the prophet. He thought the prophet would stand and call upon the Lord his God and strike his hand over the place and recover the leper. The natural ideas of this fallen chief and Naaman appeared to be very similar.

After I had performed this duty, which deeply impressed my own mind under the peculiar circumstances in which I had been called upon to address the Father of all living, Who is loving to every man and Whose tender mercies are over all His works, I informed Kowhow that it was my intention to return that day. He urged me to stop one day more, said he was very weary, and could not go back with me till he had recovered from his fatigue. I told him if I did not go I should lose my passage to the Coromandel, and then I should have no means of returning to the ship, as a canoe could not cross the river in the unsettled state of the weather. He saw the force of this argument and said though he was tired he would go back with us, and we immediately took our leave of the sick chief and his people and proceeded on our journey. Several slaves were sent to carry potatoes for us to eat. The wind was very strong and blew in our face, and as the plain was quite open we had an unpleasant walk. Just at dark we arrived at the wharf where we had left the canoe. It now began to rain and continued to blow very hard. We made the best screen we could with fern, as there were no huts, and remained till the morning, though from the cold and rain we enjoyed little rest. From the tempestuous night the natives informed us frequently we should not be able to go down the river, the waters would be too rough.

Sunday, July 30th. – When the day returned there was no prospect that we should be able to leave our present uncomfortable situation, as the storm continued. However, about eight o'clock, the weather began to moderate and we prepared to embark. We had a set of very fine young men as our crew for the canoe, whom at length we prevailed upon to venture. We had appointed to meet Mr. Anderson that evening at Mogoea, which was about thirty miles distant. Kowhow told us repeatedly we should not reach Mogoea before the following day, as



the water was very rough in the river with the wind against us. After we had been pulling down the river about three hours, we got sight of the launch which inspired the crew with fresh hope. They now exerted all their strength to reach her, but she was too far off. In the afternoon the wind increased with an high sea which compelled us to go on shore, when we enquired if we could not go by land to Mogoea. The natives told us we could, but it was too far to walk. However, we resolved to try our strength, and succeeded in reaching Mogoea that evening, where we met the launch and took up our lodgings for the night; not without feelings of pleasure and gratitude, though a boat does not afford the best accommodation for weary travellers.

Monday, July 31st. – This morning I felt myself much refreshed. The first business I attended to was to pay the chief of Kiperro and his men for their kind attentions to us, which I did in axes, plane-irons, etc., to their great satisfaction. They were never possessed of so much wealth before. Kowhow requested he might be permitted to visit the Coromandel. I asked Mr. Anderson's permission to take him, which he kindly granted.

As soon as the supplies of potatoes which Mr. Anderson had purchased for the ship were put into the launch, we sailed from Mogoea. Enakkee (Te Hinaki), the chief who was at war with Tippoohee, accompanied us. I had promised Tippoohee I would use all my influence with Enakkee to bring about a reconciliation between them, which I hoped to accomplish when I got Enakkee on board the Coromandel. We sailed from the settlement at Mogoea in the morning, but, night coming on before we got out of the Wyeroa into the Thames, we anchored under one of the islands for the night.[293]

Tuesday, August 1st. – This morning it rained and blew hard, and the atmosphere was so dark and cloudy that we could not see the high land upon the opposite

shore of the Thames. After breakfast we made sail for the ship, with a fair wind, and arrived on board the Coromandel about three o'clock p.m. I had now been twenty-four days from the Coromandel, during which I had slept in my clothes, and generally in the open air, boat, or canoe. A great part of the time the weather had been very wet and stormy. I had crossed many swamps, creeks, and rivers from Towrangha on the east side to Kiperro on the west, yet, during the above period, through the kind providence of God, I had met with no accident and no unpleasant circumstance; but, on the contrary, had been highly gratified with my route and returned to the Coromandel in perfect health. I hope my visit to the different tribes will be attended with future good. 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 tabooing their houses, themselves, their servants, their food, their fires, and all other things, could neither heal their wounds, preserve them from danger, restore them to health when sick, nor save them from death; but that our God, though they knew Him not, could do all these things for them. They all wished for Europeans to reside amongst them.



My constant companion, Temmarangha, recommended the chiefs everywhere to leave off fighting, reminded them how often their wives and children were crying for hunger, when their crops of sweet and common potatoes were destroyed by their mutual contests, and many of their children left fatherless and their wives widows. They said they were well aware of the miseries of war, but that there were some chiefs that would never give over fighting. Their fathers and forefathers were always fighting men. I have no doubt but those subjects will furnish them with useful matter for reflection and conversation, and will tend to enlighten and enlarge their minds.

Being now once more on board the Coromandel, and having got Enakkee with me, I wished to fulfil my promise to Tippoohee and settle their difference. That I might judge of the best mode to accomplish this object, I requested Enakkee to state to me the cause of the quarrel between him and Tippoohee. He stated that some time before their difference his father[294] was on the east side of the Thames in a canoe, when the canoe was upset in a squall, and his father and the crew who were with him were all drowned. Enakkee was informed that their bodies afterwards drifted on shore, and were taken by Tippoohee and his people[295] and eaten. In consequence of this insult offered to the dead he had made war upon Tippoohee. I admitted if this was a fact, Tippoohee's conduct was very bad; at the same time their mutually killing one another only increased their calamities, and I wished him to meet Tippoohee on board the Coromandel, and we would hear what he had to say to the charge which was laid against him. Enakkee consented to this proposition, and the next morning Captain Downie was kind enough to send Mr. Anderson in his boat for Tippoohee, who returned with him upon the following day. When Enakkee saw Tippoohee coming in the boat, he immediately took a canoe and went on shore. I was apprehensive that he would not return again. When Tippoohee arrived I informed him what Enakkee alleged against him. He said he knew that was the charge – that Enakkee accused him and his people of eating his father and the crew – but that the charge was false; that their bodies never came on shore, but were destroyed in the water. He further stated that the author of the report was the areekee.[296] His servants and the areekee's had quarrelled about some cockles and thatch in the first instance; he had justified his own people and the areekee his till they quarrelled. The areekee, to gratify his revenge, had propagated this report, which Enakkee and his people believed, and, on that account, had made war upon him and killed his brother and many more of his people.[297] Tippoohee did not think that Enakkee would return or come to any accommodation with him. In about an hour afterwards Enakkee, however, came back again to the ship. When he came upon deck Tippoohee was sitting upon it. Enakkee sat on the opposite side: neither of them spoke for a considerable time. I



was going to address them when Temmarangha requested I would not speak but leave them to their own feelings. Temmarangha and Towretta sat upon the deck observing their looks, which portrayed contending passions. At length one of them broke silence and addressed the other. They now gave vent to their feelings – mutually reproached each other and advanced to meet each other with much apparant rage, sneers, and contempt. At times they seemed as if they would strike each other. Temmarangha and Towretta (Te Horeta) put in a word between them now and then. After they had said all they wished to say, they became gradually more cool and at length came to a reconciliation; when Captain Downie invited them into the cabin, where they took something to eat and drink together to the satisfaction of all parties.

After my return to the Coromandel, Captain Downie informed me that the areekee[298] was going to kill Amoppa, a subordinate chief in the Bay, and that he was determined to take his head off. Amoppa was accused of a theft – in stealing a mat belonging to the areekee's son – and the areekee had been for several days making spears and sharpening his instruments of war. Towretta also told me that the areekee would kill Amoppa. Amoppa came and begged I would intercede with the areekee and speak to him on his behalf. I therefore requested Towretta to go to the areekee with a message from me – to tell him that I wished the difference between Amoppa and him to be accommodated without coming to any battle – and I begged of Towretta to use his influence with him also. In a few days I received a message from the areekee through Towretta and Temmarangha to say that he would not put Amoppa to death, but that their difference must be settled in a public meeting.

Very early in the morning of Friday, August 11th, before I was up, Amoppa called at my cabin window. I got up and inquired what he wanted, when he informed me that the meeting between him and the areekee was to take place that day, and requested that I would be present. The surgeon, Mr. Hume, and Mr. Hilliard, captain's clerk, after we had got breakfast, went with me in one of the ship's boats, accompanied by Mr. James Downie. Amoppa, who had remained alongside, followed us with his friends in sixteen canoes. The areekee was about three miles off at the head of one of the coves. When we arrived the areekee was prepared to receive us. Amoppa's men were all armed. The areekee's were armed likewise, some with muskets, others with spears, pattoos, and other weapons of war. Amoppa drew up his canoes in a line, when all his men leaped into the water and ran like furies all naked, in a close body, with their spears ready for the attack towards the beach where the areekee's men were drawn up. After they had gone through their military evolutions and war dances, the areekee's party now went through the same exercises, closing their motions with the war dance.

The charges against Amoppa were now publicly discussed by the leading men on both sides. Several spoke with great warmth, while each party interested in the dispute attended to their public speeches which continued a length of time. We understood that the areekee demanded and received one canoe and one slave as an atonement from Amoppa for his crime, and thus the business was finally settled.



All differences amongst the chiefs at the Thames were now adjusted, and mutual harmony restored. I now determined to leave the Thames on the following day, as I had given up all hopes of the schooner's arrival. Enakkee promised to furnish me with a good canoe and to go along with me to the Bay of Islands. I was very happy that no differences had taken place between the Europeans and the natives, and I hoped that a good understanding would continue between them till the Coromandel sailed from the river.

After we had returned on board the Coromandel, Temmarangha came to me in great agitation. I requested to know the cause. He informed me that when he was at

the Thames on a former occasion a chief had given him a maree,[299] one of their war instruments, to sell for him for an axe. This instrument was made of the talc which they value very highly. Temmarangha got only a small tomahawk for it, which he conceived was by no means equal to its value. The chief was very angry with Temmarangha, and had sent him a message to say that if he did not procure him an axe he would employ one of their priests to kill him by incantation. Temmarangha assured me he should surely die if the chief put his threat into execution, and requested I would give him an axe to save his life. I endeavoured to convince him of the absurdity of such a threat, but to no purpose; he still persisted he should die, and that the priest possessed that power, and began to draw the lines of incantation upon the ship's deck in order to convince me how the operation was performed. He said the messenger was waiting in a canoe alongside for his answer. Finding it was of no use to argue with him I gave him an axe which he joyfully received, and delivered it to the messenger with a request that the chief would be satisfied and not proceed against him. In such strong chains of superstition does the Prince of this World bind the dark minds of these poor heathen captives! What an infinite blessing will Divine revelation be to the inhabitants of New Zealand when the glorious light once breaks in upon them! At the present their minds are tormented with the most painful fears upon the slightest occurrence which they suppose will offend their god, and their bodies suffer very severely from their strict observance of their ceremonial pollutions. From the influence which Satan has upon their minds, they are driven to the opposite extremes of religious superstition and crime. I have known a native tell me that his god would kill him in consequence of my having taken a little fire from his to light mine with, without any intention on my part to hurt his mind; and I am persuaded from his great agitation that he believed this would be his fate, while at the same time that very man would more then probably kill and eat his fellow creatures without remorse. I have never met with one New Zealander but who has considered God as a vindictive being, at all times ready to punish them even with death for any ceremonial neglect. Hence they labour by every mortification and self-denial to avert his anger.

A chief I am well acquainted with burnt his home, which had been built very neatly and had much carving about it, in hopes of appeasing the anger of his god. A very short time ago I went to pay him a



visit and stayed all night with him, and admired the neatness of his home; when I went again there was not a vestige remaining, and on inquiring the cause I was told he had burnt it to pacify his god.

Saturday, August 12th. – This morning I took my leave of Captain Downie and embarked in the Coromandel's launch for the west side of the River Thames. The Thames, opposite to where the Coromandel anchored, was about fifteen miles across. On the west shore another river called the Wyeroa[300] empties itself into the Thames. This river is large – some small islands are situated in it, and in some of the coves good shelter and anchorage may be found for shipping.

When I left the Coromandel my intention was to proceed to Mogoea (Mokoia), a native settlement upon the banks of another river[301] which falls into the Wyeroa. Here I purposed to take a canoe and immediately set off for the Bay of Islands.

On stepping into the launch alongside the Coromandel I observed a woman coiled up under a mat, and was informed she was the wife of a chief who was gone on a war expedition to the southward, and had formed an attachment to my friend Temmarangha and was determined to accompany him to the Bay of Islands. I immediately requested Mr. Anderson, the second master, to order this lady out of the launch, and informed Temmarangha that no woman of her character could be allowed to go with me. As she was another man's wife, she must be left behind; for, when her husband returned from the war and found that his wife had been taken away in his absence, he would seek revenge and probably blame the Europeans. Temmarangha made no objections to her being put out of the boat. He said it was her own wish to go with him. The lady was then ordered out, but she would not move. The sailors were then directed to take her out by force. She made all the resistance in her power, but was at length placed in a canoe and the launch put off immediately. When we had got about two hundred yards from the ship, we observed this lady swimming after us and making every exertion to reach the launch. Temmarangha was much agitated now, and called out to me saying she would be drowned, and that he wished the launch to be put back to save her life. I told him she was a bad character, and we could not put back for her, and that he need not be alarmed for she would return to the ship when she saw her efforts to gain the launch were in vain. She soon saw herself drop astern very fast, and we observed her turn again towards the Coromandel, which relieved Temmarangha's anxiety.

Our passage across the Thames was very pleasant, and we anchored the same evening at Mogoea, situated between forty and fifty miles from the Coromandel. As it was midnight when we anchored, I remained all night on board the launch though the air was very cold. Enakkee, one of the principal chiefs of Mogoea, was with us. He had been a few days on board the Coromandel, and had accompanied me with the intention of conveying me in his canoe to the Bay of Islands.

Sunday, August 13th. – Early this morning Enakkee's son, with several of the natives, came off to the launch which lay about four miles



from the settlement, when his father went on shore. Enakkee is a great warrior, a very fine, tall, handsome man, apparently about thirty-six years of age, and has been in many actions. Mr. Anderson and I had the curiosity to count the scars on his body, which he had received from spear wounds, and found them to amount to fifty. One of his front teeth had been knocked out with a patoo-patoo and another broken.

After breakfast Mr. Anderson accompanied me to Mogoea. It is a very populous settlement, and contains the finest race of people I had seen in New Zealand, and very healthy. Their houses are superior to most I have met with. Their stores were full of potatoes, containing some thousands of baskets, and they had some very fine hogs. The soil is uncommonly rich and easily cultivated. The number of women and children was very great, but most of the fighting men were gone on a war expedition to the southward. After visiting the different chiefs I returned on board the launch for my baggage, and when we landed Enakkee provided me with a good hut for myself and native companions, and supplied us with plenty of potatoes and such food as they had.

I here met with two chiefs from Kipero, one of whom was a priest of great note amongst the natives. His name is Moodee-a-kow (Muria-kau).[302] The name of the other chief was A-wye (Wai). They expressed their regret that they had not seen me when I visited Kiperro, and observed that a number of people had assembled at the village where I had stopped in hopes of seeing me, but on their arrival they found I had returned, by which they were much grieved and disappointed. I endeavoured to convince them that I was as much disappointed as they could be, as it was my wish to have seen them all if my time would have allowed me; but that I was compelled to return at the time I did in order to meet the ship's launch on a certain day, or I could not have got back again to the Coromandel. I found the priest a remarkably mild man, and so were the other chiefs. We spent the evening in conversation on various subjects. The hut I was in was crowded with natives, and great numbers surrounded the outside. I informed Enakkee that I wished to sail for the Bay of Islands the next morning. He told me this would be impossible, as the canoe would require to be put into complete repair before he could venture to sea at this season of the year, and that it would take two days before he could get her ready. This information was very mortifying to me, as I was anxious to return lest I should lose my passage in the schooner should she come again to the

Dromedary. However, I had no alternative and was compelled to submit to the necessity of my situation.

Monday, August 14th. – This morning I accompanied Enakkee and some other chiefs and workmen to examine the canoe and to set about the necessary repairs. The canoe was about sixty feet long, designed for war, and very commodious. Enakkee immediately set to work with several other men. He took all the canoe to pieces in order to make it as strong and complete as it was the day it was first launched.



In the course of the day we were visited by different chiefs and some from remote parts of the southward. Several lent their assistance in repairing the canoe, so that by the evening they had put a great part of her together again. The weather was so wet and stormy that, if the canoe had been ready, it would not have been possible to put to sea. I spent part of the day in walking through the potato grounds in which a number of slaves were at work. Near the settlement there is a very high hill,[303] which commands a very extensive prospect. Its top and sides have every appearance that it is the production of some volcanic eruption. On the east side the flat land for the distance of near a mile is covered with stones of various dimensions, very hard, of a dark grey colour, full of holes, and some of them appear very much burnt. The soil, both amongst the stones and where there are none, is a very rich, dark brown loam and fit for all the purposes of vegetation. Agriculture by the plough might be carried on here to a very considerable extent, as a pair of horses could easily work the greatest part of the ground. They have no grain of any kind – sweet and common potatoes, with turnips and cabbages, constitute their principal food. After I had returned from my walks, and the natives from their labour, the evening was spent till a late hour in conversing upon agriculture, commerce, civil government, religion, etc., subjects with which they show much anxiety to become acquainted.

Tuesday, August 15th. – This morning Enakkee and his people began to work at the canoe in order to complete her by the evening. After working all the day they painted and nearly finished her, excepting a few ornaments made of feathers for the head and stern. The weather was very stormy, and from all appearances was likely to continue so. Enakkee informed me I might not be able to put to sea for a month or more on account of the weather. This news I was not prepared to hear. I was fearful of losing my passage to Port Jackson and, besides, I had only a few days' provisions.

I now resolved to walk to the Bay of Islands and to leave Mogoea the following day, and communicated my intention to Enakkee and wished to know from him which way I could travel. All the chiefs told me I could not make my way to the Bay of Islands on the east side of New Zealand, as the sea-shore in many places was nothing but high rocks which I could not pass. Neither could I cross the rivers nor head the bays which ran into the sea on the east side. If I was determined to go, I must take my route by Kiperro on the west side and strike off into the interior of the country in order to head the main rivers or bays.

My companion Temmarangha said he would accompany me, and, when we had made the western shore, we could pass up a river called Wyeroa to a settlement named Mongakaiea (Mangakahia) which would bring us within three or four days' walk of the missionary settlement at Kiddee Kiddee. He further observed the road from Mongakaiea at this season of the year would be very difficult to travel on account of heavy rains. We should have a number of swamps to wade through



and one river which, in rainy weather, was both deep and rapid. The swamps I did not think anything of, but the river, which we should have to pass six times, presented a difficulty which I did not know how I could overcome as I could not swim. Temmarangha observed they could carry me across the river in a hammock, as they carried the wounded from the field of battle. This remark removed my objections in a moment, and I resolved immediately to prepare for my journey. As Enakkee had prepared the canoe entirely for my service, I thought it but just to pay him and his people for their labour. I called them together, and delivered into Enakkee's hands the whole payment in order that he might satisfy every man according to his ability and rank. They were all much gratified. Enakkee said that if I would only stay till the weather would allow him to put to sea, he would man the canoe with his own people and accompany me to the Bay of Islands and afterwards make me a present of the canoe. I thanked him for his kindness, but could not accept his offer. After all matters were finally arranged we retired to rest.

Wednesday, August 16th. – No change in the weather this morning nor any prospect of any change. The wind blew hard attended with light rain. As soon as breakfast was over I collected all my baggage and opened my sea chest, as I could not take it with me, in order to show Enakkee every article it contained, as it was my intention to leave it with him, as he promised to bring it to the Bay of Islands when the weather was more moderate. I left some other articles with him which I could not put into the chest. I had received every mark of attention from these natives. The chiefs assured me that if the Active or any other vessel touched at their settlement they would pay every attention to them.

It was this tribe that had a contest with the Brothers and Trial, two brigs from Port Jackson, near Towrangha between four and five years ago, when six Europeans were killed and, as they informed me, two hundred of them were shot. The quarrel originated in some difference between the masters of the vessels and the chiefs. The natives were very near cutting them both off. In this contest one of the head chiefs was shot dead and his son wounded, who stated the circumstances to me and showed me where he received his wound, and another has a ball in his arm to this day.

The two chiefs belonging to Kiperro had remained with me at Mogoea to the present time. They were greatly rejoiced that I had determined to pass through their district on my way to the Bay of Islands, and told me they and their servants would attend me to Kiperro. We immediately prepared for our departure, and I took my leave of these hospitable heathens, hoping that the period was not far distant when their valleys would stand thick with corn and the voice of Joy and Gladness would be heard in those dreary dwellings where darkness, superstition, and death have taken up their constant abode.

On leaving Mogoea we crossed over a neck of land to a river called Wyeteematta (Waitemata) up which we were to pass. I have already mentioned this river. On our arrival at the wharf where the chiefs had left their canoe, we found it had been taken away. One of the slaves was immediately despatched to the next village in order to procure a



canoe. In about an hour he returned with a very fine canoe and some men. I immediately agreed with the owner to take us up to the head of the river, distant about twenty miles or more. It blew very hard, and there was a very high sea in consequence of the river being very wide, and a strong tide, which compelled us to keep in shore. We arrived at the head of the river[304] a few hours after dark. It was very wet and cold. The natives kindled a fire on the shore, as there were no huts, where we remained till daylight.

Thursday, August 17th. – We prepared for our journey at the dawn of day, and after walking for about two hours sat down to breakfast near a stream of fresh water. When we had taken some refreshment, we proceeded on our way and arrived at the first village in the district of Kiperro where I had spent a night when I was

there before. It was now about two o'clock. The chief pressed me to stay with him till the following day. All my companions were tired. I wished to go a few miles further towards Kiperro River, but it was with difficulty I could prevail upon one chief to go with me as they wished to remain all night in their present situation. I left all the party excepting Awye (Hawai), the Kiperro chief. We walked very fast over the sandhills, which extend for many miles, and in about three hours we came to the edge of a small fresh-water lake[305] at the foot of a wood, and in the corner were a few-native huts in which we found one young chief, his wife, and a few-slaves. They were a very fine couple and appeared to have been newly married. Their own hut was very clean and neat and the floor covered with a clean mat. They were all much astonished to see me, as I believe none of them had ever seen a white person before. We determined to remain here all night. I immediately took off my clothes, as they were very wet, and dried them and put them on again. The name of this chief was Apoo (Apu). He immediately had some very fine potatoes dressed for us. Potatoes and fern-root with some wild fruit something like an olive[306] was all the food they appeared to have. He was just beginning to clear a part of the wood for cultivation, which is a most laborious operation as they have not proper tools. Being much fatigued, having walked hard from very early in the morning till evening, after taking some refreshment I lay down to rest wrapt up in my greatcoat under the guardian care of Him who keepeth Israel. After I had been here a while my companions dropt in one after another till they all arrived. Apoo provided an abundance of potatoes, fern-root, and wild fruit for the whole party, who retired to rest as soon as they had taken the necessary refreshments

Friday, August 18th. – As soon as the day appeared we prepared to leave this sequestered spot, near which no human habitation was to be seen for miles. Apoo and his wife prepared to accompany us. We passed the beautiful little lake and ascended the rising sandhills, which are soft and loose like mountains of snow. There is not a tree or shrub



or any vegetation for a long distance to break the stormy blasts, so that the sand is driven in heaps by the contending winds every day. There are no paths or tracks in any direction, for the footsteps of travellers are immediately covered by the rolling drifts. As we crossed these hills and valleys of sand, we had now and then a very extensive view of the western ocean on one hand and the rivers that flow from the interior on the other.

In about two hours we arrived at the head of the valley situated at the foot of one of the sandhills. In this valley stood Awye's village (Haranui). He had sent a messenger, unknown to me, the preceding evening to inform his wife of my arrival: when we arrived at the village we found a number of people assembled together waiting our coming. Awye's wife, daughter, and slaves were full dressed. They were clothed with their best mats, their heads ornamented with feathers, and had prepared an immense quantity of common and sweet potatoes and some tarra (taro),[307] a root which they are very fond of, about the size of a small turnip. A shed had also been prepared and covered with clean fern for us to sit on. Here the natives had a great feast according to their custom. There was a portion for me, another for Temmarangha and the party who constantly attended me, dressed and placed before us in small baskets. In this manner the whole was divided. After breakfast was over, of what provisions remained each party deposited their portion in the same baskets they had been served in as their own in order to take it away with them. It is an invariable custom with the New Zealanders to take away what they cannot eat when they visit each other.

On my first entering the village the children were dreadfully terrified. They shrieked aloud and ran in all directions to hide themselves: screaming with all their might, one alarmed another. If I had come from the invisible world they could not have been more sore afraid. The impression upon their infant minds at the first sight of a white person was so alarming as not to be removed while I remained amongst them, though some of them attended me with their parents for three days afterwards in visiting the different chiefs. Whenever they caught my eye by any accident they shrieked aloud, and no attentions of mine could pacify them. I had not met with any circumstance of this kind before in New Zealand. The children are generally very easy, open, and familiar at the first interview, and show an anxiety to pay every little attention in their power to strangers. There can be no finer children than those of the New Zealanders in any part of the world. Their parents are very indulgent, and they appear always happy and playful and very active.

After stopping a few hours with Awye and his friends, it was proposed that I should proceed to the next village to dinner where two great chiefs resided; one named Amoka (Moka) and the other Mowetta (Mawete), the latter a very great warrior. Every party packed up what provisions remained in their baskets, and we marched towards the village which was two or three miles distant. Our company consisted of more than fifty; amongst the number were Apoo and his wife, the



priest, and Awye. We passed through some very rich land, but hilly. A number of slaves were at work preparing the ground for planting with potatoes. When we came in sight of the village we were hailed with loud acclamations. The chiefs and their friends were ready to receive us.

After the common introductions and salutations we all sat down under a shed. I had not been long seated when a chief presented me with a cat suspended by a cord at the end of a long spear, not quite dead. I understood he intended I should have this dressed as a delicate feast for dinner. I told him that the white people never eat cats nor dogs – that they are tabooed animals and never used as an article of food. He immediately took the cat away. They all seemed to think it strange that we did not eat these animals which they considered such choice food. I told him we eat other animals which they had not seen, and also hogs. Shortly after this I was presented with a very large fat hog. Temmarangha killed it in the English mode, and his servant dressed it in the same manner, when it was hung upon a tree as clean as if it had been killed for an English market. The New Zealanders kill their pigs not by bleeding, but by a blow on the skull and holding their heads under water till they are strangled.

At this village a number of chiefs soon assembled, amongst whom was one named Moodeepanga (Murupaenga).[308] This chief is considered one of the greatest warriors in New Zealand. I had often heard of the name of this man from Duaterra (Ruatara), Tooi (Tuhi), and others. He has been the rival of Shunghee and his tribe for almost twenty years. Before the Boyd was cut off at Wangarooa in 1809, Shunghee went against Moodeepanga with a great force. Moodeepanga defeated him and slew two of his brothers, wounded him, killed the greatest part of his officers and men, and compelled him to save his life by flight.[309]

The chiefs on the south side of the Bay of Islands united their forces after this and went against Moodeepanga. As they relied upon their muskets and not upon their ordinary weapons of war – spears and patooes – Moodeepanga outgeneralled them. When the two contending parties met in the field of battle, Moodeepanga, knowing that the enemy was armed with muskets, directed his men that when the enemy advanced and were on the point of firing their muskets, to lie that instant flat upon the ground and, as soon as they had discharged their muskets, to rush upon them. This stratagem succeeded. The enemy's shot passed over his men, when they instantly rushed upon them, threw the whole into disorder, killed a number of their chiefs amongst whom were Weevea's (Whiwhia) father and King George's. The chiefs that escaped saved themselves by flight, and returned home with only fifteen men; the rest were killed or taken prisoners. I have often heard the chiefs who escaped in this action speak of this battle.

My friend Temmarangha has accompanied four war expeditions against Kiperro, in two of which he was defeated. Many of his friends were slain; amongst the

number was his grandfather who, after he was



killed, was roasted and eaten as a mental gratification by the conquering party. Though Temmarangha has been at war with most of the chiefs in these districts, yet he was treated with great respect wherever he came. The different battles and the places where they had formerly fought, who conquered and who fell, were frequent subjects of conversation; and also what became of the bodies of the chiefs – whether they were buried or eaten.

I met with no family but some branches of them had been killed in battle and afterwards eaten by the enemy. If any chief falls by the chance of war into the hands of a tribe whom he has oppressed and injured, they are sure to roast and eat him; and, after devouring his flesh, they will preserve his bones in the family as a memento of his fate, and convert them into fish-hooks, whistles, and ornaments. The custom of eating their enemies is universal. The origin of this custom is now too ancient to be traced. It is a subject of constant conversation with the principal families I have visited, and though they generally speak of it with a degree of horror and disgust, yet they expect that this will be their fate in the end as it has been the fate of their forefathers and friends. Whenever I came and the subject was broached, I represented to them how much their national character suffered in the opinion of all civilized nations from the horrid custom of eating one another; that the whole world looked upon them with the utmost abhorrence, as no custom of this kind was allowed in other countries. Many of them regretted that it should be the custom of their country, and observed that when they knew better they would leave it off; that it was not a new thing but had always been practised in New Zealand. If the head of a tribe is killed and eaten, the survivors consider it the greatest disgrace that can befall them, and, in their turn, they seize the first opportunity to retaliate in the same way. By this means their mutual contests are continually kept alive and war becomes their study and their trade.

All these subjects were now fully discussed between me, Moodeepanga (Murupaenga), and the other chiefs. Many of them are very intelligent men; Moodeepanga is a man of very quick perceptions – his mind is alive to every observation. His complexion is very dark; his eye fiery, keen, and penetrating; his body of a middle stature, but very strong and active. He appears to be about fifty years old. From the expression in his countenance and his manly deportment, he cannot fail in commanding respect amongst his countrymen.

I had heard so much said of him for years that I was gratified in meeting him. He told me that his residence was at some distance, but that he had come to pay his respects to me as soon as he heard I had arrived, and hoped he should see me at his village. I told him I was much obliged to him for his marked attention and that I should pay him a visit the following day. We had now continued our conversation till dinner was announced, when more than eighty arranged themselves upon the ground according to their rank. The slaves then placed a certain number of baskets of provisions before each family. When all were satisfied, each family packed up what remained into their baskets for their future use.



As soon as dinner was over, we entered into conversation again upon various subjects, such as civil government, agriculture, and religion.

Superstition had a wonderful influence over the minds of the people I was now with. The trees and old stumps of trees and every kind of rubbish, as well as their fires and huts, were all tabooed. They were afraid lest any part of my provisions, dressed or undressed, should touch any of their tabooed things, and assured me they would die if they did – that their god would kill them. The chiefs and their wives were also tabooed. They could not touch with their own hands a potato or any other provisions which they wanted to eat. If there was no person at hand to serve them, they lay down upon the ground and gathered up their food with their mouth.

As the principal priest, Moodeekow (Muriakau), had attended me from the time I first met him at Mogeoa (Mokoia), before I left the Thames, and was still with me, I entered into a conversation with him on the subject of the taboo, and endeavoured to point out what privations they suffered from a mistaken notion of God. I told them there was but one God – that the God Who had made the white people had made them. He would never be angry with them for making use of their own hands to eat their provisions with, that if He had not intended that they should use them for all their purposes He would not have made them any hands; neither would He be angry with them for drinking water out of my cup or roasting a potato at my fire, or with them for allowing me to roast a potato at their fire. They might also eat in their houses without giving offence to God. I stated to them that Pomarre, King of Otaheite, once tabooed everything as they did, but had now laid aside this absurd custom and acted in all these things as the white people did. Yet God was not angry with him, he did not die; nor would He be angry with them if they acted in the same way. They heard me with apparent surprise, and asked a number of questions. I stated to them what God had forbidden them to do, and what He would be angry with them for: that He would be angry with them if they stole one another's potatoes, pork, or any other article, if they seduced one another's wives, murdered and ate one another; that those were the crimes which would make God angry and cause Him to punish them. They readily admitted that these were crimes, but said that our God and theirs were different. They said that I might violate their taboos, eat in their houses, or dress my provisions upon their fires – their god would not punish me, but he would kill them for my crimes.

I asked them if they knew anything of the god of Kiperro or if they had any communication with him. They replied that they often heard him whistle with a low note. I asked Moodeekow if he, as their priest, had any communication with their god; he also said that he had heard him whistle, and sounded the notes which he heard. I replied that I could not credit what they all said unless I heard him myself. They all asserted what they had stated was true, and that all the inhabitants in New Zealand knew it to be true. I still doubted, and told the priest that unless I heard the atua myself I could not believe that either he or any other person ever heard him, and that I wished to accompany him to any place where I could hear the communication between him and the atua. He told me the atua was in the bush and I could not



hear him. I replied I would accompany him into the bush to him.[310] When he came to be very close pressed he said thay had no god at Kiperro; he had heard there was a god at Shokee Hangha, but they had none, and requested I would give him one of my gods and he would put him in a box that he might have him always with him. I had never seen any idol god, nor had I ever heard before that the New Zealanders had any idea of a material god. In answer to his request, I told him there was only one true and living God Who had made the world and all things therein, and that if I should give him a god he would be of wood or some other substance which could be easily burnt or destroyed. They all smiled at the idea of burning a god and evidently saw the absurdity of a material idol.

Whether Satan is permitted to practise any oral deception in support of his spiritual dominion – for he is the god of this World – and in maintenance of those dark superstitions which universally pervade the minds of these poor heathens, I cannot tell. I have met with no New Zealanders, even the most enlightened amongst them, but who do firmly believe that their priests have communication with their god, and many, both of their priests and others, have told me that they have heard their god.[311] This is a subject of such a mysterious nature that I cannot make up my own mind either to believe or to disbelieve what is so universally credited

in New Zealand. I do not pretend to know how far the agency of Satan may extend in a barbarous and uncivilized nation where there is no human or Divine law to check or restrain men's corrupt passions. This I am fully convinced of, that in all regular civil government, where wholesome laws lay the necessary restraints upon men's turbulent passions, the secret agency of Satan – that Spirit which worketh in the hearts of the children of disobedience – is greatly restrained and the force of his wicked instigations weakened and counteracted by those laws.

I have dropped the above hints as they struck me at the moment, and shall now go on with my narrative. We continued till very late in the evening discussing their ideas of God, their tabooing, and various superstitions under which they suffer many privations. Temmarangha



Agricultural Implements.

No. 1 is a weeder, known as wauwau or pinaki. No. 2 is a larger implement of the same kind. No. 3 is a wooden grubber used in breaking the sods loosened by the ko, and called tima. No. 4 is a beautifully carved shovel or kaheru, found in a swamp in the Bay of Plenty district. So fine an implement would be used only on ceremonial occasions for hilling up the kumara in their regularly spaced mounds. No. 5 is a kaheru differing from the last in having a much longer handle and a much smaller blade. No. 6 is a ko of the kind used in breaking the ground for the extraction of fern-root. No. 7 is a ko of the type used in breaking ground for a garden. On its upper end is carved the whaka-maramara or crescent moon, under whose protection all crops were placed. The foot-rest by which the ko was driven was called teka. The foot-rest of No 8 is carved in human shape.

All the above implements are from the Auckland district. In that district all three of the food-plants cultivated by the Maori – the yam, the taro, and the kumara – grew more freely than elsewhere in New Zealand. The yam was never grown south of the Auckland boundary. Taro and the gourd (hue) were grown as far south as Cook Strait. The kumara was raised, doubtless with much labour, in South Canterbury. Of the implements figured, only No. 6 was used in Otago in pre-European times.

Marsden's journeys were all made in what afterwards became the Auckland province. His accounts of Maori crops and gardens indicate how efficiently their agricultural implements were used.

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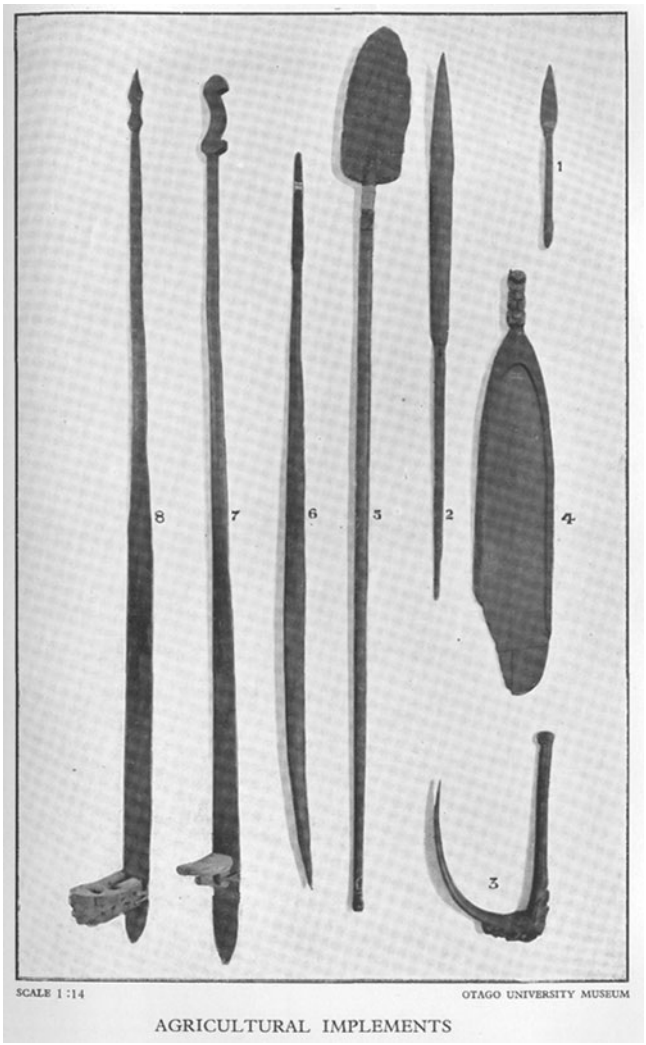



AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS
SCALE 1:14
OTAGO UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

observed there were too great a number of priests at New Zealand – that they tabooed and prayed the people to death. He related circumstances that happened to himself when he accompanied me to Towrangha; that one of the priests on the banks of the River Thames had told him that he had seen his ghost, and that if he dared to go with me to Towrangha that the atua had revealed to him he would kill him in four days. The priest entreated him to return. He was much alarmed and stated to me what the priest had communicated to him, and I told him to pay no attention to what the priest said for the god of Towrangha had no power to hurt him, and in consequence of my assurances he had proceeded with me and returned safe back, which proved the falsehood of the priest. Temmarangha argued very strongly against the taboo, though at the same time his mind is greatly fettered with superstition. He cannot admit the idea that our God is their god. He would frequently say our God was good and we had no need of the taboo, but the god of New Zealand was bad. Temmarangha explained our customs, manners, and religion to them as far as he was able. He is a very intelligent man, and at the same time a man of great observations, and having resided with me at Parramatta for some time he had gained considerable knowledge. When he thought my observations pressed too hard upon the superstitions of his country, he would observe: "When you send missionaries to Kiperro and the inhabitants know better, they will lay aside the taboo."

After we had conversed till almost midnight to our mutual gratification, we retired to rest, but the natives would not let me sleep much; one and another would be calling to me and asking me some question on the subjects we had conversed upon.

Saturday, August 19th. – As soon as breakfast was over I prepared to return Moodeepanga's (Murupaenga) visit. Several of the principal chiefs accompanied me. In about an hour we arrived at the residence of Moodeepanga's son, whose name is Kahoo (Kahu). He was much rejoiced to see us and urged us to dine with him. As I had devoted this day merely to visiting I had no objection. Dinner was immediately prepared and clean fern spread upon the ground for us all to sit down upon.

Moodeepanga's son is a very fine young man and had not been long married. His residence is in a rich valley. The soil is well adapted for the growth of sweet and common potatoes, an abundance of which were now dressed for the party. When dinner was over we proceeded towards Moodeepanga's. On our way we passed by a very fine and strongly fortified hippah[312] belonging to Mowetta (Mawete) and through some rich valleys; in one of them about two months ago a battle was fought in which one chief fell.

When I arrived at Moodeepanga's he was ready to receive me. His children were all dressed and their heads ornamented with feathers, and his head wife had got her dogskin garment on. He had got the stump of a tree placed where he intended I should sit, and had made a cushion of bulrushes which was placed upon it. He expressed the great gratification which my visit gave him, and presented me with an



immense hog; he ordered provisions to be prepared for my companions, and then we entered into a general conversation upon different subjects. We talked over the wars between Shunghee's tribe and his. Moodeepanga said he did not wish to be at war with any tribe, but he was compelled to fight to protect himself and people; a party of Shunghee's tribe (Ngapuhi) was now plundering and murdering the inhabitants in the districts of Kiperro (Kaipara), and he was afraid he should be compelled to appeal to arms again. He, as well as most of the chiefs, wished for some regular government by which they could obtain protection to their persons and properties. Temmarangha explained to them how the government of Port Jackson was conducted: that we had only one king, which was Governor Macquarie, and he put a stop to all fighting there. King George, he had heard, did the same in England. But while there were so many kings in New Zealand there would be continual wars. He said Captain Downie of the Coromandel had written to King George to send a man-of-war to New Zealand, and he thought when she came the country would be greatly benefited and she would prevent the people from the Bay of Islands from coming to the River Thames and Kiperro to plunder and murder the inhabitants. Moodeepanga wished to know if the ship would come round to the Kiperro River. I told him that would depend upon the harbour; if the entrance was good and the harbour safe I had no doubt but she would, but if there was a bar across the harbour-mouth a ship could not get in. He said there were plenty of fine spars on the banks of the river in his districts if the ships could come for them, which he very much wished. He should also like some Europeans to reside with him for the benefit of his people. I told him much would depend upon the river and harbour, but till these were examined nothing could be done in that respect. His residence is very beautiful, in view of the River Kiperro,[313] and the land about him is very good, though of a light sandy nature, completely free from stones as far as I observed. A great deal of it would grow fine wheat and barley. The country has the remaining vestiges of a great population but is now thinly inhabited.

In the evening I returned again to my former lodgings. The next day being the Sabbath (August 20th) I wished to spend it there and on Monday to proceed on my journey. We arrived at sunset, and spent the evening in a long conversation upon the immortality of the soul, which doctrine is universally believed amongst them, and the resurrection of the body, which they could not comprehend though they did not deny the possibility of the resurrection of the body. I stated to them the happy death of the righteous, and told them when their god revealed to them that they were to die they were not afraid of death, but were happy in the prospect of being in the same place where their god dwelt after death, but that they knew this was not the case with the New Zealanders. When they thought they were going to die, they were very much afraid and did not wish to die. They said this was the case always with their countrymen – they were at all times



afraid to die. I told them when they came to understand God's Book, which He had given to the white men and which the missionaries would give to them and teach them to understand, they would not be afraid to die any more than the white people who were good. They clearly comprehended the difference between one who was afraid to die and one who was not.

They said all the souls of the New Zealanders went when they died into a cave at the North Cape,[314] and from thence descended into the sea to the next world. The privations and mortifications which those poor heathens suffer from a sense of guilt and fear are many and great. Without a Divine revelation is communicated to them, they can never find a remedy that can free their minds from the bondage of superstition, under the influence of which many sicken and pine away and die. They have no idea of a God of Mercy who can do them good, but they are under the most painful fears of an invisible being who is, according to their belief, at all times ready to kill and devour them, and will kill them if they neglect the smallest iota in any of their superstitious ceremonies. To drink a little water out of the same cup with me, at the time they are tabooed by the priest, would be considered an offence against their god sufficient to induce him to put them to death. When I told them that my God was good, that I was not afraid of His anger, that He took care of me both by night and by day wherever I went, and that He always heard me when I prayed unto Him, they said they had no such god. Their god only punished and killed them.

When I was amongst those tribes I always thought it proper to pray publicly amongst them, explaining to them, before I began, what I was going to do. The performance of this duty, though the natives did not understand what I said, yet furnished me with a subject of conversation which might tend to their edification. If they wished to know what I prayed for, I told them that I might be preserved in good health, that my God would not suffer any accident to happen to me while I was travelling through their country, and that my God would send them some missionaries to live with them, give them His Book, put an end to their wars, and give them also plenty of wheat and cattle that their wives and children might have plenty of bread and animal food to eat. They would pay great attention

while I stated these things, and would add these things were very good. In the above manner we closed the week and retired to rest.

August 20th. – This being the Sabbath, I had made it known that I should stop one day longer with Mowetta. Moodeepanga and a number more came early to spend the day with me. Though these poor heathens had never heard of a Sabbath day, yet, as it was the Christian Sabbath, I was naturally led to converse with them on the creation



of the world and the institution of this sacred day. It furnished a large field for conversing upon these objects which were visible to their senses – the sun, moon, and stars, as well as upon other parts of creation which they could comprehend. The account given by Moses is so beautiful in simplicity and order that they found no difficulty in understanding the general outlines of his statement. The firmament, the heavenly bodies, the fowls of the air, the trees of the forest, the grass of the fields, the seas, and fishes that pass through the great deep, were objects with which they were daily conversant. The order of time in which the different parts of the creation are stated to have been arranged at the mighty fiat of the Supreme Being was so regular and plain in succession that the account struck their minds with great force. "God said, Let there be light, and there was light; and the evening and the morning were the first day." When God had finished all His works on the sixth day he rested on the seventh and set it apart for His own immediate worship. I found it very easy to communicate to them the institution of the Sabbath and for what purpose it was ordained. The various subjects which the account of the creation suggested furnished much interesting conversation during the day. When I found myself deficient in their language Temmarangha acted as interpreter, by which means I was generally understood. Moodeepanga was so much taken up with the various topics of conversation that he, as well as several of the chiefs, stopped with me the whole Sabbath; nor did he return home till I took my departure the next day, but remained during the night in the same hut as I lay in, in which I had very little sleep from their repeated conversations. The hut was well filled with men, women, and children. It was pretty large and contained more than forty.

Monday, August 21st. – This morning I prepared for my departure, and was very anxious to start early. We had about five miles to walk to the Kiperro River, where I was to embark in a canoe, but as several chiefs were present and wished to say something on the occasion of my visit it was two hours before their different speeches were ended.

Moodeepanga expressed himself much gratified by my coming amongst them, and assured me that if any Europeans should come to Kiperro to reside there he would protect them, and he requested that, if the harbour should be found safe for ships, he might be furnished with colours to hoist as a signal when a ship might appear.

By this time the slaves were collected who were to carry the provisions for my party, and the men who were to man the canoe; my provisions consisted of about 700lbs. of potatoes and 300lbs. of pork, which were all ready and packed up in baskets. I now took my leave of Mowetta's residence. Moodeekow (Muriakau), the priest, Awye (Wai), Apoo (Apu), and upwards of thirty more accompanied me to the river. When we arrived the tide was down, and we had to remain upon the banks till two hours after dark before there was sufficient depth of water in the creek where the canoe was moored to carry her into the river. We got all our provisions and baggage on board and embarked before high water. Moodeekow, Awye, and Apoo, as they had determined to accompany me as far as the canoe could proceed, took an affectionate leave of their friends, who wept aloud and cut themselves according to their custom till the blood streamed down their



faces. This is a painful sight to the civilized and enlightened mind. These poor heathens are tormented in every possible way that the influence of superstition can operate. What an infinite blessing will their deliverance from their present darkness be, even in a temporal view!

When the tide turned we proceeded with great rapidity down the stream. The river was broad, but as it was dark I could not ascertain the depth of the water. The night was cold. We went on shore a little before low water,[315] made a fire on the beach and there remained till the return of day.

Tuesday, August 22nd. – I found in the morning the tide to rise about ten feet, with ten fathoms water near the shore where we anchored the canoe. We embarked again a little before high-water, and in less than an hour arrived opposite a village where we slept for a short time. I went on shore and was informed that Shunghee's tribe were plundering and murdering the inhabitants on the banks of the Wyeroa (Wairoa), a river we had to go up after we had entered the harbour of Kiperro. I regretted much to hear this report on account of the calamities these plundering, murdering parties bring upon the inhabitants, as many of them would be compelled to flee into the woods where they would be exposed to every hardship that nature could bear from hunger, cold, and rain.

After stopping about half an hour we proceeded down the river with the tide, and about two o'clock we arrived at a settlement belonging to a chief named O-Kakka (Hauraki). His village (Te Kauau) stands in a bight on the south side of the river, about four miles from the mouth of the harbour. This village is large and very populous. I went on shore. The chief was at home. He received me very kindly. I told him I had come to see the River Kiperro and to examine the entrance into the harbour in order to see whether any ships could come in or not. He said there would not be time to examine the mouth of the harbour that evening. I should cross over the river for Wyeroa. He replied he wished me much to stay one night, but, if I was determined to go, I might proceed down the river towards the entrance and take a view of it. He immediately accompanied me into the canoe with two more chiefs, and we pulled down the river. The wind blew very fresh and there was a very strong tide going down. When we had put off about a cable's length from shore, I sounded the depths of the water with a line, which I had ready in the canoe, and found fifteen fathoms. The river here, or harbour, is very wide – I should imagine from five to seven miles at least – but I had no means to ascertain this accurately. We had not gone much more than a mile when we were compelled from the roughness of the sea to go on shore. As I could not get near the mouth of the harbour in the canoe I ascended an high hill, which commanded the sea to a great extent, but from the hill I could not see the entrance into the river – or rather the channel – but I observed breakers a long way out at sea. The chief told me there was a channel which ran to the southward free from the breakers and was twenty fathoms deep, but as I did not see this channel I cannot affirm his statement to be correct. Should a safe entrance be found into this harbour,



it will be a very convenient place for shipping masts and spars. There are three fine fresh-water rivers (Hoteo, Makarau, and Kaukapakapa) which run into this harbour, upon whose banks the finest spars are to be met with. I saw the spars upon the banks of two of these rivers; the third I did not go up, but was told there were plenty of spars upon the banks of that river also. One of these rivers takes its rise towards the Wyeteematta, a river already mentioned, on the west side of the Thames. The second runs from the interior on the east side near Bream Head. The third runs parallel with the sea coast for thirty or forty miles and then turns to the northward and eastward.

I crossed one of the branches of the first river, about seven or eight miles from the Wyeteematta, as I travelled overland to Kiperro. and observed the upper part of

its banks covered with lofty spars, and after my arrival at Kiperro I went down the river.

On leaving the harbour of Kiperro I went up the Wyeroa. As the harbour is enclosed with high sandhills and the banks of the large rivers are sand, I should apprehend that there are many sandbanks in the harbour, some of which I observed, and most probably a bar across the mouth. Whether the immense body of water which must come rolling down these rivers in the rainy seasons, together with the strong tide, will open and clear a channel for ships or not, I am not competent to judge. As far as I can form an opinion, I am inclined to think there is a dangerous bar from the very nature of the seashores and the banks of the rivers.

Finding that it was not possible, from the strong wind and rough sea, to gain any true information relative to the entrance into the harbour, I made O-Kakka and his friends a trifling present for his attention, and then took our departure for the Wyeroa, with a strong tide and wind in our favour, which we entered after crossing the harbour. The River Wyeroa appeared to be not less than eight miles wide at the entrance, as far as I could judge by the eye from the canoes.

The wind increasing, with rain, we were compelled to go on shore a little before dark, and landed at a small village situated on the left banks of the river containing about fifty huts. All the inhabitants were fled into the woods for fear of the plundering party already mentioned. As the night was very stormy, cold, and wet, we were glad to take shelter in these deserted huts and therefore landed all our provisions and baggage for that purpose.[316] Having been in the canoe a great part of the preceding night and had scarcely taken any rest, we retired at an early hour and remained very quiet till morning though the rain beat and the wind roared loud.

Wednesday, August 23rd. – At daylight we found the wind had increased to a very heavy gale. The surf broke upon the beach with great violence, and threatened immediate destruction to our canoe. The natives threw all their mats off in an instant, rushed into the surf, dragged the canoe through the breakers, and then leaped into it. The waves tossed it like a cork. I expected every moment it would have been upset. They pulled off from the breakers, and then ran before



the wind and tide up the river until they found a sheltered cove into which they carried her. The storm continued all the day so violent that the natives could not venture out into the river. The provisions and baggage were conveyed along the beach to the canoe in order to be ready to proceed when the weather moderated. As there was no prospect of the storm abating, they put up a screen with stakes and bulrushes, about seven feet high on the weather side, which shielded us from the rain. They made a hammock of some of the flax plant and slung it under the screen, and in this I slept during the night. It kept me from the wet ground, and the bulrushes protected me from the wind and rain.

Thursday, August 24th. – On the return of day the weather moderated. We put our things into the canoe as soon as possible and, with the wind and tide in our favour, we proceeded up the river at a rapid rate, as we had a very fine sail as well as canoe. The river was three or four miles wide. There were no natives to be seen on the left banks, and we observed only a few fires on the right banks, as we sailed up the river. The distance between the sea and this river for thirty miles, I could hear the surf beat upon the seashore as we went along.

About two o'clock we arrived at a hippah belonging to a chief named Tettoko (Te Toko),[317] a noted warrior in New Zealand. He hailed the canoe and urged me to go on shore. I accepted his invitation. We all landed. He received me with much pleasure. The hippah was crowded with men, women, and children, and in a complete state of defence according to their mode of fortification, which would afford protection against spears and clubs but very little against firearms. He informed me that part of Shunghee's tribe was in their district, had committed great depredations, and murdered five of his people. He said his tribe was not able to meet them now in battle, as he had no muskets to defend himself with while the enemy was strongly armed. I told him I lamented much that they should live in such a continual state of warfare and be exposed to such public calamities; but I hoped, in time, an end would be put to these wars, and that they would have a regular government which would afford them protection. He said if any Europeans would only come and live with them, this would afford them some protection. I told him it was possible that some missionaries might in time reside in his district, but I would not promise him, but assured him that on my return to Kiddee Kiddee I would use my influence with Shunghee's tribe to prevent them as far as I could from committing such acts of violence and plunder.

Tettoko seemed very anxious to be permitted to live in peace and cultivate his lands. He urged me to remain till the following day, but I told him I could not do this as I was afraid of losing my passage to Port Jackson. However, he would not let me go till we had dined with him, and ordered a large quantity of fish and potatoes to be cooked. After dinner he presented me with two fine hogs. I told him it was not in my power to accept his present as we had already as much pork as we could possibly make use of or carry with us. I could hardly prevent him from putting them into the canoe till I told him to take



care of them till one of the missionaries or some other European called upon him, as I intended if I could, during the summer when the weather was fine, to send some person to examine the harbour of Kiperro and see whether there was a safe passage for a ship to come in. Tettoko replied he knew there was plenty of water for a ship, and observed there were twenty fathoms. I told him if that was the case the inhabitants on the banks of the rivers would derive great advantages from the shipping, but this we should know when the entrance was examined. He promised he would take care of the hogs for the purpose I desired. We then took our leave of him, after receiving a quantity of fish and potatoes and making him a small present. There were a great number of very fine children in this hippah, sufficient for a very good school.

We left the hippah with a very fine breeze, and proceeded up the river, which continued till the sun went down. We continued to pull up the river till dark. As the tide was strong against us we came to anchor and lay in the canoe till the tide returned, when we immediately set off again and continued to pull up the river till near daylight, when we landed on the beach, made a fire, and cooked some provisions.

Friday, August 25th. – After we had taken some refreshment, and the day appeared, we embarked again and proceeded on our passage. We passed a number of small farms on the banks of the river, but did not see a single inhabitant till almost two o'clock when we arrived at a small village. The inhabitants were under great alarm in consequence of the plundering party that was ranging through the districts doing much mischief.

The farm and village[318] belonged to a chief named Tourow (Taurau) who lived higher up the river. Two canoes put off and accompanied us to the residence of the chief. His hippah stands on a rising bank on the left hand going up the river. When we arrived opposite his hippah he invited us on shore, which invitation we accepted. He ordered his slaves immediately to prepare dinner for us, and presented me with a basket of potatoes to take in the canoe for my private use. He had got one of the best houses I had seen in New Zealand, and had built a portico in the front, sixteen feet wide, where he and his friends could sit and enjoy their conversation sheltered from the weather. His hippah was completely fortified with upright split timber from twenty-four to thirty feet high put close together. The party already mentioned had done him considerable damage and had killed five of his people. All the inhabitants on the banks of the river were fled into the woods

and had relinquished their farms. Their crops were destroyed, their storehouses plundered, and their hogs killed; numbers were greatly distressed for food. The firearms of Shunghee's tribe gave them such an advantage over other tribes that none could now stand against them.

Tourow (Taurau) had the appearance of a mild man. His place was neat and his storehouses well put up. There was a great number of people in his hippah. I expressed my deep concern for their distresses, and disapprobation of Shunghee's tribe robbing and murdering their countrymen as they were doing. I promised Tourow I would



speak to the principal men belonging to Shunghee's tribe on my return to the missionary settlement, and persuade them, as far as I could, to leave off that dreadful system of war. I pressed upon his mind, and upon all the chiefs wherever I have gone, the necessity of some regular government being established in New Zealand for the general benefit and protection of the whole, and that, till something of this nature was established, the powerful would always murder and oppress the weak. The body of the chiefs that I have seen would be glad to live in peace and cultivate their grounds if it was possible for them, but this is impossible in the present state of their country.

After dinner we prepared to depart. Tourow wished us to stop all the following day. I told him the reason why I could not, with which he was satisfied. He said he would recommend me not to attempt to proceed any higher up the River Mongakaiea (Mangakahia) in consequence of the heavy rains. I should find great difficulty in getting up the rapids, and, as the tide did not flow much higher than we were, we should have the whole stream of the river to pull against. He further added that a few days ago three canoes had been broken to pieces by the violence of the current driving them against the rocks. Besides, I should find great difficulty at this rainy season in crossing a large river (Awarua) which I should have to pass several times in walking across the country to Kiddee Kiddee. He also said if the men I had in the canoe pulled very hard I should be three days before I got to the place where I intended to land. I was a little stunned at these difficulties, and wished to know if there was no other way which I could go across the country to the east side of New Zealand to a settlement called Wangaree (Whangarei), not far from Bream Head, where I could get a canoe to take me down the coast. He replied that the road to Wangaree was pretty good, with no rivers to cross, and not much more than one day's journey in distance. I consulted with my friend Temmarangha, who approved of us taking the route by Wangaree as he had many friends who lived there whom he wished to see.[319]

I now took my leave of Tourow and his friends, and we proceeded up the river a short distance when we entered a river that ran to the right, at the head of which we were to take our departure for Wangaree. We got up as far as the canoe could go, to the foot of a fall, a little after dark, when we went on shore and made a fire where we remained till daylight. The night was wet and cold, but the thick trees afforded us some shelter.

Saturday, August 26th. – This morning I was to take leave of my kind Kiperro friends – Moodeekow, Apoo, and Awye – as they intended to return home in the canoe. We had been five days from the time I left Mowetta's village. My baggage was packed up, and they appointed three of the slaves to accompany me to the Bay of Islands to assist Temmarangha's servant to carry our baggage. I made them a few presents of such articles as I had remaining, and we parted with mutual esteem. I had received every mark of attention from these poor heathens from



the time I met them at Mogoea to the present period. I could not have expected more kindness if I had been travelling through the most civilized nation in Europe.

The morning was stormy and rainy, and the road very wet and dirty. We had several runs of water and swamps to wade through. After we had walked about four hours I saw Moodeekow and his son, a very fine boy, coming after us. When he came up he said he would accompany me to the Bay of Islands. I was happy that he formed this resolution, as he would see something of civil life and civil society which might be of service to him and perhaps to the mission hereafter. I could not think when we parted of asking him to go with me, as I thought it would be too great a task for him. He was very happy that he had joined us again. We passed a very large hippah on our right hand in ruins. It had been a very strong place and apparently well peopled at no distant period, since Temmarangha informed me the tribe was now nearly extinct. They had been cut off principally by war. In a short time we came to a small village on the plain, the land very good, but all the inhabitants recently fled. They had left some few articles behind them in their huts. We stopped here and dined in one of the sheds, for the rain fell very heavy. The village is situated in the edge of a wood through which we had to pass. Temmarangha, in looking about the skirts of the wood, found the place where these people had secreted their store of potatoes when they fled from their huts.

After we had taken some refreshment, we pushed on in order to reach another village which Temmarangha knew was a few miles ahead. We pushed on as fast as we could, though it rained and blew hard, and arrived just as the sun went down. We found all the inhabitants fled from this village also. A small miserable hut remained, and also a shed; into these we crept for the night. As we were very wet and weary I took off my clothes, but it was with some difficulty we could procure a fire to dry them, from friction, on account of the wood being wet, but at length we succeeded. If we had not we should have had a much more miserable night.

Sunday, August 27th. – We proceeded on our journey early this morning, and after walking some time we came to another village that had been lately all burned. The land about it was very rich and capable of growing wheat or any other grain in abundance. This village was also situated on the skirt of a wood, and appeared to possess every local advantage in timber, water, and soil to enrich the proprietor could he enjoy the fruits of his industry; but in such a state of society there is no security either for persons or property. I could not but lament to see the dreadful effects of man's fall – that man for the sake of a few potatoes should murder his fellows, burn his habitations, drive his wife and children into the woods to perish with hunger if they escaped the murderer's hand. Temmarangha made many judicious observations as we passed those scenes of devastation, and expressed an ardent desire that that time might soon come when his country would possess the means to put a stop to such wanton cruelties and acts of injustice. He thought when the man-of-war came out, which Captain Downie had written for, his countrymen would be checked and deterred in some degree from committing such murders as they do at present.



When we had passed this village about a mile, Temmarangha and the slaves began to tire and sat down to rest. I was very wet with wading through the swamps and also warm with walking, so that I was afraid to sit down lest I should check perspiration and by that means catch cold. I therefore walked gently on and Moodeekow behind me. In less than half an hour we ascended some rising ground, and, on the opposite hill, I observed a body of about fifty natives upon the lookout. I was aware that they either belonged to the party who were committing such dreadful outrages amongst the inhabitants, or else to an opposite tribe upon their guard against them. Moodeekow, when he saw them, turned back again immediately to Temmarangha and seemed much alarmed. I sat upon the hill. The natives saw me immediately. Two of them left the party instantly; one of them was completely naked; he had a long spear in his hand with a bayonet fixed at the point. The other had a carpenter's axe with a long handle to it. They bounded across the intervening valley as swiftly as their strength would allow them, attended

by their faithful dog. When they approached I observed the dog had got one of his eyes knocked out and a cut above the other. The man who had no clothes on, I observed, had received three spear wounds, but they were all healed.

When they came up they appeared much astonished to meet a white man in their forest, and took a silent view of me. They were both strangers to me, and I was equally strange to them, or more so. I told them my name, with which they were well acquainted. This information explained the singular circumstance of meeting a white man in such an unexpected place, and they now gave me a very cordial reception and called out to their companions informing them who I was. I told them Temmarangha was on the road and would soon be up. They were much rejoiced to hear this news. When he arrived I found that these two men were Temmarangha's particular friends, and had been officers under him in his expedition against the people at Towrangha about January last, and that the man who had been speared was the first man wounded in the action fought at that time. They were mutually rejoiced at this unexpected meeting.

They now began to inform Temmarangha of some of the dreadful murders committed by the Napooes (Ngapuhi). Amongst others, they had killed ten belonging to Wangaree (Whangarei); in the number were a chief and his uncle and a niece of Temmarangha's. These three they had eaten. Temmarangha was greatly afflicted at this information. The spirit of retaliation fired every nerve, and he seemed eager for vengeance. When the warmth of his indignation cooled a little he said he did not wish to go to war, but he was afraid he should be driven to take up arms as an act of common justice to his relatives and friends if they continued their cruelties. I told them that on my return I would accompany him to some of the chiefs of Shunghee's tribe and hear what they said and what they intended to do. He was pacified with this proposition, and said he would overlook all that they had done if they would abstain from such murders and robberies in future.

We now proceeded to join the party on the opposite hill who returned with us to Wangaree, where we arrived about three o'clock in the afternoon. Temmarangha had now got amongst his own friends



who both wept aloud and rejoiced. Several of them were much afflicted for the murder of their relatives and the plunder of their farms, and were also under apprehensions lest the Napooes should attack them.

Wangaree is situated at the head of a small harbour that runs up several miles inland, into which a fresh-water river falls. Up this river there are very fine spars, but I doubt whether there is sufficient shelter and depth of water in any part for shipping of large dimensions. Small vessels may anchor in several places. The harbour is situated about ten miles to the northward of Bream Head.[320] We remained at Wangaree all night, a great part of which Temmarangha and his friends talked over their troubles.

Monday, August 28th. – This morning we prepared for our departure. The chief furnished us with a canoe well manned, and we proceeded down the harbour. The morning was very threatening. After we had been about an hour in the canoe it began to blow and rain very heavy, which compelled us to put into a small village situated on the left side of the harbour. We remained here about two hours, when the storm moderated and we proceeded, but were afterwards, from the tempestuous weather, forced on shore again lower down the harbour where we kindled a fire on the beach and sheltered ourselves as well as we could from the storm, as there was no prospect that we should be able to quit our present situation, though an uncomfortable one, till the following day.

Tuesday, August 29th. – This morning, as the storm had abated, we embarked in the canoe about two hours before daylight, and arrived before the sun rose at the residence of the head chief, whose name is Weyee Weyee (Wehiwehi), a near relative of Temmarangha's. Weyee Weyee is an old man, very tall, stout, and upright, and has a venerable appearance. He was greatly rejoiced to see Temmarangha, and informed him how all his people had been driven from their farms in the interior by the Napooes (Ngapuhi) and their potatoes and pork destroyed or carried away. He expressed an earnest desire that some Europeans would come and reside amongst them. I told him I was not sure whether their harbour was safe for ships to anchor in or not. If, hereafter, the harbour was found to be safe, this would be a strong inducement for ships at least to visit them, especially the whalers; and that it was very probable that a vessel would soon be sent from Port Jackson to examine the harbour. He told me a brig called the Venus had anchored there. This vessel had been piratically taken by the convicts of Port Jackson some years back.



Weyee Weyee ordered some breakfast to be provided for us, and he pressed us to stay with him till the next day. I told him my time would not allow me, for I was fearful of losing my passage. After breakfast he ordered us a larger canoe. I told Temmarangha I would walk on the beach to the mouth of the harbour, which was about two miles off, and requested him to follow me as soon as the canoe was ready and I would wait till he came, which he promised to do. I then took my leave of Weyee Weyee.

When I got round the left head of the mouth of the harbour I came to a very large populous village. Some of the people I had seen at the Bay of Islands. They were greatly rejoiced when I entered the village. I sat down amongst them and remained two or three hours, expecting the canoe every moment; but, as it did not arrive, I returned again to learn the cause, when I found Temmarangha sitting with Weyee Weyee and some more chiefs in close conversation. I asked him why he had not followed me according to his promise. Weyee Weyee replied Temmarangha's talk was so good and sweet to him he could not part with him. If I had not returned no canoe would have come after me that day. After some persuasion Weyee Weyee was prevailed upon to let us go, and we sailed out of the harbour about three o'clock with a fine breeze in our favour. When we had got about eight miles down the coast the wind blew very fresh with a high sea, which obliged us to go on shore for the night. The coast here for some miles consists of very high, hard, perpendicular rocks, and there are few places where a canoe can venture near the shore from the continual surf.

Wednesday, August 30th, – This morning the weather was fine but the wind against us. We put to sea as soon as it was light. The men pulled very hard. We kept as close to the shore as the breakers would permit us and went round the coves, not being able to cross them from the adverse wind and sea. At dusk in the evening we reached the hippah where Moyanger resides, a chief who accompanied Dr. Savage to England about twelve years ago. The name of the hippah is Picanakka (Pataua River or Inlet). It stands upon the summit of a very high conical hill and is surrounded with water, or nearly so, at the time of high water. It appeared inaccessible on every side with the exception of one narrow pass.

As soon as the natives observed the canoe at the foot of the hippah they rushed down the pass with their spears in their hands, as if they were going to meet an enemy. We informed them who we were. They directed us to go round to the opposite side of the hippah, where we could land, and invited us to spend the night with them. This invitation we cheerfully complied with, for we were both hungry, cold, and weary. As soon as we landed I was conducted up the narrow pass which I could not ascend without assistance, the path was so steep and narrow. When I had reached the top I found a number of men, women, and children sitting round their fires roasting snappers, crawfish, and fern-root. It was now quite dark. The roaring of the sea at the foot of the hippah, as the waves rolled into the deep

caverns beneath, the high precipice upon which we stood, whose top and sides were covered with huts, and the groups of natives conversing round their fires, all tended to excite new and strange ideas for reflection. Though God



has made of one blood all nations that dwell upon the face of the earth, and fixed the bounds of their habitations, yet how widely different are their situations! It would be difficult to draw a comparison between the comforts and enjoyments, mental and bodily, which those partake of who live in a polished Christian society, and the privations and miseries which those suffer who live in savage life. With such reflections as these I contemplated the state of my present society, and sat down amongst them. A woman immediately handed me a snapper ready roasted, others prepared me some fern-root and, being very hungry, I relished my supper much, notwithstanding the manner in which it was cooked and served. Moyanger was not at home. I did not know one of the natives. There was an officer in charge of the hippah who was very kind, as well as all the inhabitants. They accommodated us with one of their best huts in which we lay till the morning. Temmarangha amused them till a late hour with an account of our tour and the incidents that had occurred on our journey.

Thursday, August 31st. – Early in the morning we prepared to leave this romantic spot. The side next the sea has the appearance of an old abbey in ruins, and the broken rocks are like massy columns which time has wasted and corroded. On our departure the chief presented me with an hog for which I made him a small present. This hippah is situated at the bottom of a cove. On the north side there appeared to be pretty good shelter for a ship, where she may anchor in five or six fathoms water with a soft bottom. The chief told me there was only one small rock in the cove[321] and this is above water. He showed me the spot where a whaler had anchored some time back. In a short time we passed the head of the cove, and stood along shore till we came opposite a small harbour called Tootoo-Kakka (Tutukaka). I was in this harbour about six years ago. It is only fit for small vessels. The entrance is narrow and the harbour small within. The schooner Prince Regent anchored in it one night since the Dromedary has been at the Bay of Islands. There are plenty of fine spars in the neighbourhood of the harbour and some good land.

After we had passed the harbour of Tootoo-Kakka the wind began to blow fresh and the sea to rise, which forced us in a short time to run into a cove for safety. Here we made a fire, dressed our hog, and took our breakfast. This cove and the land for a considerable extent along the coast and in the interior belonged to Temmarangha. The ground here is exceedingly good, but no inhabitants are upon it at present. There was an extensive settlement ten or twelve miles further along the coast called Winnanakkee (Whananaki).

As there was no prospect, from the appearance of the weather, that we should be able to leave the cove for some time, I resolved to travel by land to Winnanakkee. Temmarangha told me the road would be very difficult and too fatiguing for him, but, if I was determined to go, his servant should go with me as a guide. We immediately



set off on our journey. I was in hopes we should be able to reach Winnanakkee in the evening. The servant told me we could not but must lodge in the woods all night, for the distance was too great. However, we pushed forward as fast as we could, and, after walking for a few hours up and down precipices and rocks, and wading through the water at the head of the coves which we could ford, we had the pleasure to observe the smoke of the settlement about five or six miles off, and that we had got over the worst part of the road. This inspired us with fresh confidence and caused us to exert all our efforts, and we reached the village before it was quite dark, very wet and weary. I had known the chief of this settlement and his wife formerly.

When I arrived they were overjoyed. It rained heavy, and my clothes were all wet. The servant had fortunately brought my blanket. I took off all my clothes and wrapt myself up in my blanket till they were dry. The chief's wife did all she could to administer to my present wants. She had a good fire made with which my clothes were soon dried, gave me their own hut for my lodgings, which was very warm, and spread some good mats upon the floor for me to lie down upon. I enjoyed my hut very much after so laborious a journey, and felt grateful for my accommodations amongst these poor heathens. The chief's wife expressed much concern that she had no provisions which she thought I could eat. They had no pork, for all their hogs had been destroyed by war as well as their potatoes. She had some cockles and fern-root, but she thought I could not eat them. She had also some koomeras (kumaras), or sweet potatoes, and two pumpkins, which she could dress for me, and observed that if I could not eat the koomeras I should like the pumpkins for they would be very sweet. While this anxious woman was racking her mind to find out some provisions which she thought I could eat, her husband had sent out to purchase a basket of potatoes Her anxiety was relieved.

My arrival soon spread through the settlement and, though the rain fell heavy, numbers crowded round the hut. Tingangha (Te Ngangi), for that was the name of the chief, wished to know where I had been and what had brought me to Winnanakkee, as he was much astonished as well as gratified to see me there. I gave him the particulars of my tour with which he was surprised, particularly that I had walked so far. I informed him Temmarangha had been with me and where I had left him waiting for the weather to moderate, and that, if he did not arrive soon, I should proceed without him to the Bay of Islands by land. Tingangha said the road was bad, that it would take me four days to reach Wyekaddee (Waikare), and that I must go in a canoe if I could. After conversing with him and others that were present I retired to rest, and felt myself safe from the stormy blast.

Friday, September 1st. – I was sorry to find no change in the weather this morning. Tingangha said Temmarangha would not be able to put to sea. I expressed my wish to leave him. He and his wife urged me to spend the day with them, and, if Temmarangha did not come by the following morning, I should have his own war canoe well manned to carry me to an harbour called Wangadoodoo (Whangaruru), and then I should be within a short day's walk of the Bay of

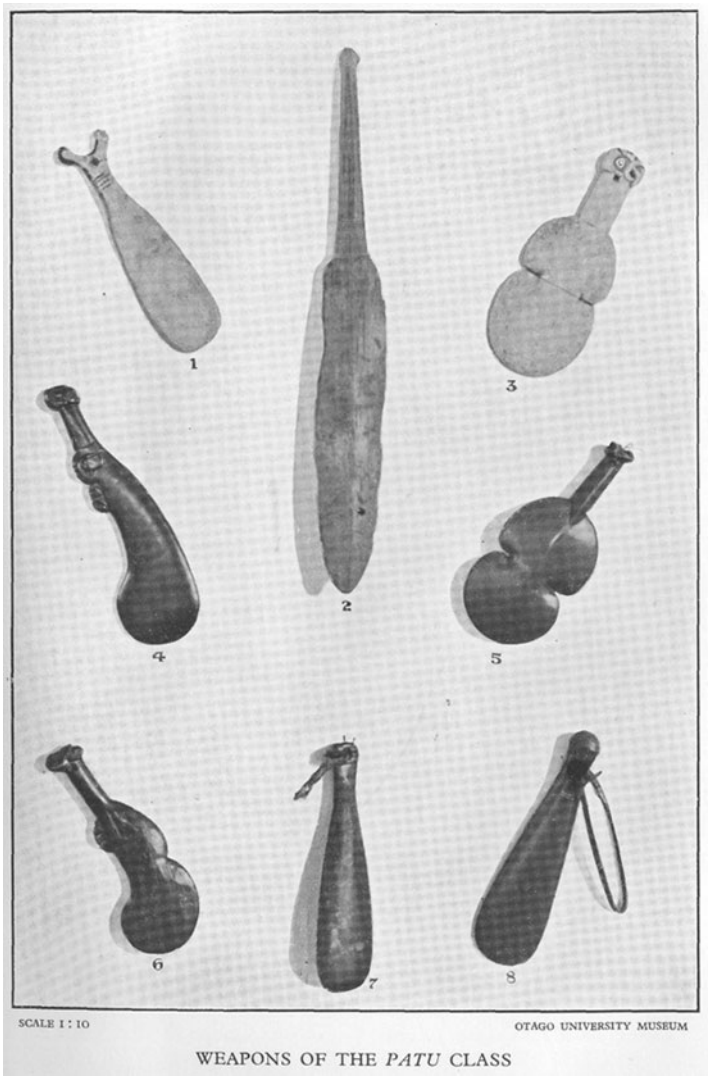


This use of the Maori word patu is not strictly in accord with Maori usage, but is so useful that it has been generally adopted in descriptive work. No. 1 is of whalebone, and was dug up at Murdering Beach. Comparative study shows that each knob on the butt represents a bird's head. No. 2, a wooden weapon, probably of the type called miti, was found in a cave in the Rock and Pillar Range. No. 3 is a whalebone kotiate from the Gisborne district. No. 5 is a wooden example of the same type. Nos. 4 and 6 are wooden waha-ika. No. 8 is a fine onewa made of andesite, from the Hauraki River. No. 7 is a mere made of the soft, translucent greenstone called tangiwai found only in Western Otago. This beautiful and unique specimen was presented to the Otago University Museum by the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The patu group illustrates clearly one important feature of Maori warfare: military tactics were based on conflict hand-to-hand. The idea of shaking the enemy's morale by long-range bombardment, a type of tactics already falling into disuse in Tahitian warfare, had vanished from Maori warfare as we know it. The bow was no longer used, and the sling is not known even to tradition. The one projectile weapon, the kotaha or spear-thrower, seems to have been employed rarely, and no European has recorded seeing it in use. This insistence on hand-to-hand encounter led to extraordinary dexterity in the practice of arms, since the life of every

man must often have depended on his ability in wielding his weapons.

[Inserted unpaginated illustration]




WEAPONS OF THE PATU CLASS
SCALE 1:10
OTAGO UNIVERSITY MUSEUM





Islands. I told them my provisions were done and I was afraid of losing my passage also; but if I was sure of his canoe I would wait till the following morning. Mrs. Tingangha observed she had some small chickens under an hen, and she would kill them for me to eat and would send a man into the wood to get some pigeons, for she was very much concerned lest I should suffer from hunger. I would not allow her to kill her chickens as she had only one hen, and assured her I should never suffer from hunger while I had plenty of potatoes to eat. She wanted to know how I rested in the night, and observed that, as I had made up my mind to stay with them another night, she would set to work and clean out the house completely, and then she was sure I should sleep well. She was as good as her promise, and made a very clean, comfortable place for me in which I rested very well. I spent the day in visiting the inhabitants till dinner, and in the evening went in a canoe up a fresh-water river which runs from the interior. There is plenty of fine timber upon its banks, but there is no harbour at Winnanakkee for ships.

All the day was stormy, attended with showers, so that we had no hopes of Temmarangha's arrival. The land is very good about Winnanakkee, and their inhabitants are a fine race of people, exceeding kind and civil. They are much in want of tools of agriculture, and urged me much to procure them a little wheat, which I promised to do. I also promised to send them some fruit trees.

Saturday, September 2nd. – As Temmarangha did not arrive this morning, Tingangha launched his canoe, and manned her at an early hour in order to take me to Wangadoodoo. His wife said she would accompany me there. Before I took my leave of the chief, he introduced his two children – a son and daughter – which he informed me were named after two of my children, the boy after my son Charles and the girl after my eldest daughter.[322] He wept much when we parted, wished he could come to see me at Parramatta, and begged they might have some Europeans to reside with them. I told them if there were fewer wars in New Zealand Europeans might be induced to come and live amongst them, but at present they were afraid.





We now stepped into the canoe and proceeded down the harbour, and at the mouth we met Temmarangha. However, as I had got so fine a canoe I said I would go on, and that, if he did not choose to go with me, he could follow me to Wangadoodoo. He said he wished to see Tingangha and, when he had taken some

refreshment, he would follow me, and then proceeded up the harbour and we pulled towards the sea. In less than half an hour the wind and sea rose again and compelled us to return. When we landed I took a guide with me and set off by land. We found the road very bad, as it lies along the sea-coast. We had continually to strike off into the woods in order to cross the high necks of land which run out into the sea, and then to descend again down to the beach. Several swamps and runs of water we met with on our road through which we had to wade. In the evening we arrived at a small native village, when it came on to blow and rain very heavy. The natives received us kindly and accommodated us with an hut and plenty of potatoes. The night was wet and cold. I did not get much rest. Here Temmarangha and our whole party joined us. I understood there was no chief in this village. There were a number of poor people who were clearing ground and preparing it for planting with potatoes.

Sunday, September 3rd. – We rose at the dawn of day this morning and prepared for our journey. After we had walked about half an hour I observed a war canoe coming after us, which soon made a signal and pulled towards shore I saw it was Tingangha's. When the weather moderated, he had sent it after us to take us up in any part of the coast where it might overtake us. I considered this an act of great attention and kindness, as it saved me a severe and laborious journey. As soon as the canoe reached the shore we were all soon comfortably seated in it, and with a fair wind we passed along towards Wangadoodoo and reached the harbour about midday. Wangadoodoo appears to me as if it was capable of affording good shelter for shipping. There are a number of natives in the harbour We called upon the chief, who received us with the discharge of two muskets. I stopped and ate some fish for my dinner. The harbour is extensive; a pretty large island is situated in the middle of it, or thereabouts. This island is a considerable distance up the harbour, and that part above it is shut in from the sea. The depth of water I could not ascertain, but from the account the natives gave me there is water sufficient for large ships near the island, with a soft bottom. The harbour runs up several miles; a fresh-water creek falls into it at the head, where there is a small settlement at which we landed in the evening and remained during the night.

I now felt myself happy in having got within one short day's journey of the Bay of Islands after an absence of three months, and particularly in having got clear of the sea, where we had experienced such a succession of stormy weather. I was also thankful that I had not met with any accident in my journey either by land or water; nor had I suffered any material injury from cold and wet and want of my proper rest, though I had laid down in my clothes for the last three weeks in boisterous weather in whatever situation the night overtook me. A kind and watchful Providence had attended my going out and my coming in, and had given me favour amongst the heathen with whom I had sojourned.



Monday, September 4th. – This morning I called my companions up as soon as the day appeared. The night had been extremely cold, with more ice than I had ever seen at New Zealand. The grass, shrubs, and trees were as white as snow with the hoar-frost. Temmarangha was unwilling to move till the sun got up. He said he had no shoes, and it was too cold for him to walk through the grass and brush till the frost was off. At length we proceeded on our way, and in about an hour came to a small native village situated in a valley so retired and secret that I should not have expected to have met with any human beings in such a situation. The children were alarmed when they saw me and ran crying away. We stopped here and breakfasted. The people had got abundance of dried fish and potatoes which they liberally gave us, and as many as the servants could well carry when we came away. I now walked on and left the whole party excepting Moodeekow, the priest, and arrived in the district of Parroa (Pairoa) about three o'clock in the afternoon, opposite to where the whalers were lying. 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 of time. The food, the conversation, the rest, were all sweet. I put a much greater estimate 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.

I had not been more than an hour on board the Catherine when the Prince Regent, a government schooner belonging to Port Jackson, arrived in the Bay of Islands and brought me letters from my family and from many of my friends in England, which added to my present comfort. The communion of saints is sweet, and that communion I am inclined to think is mutually promoted by the mutual correspondence of Christian friends. The master of the Prince Regent informed me he should sail in a day or two for Wangarooa, where the Dromedary was taking in her cargo of timber, and in a few days afterwards would proceed to Port Jackson. As my leave of absence was now expired, I determined to return in the schooner to New South Wales, and with that view immediately set about arranging the affairs of the mission. When this was done I walked over to Wangarooa in order to join the Prince Regent.

As soon as she had taken in her spars and was ready for sea I embarked, and we sailed on Sunday, September 17th. Our little schooner was very deeply laden with spars – her decks were completely covered and not more than five inches from the water edge. Before we reached the North Cape of New Zealand a very heavy gale came on, with a very high sea breaking over our little bark from one end to the other, with heavy rain. I was now very sick from close confinement below, as the hatches were all battened down and everything made close to keep out the sea. The schooner soon began to make much water, and the Captain on the fifth day (Friday, September 22nd) did not think it prudent to continue at sea and returned into the Bay of Islands. I now felt myself extremely ill from wet, sea-sickness, and want of rest, and determined to leave the schooner and wait for the return of the Dromedary. The



master landed the greatest part of the spars, and sailed again for Port Jackson. After refreshing myself for a few days at the Bay of Islands I went to Wangarooa and joined the Dromedary again.

Finding the Dromedary would not complete her cargo for six weeks, I determined to visit the different tribes of inhabitants again on the east and west sides of New Zealand, and immediately prepared for another tour, as I thought I could not spend my time more to the advantage of the mission than by paying another visit to the tribes I had seen and visiting others I had not seen. With this view I once more left the Dromedary, where I had always received the kindest attention from Captain Skinner and all the officers, both military and naval, and which I shall ever retain a grateful remembrance of. On leaving the Dromedary I proceeded to Kiddee Kiddee where the Rev. J. Butler agreed to accompany me on my intended journey.[323]

Saturday, October 28th. – About noon this day I left Kiddee Kiddee in company with the Rev. J. Butler and Mr. Shepherd for Ranghee Hoo (Rangihoua) in the whaleboat, and in the evening arrived at Mr. William Hall's where we slept for the night.

Sunday, October 29th. – Performed Divine Service at Ranghee Hoo in the morning and administered the Holy Sacrament. Mr. Butler preached in the evening.

Monday, October 30th. – Rose at three o'clock this morning in order to prepare for my intended journey to Kiperro (Kaipara), and we proceeded down the harbour about four o'clock and reached Cape Brett about seven. The morning was very calm and the water very smooth, which rendered our passage to the sea very pleasant and agreeable. The weather continued fine all the day, and in the evening we reached the mouth of the harbour of Wannanakkee (Whananaki). I wished to wait here in order to see Temmarangha whom I wished to accompany us. We landed on the beach and prepared to dress some provisions, when a fishing canoe came to us and informed us Temmarangha was not there but a little further down the coast in a small harbour which I had visited on a former occasion. I now determined

not to call at the settlement of Wannanakkee lest we should be detained; we therefore took up our lodgings for the night upon the beach.

Tuesday, October 31st. – As soon as the day appeared we proceeded on our voyage, and about eight o'clock arrived at Teko Rangha (Te Korangu), Temmarangha's settlement. We found him busy amongst his people on the beach, upon which were a great number of fine fish lying, having just been landed from the fishing canoes. Temmarangha was very pleased with our visit, and supplied us with whatever fish we could conveniently take with us. I informed him where we were going and invited him to accompany us. He replied it was a busy time with him; he was planting his potatoes and koomeras, and if he should leave his place his slaves would lie down and sleep instead of cultivating his ground; on that account he did not wish to leave home till his necessary work was done. He informed us there were a chief and his son with him from Kiperro, who would go along with us if we would allow them. To this proposal we readily agreed.

AT WHANGAREI



Teko Rangha is a very good place for a missionary station. The inhabitants on both sides along the coast are numerous and very friendly. Fish could be procured in the greatest abundance. The land is good and well supplied with timber and water; in the cove a small vessel may lie pretty secure. A mission here would be conveniently situated for keeping up a communication with other parts of the islands. Canoes are constantly passing up and down the coast.

After we had breakfasted with Temmarangha we proceeded on our voyage and arrived at Wangaree just at dark. This harbour is situated ten or twelve miles to the northward of Bream Head. I have already mentioned this place. The chief Weyee Weyee (Wehiwehi) and his people received us kindly. He presented us with an hog. We hung our hammocks under the trees on the beach where we remained at night. It was my intention to have left the whaleboat here and to have crossed the country over to the River Wyeroo (Wairua)[324] and proceed down that river in a canoe into the Kiperro, but here we learned that all the inhabitants belonging to the Wyeroo had fled for safety from the Napooes (Ngapuhi), some to Kiperro and others to Wangaree, and that it would be of no use to proceed any further in that direction as there was not a canoe upon the river. From this information I was fully convinced that we could never reach Kiperro by the Wyeroo and was therefore compelled to relinquish my first intention.

Wednesday, November 1st. – This morning I was at a loss what route to pursue. I had no alternative but either to go by the River Thames or to strike off from Bream Head to a river called Kottamatta (Otomatea), which falls into the harbour of Kiperro (Kaipara). I had seen the mouth of this river when I visited Kiperro before. In order to gain correct information relative to the practicability of making our way to the Kiperro by the River Kottamatta, I crossed the harbour of Wangaree to consult with a number of natives who were carrying fish on the opposite beach. They informed me I could not get down the Kottamatta as there were no canoes. The whole of the inhabitants had fled in consequence of the present war. We had no choice but to proceed to the Thames, and immediately directed our course to Bream Head.[325]

The inhabitants at Wangaree are very numerous at present. The harbour abounds with the finest fish of various kinds, which were hung up in all directions upon the shores. Some the natives appeared to be drying for future use. They were all in a state of alarm on account of the fighting parties who were outraging the country in different directions. The principal people here were very urgent for some Europeans to reside amongst them. I hope in time their wishes will be gratified, and that the Gospel of God, our Saviour, will relieve them from their present bondage to sin and Satan, and lessen their mutual jealousies and contests.

IN THE HAURAKI GULF



After quitting the harbour of Wangaree we found the wind against us, and it was not till evening we reached Bream Head.[326] We turned round the south head into a small harbour (Mangawai Harbour) into which a river runs from the interior. The harbour is well sheltered, but only fit for small vessels drawing nine or ten feet of water, as the entrance is narrow and difficult and has a bar across its mouth. This river runs very near the Kottamatta (Otamatea) which affords very easy communication with Kiperro (Kaipara). The natives at the Bay of Islands, when they made war upon the inhabitants of Kiperro, came with their canoes across the narrow neck of land that separates the Kottamatta (Otamatea) from this river. When the country is better known it is more than probable that by the means of these two rivers an easy communication may be opened between the western and eastern shores of New Zealand. We had not time to examine the river into the interior as we only remained one night in the harbour.

Thursday, November 2nd. – This morning we put to sea at an early hour, and were favoured with a fair wind along the coast between Bream Head[327] and Point Rodney. The breeze became very strong and the sea rose pretty high. We sailed at a great rate and entered the mouth of the Thames[328] about the middle of the day, when we made for one of the islands in the river, not considering it safe to remain at sea. When the wind moderated we landed in a cove about two o'clock where we dined, and in the evening proceeded to the next island,[329] situated in the west side of the river, on reaching which we went on shore for the night.

I felt a grateful mind to the God of the seas and the dry land Who had conducted us in safety this far while on the bosom of the great deep, and before we retired to rest we united in offering up our evening sacrifice of praise and thanksgivings to Him Who holdeth the waters in the hollow of His hand, and Whose presence fills heaven and earth.

Friday, November 3rd. – This morning the wind was moderate. We left the island at an early hour and steered our course for Mogoea (Mokoia), a populous settlement situated on the main on the west side of the Thames. I had visited this settlement three times before when I came in the Coromandel. We had to pass several islands in our course up the River Wyeroa which falls into the Thames.[330] While we were in this river, which is several miles wide, the wind blew fresh and, the tide running strong, made a high sea, in consequence of which we were very near upsetting our boat in a narrow, shallow channel between two islands[331] where the surf broke with much violence. We were not aware

MARSDEN REACHES MOKOIA



of our danger till it was too late to return, and were therefore compelled to risk the dashing of the boat to pieces against the rocks in order to reach the shore, which we were fortunate enough to do in safety.

After we had got clear of the breakers, and were under the shelter of the land between the two islands, we found there was not sufficient water in the channel to take the boat through. Here we met with about fifty natives, who dragged the boat through the passage into deep water. We were now about ten or twelve miles from Mogoea. As the wind was fair, though strong, we hoisted our sail, and very soon crossed the Wyeroa (Wairoa) and entered the mouth of the river on whose banks the settlement is formed. In the evening we landed, to the great joy of the inhabitants.[332] Here I found most of my former acquaintances; Enakkee (Hinaki)[333] and Totaree (Totokariwa), the two principal chiefs, were both at home. I was very happy to find Rupee (Rupi), the son of Enakkee, also a youth about fourteen years old, safe at home. When I left the Thames in August last I was compelled to leave my sea-chest with Enakkee as I could not take it with me by land. When the

government schooner, Prince Regent, arrived at Mogoea afterwards, Enakkee sent his son, Rupee, and one servant to the Bay of Islands with my chest. When the schooner returned to the Dromedary, Rupee wished to visit Port Jackson and had embarked with that intent on board the schooner. When the schooner sailed from Wangarooa with dispatches for Governor Macquarie from the commanders of the Coromandel and Dromedary, I embarked along with Rupee intending to return home in her, but when the Prince Regent put into the Bay of Islands from stress of weather I determined to remain till the Dromedary returned to Port Jackson and take my passage in that ship. Rupee had been so sick while on board the Prince Regent that he also determined to leave her and return to the Thames with the chief who had the care of him. He procured a small canoe at the Bay of Islands for the purpose of going down to the Thames. I conceived he would be in great danger if he ventured in her, and requested him to remain at the Bay of Islands till a better opportunity offered for his return home, but he would not be prevailed upon to stop. I felt much concerned for the boy lest any accident should happen to him, as he had come on my account.



MOKOIA VILLAGE

Rupee was greatly rejoiced to see me, and informed me what dangers and hardships he had suffered on his passage home – that the canoe was upset and lost at sea in a storm near the Barrier Islands at the mouth of the Thames, that he had been nearly drowned, as well as the chief Maru who was with him, that with great difficulty they swam to the shore after the canoe was lost, where they remained five days before they were taken off the island, and had suffered much, in consequence of which he had been very ill.

In consequence of Rupee's deliverance from the dangers of the sea and his restoration to health, his father, Enakkee, had tabooed almost everything around him, and the people had cut themselves in the manner they do when they mourn for the dead. Enakkee asked me if I should have been concerned had his son been drowned. I replied I should have been much distressed, and particularly as he had come to the Bay of Islands on my account. Enakkee replied that I should have had no occasion to have been afraid on account of his son's death, as he would not have blamed me for it in any way. I was much pleased with his observations upon this subject, as he seemed anxious to convince me that, whatever might have happened to his son, he would not have altered his regard for me nor attached any blame to me in any way whatever. We spent the evening very pleasantly with Enakkee and his people. I met with Awarru (Te Waru), chief of Towrangha, already mentioned in my journal, who made peace with Temmarangha. He was much pleased with our accidental meeting, and informed me that he had set his people to work to make mats, agreeable to the arrangements I had made with him when at Towrangha. There were also several chiefs from other distant parts. Enakkee cleared one of his storehouses for our accommodation, in which we slept for the night. The Rev. Mr. Butler was much gratified with these people and their settlements at large.[334] He had seen nothing so much like civil life as this settlement, where there is a very extensive cultivation carried on and where the inhabitants have such an abundance of provisions and appear so healthy and happy. Enakkee was very pressing for some Europeans to reside with them should any missionaries hereafter be sent out. I pointed out to him the ground where I wished their houses to be built, school, etc., and to this he readily agreed. I need not notice the soil and other local advantages of the settlement in this place as I have mentioned it in a former journal. After singing an hymn and offering up our united addresses to the Father of Mercies, we retired to rest.

Saturday, November 4th. – We left Mogoea early this morning in order to visit the Coromandel, which lay on the east side of the Thames in a very safe harbour more than forty miles distant. Enakkee and Rupee



A VISIT TO THE COROMANDEL

accompanied us. After we had entered the Wyeroa[335] the wind blew very strong with an high sea, which compelled us to run to the nearest island[336] for shelter and safety, where we lay windbound all the day. On this island there is some very rich land, part of which is in cultivation. A few natives reside upon it for the purpose of raising potatoes, for which the soil appears well adapted. The whole island has the appearance of a volcanic eruption. In the middle of it the land is high. I went to the summit, where I found the mouth of a volcano in the shape of an egg when cut in two; the mouth may be about a quarter of a mile in circumference, and I estimated its depth at 300 feet as I went to the very bottom. The level land at the foot of the hill is very rich. It is all covered with porous stones which apparently have been burned. On this island we remained all the night waiting for the weather to moderate.

Sunday, November 5th. – This morning the weather appeared more settled. We left the island early and proceeded down the river towards the Thames, which we entered about five o'clock in the evening. The Thames was about twelve miles across where we had to cross it in order to reach the Coromandel. We had a moderate breeze and fair. The Thames was smoother than I had ever found it before when I crossed it. In general there is a very great swell and very often a very rough sea. We got over the river very well, and arrived on board the Coromandel about eight o'clock in the evening, when I found Captain Downie well and his ship's company. I was happy to learn that there had been no differences between the Europeans and natives and that Captain Downie had the prospect of accomplishing the object of his voyage. Captain Downie and his officers treated us very kindly. We remained with them two nights and one day, when we took our departure early in the morning of the 7th (Tuesday, November 7th), as the weather was very favourable for our returning across the Thames.

About eight o'clock we arrived on the west side of the Thames when we went on shore to breakfast. After breakfast we proceeded up the Wyeroa, but the wind blew so strong against us with an high sea that we were compelled to bear away for the first island we could reach[337] and landed upon one of the largest in the river where we took up our lodgings for the night on the beach. This island appeared to be as large as the Isle of Wight, and contained much good land; it would answer well for cattle or goats as there is plenty of grass and water. Hogs also might be reared upon it to much advantage. Hogs in New Zealand get very fat on the fern-root alone. They require no grass to feed them, and their meat is of the best quality.

Wednesday, November 8th. – This morning the weather was stormy. We were wind-bound all the day. The sea ran high in the Wyeroa[338] so that we could not venture from our shelter, though we were very anxious to proceed on our route. The cove we were in would be a fine harbour for ships as there appeared a sufficient depth of water. Wood and water are easily procured for vessels in the cove.



MARSDEN DISCOVERS MANUKAU HARBOUR

Thursday, November 9th. – This morning the weather moderated, and about four o'clock we left the island for Mogoea where we arrived about twelve in the middle of the day. It was our intention to leave the boat here till our return from Kiperro, and to proceed up the Wyeteematta in a canoe. I met several chiefs from Kiperro, amongst whom was Moodeepanga, a chief from Tipporari (Te Puriri), a settlement about twenty miles from Towrangha (Tauranga) above the head of the River Thames. I had dined with this chief when I was in that part of the country. This hippah is situated about 150 miles from Mogoea.

When I was at Mogoea before, I went to the top of a very high conical hill[339] near the settlement. From its summit may be seen both the western and eastern shores of New Zealand. I also observed several rivers and large sheets of water. One river[340] which ran into the western ocean seemed to join the Wyeteematta and the Mogoea Rivers, as I could not observe any land that separated them. On enquiry I learnt that one river (the Waiuku) which I saw ran towards the Wyekotto

(Waikato) and the other was called Manukou (Manukau) which fell into the sea on the west side. Wishing to ascertain whether the River Manukou did unite with either the Mogoea River or the Wyeteematta, I determined to proceed immediately to Manukou to satisfy myself on this head. Having hauled up the boat and lodged with the chief such articles as we should not want till our return from Kiperro, we engaged some of the natives as guides and to carry our baggage to Manukou, and proceeded immediately on our journey.

Our way lay for four or five miles through a wood[341] Afterwards we passed through very stony ground; the stones were very porous, and the whole surface of the land was broken into irregular hills by some volcanic eruptions. We reached Manukou in the evening. The estimated distance across the neck of land we travelled over between Mogoea and Manukou[342] was about three leagues. When we arrived at the settlement we found an extensive harbour, and saw the Heads at the distance of about five leagues. At Manukou three brother chiefs reside named Kowhow (Kawau),[343] Koroearua, and Tettawangh. They carry on an extensive cultivation of potatoes, and possess large tracts of land on the Wyeteematta, Wyekotto, and Kiperro. Kowhow I was acquainted with, as he had accompanied me from Mogoea to Kiperro when I visited that district the first time. Kowhow was very attentive to me at that time, furnished me with a canoe and servants, and attended the whole time till I returned again to the River Thames and joined the Coromandel. I made him a few presents of edge tools, which he highly valued, and promised in return he would send me mats to the Bay of Islands as soon as he could procure any. I did not consider him indebted to me but rather I was indebted to him, and therefore had no reason to place any confidence in his promise.



When we first arrived Kowhow was at his farm two or three miles distant. A messenger was sent to him immediately. On his arrival he expressed his satisfaction at our visit – told me he had got some mats ready for me, and produced a basket neatly tied up containing seven mats with which he presented me in payment for the articles I had before given him. This was much more than I expected. I told him we wanted an hog or two. These he also supplied to us.

I informed him that the object of our visit was to examine the harbour of Manukou, and that we wished to go down to the Heads in order to see if there was an entrance for ships. He told me he would furnish a canoe in the morning for the purposes I wished. I then asked him to let us have a large empty building, about eighty feet long by sixteen, which was near the beach, for the accommodation of ourselves and people who had attended us from Mogoea, which he readily granted, and in this we took up our lodgings for the night.

Friday, November 10th. – As soon as the tide answered we prepared to visit the Heads of the Manukou River. This river has two main branches, one (Otahuhu) runs up towards Mogoea, and is separated from it by a very narrow neck of land over which the natives take their canoes from one river to another. The other branch (Waiuku) runs to the southward towards Wyekotto and forms a very large sheet of water beyond which the eye can reach. This branch nearly joins the Wyekotto (Waikato) River, and is separated only by a narrow neck, over which the natives take their canoes and pass from one settlement to another. Manukou also, about ten or twelve miles from the Heads, nearly joins the Wyeteematta River.[344] Though the communication between the western and eastern seas is not entirely complete, yet it is very nearly so both into the Mogoea and Wyeteematta Rivers.

In the Manukou there are very extensive shoals and sandbanks, but there appeared to be a channel of deep water. This we were unable to examine in the canoe, from the strength of the tide which occasioned too great a sea to venture into with safety. The entrance into the harbour is also narrow, and it is probable a bar may be found on the outside; but this we could not ascertain as it would not be safe to go out to sea in a small canoe where the swell is so great. Within the Heads we had ten fathoms of water. There is abundance of fine timber in the neighbourhood of this river should it hereafter be found a safe harbour for ships. After making all the observations our means enabled us, we returned to the settlement where we arrived about midnight and retired to rest.

Saturday, November 11th. – Early this morning we settled with the natives of Mogoea, and they returned home and prepared for prosecuting our journey to Kiperro. They agreed to accompany us and to furnish us with servants to carry our baggage. As soon as we were ready we took our departure from Manukou. A few missionaries are much wanted at this settlement.[345] The land is good about it and there



is a very considerable population. After leaving Manukou we walked overland to the banks of the Wyeteematta, a distance of about eight or ten miles.[346] Our road lay over the summit of the very high round hill called Wyedakka[347] from the summit of which there is the most extensive prospect. The western and eastern shores are in view; several rivers, forests, and mountains are also to be seen, with Point Rodney and Cape Colville at the entrance of the Thames. On descending the hill Kowhow called us on one side to see a deep cavern which had the appearance of a mouth of a volcano. He told us the cavern was very deep. The whole hill appeared to be a volcanic production, and the stones around the bottom had a similar appearance. On our arrival on the banks of the Wyeteematta, Kowhow had procured a canoe to take us up the river where we were to land in order to cross the country to Kiperro. The distance we had to go by water was from sixteen to twenty miles. In the afternoon the tide was against us, by which we were compelled to go on shore for the night.

Sunday, November 12th. – This morning we embarked in our canoe and proceeded up the river with the tide. The canoe was very leaky, and required two men to bail out the water to keep her from sinking. About eleven o'clock we landed and walked about six miles, when we sat down upon the banks of a fresh-water stream [348] where we dined. This stream is the head of one of the branches of Kiperro. After dinner we pursued our journey, and in the evening arrived in a small wood about three miles from the sea. The inhabitants of this wood appeared much astonished at us.[349] They could not have seen any white people before. The chiefs had fled to this sequestered spot from the present war. They were related to Kowhow. On our arrival the chief[350] said he had seen us in a dream when he was in a sleep in the night. We remained in the wood all night. They had not a single hut built, but lay down in the brush and fern. They had plenty of fish and fresh potatoes, and we observed some hogs also amongst them.

After we had taken some refreshment and prayed to God for His goodness and returned thanks to Him for the many favours enjoyed, we retired to rest. When I looked upon the surrounding scene, viewed the inhabitants of the woods and the neighbouring seas, and considered myself at the very ends of earth and that the voice of joy and gladness, of praise and thanksgiving had never before been heard since the foundation of the world in these gloomy regions of darkness and human misery, I could not but anticipate the time was at hand for the fulfilment of that precious promise, "All the ends of the world shall remember and be turned unto the Lord." I often thought of the words which the Lord spake unto Elijah when he was on Mount Horeb. The Lord came unto him and said unto him, "What doest thou here Elijah?" A similar question I often put to myself when I viewed the distant lands whence



I came and the way in which the Divine Providence had conducted me. I have been wont to ask what was my business in this and in the other extraordinary

situations I have been called to visit. Known unto God are all His works from the beginning, and He carries on His plans according to the counsel of His own will. The mysteries of His providence are great and past man's finding out, as well as the mysteries of His grace. In the morning of the resurrection of the just, when the sea and the earth shall give up their dead, perhaps the deep volume of the Divine counsels may be laid open to our view or our capacities enlarged to comprehend them.

Monday, November 13th. – As soon as we breakfasted this morning we proceeded to the seaside about four miles distant. From the banks of the Wyeteematta, where we landed, to the sea is almost twenty miles. The sea coast here is as straight as a line as far as the eye can reach, and the beach[351] as level as the sea is calm. Where the sea beats heavy upon the land when the tide is in, it is very firm and smooth to walk upon and very pleasant travelling when the tide is out. The coast is entirely high drift sandhills, generally three or four hundred feet high or more. These sandhills in many places are several miles broad. Under the sand there are beds of dead timber of immense size, as black as coal, from four to sixteen feet thick. These beds have very much the appearance of coal beds, but upon close examination I found them to be composed of large bodies of timber. How they came into their present situation, three or four hundred feet below the surface of the hills, I cannot ascertain. I can only state the fact, but shall leave others to account for it.

The appearances of this timber extend for more than twenty miles along the beach, and some roots of trees are to be seen of immense bulk when the tide is down level with the sand upon the beach; they are as black as coal, as if they had all been burnt off close to the ground; some of them are more than thirty feet in diameter. It is probable that originally two or more trees sprang from one root, but the roots appear now as if they had had only one tree to support.

Our day's journey lay along the beach. We walked very hard till towards evening, when we turned into the land behind the sandhills and took up our residence for the night near a fresh-water pond. We had seen no persons on our way nor any huts or signs of inhabitants. Our guide told us we were not far from the settlement of a chief named Teetennana (Te Tinana). Kowhow sent a messenger to this chief to inform him of our arrival. In about two hours we were visited by four young men from the settlement who remained with us during the night.[352]



IN KAIPARA HARBOUR

Tuesday, November 14th. – We rose early this morning, and prepared to visit Teetenana as our road to the Kiperro lay in the direction of his hippah. We arrived about eight o'clock and were welcomed by this old chief. Teetenana is the largest man I have seen in any part of New Zealand. He appeared to be about seventy years old but in full health. He had four sons, very stout men.[353] His hippah was full of people. We counted forty persons in one place beating fern-root for breakfast. The name of this settlement is Koopooa (Kopua).

We informed the chief and his tribe what our object was in visiting Kiperro. We wanted to examine the river, the harbour, and the entrance into the harbour, in order to ascertain whether ships might safely come to Kiperro or not. The chief was very anxious for some Europeans to live amongst them. He said it gave them peace and security. We requested him to furnish us with a canoe to go down the river. He said he would provide us with one if we would only stay with him one day. To this we consented. I told him it was my intention to return by land by way of Shokee Hangha (Hokianga) and requested he would furnish me with three servants to carry Mr. Shepherd's baggage and my own. He replied he was much afraid to do that lest we should meet any party of the enemy, for in that case his people would be cut off, and he had been informed that one party was coming along the sea coast and another down the Wyeroa. After much conversation he consented that three servants should accompany us with his son and nephew. I was very glad when this arrangement was made, for I was now persuaded I could make my way good overland to Wangarooa. He now furnished us with a couple of hogs; one we intended to take with us and the other to remain till Mr. Butler returned as he intended to go back again by sea.

We spent this day pleasantly with this venerable chief and his friends. In the evening he said he wished us to sleep near him that he might see us during the night. When the day closed we performed our usual devotions and retired to rest.

Wednesday, November 15th. – This morning we prepared at an early hour to proceed down the river. The chief's son took an affectionate leave of his friends. Many tears were shed. The old chief wept much; he was afraid his son would be killed by the enemy. He instructed him to behave well. Some of the women cut themselves very much to show their affection for Poro (Pahihora), and the old chief continued to pray and weep while we remained in sight.

After leaving the settlement, which stands on a small creek, we soon entered the main river and arrived about the middle of the day at Takowhow (Te Kawau), a village about four miles from the harbour mouth. A chief named Matouee (Matohi) lives here, whose daughter Poro was married to. I had visited Matouee when at Kiperro before, and had promised him I would come or send Mr. Puckey in about three moons to examine the harbour. Matouee was very glad to see us. Poro informed his wife where he was going. She immediately said she would



DESCRIPTION OF KAIPARA HARBOUR

accompany him, and another chief offered his services. I now felt confident that we should be able to return by land, which I was very anxious to do. It was our intention to have examined the entrance in the harbour this day, but the wind was too strong and the sea so high that no native would venture upon the water in a canoe. We were therefore obliged to remain in the village.

I observed upon the beach one large war canoe seventy-five feet long, and on enquiring where it came from was informed that it formerly belonged to Shunghee; that Shunghee had made war upon them some years back, and in order to carry it on more effectually he had taken his canoes up the river near Bream Head, and conveyed them from the head of that river over a neck of land into the Wyeroa; in the engagement with Shunghee at that time they took from him thirteen war canoes, killed three hundred of his men, amongst whom were many of his officers, and wounded Shunghee and compelled him to save his life by flight; the two principal chiefs, Koee Koee (Koikoi) and Ariwa (Rewa), who are now at war with them, both lost their fathers in the engagement with Shunghee and one of them also lost two brothers, besides many friends. They added that they were now in much alarm, as Shunghee's tribe were well armed with musket and powder, while they had none to defend themselves against their enemies. Matouee requested I would prevail upon my God to kill Koee Koee, the chief they are most afraid of.[354]

Thursday, November 16th. – After breakfast we proposed to examine the harbour and went down towards the Heads. The weather was fine and the water smooth when we set off, but before we reached the Heads it began to blow fresh and, the tide running out, we were afraid of being driven out to sea and therefore returned. The entrance appeared to be about two miles wide, and there are three channels where we observed no breakers and in which the natives informed us there was plenty of deep water. The sandbanks extend a considerable distance out at sea.

We went upon the highest hills in order to examine more correctly the outside of the harbour. Mr. William Puckey was of opinion that a ship might come in with safety, but this can never be fully ascertained till the entrance can be properly surveyed. Mr Puckey observed the latitude and made the entrance in 36 deg. 30".[355]

There are three large rivers whose waters meet in this harbour – the Kiperro, which takes its rise towards the Wyeteematta, the Kottamatta (Otamatea), from near Bream Head, and the Wyeroa, which runs parallel with the sea coast for a long way and then turns into the interior of the country. In the harbour there are some extensive sandbanks,



formed, I apprehended, by the tide and the junction of the rivers. But there can be little doubt but there is plenty of water for any ship in all the rivers. After entering the mouth of the Kottamatta, the natives informed me, there was a fine harbour on the left hand which was behind a neck of land (Okorako) completely shut in from the sea. But this I had not time to examine.

Three canoes came over this morning from the opposite shore and informed Matouee that the enemy was on the Wyeroa, which greatly alarmed them. Poro now informed me he was afraid to go lest he and his people should fall into their hands. This information was very unpleasant to me as I had determined to go by land if possible. After much conversation on the subject it was once more finally arranged for the natives to accompany me, and they now set to work in order to prepare a new canoe for taking us across the Kiperro and up the Wyeroa to the place where they are wont to cross the land to the seaside.

It was determined that we should all set off the following morning, the Rev. Mr. Butler for the River Thames with his party, and Mr. Shepherd and I by land. We therefore made every necessary preparation before we retired to rest.

Friday, November 17th. – As soon as the day appeared we rose in order to take our departure. Mr. Butler soon embarked and proceeded up the Kiperro with a strong tide; our canoe was not completed.[356] About nine o'clock she was ready to launch and we got her into the water and soon afterwards embarked, but were compelled to put in again from the high sea and strong wind. We stopped a few hours till the weather moderated, and then proceeded down the river towards the mouth of the harbour. Here we met Tettoko, the head chief of the Wyeroa, with three canoes in which there were about twenty fine hogs. He had landed a number of his people on the south side of Kiperro to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy. He pressed me to accept a couple of hogs, but I was afraid, as the sea was high, they would endanger the canoe in crossing the river. He selected one very large hog and put it into the canoe. These people told us we should not be able to cross the river from the roughness of the sea. Tettoko said we should be able. We therefore took our leave and proceeded on our voyage, and in about two hours we got safely over and under the shelter of the land in the Wyeroa.

Tettoko is considered the greatest warrior in the west side of New Zealand. He had the principal command when Shunghee was defeated with the loss of so many of his tribe. Ariwa (Rewa), who commands now in Shunghee's absence, told me he would not rest till he had got the head of Tettoko, observing at the same time that his heart swelled very big when he thought of his father and two brothers who were killed in that engagement, and he felt great pain and could not rest till he had killed Tettoko. At the time I left Kiddee Kiddee for Kiperro, Ariwa



was there preparing for an expedition against these people, and intended to set off in a few days. We now heard he was upon the upper part of the River Wyeroa.

After we had crossed the mouth of the harbour we proceeded up the River Wyeroa till near dark, when we landed and remained all night on the beach.

Saturday, November 18th. – About five o'clock this morning we proceeded up the river with the tide, and arrived about nine at the place where the road turns off to the seashore. We rested as if it was the Sabbath,[357] and remained all the day at the landing place. The inhabitants on both sides of the river appeared to have fled, for we did not see an individual as we went up the river nor a single canoe.

Sunday, November 19th. – We rose early this morning and killed the hog Tettoko had given me before we set off on our journey. After our hog was dressed I gave a quarter of it to the men belonging to the canoe, paid them for their trouble in bringing us up the river, and sent a present to the chief Matouee. The presents they received for themselves and chief made them very happy.

We now packed up our baggage and provisions and set off for the seashore which we reached in about two hours. The road is pretty good and the distance about six miles. The morning was very fine when we reached the seaside and the water smooth. As soon as we came down to the beach we saw an hill called Manganuee (Maunganui Bluff) which is about half-way between Shokee Hangha and Kiperro; it is very high, and extends further out to sea than any other part of the coast, and may be seen at sea at the distance of thirty leagues or more. When I last saw it, it appeared to be about eight or ten leagues off at the most, and I thought we should reach it that day, or very nearly, as the land is very level, hard, and good to walk upon (Ripiro Beach). We pressed forward as fast as we could, but when evening came we appeared to have made little progress; it still seemed at a distance of seven leagues. Being very weary, having only stopped a short time to dress provisions, we rested on the beach all night.

Monday, November 20th. – As soon as the morning light appeared we began our march. The weather was very fine, and our walk pleasant along the shore. The battle between Shunghee's tribe and the people of Kiperro was fought upon the beach we walked over to-day. The chief Poro said he would not mention the spot where so many men were killed if I were afraid of the ghosts of those who were slain. I replied that I was not afraid. When we came to the place he showed us the particular spots where the great men fell in battle. He mentioned the particular deeds of valour that Tettoko had performed that day after receiving several wounds, and observed that the present war was begun in order to obtain satisfaction for the chiefs who were slain in the above action.

Passing the memorable spot, we continued our march until evening and reached within about half a mile of Manganuee when we took up our rest for the night. The coast for the last two days was quite



straight and the sandhills very high and similar. When the wind blows hard from the southward and westward there must be a very heavy surf. For forty miles along the beach between Kiperro and Manganuee there is not a single cove or inlet during the above distance; the shores are all sand, with the exception of the timber I have mentioned at the foot of the sandhills lying in beds like coal, and the breakers extend a considerable distance in the sea.

Tuesday, November 21st. – This morning we began to ascend Manganuee; the base of the hill is solid rock, the middle appeared to be iron-stone. In some places the rock is perpendicular next the sea, and from its height makes every nerve tremble to look down. The native path is here and there near the edge. I was not able to walk in some parts, but crept along on my hands and knees. We got over in about four hours, but with great fatigue. This hill may be known at sea by a high point that stands out at the top like a horn and overhangs the sea. Its latitude, I think, will be found to be nearly 36 deg., but it is not possible to mistake it. It is covered

with small trees, and on that account differs from the other hills upon the coast which are composed of white sand. Having crossed Manganuee, we sat down to breakfast[358] and then pursued our journey.

In passing along our party were much alarmed for fear of falling in with any of the enemy. On one occasion they observed two men upon a distant hill, which agitated their minds very much. The chief urged us to press forward as fast as possible, which we did. A few miles further they saw some men upon the beach, and immediately squatted down under the bushes and begged us to do the same till they reconnoitred the party. The chief threw off his mats, took his maree (mere) or stone patoo patoo, put on his war mat, and girded his loins very tight with a cord; they then all crept along the ground through the fern bushes in order to get a nearer view of them. Poro told me if they were enemies he and his party must run off into the bush and leave us to do the best we could. I requested him to run no risk on our account for I was not afraid and we could take care of ourselves. After lying some time they were not able to satisfy themselves who or what they were; they therefore determined to take a circuit behind the hill, where we could not be discerned by them, and come into the public path beyond them on the side next Shokee Hangha, where they thought they could examine them with less risk of being seen. After we had done this and reached the public road they reconnoitred them again and found that there were no enemies. They then went up to them to learn the news, and were informed that Ariwa and Koee Koee were on the Wyeroa with three hundred men. Their minds were now once more at ease and we pushed on as fast as we could, and in the evening got about five miles off the Heads of Shokee Hangha, where we took up our night's lodgings with a chief belonging to Terranakka (Taranaki) who had gone to pay a visit to Mowenna (Mauwhena). The chief was very much



tattooed, and had a very thick head of hair – not curly, but long. Terranakka is a settlement on the west side of the islands, a long distance from Shokee Hangha.

Wednesday, November 22nd. – We rose early this morning to make for Shokee Hangha where we shortly arrived. When I last visited Shokee Hangha, the head chief's son, his brother's son, and some other men of consequence were gone to the southward upon a war expedition,[359] along with another chief named Patuonee (Patuone), who was the head of the expedition. They had now returned, and informed me that they had crossed Cook Straits and landed on the Middle Island,[360] In this expedition Mowenna and his brother had both their sons killed.

On my arrival I was first conducted to two of the chief women, who were in deep distress. One was Mowenna's daughter, whose husband had been killed and eaten at Terranakka in an engagement with the people of that settlement, and the other was her late husband's sister.[361] 4 They were under a shed together making loud lamentations and weeping bitterly. One had a mourning cap on, made of red bunting, fringed round the edges with white dog's hair about three inches long which hung over her face and concealed it in a great measure from view. The cap was also bound round with a ribbon made of India print. Her sister-in-law was dressed in a similar manner, only her cap was made of Otaheitan cloth. They appeared objects of the greatest distress, and recalled to my recollection St. Paul's observation, "They sorrowed as men without hope." They made signs to me to sit down by them, which I did. As soon as they were able to speak they told me the melancholy cause of their grief. The daughter of Mowenna said she would die with sorrow. Her husband had two or three children by her, and one fine girl about fourteen years of age who was greatly affected, apparently, with several ulcers in her joints. I had no doubt but this disease had been communicated to her by some Europeans since the vessels had been at New Zealand. Her distressed mother looked upon her daughter, showed me the state she was in, and asked if my God



had not thus afflicted her daughter; for she could not account for her miserable state. On this occasion I felt much pain in beholding the sad effects of sin, and that men born in a Christian country, instead of mitigating, should increase the miseries of the poor innocent heathen. I am fully convinced if the Gospel is introduced into New Zealand, which is the only remedy for the evils that sin hath introduced amongst men into the world, the prevailing vices of the civilized world will find their way at the same time and greatly add to the calamities which the heathens labour under. This is a painful reflection. What an awful scene will be opened when God shall bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and render to every man according to his works! Yet that day will surely come.

The scene before me called forth many reflections. On enquiry after Mowenna I was informed he would be with me in a short time. When he arrived he was much gratified with my visit to him again. His two brothers soon came also, fully dressed. They seemed also much interested in the war commenced against Kiperro, and gave the people who had come with me all the information they could. I met with a young chief, a relative of Shunghee's, who had lately married Mowenna's daughter, and who told me it would not be safe for the people who had come with me to proceed to Kiddee Kiddee as they might fall in with some of the party who were engaged in the war and be cut off. They also informed me that they were afraid to venture to Kiddee Kiddee, but they would go to Wangarooa, where they would be safe if I would go with them and take them with me in the Dromedary when she went round to the Bay of Islands, as by that means they would return on the east side home and escape the enemy. I found myself bound to protect them and therefore relieved their minds by promising them I would accompany them to Wangarooa and take them with me in the Dromedary.

While we were still conversing on this subject, a person on the look-out at the top of the hippah called out that there was a large strange canoe full of people. Mowenna had his shell[362] hung upon his arm, which he immediately sounded, when his people flew to arms in all directions, and those who came with me girded up their loins and prepared for war or flight as circumstances might dictate. All remained in this agitation for some time till the canoe approached near enough to ascertain who were in it and from whence it came. When they landed they were found to be friends who had come two days' journey to mourn with and comfort those who had lost their friends in the late expedition to the southward. The women now put on their mourning dress and



sat down on the place where I was conducted to them on my arrival. Their friends who had come to visit them assembled round and began their lamentations and tears. They all cried aloud the greatest part of the afternoon, and seemed to be equally distressed with the real mourners.

These circumstances brought to mind the death of Lazarus and the mourning of Mary and Martha with the Jews who came from Jerusalem to comfort them concerning their brother. The custom seems to be very similar.

After this bustle was a little over I informed Mowenna I wanted a canoe to take me and the people with me up the river about forty miles. He told me I should have one in the morning. I spent the remaining evening very pleasantly with these kind and affectionate people, and hung my hammock in the hut which he had lent me for our accommodation when I first visited this settlement and when he and his brother remained with me all night.

Thursday, November 23rd. – This morning I prepared very early to take my departure. Mowenna ordered the canoe to be got ready, and he accompanied us up the river to see me safe landed where I wished in order to make my way to Wangarooa. He called at one of his farms to get some potatoes and fresh fish for us, and we

proceeded up the river. When we had got about twenty miles we landed at Moodeey's (Muriwai) settlement to wait for the return of the tide; Moodeey was at home.

As soon as he learned I was in the canoe he fired eight musket shots as a salute and invited us on shore. I landed and was received with much affection by Moodeey. There were several chiefs with him whom I had not seen. He told me he had never gone to war since I advised him against it, nor did he ever intend to go again. They pressed me to send some Europeans to live at Shokee Hangha. Mowenna was afraid he should die before that day came.

When the tide turned I requested to depart. Moodeey urged me to stay till the following day, but I told him I was afraid the ship would leave Wangarooa before I arrived, which would distress me very much. I used many arguments before they would consent for me to leave them. At length we embarked and proceeded up the river, and about twelve o'clock arrived at the place where I wished to land, when I took my final leave of Mowenna after recompensing him for his trouble. He returned with the tide down the river. We were now left in the forests of New Zealand without a guide, as none of us knew the way. When we landed we took up our lodgings for the remaining part of the night on the beach.

Friday, November 24th. – When the day returned we went into the wood to see if we could fall in with the path which leads to Kiddee Kiddee, and soon found it. After walking for some hours in the wood and crossing the river several times, we met with the wife of





Patuonee (Patuone) whom I had formerly seen on the banks of the river. She was much rejoiced to see me. I enquired where her husband was, in order to procure a guide to Wangarooa. She directed us to follow her and she would bring us to him. After walking about an hour we came to a farm where he was collecting fern-root in the midst of his people. He was much rejoiced to see me, and ordered me an hog, which was immediately killed, and a quantity of potatoes. He informed me he had been on the Middle Island across Cook's Strait,[363] that on his way his party were attacked at Terranakkee and some of them killed, amongst whom was Mowenna's son and two more chiefs belonging to him. He said that he had retaliated upon the enemy, killed some and taken many prisoners, amongst whom were a number of children; at length he had made peace with them and returned their children when redeemed by instruments of war made of the green talc, and some mats. He had left ten of his own men there, who had got married, and had brought a number away with him, some of whom were then present. He and the people of Terranakkee were now completely reconciled and united in friendship. He presented me with a mat and wished me to stop all night with him, but I informed him that I had not time. After taking some refreshment I requested he would give me a guide to direct us through the woods, when he sent his son.

About three o'clock in the evening we came within ten miles of Kiddee Kiddee. Mr. Shepherd and I now parted. He proceeded to the missionary settlement and I struck off for Wangarooa. We walked as fast as we were able till dark, when we rested. The natives were now greatly alarmed lest they should meet any of Shunghee's people as we had to cross Shunghee's district. However, we were fortunate enough to see none of them.

Saturday, November 25th. – We began our journey early this morning in hopes of reaching the Dromedary before night. Our road lay in the thick woods nearly the whole way. We had to pass through deep ravines and over very high hills, which made the journey extremely fatiguing. The small river (Kaeo) which falls into Wangarooa Harbour runs through the ravines at the foot of the hills. We crossed it several times that day. About two o'clock we had the happiness to arrive at the village of Wangarooa. Here all my native companions rested; they were completely tired. Only one accompanied me to the Dromedary which we reached in the evening.

I had been absent from the ship five weeks and one day, during which period I travelled by land and water, about six hundred miles by estimation, and in some of the worst roads than can be conceived. This must naturally be expected, as the country in this respect is in its aboriginal state – no swamps drained, no bridges over rivers or creeks, no rubbish cleared from the paths. A New Zealander finds no difficulty





in crossing the deep marshes, swamps, or deep rivers. Through the one he wades, and through the other swims at his ease.

I have the honour to be,
Reverend Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.
REV. J. PRATT,
Secretary to the Church Missionary Society.

[The Dromedary reached the Bay of Islands from Whangaroa on December 1st, and left there on the 5th for Port Jackson, arriving there on the 21st. – (Vide Cruise's Journal.)]





MARSDEN AND THE NEW ZEALAND MISSION, 1820-24

THE ACTIVE AS A WHALER

[The Revd, Samuel Marsden to the Secretary]

PARRAMATTA, February 7th, 1820.

REVD. AND DEAR SIR,

I must now write to you about the Active As the Revd. J. Butler has come out Superintendent of the missionary settlement, I wish now to be relieved from all responsibility relative to the Active from the 1st of August, 1819, the period she returned from New Zealand. I have to request the Society to take the vessel into their own hands from the above period with all the profits and losses. I have had her valued. The report of her survey and valuation I have forwarded to you for the information of the Society. I have judged it best with the advice of Mr. Robert Campbell, a merchant of great integrity and experience, to fit the Active out as a whaler. She can attend to all the concerns of the settlement, and still procure oil for the benefit of the Society towards lessening her expenses. Her outfit for the fishery has been very heavy, but I hope in a few months she will make some suitable return. There is nothing at New Zealand that will pay her expenses. The duty upon the timber and the port expenses of various kinds are so ruinous that she ought not to come into this harbour more than once in a year if it can be avoided.

Whether the Committee will approve of the measures I have adopted or not I cannot say. Mr. Butler is now in New Zealand, and can forward the interest of the vessel. Hitherto this has not been the case; though the settlers were deriving every comfort from the vessel, yet they were totally unconcerned in general about her interest. Perhaps the Society may feel some hesitation in purchasing the vessel from the amount of the expenses. If this should be the case, I must dispose of her when I hear from you.[364]

I think there cannot be a doubt remaining now upon any man's mind respecting the practicability of establishing a Mission at New Zealand, after more than five years' experience. Had any circumstances occurred to prevent the success of the Mission, it was my intention to have sold the Active and not to have called upon the Society for any part of her original purchase money, but as there is now every reason to believe that success will attend the Society's labours in these islands, I am anxious to be relieved from such a great charge.

I had got all the supplies on board of her for the settlement and also a number of the natives who were returning home when the Dromedary arrived, but as the Dromedary is going to the Bay of Islands I have taken out all the supplies, and the





natives also, and put them on board the King's ship; at least the natives will accompany me. The Active will now have nothing to do for nine months but to look after a cargo, which will be immediately sent to England, or the amount of it to you. Should a regular communication be opened between Port Jackson and New Zealand, in time the Society may perhaps do without a vessel.

Much has been done already towards the civilization of the natives in those parts of New Zealand with which we had had any communication, and nothing has tended more to this object than the chiefs and their sons visiting New South Wales. It is very pleasing to see the sons of the rival chiefs living with me and forming such mutual attachments. I have some very fine youths with me now who are acquiring the English language very fast. I brought Mr. Butler's son back again with me to take the charge of these boys and to devote his time to their instruction. By the sons of chiefs living together in civil life, and all paid equal attention to, they will form attachments that will destroy that jealousy which has kept their tribes in continual war.

A very nice young man whom I have long wished to employ in the Mission, truly pious and his heart engaged in the work, is going over with me. His name is James Shepherd, a native of the Colony. His father is a very pious man. I sent him once to visit New Zealand to see the natives, and he has been very desirous of devoting himself to the work of the Mission. He understands gardening, grafting trees, etc. A man of this kind will be of infinite service.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,
Yours very truly,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.
REVD. J. PRATT.

THE ADVANTAGES OF A NEW ZEALAND SETTLEMENT

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to the Secretary]

PARRAMATTA, February 7th, 1820.

REVD. AND DEAR SIR,

I herewith forward you my journal[365] for the information of the Society. I have not had time since my return to examine it or make any corrections. You will make allowances for any errors or want of method, as I wrote my observations where I happened to be at the moment, often surrounded with natives, in the midst of noise and confusion, when I was with them in the different districts. They let me have little rest either night or day, as they would be continually talking upon various subjects. I hope the Christian world will now be convinced from positive facts that the New Zealanders are prepared for the Gospel and ready for any instruction they can get.

I am now preparing to visit the settlers again in His Majesty's ship the Dromedary agreeable to your wishes. The Honourable Commissioner of Enquiry (Commissioner Bigge) wished me to go, as well as the Captain of the Dromedary I have put the Commissioner in full possession of all the affairs of the Mission. He has seen the New Zealanders who are with me and is much pleased with them, twenty-five in number. Some of them will accompany me in the Dromedary.





I hope a good understanding will now be established between the chiefs and the British Government. If the spars are found to answer, New Zealand will be of great national importance, and there can be little doubt of this. The nation may derive all the advantages they may wish for from New Zealand without the expenses of forming a colony, and what Government will do will relieve the Society of part of the expenses and at the same time forward your views. Duaterra (Ruatara) had often informed me of a fine river which ran into the sea on the west side of the island. I had not time to visit it when I was first at New Zealand, but went to see it at the last time. I have sent you a chart of the river, which I have named Gambier.[366] Should there be no more difficulties in entering the harbour than we were able to discover, this river will form a very fine settlement for the Mission. The King's ships will no doubt come here for timber, as the banks of the river are in many parts covered with the lofty pine. But this I am not certain of yet. It is my intention to visit it again with an officer of experience in the Dromedary in order to settle this important point. What spars the Active has brought formerly are much approved of and the gentleman whom Government has sent out to examine the timber gives it as his opinion that none can be better. Should Government succeed in their views. New Zealand will soon become a very great country.

The Society will be aware what difficulties have opposed their labours, and will learn the real state of this Colony from the examination before the Committee of the House of Commons and from the reports of the Commissioner of Enquiry. Should you see a document published in the Sydney Gazette relative to the human heads brought from New Zealand, you will not, I trust, give credit to such a statement. It appeared about six weeks ago. It came from the old quarter. I have the fullest conviction when the Honourable Commissioner returns, the Society will have the satisfaction to know that their labours have not been in vain, and that they may hope for every countenance from the British nation in the great work they are engaged in. Mr. Bigge is a man of great judgment and honour, and will clearly see into the spirit of the times. From the moment I learned that the affairs of the Colony were to come under the consideration of a committee of the House of Commons my mind was relieved. I was comforted with the prospect that some relief would be provided for the public evils of which I had so long complained and the private wrongs I had suffered. I am very thankful to my friends for their kind support. The lies and falsehoods of every kind which were spread would never have obtained a computation without a public enquiry The truth will now rise from under the rubbish under which it has long been buried.

When the Dromedary returns you will have then a full account of what may be looked forward to. I have had no communication with Governor Macquarie excepting by letter since my return. We have never spoken upon any subject. He will struggle hard, but the day of retribution will come. His superiors may aid him, but he cannot justify his measures. It is impossible. I have stood my ground hitherto but with the greatest difficulty, and now I hope to stand. I shall not return at present to Europe as the Commissioner is come out, and my business may be settled without that. I could not have remained had there been no check put upon the enemy

I remain, dear Sir,
Yours affectionately,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.
REVD. J. PRATT.



THE NEW ZEALAND MISSION IN 1820

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to the Secretary}

RANGHEEHOO (RANGIHOUA),
September 22nd, 1820.

REVD. AND DEAR SIR,

I have now been some months at this island and have travelled through many parts of it. Through every district I passed I met with the kindest attention from the natives. I had no European with me during the journey. As it is my intention to transmit to you my observations on the country and natives I visited during three months' absence from the Bay of Islands as soon as I return to Port Jackson, I shall not trouble you with them at the present, but only beg to add that I see no difficulty in any part of New Zealand to prevent the success of the Mission; but there is one great difficulty in another quarter, and that is in finding proper persons to carry the wishes of the Society into effect. Few men have had more practical knowledge of missionaries than I have had, and I can say with great truth that I have met with few who have inclined their hearts to the work who have been at all willing to put up with any self-denial. My soul has often mourned in secret for evils that I could not remedy. Some are stubborn and ungovernable, others are idle, proud, and conceited, others are so full of deception that it requires a long time to find out their characters, others have no relish for the work, no love to the poor heathens, no desire to do them any good. If the heart is not deeply engaged in the work, if the fear of the God of Jacob is not the ruling principle, no outward professions, no solemn vows, no sacred promises will induce a missionary to do his duty. Should Mr. Kendall be in England when you receive this, request him from me to state the whole of his transactions and those of his colleagues in New Zealand to you, keeping nothing back. It will come better from him than from me or any other person. I am willing to give him the utmost credit for all the good he has done, and always have been, but I cannot pass over in silence his improper conduct. This would be highly criminal in me as an agent in such a cause. I had little opportunity previous to his sailing to know the real state of things, but I learned enough to express my disapprobation of his conduct in many instances which I did not fail to tell him.

All the difficulties in New Zealand that I have met with have been in governing the Europeans. They will not do what is right. They will not live in unity and brotherly love. The love of money, the thirst for pre-eminence, the want of industry, and zeal for the good of the heathens, have greatly mitigated against the success of the Mission. I had used every persuasion and every means in my power to put a stop to the abominable traffic in muskets and powder. I had obtained their solemn pledges, signed with their own signatures, that they would put away this accursed thing. I relied upon their promises. Before I left New Zealand I found these promises broken. The promises were renewed, but on my return in February I then found myself deceived again and that no confidence was to be placed in them. I merely hint at these things now as I may have occasion to notice them again at a future time

When I return to Port Jackson I will write more fully. Suffice it to say that there is every encouragement to go on in the Mission. I was on my passage to New South Wales in a small schooner this week – was five days at sea, but compelled to bear up again for the Bay of Islands where I anchored last night after suffering very



severely from seasickness and want of air.[367] I shall not venture again but wait till the Dromedary returns to Port Jackson. When the King's ships arrive, the Coromandel and Dromedary, you will be able from the officers to form a more correct idea of New Zealand. No difference has happened yet between the ships' companies and the natives, and I hope none will. There would have been difficulties in the way of the ships getting their cargo if the Mission had not paved the way for them. I think these ships will lay the foundation of a permanent intercourse between the British Government and these islands Both commanders will recommend a small settlement to be formed, as the spars are found to be of the best quality, equal in length and dimensions to all naval purposes for masts for a first-rate ship of war downwards. I should think they are not to be excelled in any part of the world. If a settlement is formed this will relieve the Society greatly in the expenses.

At the River Thames the chiefs on both the west and east sides requested that they might have some protection afforded them from the British Government. Wherever I have been the chiefs and people are sensible of the advantages of some regular government, and most of them wish to lay aside their war pursuits and turn their attention to agriculture, but allege they are compelled to fight for self protection, as they have no government and nothing but their spear to depend upon. Many of the chiefs are very sensible men and well disposed, and would labour if they could only reap the fruits of their industry, but till there is some regular government, however small, the powerful tribes will murder and oppress the weak. When I return to Port Jackson I intend to impress upon the mind of the Honourable Commissioner the necessity for Government to interfere to prevent the whalers from importing into the Bay of Islands such large quantities of muskets and gunpowder, which proves very destructive to the population, and has a natural tendency to feed their native warlike spirits and keep up the flame of war. All the missionaries are well, and time will cure the evils I have hinted at. Similar ones existed in the Society Islands. The London Missionary Society has had many who have behaved ill. When the Israelites came to the borders of the Promised Land, Moses commanded that twelve princes, one from every tribe, should be sent to examine the good land. When they had performed this duty they returned and made their report to Moses. Ten of the twelve gave a false account of the land of Canaan. There were only two who proved themselves honest men, and these the congregation were ready to stone. If the Society get two good missionaries in every twelve they must be satisfied. The two will succeed if no more can be found. I have written these few lines in haste, as the schooner will sail the first favourable moment, and this may come to hand some months before any others. With my respectful compliments to the Committee,

I have the honour to be,

Dear and Revd. Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.
REVD. J. PRATT.



MARSDEN'S VISIT TO THE HOKIANGA IN MARCH, 1820

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to Mr. Thomas Kendall)

BAY OF ISLANDS, April 26th, 1820.

DEAR SIR,

As a vessel sails this morning for Port Jackson I embrace the opportunity to write you a line. I am still in the Bay of Islands.

A few days after you sailed[368] I walked to the Gambier (Hokianga) on the western side and spent more than a week with the hospitable chiefs on its banks who were overjoyed to see me. I have felt great pleasure in their company. The morning I returned, when I reached the long wood, it began to rain very heavy. I remained in the wood all night though very wet. The next morning I set off for Kiddee Kiddee (Kerikeri). The rain had fallen in torrents all night and still continued. The swamps and creeks were all full and the streams very rapid and deep. I had to wade through them all, as the natives could not attempt to carry me, the waters were too strong. As I cannot swim, I was obliged to have two with me that could, to assist me in deep places. In the evening I reached the settlement, wet and weary. Most of the natives did not get in till the next evening, only two accompanying me. The rest remained in the wood all day. I have since been round by sea to the Gambier in the Dromedary but the captain was afraid there was not sufficient depth of water for so large a ship, being only nineteen feet upon the bar at low water, and therefore returned.

I have visited Whangaroa as well as all the districts around the Bay of Islands and was very kindly received. They all want missionaries. I expect we shall visit the River Thames

I shall now say a little on the state of the Mission. You know in what great confusion I found the Europeans when I arrived. I had no time previous to your sailing to make any enquiry or I should have made a representation by you to the Committee. I found you had all fallen into that accursed traffic with muskets and powder again, notwithstanding all the resolutions that had been passed against it when I was with you in August last. . . . When I considered that the missionaries were furnishing the instruments of death to these poor savages by supplying them with muskets and powder, I could not but feel the greatest indignation at such a thought. No arguments which you or any other can use will ever convince me but that this is a great sin in the sight of God, and sordid to the Christian mind. I regretted that I had supplied Mr. Butler and his colleagues with a pound of powder. I did it for their preservation in case any unforeseen tumult should happen in New Zealand. I shall leave the Mission in future under the Divine protection. They shall not depend upon an arm of flesh.

As soon as I could I called a committee, stated again what I had often stated before, my sentiments upon this nefarious barter, and told the whole that I would have no more to do with their settlement or any of them if they would not put away



this accursed thing, I would give up the cause altogether for the present, as far as I was personally concerned, and have no more connection with them, and this I am fully resolved to do. The argument generally urged has been that neither timber nor pork could be bought from the natives without muskets and powder. This I do not credit, and I hope I shall stay long enough to prove that this opinion is not correct. The Rev. J. Butler and all the settlers have once more promised to have nothing to do with this traffic in future. I have explained to all the neighbouring chiefs that the settlers must not barter with them on any account with muskets and powder, and if they will not supply them with what they want they must return to Port Jackson. None of them will hear of the settlers leaving them. I think it much more to the honour of religion and the good of the New Zealanders to give up the Mission at the present time than to trade with the natives in those articles. . . .

This barter has been the cause of all the evils that have existed amongst you. It destroyed all Christian love, it excited avarice and jealousies, and murmurs and suspicions, and neglect of all your proper duties, and turned you aside from the right way, laid you open to the attacks of your enemies, covered your warmest friends with shame, and caused them to weep in secret. I am sure God will not bless any of you in your own souls while you are guilty of such things, but will in His righteous displeasure bring trouble and anguish upon you. No plea can justify such a crime in the sight of God. I pray that all concerned may be convinced of the evil of this barter. I have no doubt but God will bless these poor heathen and that nothing shall prevent His gracious designs from being accomplished. It is impossible but that offences will come, but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh.

I must now conclude. Your family are all well and all your colleagues. I wish you may return full of a real missionary spirit when you come,

And remain,
Yours sincerely,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.
MR. T. KENDALL.

P.S. (to the Secretary). – I have sent Mr. Kendall's letter open for your inspection and will thank you to hand it to him when you have read it.

OBSERVATIONS BY THE REVD. SAMUEL MARSDEN ON THE AUTHORITY WHICH THE CHIEFS POSSESS IN NEW ZEALAND[369]

There are chiefs who hold large tracts of land in New Zealand as their hereditary right, yet their authority over the persons and property of those who live within their jurisdiction is very circumscribed and confined to their own family, domestics, and slaves, over whom they have the most absolute power. Upon their lands a number of inferior chiefs generally reside by permission, who may be allied in some way or other to the principal chief by family connexions, intermarriages, or friendship. Each of these chiefs carries on his own cultivation, and has his own domestics and slaves over whom the principal chief has no authority whatever. Besides these there

are free persons who are poor, and who possess neither land nor slaves, and whose families have probably been reduced by war or other calamities. Over these also the chief has no authority whatever. They go where they please, and live as they please without interruption from anyone. As the chief is generally a military character, those who live within his jurisdiction look up to him in times of common danger for protection, and range themselves under his banner from motives of personal safety. He also on his part conciliates their esteem, and ensures their obedience more by courtesy and kindness than by command, knowing that he has no authority to command them. Many of the inferior chiefs with their domestics and slaves, as well as the poor freemen, will readily join the principal chief in his wars, in order to indulge their natural disposition for fighting and in hope of sharing the spoils of war. Were the principal chief to call upon any class of free people within his jurisdiction to labour, they would pay little attention to his commands. He has no authority over them in this respect, nor any means to enforce their obedience. The principal chiefs as well as the inferior ones are all extremely jealous of the authority they possess, though individually it is very small.

The most of the chiefs with whom I have conversed upon the moral and political state of their country are convinced they want a government. But there is no one chief possessed of sufficient information, power, and influence to enable him to establish himself as a king over the rest, and the chiefs are too proud and jealous to invest their authority in the hands of any individual of their own country. The chiefs at the River Thames requested that some European soldiers might be sent to them to assist them to protect themselves from the more powerful tribes at the Bay of Islands who have greatly the advantage over them from their fine army.

It is necessity, not choice, that induces them to solicit this assistance, and perhaps this necessity may open the way and lay the foundation for the establishment of a regular government in time. Though the chiefs know they want a government, and are sensible that their country would be greatly benefited from what they have seen, heard, and learned from their intercourse with the Europeans, yet they never can accomplish such an important object without the assistance of some civilized nation. If they lived under the authority of one chief, he might form some regular government, but under their feudal system this can never be done. Though one tribe or whole district would willingly receive foreign assistance to protect them from their more powerful enemies, yet I think it very probable that the body of the chiefs would hesitate before they placed their country under the power and government of a foreign nation. They will never wish to be commanded if they can possibly avoid this. Temmaranga (Te Morenga) is a man of very sound sense and very deep reflection. He laments the state of his country much more than any chief I have ever seen, and is better acquainted with its miseries. He is a chief of great consequence; has been a great warrior, but is now anxious to put a stop to their destructive wars. He has often told me that there is nothing but the high hand of authority that can restrain some of the chiefs from spoil and murder, and has observed if he was king and had the power he would take their heads off immediately if they would not be quiet, and seemed to think that nothing short of that would put a stop to their cruelties. He is very anxious that Captain Downie's[370] recommendation to the British Government to send a man-of-war to New Zealand should be attended to, as he hopes his country will derive many benefits from such a measure, and particularly that a man-of-war will prevent those tribes who are possessed of firearms from ranging the sea-coast and murdering the tribes who are not able to resist them.



I am strongly inclined to think that those chiefs at the River Thames, at Wyekotta (Waikato), and further to the southward, who have no means to procure arms and ammunition, will be driven from mere necessity to place themselves under the protection of some civil government, should they have it in their power to do this. Should such an event ever take place, and security given to persons and property, New Zealand will then be a civilized nation in a short time, and agriculture and the simple arts will flourish. Its climate and other local advantages are so favourable for the productions of all the comforts of civil life that it will rise in importance and its inhabitants will abound with plenty.

SAMUEL MARSDEN.

## HONGI AND THE NEW ZEALAND MISSION

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to "Mr. Shunghee, Kiddee Kiddee" 1823]

PYHEA (PAIHIA), November 11th, 1823.

DEAR SHUNGHEE (HONGI),

I was sorry on my return to Kiddee Kiddee (Kerikeri) to find you were gone to Shukeehanga (Hokianga), as I wished to have seen you before I sailed. However, I have given directions for your house to be built immediately. Some person had told you that I intended to remove the stores to Pyhea (Paihia). This information is not correct. Kiddee Kiddee was the first place I wished the missionaries to settle in when I came to New Zealand with you in the Active. I never liked Rangheehoo (Rangihoua) because the land was very bad. You were amongst the first of my New Zealand friends, and I hope my friendship for you will continue until one or both of us die.

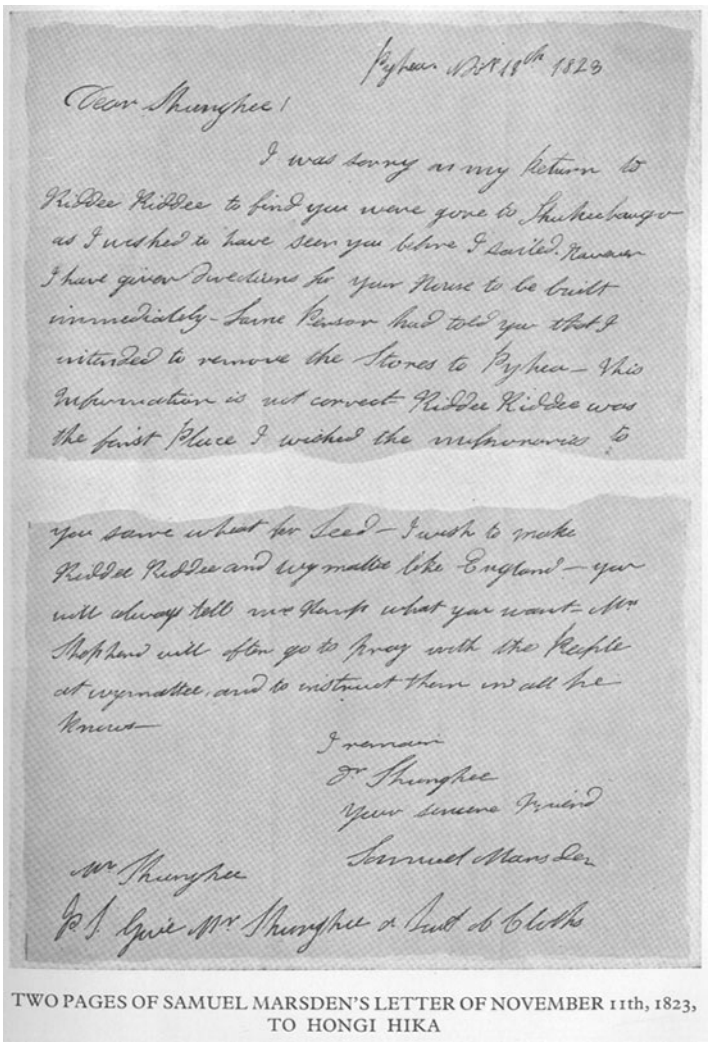
I intend as soon as I can to send you a good man as a farmer and to give you a plough and a team of bullocks to work your land. I never want to forsake Kiddee Kiddee but to do all I can for your good. You will tell Mr. Kemp to write to me for you and to let me know what you want. I will not promise to send you all you may wish for, because it may not be in my power. I intend to send Mr. Clarke from Port Jackson. I took Mr. Butler away because he was often very angry with the New Zealanders. I was angry also because he had not built your house and a school for the children.

You have always been kind to the missionaries, and I am sure you will continue to be so. I wish you would give over fighting as soon as you can and turn your attention to agriculture. Then you will become a very great man and will be able to feed and clothe many people. You shall have wheat for seed and tools to cultivate your land at Wymattee (Waimate) when you begin. If a ship comes next year in proper time I will send you some wheat for seed. I wish to make Kiddee Kiddee and Wymattee like England. You will always tell Mr. Kemp what you want. Mr. Shepherd will often go to pray with the people at Wymattee and to instruct them in all he knows.

I remain,
Dear Shunghee,
Your sincere friend,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.

PS. – Give Mr. Shunghee a suit of clothes.

[Inserted unpaginated illustration]



TWO PAGES OF SAMUEL MARSDEN'S LETTER OF NOVEMBER 11th, 1823, TO HONGI HIKA

TWO PAGES OF SAMUEL MARSDEN'S LETTER OF NOVEMBER 11th, 1823, TO HONGI HIKA





[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to "Mr. Shunghee, Chief, Kiddee Kiddee," 1824][371]

PARRAMATTA, July 26th, 1824.

DEAR SHUNGHEE,

I promised to send a gentleman who would be able to make a farm at Wymattee (Waimate), and now he is coming to see you. I wish him to make a farm for you as soon as he can, and teach your people to grow wheat. When you have learned to plough, or your people, I have desired that you may have a team of bullocks to work your ground. I intend to send a mill to grind your wheat, and all the wheat that is grown in New Zealand, and I hope you will make a good road to Wymattee that the wheat may be brought to Kiddee Kiddee (Kerikeri). You will soon be a very great man if you only cultivate the land. You will then be able to purchase anything you and your people may want. I hope you will be good to Mr. Davis and take care of him and Mrs. Davis and their children. When Mr. Davis has taught your people to plough I wish him to appropriate his time in teaching others. You promised to come to see me, but you have not done so yet. I hope you soon will have an opportunity.

I am,
Your sincere friend,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.
MR. SHUNGHEE,
CHIEF,
KIDDEE KIDDEE.

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256 Cf. The Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1821-22, Appendix XVI, and The Church Missionary Register, 1822, September and October.

257 The Dromedary store ship, formerly the Howe frigate, had sailed from Portsmouth for Port Jackson on September 11th, 1819, with 369 male convicts guarded by some sixty men of the 69th and 84th Regiments under Captain Cruise of the 84th. The majority of the convicts were landed in Van Diemen's Land, the remainder at Port Jackson which was reached on January 28th, 1820. – Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand, by Richard A. Cruise, Captain, the 84th Regiment (London, 1823).

258 The Dromedary was attended by the Prince Regent schooner of about thirty or forty tons, Mr. Kent, commander, "who was directed by the Government of New South Wales to give us any assistance we might require" (Cruise, p. 5). Cruise gives 15th February as the date of sailing. He states that Marsden brought with him nine New Zealanders, chiefs or sons of chiefs, who had been living with him at Parramatta. The highest of these in rank was Hongi's son, Repero, a boy of about fifteen, the most striking in appearance Jetoro (Tetoro, Titore), a man of about forty-five. "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." – Cruise, p. 7.

One seaman, Thomas Cowen, died on the voyage on February 23rd, and was buried at sea, Mr. Marsden conducting the funeral service.

259 The only account given by Marsden of this visit to the Hokianga is in a letter to Kendall written from the Bay of Islands on April 26th, 1820. – Vide infra, p. 333.

260 Marsden forwarded his third New Zealand journal to the Rev. Josiah Pratt, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, by this young officer of whom he had a very high opinion. In a letter dated Sydney, February 8th, 1821, he wrote: – "I have sent my journal to you by the bearer, Ensign Alex. McCrae of the 84th Regiment, who has been serving with a detachment of his regiment on board the Dromedary. Mr. McCrae is a young man who has taken some pains to gain a knowledge of New Zealand and its inhabitants and can give you much information that may be depended upon. You will hear various accounts and probably contradictory ones, but you may rely with confidence upon anything that Mr. McCrae may say because he will speak from his own knowledge without prejudice. I beg particularly to recommend him to your attentions. You will learn if the British Government intends to form a settlement in part of New Zealand, which I think is probable. If this should be the case, and a party of military sent out, Mr. McCrae would be of infinite service in forming the settlement, as he would have very great influence with the natives and would prevent any unpleasant circumstances from taking place, which would be likely to happen if a settlement was formed entirely by strangers. I need add no more than to refer you to the above gentleman."

Edward Markham, who visited the Bay of Islands and Hokianga in 1834, suggests that the real author of the Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand was not Captain R. A. Cruise, who commanded the detachment of the 84th Regiment on board the Dromedary, but his subaltern, McCrae. – MS. Journal of Edward Markham (Hocken Library).

261 The General Gates, an American sealer, commanded by Captain Riggs, was seized by the Dromedary on the afternoon of April 12th and sent to Port Jackson for trial on April 17th with a British crew on board. Riggs had induced eleven convicts to sail with him from Port Jackson. He had treated these men in the most barbarous fashion, and had endeavoured in every way to conceal their presence on his ship from the authorities. – Cruise, pp. 99-104; vide supra, pp. 143-4.

262 In a letter written from Parramatta to Butler on January 12th, 1820, Marsden had informed him of the departure of James Shepherd for New Zealand: – "I have sent over Mr. James Shepherd to live with Temmarangha and his party," he stated. "You will give him all the aid you can in building him a little house, as he is well acquainted with gardening, grafting trees, etc., etc."

The "Instructions to Mr. James Shepherd, on his proceeding from New South Wales to New Zealand," illustrate well Marsden's interest in and knowledge of practical agriculture. "Your practical skill in gardening and agriculture," Shepherd was told, "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 by which two-fifths of the seed, required in the broadcast way, suffices.

"You will direct a steady attention to the plant common in the country termed by botanists 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 the number. One of them is distinguished by the convenient peculiarity of its boon, or useless vegetable matter, being easily separable from the fibres required for mechanical purposes. The others most probably possess distinctive properties which may render them fit objects of attention, as while one variety may be superior for cordage, another may answer better for linen and a third for the use of the papermaker. You should, therefore, have at least an acre of suitable land prepared and plant it in roots of the different varieties. Specimens of fibre, of a silky lustre and softness, are brought from the southward: you should endeavour to ascertain the place of its growth, and obtain one or more roots from which to propagate it.

"The Society being desirous of a quantity of the raw material being sent home, you may encourage the natives to bring it for sale, and draw on the storekeeper for articles to barter for it.

". . . For many reasons the Committee recommend your moving from place to place and visiting the various chiefs. . . . The natives frequently making distant excursions, for war, traffic, or the gratification of a curious and roving disposition, and their memories being tenacious and correct, you have thus the means presented you of extending your acquaintance with the geography, localities, and physical and moral circumstances of the country far beyond the limits of your own travels.

". . . By persevering in your researches, and carefully reducing the information to writing as soon as obtained, you will, in a moderate time, accumulate a mass of materials which, with the contributions of others, may put the Society in complete possession of facts, with the views and opinions of its experienced servants in regard to its objects. Those objects should be constantly in your view and, though your time will not be misspent in obtaining such information as may have no apparent utility beyond the gratification of a liberal curiosity, your principal attention should be directed to the acquisition of facts calculated to throw light on the means of civilizing the people among whom you go to reside, and of introducing among them the Gospel of Salvation." – Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, Vol. IX, pp. 346-8.

263 This occurred at Moremo-nui in 1807. – S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, p. 58.

264 Taraia's expedition to Kaipara took place in 1820 while Hongi was in England. (Hongi, with Mr. Kendall, reached England on August 8th, 1820.)

The taua under Taraia went by way of Mangakahia and the Wairoa River and reached the Aotea Bluff (South Kaipara Head) and the Ngati-Whatua settlements of Kaipara. – Ibid., pp. 63, 64.

265 The kumara (ipomoea Batatas), introduced by the Maoris from Polynesia on their arrival in New Zealand and esteemed as their principal food. The preparation of dried kumara is known as kao.

266 Pukenui, near Pakaraka. – It is the most symmetrical extinct volcano in New Zealand. Tai-a-mai district is about three or four miles further on, near the present Ohaeawae post office and the hot springs.

267 "The carpenter had been some days up the Cowa Cowa with ten sailors assisting the natives in getting down the spars. For each tree was given an axe, which was supposed to be exclusively the property of the chiefs; and, as a further remuneration, the carpenter was in the habit of distributing, every second evening, articles of minor value among the men and women who worked under them. . . . The labour had become very hard, the trees were felled in a swamp which the late rains had flooded, and the men employed in dragging them to the river were often up to their waists in water." – Richard A. Cruise, Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand, pp. 121-143.

268 The inferior white pine, kahikatea (podocarpus dacrydioides). Kauri trees. (agathis australis) were wanted for the spars.

269 On May 30th. – Cruise, p. 143.

270 In Waiau, or Coromandel, Harbour, named after the ship. Cape Colville had been so named by Captain Cook who had served in Newfoundland under Rear-Admiral Lord Colville.

271 Cook anchored here off Tararu on November 19th, 1769. – Wharton, Captain Cook's Journal, p. 158.

272 Kauaeranga.

273 Probably Tapuariki, near Mackaytown.

274 Te Haupa's tribe, the Ngati-Paoa, at that time in alliance with the Nga-Puhi, Korokoro's tribe.

275 The noted Te Horeta of Waiau, Coromandel, who saw Captain Cook when a child. He died at Coromandel on November 21st, 1852. The Karere Maori, of April 20th, 1854, gives a long account of the life of "old hook nose," as the pakehas irreverently called him. "He was a daring and successful leader, and noted for his kindness of heart. He obtained his second and better known name of Te Taniwha from the fact of his having leaped over a cliff into the water. Then, rising under the bows of his enemy's canoe, he got on board and drove everyone away. 'He is a taniwha, not a man,' said his enemies. He took part in many a tribal fight, but was inclined to mercy after the battle, even in the sanguinary wars of old." "His friendship with the pakeha," writes Mr. Percy Smith, "commenced with the arrival of the Coromandel at his home (as related above), and he continued their steadfast friend, often under severe trials, to the day of his death. His son, to whom his mana descended, was Kitahi Te Taniwha, well known in later years as the venerable chief of the Ngati-Whanaunga tribe of Coromandel." – Cf. S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, pp. 65, 67.

276 Kaupa, at the junction of the Thames (Waihou) and the Ohinemuri.

277 Near to the present Paeroa.

278 Kahikatea (podocarpus dacrydioides), white pine.

279 Te Morenga's expedition to Tauranga left the Bay of Islands in January, 1820, and returned in March, 1820.

In February, 1819, Kendall returned to England in the whaler New Zealander; accompanied by the chiefs Hongi and Waikato. He took home material for the preparation of the Grammar and Vocabulary of the New Zealand Language which was edited by Professor Lee of Cambridge and published in 1820. Altogether Kendall and his companions remained only four months in England, their departure being hastened by Hongi's serious illness from lung trouble. Whilst in England Kendall was ordained a deacon. – The Church Missionary Register, 1820, pp. 326-7, 499.

The Rev. Professor Lee, who was known as the Orientalist of the Church Missionary Society, was a man of remarkable linguistic attainments. A native of Shrewsbury, he worked in early life as a carpenter, at the same time studying languages with such enthusiasm and success as to have acquired, by his twenty-fifth year, a good knowledge not only of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but of Arabic, Persian, and Tamil. His case was brought to the notice of the Church Missionary Society, which sent him to the University of Cambridge where he graduated with distinction. Upon graduation he was ordained and soon became Professor of Arabic.

His extraordinary gifts were placed at the disposal of the Society, which constantly availed itself of his services in its translations of the Scripture and in such work as that which in 1820 he undertook on behalf of the New Zealanders when Kendall acted as interpreter for his Maori friends, Hongi and Waikato.

The Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand thus produced in 1820 was an 8vo volume of 230 pages, which contained phrases, dialogues, translations, and some native songs. Five hundred copies were produced, some, intended for the use of the natives, being printed on strong, coarse paper. – Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1824-26, pp. 198-9; T. M. Hocken, On Literature in New Zealand, Transactions of New Zealand Institute, 1907, pp. 474-5.

280 White Island.

281 The Venus; vide supra, pp. 142, 154-5, and 172-3.

282 Fourteen years in point of fact: in 1818.

283 Probably Motiti.

284 An error on Marsden's part. Captain Cook was never very near the coast at Tauranga.

285 Mr. Percy Smith, commenting upon Marsden's account of Te Morenga's raid on Tauranga of January and February, 1820 [which he quotes from d'Urville's Voyage de la Corvette l'Astrolabe (Vol. Ill)] writes: – "Such is Mr. Marsden's account of Te Morenga's raid on Tauranga, and, allowing for his inability to understand all that Te Morenga told him – though it is said the latter could speak English, learnt on his visits to Port Jackson and on whalers – it is probably correct in the main. It rather appears as if Te Morenga's other expedition in 1818, in which he killed Te Tawhio (an uncle or elder relative of Te Waru) had got confused with this account, where Te Morenga refers to Te Waru's father having been killed." – Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, pp. 37-8 and 70-73.

286 Hoeroa. – This weapon was long, sharp-edged, thin, and curved, making it a formidable weapon and difficult to guard. It was thrown after the manner of a dart at a flying enemy, and drawn back immediately after the impact by means of a strong flax cord attached at one end. – Vide p. 400.

287 The peace made by Te Morenga upon this occasion was maintained until 1831. In the interval they attacked the Thames, Waikato, and Rotorua districts, but did not again visit Tauranga until their attack of 1831 upon Maungatapu. – Cf. John Alexander Wilson, The Story of Te Waharoa, Auckland, 1866.

288 In reality Marsden sailed through the Waiheke Channel which leads by way of Tamaki Strait to the Waitemata Harbour on which Auckland lies.

289 Mokoia, now Panmure.

290 Apihai Te Kawau, the principal chief of Ngati-Whatua at the time of the foundation of Auckland in 1841. Mr. S. Percy Smith describes him as a "fine old chief who, even in my time, was the most strictly tapued man I ever came across" (Northern Wars, p. 100). Te Kawau died at Ongarahu, Kaipara, in the 'sixties,' full of honour, respected by Maori and Pakeha alike, and at an advanced age, probably over eighty."

291 Ruarangi-haereere, where the Taou hapu of Ngati-Whatua were then living. In the vicinity of Woodhill.

292 The Rev. Hauraki Paora of Reweti, near Ruarangi-haereere, where Marsden stayed upon this occasion, gave Mr. Percy Smith the following information with regard to his visit: – "Mr. Marsden stayed some time with Te Taou tribe here, and the hill is still known on which he sat and is called to this day Te Tou-o-te-Matenga, 'The sitting place of Marsden,' because when he sat down a hollow was left in the loose sand. I was told about this by Te Otene Kikokiko, in 1873, who was there when Marsden came. He also described the wonder with which they all beheld a white man for the first time. When Marsden stood up to pray they all said E mea ma! Ka tu ki runga! 'O friends, he stands up!' When he commenced singing a hymn they exclaimed to one another, E mea ma! Ka hamama to waha! 'O friends, he opens his mouth!' And when he knelt to pray they called out E mea ma! Ka tuturi nga turi, a ka komekome nga ngutu! 'O friends, he kneels on his knees! his lips move!' We were all entire strangers to pakehas at that time. The things that Mr. Marsden brought with him were pipes, Jew's harps, and a she goat. The Maoris were delighted at the Jew's harp, for their own roria were made of supplejack bark." – Cf. S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, pp. 60-1.

293 Ponui, Chamberlain's Island.

294 Rongo-mauri-kura, a chief of the Ngati-Paoa.

295 The Ngati-Maru.

296 The ariki or chief.

297 These engagements between Ngati-Paoa and Ngati-Maru are fully described in J. White's Ancient History of the Maori, Vol. V, Chapter 7.

298 The ariki or chief was in all probability Kitahi-te-taniwha, at that time principal chief of Coromandel.

299 Mere pounamu. – See plate facing p. 304.

300 The Rangitoto and Waiheke Channels.

301 The Tamaki.

302 Muriakau. – This name is not recognised by the Ngati-Whatua people. The only name like it is Muri-awhea, but he is not known to have been a tohunga or priest. – S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, p. 61. The chief Te Otene-kikokiko and his people accompanied Marsden to the Wairoa.

303 Maungarei (Mount Wellington). – It is one and a half miles from Mokoia (Panmure) and is the chief of a group of seven craters, three of which are concentric on the summit of the hill. "The dark brown loam of which Marsden writes lies between Mount Wellington and Panmure.

304 Pitoitoi (Riverhead). – Now a settlement at the head of the Waitemata, close to Helensville and Silverdale.

305 Near Wharepapa.

306 Berries of the karaka tree (Corynocarpus laevigata). The outside fleshy part is edible, but the seed is poisonous unless steamed or steeped in salt water. It formed a frequent food of the natives.

307 Taro (colocaria antiquorum). – One of the araces brought from some part of Polynesia. It is still to be found in deserted plantations.

308 Murupaenga, the great chief of Ngati-Whatua at this time.

309 This engagement took place at Moremo-nui in 1807.

310 Mr. Graham notes that the name of this spirit (a female) invoked in Kaipara was Rakataura – a daughter of Tane. She took the form of a cicada grub (kikikihi).

311 Marsden here touches upon an interesting subject concerning which many later writers speak with uncertainty and suspended judgment. The opportunity of gaining information on many points connected with the religious mysteries of the Maoris were, unfortunately, almost entirely neglected by the early missionaries. Concerning the consultation of the gods by the tohungas, Dr. Edward Shortland (brother of Lieutenant Willoughby Shortland) wrote as follows in his Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders, p. 84 (London, 1854): – "Atua sometimes communicate their will to men in dreams; sometimes more directly, by conversing with them while awake. Their voice, however, is not like that of mortals; but a mysterious kind of sound, half whistle, half whisper. This I have myself heard, having been once honoured by a conference with the spirits of two chiefs who had been several years dead. And I have been assured that such is always the peculiar voice of atua when they talk with men."

Some European observers have sought to explain such matters by attributing to the tohunga an acquaintance with ventriloquism. Others frankly refused to pronounce judgment. – Cf. F. E. Maning, Old New Zealand, Chapter X, passim, and Elsdon Best, The Maori As He Was, Chapter IV, passim.

312 Probably Piopio, a Ngati-Whatua stronghold.

313 The name Kaipara was at an early date accepted as that of a locality near Helensville. The river called the Kiperro (Kaipara) by Marsden is known throughout its northern branch by the general name of Wairoa. Its southern branch is the Aoroa.

314 Te Reinga, at the Land's End, whither some believed all departed spirits went previous to descending the precipitous path leading down to the sea and to the final darkness of Po or Hades. Others believed that the entrance to the spirit world lay in the distant west, under the setting sun, and that the released spirits made their way thither along the Ara Whanui a Tane (the Broad Path of Tane) which is "the golden path of the setting sun," thus reaching the ancient western homeland of the race, the land of Irihia. Maori religious belief held no teaching with regard to the punishment of the spirit in the after life. – Cf. Elsdon Best, The Maori As He Was, Chapter IV.

315 At Aotea Bluff.

316 At Okara Bay, north of Poutu Head.

317 Te Toko of the Uri-o-hau tribe of Ngati-Whatua.

318 Tangiteroria, where afterwards the Wesleyan mission station of the Rev. James Buller was situated.

319 The route Marsden followed from the Wairoa to Whangarei, Mr Wm. Fraser of Whangarei states, would be by the old Maori track leading from Tangiteroria by way of Maungakaramea, and reaching the canoe landing at the head of the Mangapai River.

320 Mr. W. Fraser, Harbourmaster, Whangarei, states that the kauri spars seen by Marsden at Whangarei must have been growing at Mangapai, where a fair quantity of kauri was cut in the early days. There does not seem to have been any kauri on what is now called the Whangarei branch of the harbour. Mr. Fraser also points out that the whole of the land comprising the north side of the bay fronting Waipu and Ruakaka was known by the early missionaries and sailors as Bream Head. Marsden's statement therefore that Whangarei Harbour is situated northward of Bream Head is based on this interpretation of the term.

In Marsden's day Ahipupu was the name of the village landing at what is now Whangarei. The native settlement, or village, of Whangarei was situated at Whangarei Heads about three miles inside the Harbour from the entrance, and evidently the earliest geographers named the Harbour and the District after this village.

321 The cove thus mentioned near Picanakka at the entrance to the Pataua River is the bay extending from Pataua to Ngunguru. The rock described to Marsden by the chief as the only one in the cove, is, Mr. W. M. Fraser states, known by the name of Tokahuna (hiding rock).

322 Marsden's eldest daughter, Anne, born on March 2nd, 1794, on board the Charles, then off the Tasmanian coast, while her parents were making their first voyage to New South Wales. Charles was Marsden's fifth child and only surviving son. In 1819 his father sent him home to be educated, hoping that he would enter either the church or the medical profession and ultimately "employ his time and talents amongst the natives of New Zealand." Choosing the study of medicine, the boy was placed in the care of Marsden's friend, Dr. John Mason Good, but proved an unsuccessful student and returned to New South Wales in 1823, just before his father sailed for the fourth time to New Zealand. Marsden naturally found the failure as a student of his "thoughtless son" a great trial. "This is almost too painful a subject to me to dwell upon," he wrote to the Rev. Josiah Pratt on July 12th, 1823. "The Lord suffers His people to be tried and I have my share, but I cannot say with St. Paul that 'I glory in tribulations also.'"

Marsden had evidently expected too much of a young man whose preliminary education had, of necessity, suffered from the lack of educational facilities in New South Wales. Charles Marsden subsequently married a daughter of Captain Brabyn of New South Wales and had four children. The fact that his elder son was named Mason Good shows that he must have had kindly memories of his English friend and mentor, Dr. Good.

323 At this point there occurs an interval of about a month in the journal.

324 Wairua, the chief branch of the Wairoa.

325 Bream Tail.
It is evident, as Mr. W. Fraser points out, that the journey from Whangarei to the mouth of the Thames was made from Whangarei Harbour to Mangawhai by way of Bream Tail – not Bream Head.

326 Bream Tail.

327 Bream Tail

328 In reality the Hauraki Gulf.

329 Probably Kawau, Sir George Grey's island home, stated by Rev. John Butler, who accompanied Marsden, to have been uninhabited at this time. – Cf. Butler's MS. Journal (Hocken Library) and R. J. Barton, Earliest New Zealand.

330 Rangitoto and Waiheke Channels.

331 The passage, apparently, between Rangitoto and Motutapu Island. Butler, in his journal, gives a dramatic account of the incident. "We went to the upper, instead of the lower, side of an island," he writes. "As we drew near I went forward to look out, and I observed the land on one side very low, the entrance narrow, and the water discoloured. I said to Mr. Marsden, 'Sir, you have mistaken the passage; there appears to be no water.' He replied, 'There is water for the Coromandel.' At this time we were going before the wind at the rate of nine knots. As we drew very near the mistake was clearly seen, but it was too late to go about, we rushed through a tremendous surf, and, through mercy, we had just water enough to carry us into shelter. You may easily imagine our feelings at this moment.

"We then went on shore, and the natives of the place hauled our boat over the sandbank into the deep water. On finding ourselves sheltered and secure, we felt exceeding thankful." – MS. Journal of Rev. John Butler, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

332 "We arrived about four in the afternoon," writes Butler. "The natives came running to the beach in great numbers. We were saluted by the firing of a musket and were received with every mark of respect and gratitude. They even ran into the water with eagerness to shake hands with us, so that, for a few minutes, it was impossible to land for the press."

333 "Enackee is a man of mild countenance and gentlemanly in his manners," writes Butler.

334 "I expressed a desire to go on the top of an adjacent mountain," writes Butler. "Enackee accompanied me with all readiness, leaving Mr. Marsden and Puckey with his friends. . . . The prospect from the summit is grand and nobly pleasing. I observed twenty villages in the valley below, and, with a single glance, beheld the largest portion of cultivated land I had ever met with in one place in New Zealand. . . It is by far the best place for a missionary settlement that I have ever seen in New Zealand. The natives are very numerous. Enackee informed me that there were as many as seven thousand men, women, and children, but, judging it impossible for him to tell accurately, I put down four thousand which, I think, from observation, is near the mark."

335 Tamaki Strait and Waiheke Channel.

336 Motukoreho, Brown's Island.

337 Waiheke.

338 Really Waiheke Channel.

339 Maungarei, Mount Wellington.

340 The Manukau. Marsden was thus the discoverer of this harbour. Dumont d'Urville, seven years later, was credited with the discovery.

341 The site of Epsom, an Auckland suburb.

342 Marsden thus covered the ground from Panmure (Mokoia) to Onehunga.

343 "He appears to be a man of bold disposition and a good countenance," wrote Butler.

344 At Te Whau.

345 "No Europeans had ever been here before," noted Butler, "and everyone, young and old, was eager, if possible, to touch the hem of our garments. The natives are numerous, the land good, the timber fine, and the little naked children ran about like rabbits in a warren. This would be a good place for a missionary settlement, but not equal to Mogoi."

346 Close to the present Ponsonby.

347 Wai-o-raka, Mount Albert.

348 The Kumeu at Muriwai.

349 "When I pulled off my hairy cap I travelled in, they shouted aloud; I apprehended they conceived my hat formed part of my head." (Butler.)

350 His name, Homihamu, is given by Butler.

351 Rangatira Beach.

352 Butler says more with regard to the difficulties of this day. "We walked on the sea beach upwards of twenty miles," he writes. "This was a very fatiguing march on the sands; and also, we suffered a good deal from thirst as the day was hot and windy and no water to be had for sixteen miles. . . . We arrived at the place where we had to turn off inland about four o'clock and, walking a little way, we halted in a valley between the sandhills where we found water and a few heath shrubs, with which we made a little shelter for the night. I rested during the night, but very little; I

believe through weariness. Mr. Puckey was attacked with rheumatic pains, insomuch that in the morning he was obliged to be carried by natives; however, we had but a short distance to go, say about eight miles, which we accomplished before breakfast."

353 "Teenana is an aged man, but of an amazing size and full of flesh; his head is extraordinarily large, and his beard very thick and long, which gives him a lion-like appearance. Mr. Marsden said he would give twenty guineas for his likeness if it was possible to obtain it. One would suppose he had sprung from a race of giants." (Butler.)

354 The defeat of Nga-Puhi by Ngati-Whatua took place in 1807 at Moremonui creek, near Maunganui Bluff. Of the 500 warriors who composed the Nga-Puhi taua the loss has been variously estimated at from 150 to 300. Hongi Hika escaped the slaughter only by his swiftness of foot. This defeat, it is said, was the chief reason for his visit to England in 1820, since he desired to obtain firearms with which to avenge his tribesmen. Nga-Puhi in the end almost annihilated Ngati-Whatua in 1825 at Te Ika-a-ranganui. – S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, pp. 12-21 and 158-166.

355 Mr. Puckey's observations were remarkably accurate. The first surveys of the Pandora and the Acheron give the North Entrance Head 35 deg. 24' 20".

356 "Mr. Marsden and Mr. Shepherd proposed to return by land to Kidee Kidee, and Mr. Puckey and myself to Mogoia for the boat and go by sea. This distance by way of Mogoia from the village to Kidee Kidee is three hundred miles, while the way by which Mr. Marsden returned is only one hundred and eighty; this happens on account of the circuitous route of journey." (Butler.)

357 Sunday fell on November 19th. Marsden apparently found it expedient to anticipate the day of rest.

358 At Waikara.

359 About 8th or 10th March, 1820.

360 Marsden must have misunderstood his informant: the expedition did not cross to the South Island, an attempt to do so ending in disaster. – Cf. S. Percy Smith, History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast, p. 305.

361 An important statement, since it gives the only existing exact record of the date of the return from the south of the great expedition of the people of Hokianga and the Roroa hapu of Ngati-Whatua living along the coast south of Hokianga. The war party, led by Tuwhare and Patuone, left Hokianga about November, 1819. Uniting at Kawhia with the warriors of Ngati-toa under Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata the warriors descended upon Taranaki, Wanganui, Port Nicholson, and Wairarapa, returning by the same route and reaching Hokianga about October, 1820. Tuwhare, the Roroa leader, was killed by the Wanganui people in the course of the expedition. Te Rauparaha, the Ngati-Toa chief, observing while in the south that flax-trading vessels were beginning to frequent Kapiti Island and the mainland in its vicinity and that it was possible to obtain muskets from them, decided to migrate southward with his people, and, in the summer of 1821, began his career of conquest. – Polynesian Journal, Vol. VIII, p. 216; S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, pp. 40-54, 62-3; Lindsay Buick, Te Rauparaha.

362 The Maori made use of two rude forms of trumpet, one (pu tatara) made by attaching a mouthpiece to a Triton shell, found occasionally in the northern parts of the North Island; the other (pu kaea) a long wooden trumpet made in two pieces, neatly bound with the pliable stems of a climbing plant. These trumpets gave an untuneful hooting sound. They were used for signalling. – Elsdon Best, The Maori At He Was, p. 149.

363 If this information is correct, we have no other record of the crossing.

364 Marsden was ultimately compelled to sell the Active for some £400. On June 30th, 1825, he wrote to the Rev. J. Pratt: "I have sold the Active for two thousand dollars to be paid on or before the 31st of December, 1825. I had advertised her at different times before but could not get her value from the great changes that were made after the arrival of Sir Thomas Brisbane."

365 The second New Zealand journal.

366 The Hokianga. – Vide p. 361.

367 Vide supra, pp. 307-8.

368 Kendall, with Hongi Hika and Waikato, left the Bay of Islands for London in the New Zealander on March 2nd, 1820, arriving in the Thames, after a lingering passage round Cape Horn on August 8th. Kendall left his station without permission, leaving his wife and eight children to be cared for by his colleagues. – The Church Missionary Register, 1820, pp. 326-7; Marsden Correspondence, Marsden to the Secretary, April 24th, 1820.

369 Undated, but evidently written after 1820.

370 Of H.M.S. Coromandel.

371 This and the previous letter are in the possession of Mrs. William Temple Williams, Te Aute, Hawke's Bay, the fourth daughter of a well-known early New Zealand Missionary, William Gilbert Puckey (vide infra, p. 523) and the widow of the eldest son of Archdeacon Samuel Williams and grandson of Archdeacon Henry Williams. William Gilbert Puckey married Matilda Davis, daughter of the Rev. Richard Davis, at Paihia, on October 11th, 1831, this being the first marriage of Europeans in New Zealand.

# CHAPTER V. MARSDEN'S FOURTH NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL





MARSDEN'S FOURTH NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL

Marsden sailed from Sydney in the Brampton on July 22nd, 1823, and reached the Bay of Islands on August 3rd. On September 7th the Brampton sailed from Rangihoua, but struck that day on a sunken reef and was wrecked. No lives were lost, all in the vessel escaping to the island of Moturoa. On November 14th Marsden again left the Bay of Islands in the Dragon, which, after a stormy voyage, reached Port Jackson on the 30th.

THIS day, Tuesday, July 22nd, 1823, I embarked on board the Brampton for New Zealand with a view of visiting the missionary stations in that island belonging to the Church Missionary Society. The Brampton (Captain Moore) is a very fine ship upwards of 150 tons burden. The following persons embarked with me in the service of the Society: – the Rev. Henry Williams with Mrs. Williams,[372] three children, and one man and maid servant, Mr. Fairburn, his wife and two children, and my own man servant. There were also the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Turner, Wesleyan missionaries,[373] and a Mr. Hobbs, who are going to join their brethren in New Zealand. The day is very fine, but little wind.

I feel very anxious to see New Zealand once again, to observe the progress that has been made in the improvement of the poor heathen. It is now more than two years since I left the island. Much good and much evil since that period have appeared amongst them, and many obstructions to the work of the mission. I am still confident that this land of darkness and superstition will be visited by the Day Star from on High. "The Glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." O Lord let Thy Kingdom come, and then Thy Will shall be done on earth as it is in Heaven!

Wednesday, July 23rd. – Last night we were obliged for want of wind to come to anchor near the Heads, and this morning at daylight we weighed anchor and cleared the Heads of the harbour about eight o'clock with a fair breeze; this morning was very fine. I feel happy





that I am leaving the colony, for a little time, in which I have suffered much annoyance and vexation from unreasonable and wicked men. Perhaps if I had not met these vexations I should have felt less inclination to have left my comfortable home and family. In the midst of all I feel I am in the path of duty, and therefore can leave with quietness and confidence my family and all my concerns in His hands Who keepeth Israel and never slumbereth nor sleepeth.

In reflecting upon the state of New Zealand, there are many things in the mission that give me both pleasure and pain. I am happy that the Church Missionary Society has not relinquished the cause, but has sent out more strength to carry on the work. Many have been the discouragements from the improper conduct of some of the Society's servants,[374] but I am confident that "the sword of the spirit which is the word of God" shall subdue the hearts of these poor heathen to the obedience of faith. Moses by Divine command selected twelve princes, rulers in their respective tribes, to spy out the land of Canaan. They went through the land, but, when they returned, they brought up an evil report of the land which they had searched and told Moses that they were not able to go up and take the land. Ten of the twelve princes joined in this report, but Caleb and Joshua said, "We are able to go up at once and possess it." As long as a Caleb and a Joshua remain in





New Zealand, the land will be taken; though it cannot be said to be the promised land, a land flowing with milk and honey, yet it is the land of promise. I have no doubt but I shall find some on my arrival faithful to the cause, though others, who once ran well, have turned aside from the path of duty and brought an evil report upon the mission. How mysterious are the ways of God! He permits men to engage in His work; they labour for a time with honour to themselves and to the cause in which they are employed, and at length they are taken in the snare of the Devil, fall from their steadfastness, bring guilt upon their own consciences, pierce themselves through with the bitterest sorrows, and go mourning all their future days. What warnings ought these be to all the followers of Christ!

Friday, August ist. – This evening we made the Three Kings, off the North Cape of New Zealand, and ran between the islands and the mainland. The sea ran mountains high and the gale was very heavy. We had met with nothing material during our passage excepting rough, stormy weather part of the way.

Saturday, August 2nd. – This morning we found ourselves to the southward of the Cape, and before twelve o'clock saw the North Head of the Bay of Islands, but the wind was unfavourable. In the evening we arrived opposite the mouth of the harbour, but could not work in as the wind was directly against us. We observed the brig Queen Charlotte a few miles to leeward of the Brampton, working up. Both vessels lay on and off during the night.

Sunday, August 3rd. – At daylight this morning the Queen Charlotte was about three miles to windward, working up into the harbour with a contrary wind. The Brampton being light, she did not hold her wind. In working up we had stood in on one tack pretty far over to the south side of the harbour. When the ship was put about she struck upon a rock, but received no injury. In the evening, at dusk, we came to anchor in Kororareka Bay, about nine miles from the missionary settlement Rangheehoo (Rangihoua). None went on shore this evening. It being the Sabbath I administered the Sacrament in my cabin in the morning and in the evening we had Divine service between decks. We had preached to the ship's company every evening, from our leaving Port Jackson, when the weather would permit, and had found it profitable to ourselves and it may, through the Divine blessing, prove profitable to them that heard us.

Monday, August 4th. – This morning I went on shore at Rangheehoo and saw Messrs. Hall, King, and Cowell.[375] They and their families were all well. I learned that the Revs. Leigh and White were settled at Wangarooa and that Mr. Shepherd was with them. It was Mr. Leigh's original intention to have settled to the southward of the Bay of Islands, either at Wangaree (Whangarei) or in some other station nearer the River Thames. He had been to the southward, but found that the inhabitants were either killed or driven from their homes by





the wars that have taken place along the coast since I was there three years ago.[376]





Mr. Leigh and his colleagues had steered their course to the northward about fifty miles from the Bay of Islands. There is a very considerable population in the harbour of Wangarooa, where the Boyd was cut off about sixteen years ago. It was my intention to have fixed the Rev. H. Williams in that station when we left Port

Jackson, and I purposed that Mr. Shepherd should accompany him as he had acquired considerable knowledge of the language, and I had written to Mr. Shepherd on the subject. I was informed that the Rev. S. Leigh was very ill, and that it would be necessary to recall Mr. and Mrs. Shepherd again to the Bay of Islands, as the tribe to whom he had originally been sent required his return. The station the Rev. S. Leigh had fixed upon is a very important one, and I hope the mission will succeed in that very spot where so many of our countrymen were sacrificed and eaten by the natives.

The Rev. Mr. Turner and Mr. Hobbs set off as soon as they could to Wangarooa by land, taking with them a native guide, in order to see their colleagues and to consult measures for the removal of themselves and baggage to their intended station. It appeared to me very providential that the Rev. S. Leigh had fixed upon this place for their missionary labours, as they might keep up a communication with the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society by land, and be of mutual advantage to each other.

I now determined to settle the Rev. H. Williams on the south side of the Bay of Islands, about sixteen miles from Kiddee Kiddee, twelve miles from Rangheehoo and twelve from Rangheehoo or Pyheea (Paihia).[377] After spending the day with Mr. Hall I returned on board the Brampton in the evening.

Tuesday, August 5th. – The Rev. Mr. Williams and myself went to Wytanghee (Waitangi) to see if we could fix upon a situation for a new settlement. The land is very good and the situation beautiful. We had some conversation with the inhabitants on the subject, and told them what our intentions were; but could come to no arrangements with them as the principal chiefs were absent at the wars. We crossed the Wytanghee River and examined the ground upon the opposite side, which appeared very good also. There is a large population at both of these places, and a number of very fine children, who continually surrounded us. The head chief of this place was also gone to the wars, so that we could not come to any final determination this day, and therefore returned on board in the evening.

Wednesday, August 6th. – I, this day, called a full committee of all the missionaries at Kiddee Kiddee, with the exception of the Rev. H. Williams, when the resolutions of the parent Committee, transmitted to me from London, were read and considered until a very late hour in the evening. The evils censured in these resolutions could not be denied – the concerns of the mission had been for a long time in a very deranged state through the improper conduct of the mission. Great immoralities had been committed, and all unity and Christian love



appeared to have been entirely extinguished, and pride and envy and a worldly spirit had gained the dominion over them as a body. I was astonished that the mission had not been entirely annihilated by the animosities that existed and the scandalous sins into which some of them had fallen. The natives had generally behaved well, and would not interfere in their differences. The missionaries had met with comparatively few difficulties from the natives, and if they had acted as Christian men their difficulties would have been less. The missionaries admitted also that there could be no doubt but that the mission would finally succeed if things were conducted properly amongst themselves: that the evils originated in their body. They expressed their regret for their past misconduct, and a determination to act in a different manner in future. Some, I have no doubt, will be more correct and will labour to retrace their steps, but I have not the same confidence in all. Many men express sorrow for their sins, but their sorrow is not of that nature to cure them. Temptations to evil recur again and they fall. I wish this may not be the case with some in the mission. In reading the resolutions of the parent committee, I endeavoured to impress on their minds the importance of the different subjects they contained, and to warn them against the consequences of their departing from their public duty in future. At a very late hour we closed our deliberations for that time, and deferred the further consideration of the resolutions to another opportunity.

Thursday, August 7th. – This morning I left Kiddee Kiddee in company with the Rev. Henry Williams, and proceeded to Pyheea in order to fix upon a new station for him about sixteen miles from the above settlement. We examined the ground and determined upon Mr. Williams taking up his residence here. The land is situated on the banks of the Cowa Cowa (Kawakawa) River. The head chief was gone to war. He had lived with me at Parramatta, and I knew him to be a very worthy man who would make no objection to Mr. Williams living there when he returned. It was therefore resolved to begin immediately to prepare a place for lodging the stores, and a temporary building for Mrs. Williams and family. The natives belonging to the village were directed to collect the materials for a thatched building and to erect it with all possible dispatch, as the master of the Brampton was urgent to land the stores from the vessel. The day was very stormy and wet, and we were not able to return to the Brampton, which lay about eight miles off. With some difficulty we reached the Queen Charlotte after dark, very cold and wet, where we remained all night. We had the misfortune to have our boat swamped alongside the brig, and lost our oars.

Friday, August 8th. – This morning I visited the Rev. T. Kendall and had some conversation with him relative to his unhappy situation. I thought it proper to prepare his mind a little before I delivered to him the Society's letter and the resolution containing the order for his dismissal. He was considerably agitated at our first meeting. I felt much both for him and his family. He appears to have been wholly under the dominion of ungovernable lusts, pride, and passion, with all their attendant evils. I am convinced that he never will recover himself out of the snare of the devil while he remains in New Zealand, but will



be lost to himself, his family, and society, and that there is so safety or comfort for him or his family but in his removal from the island. At present he seems determined not to leave New Zealand. He told me he had the means of living within himself and he was resolved to remain. I did not think it prudent to argue much with him on the subject at this time, as I should have other opportunities to speak to him when he would be more cool; I therefore left him and returned on board the Brampton with Mr. Williams.

On my arrival I found that the Rev. Mr. Turner had returned from Wangarooa. He brought me a letter written by the desire of the Rev. S. Leigh, who was so unwell that he could not write himself. Mr. Leigh requested me to go over and see him, and arrange with the chief (commonly called George) for the land they wished to settle upon, as they could not come to any terms with him. From the account Mr. Turner gave me of Mr. Leigh's state of health, I was satisfied that he was totally unfit for his situation at Wangarooa, that he could not bear the privations and anxiety inseparably connected with a missionary's situation in a new station in a heathen land. I determined, if possible, to visit him before my return to Port Jackson, and see if anything could be done to administer to his comfort and relief. Mr. Turner pressed me much on this subject, as he thought Mr. Leigh was so ill that he was not likely ever to recover.

Saturday, August 9th. – I remained on board all the day to arrange the necessary measures for landing the stores, etc. Mrs. H. Williams and her children went to Kiddee Kiddee, and Mrs. Turner, her little girl, and maid servant were taken to Rangheehoo until some opportunity offered for Mrs. Turner and family joining their mission at Wangarooa.

This day (Sunday, August 10th) I preached at Rangheehoo and administered the holy sacrament in the morning. The Rev. Mr. Williams preached in the evening. We had a quiet and comfortable day. The natives were catechized by Mr. William Hall, and sang some hymns and repeated some prayers in their own language, which was exceeding gratifying to my mind. I observed with much pleasure that the natives in every place were much improved in their appearance and manners

since I last visited them, and that, notwithstanding the misconduct of the Europeans, the work was gradually going on and the way preparing for the blessings of the Gospel to be imparted unto them. I have no doubt but the greatest difficulties are now over, and God will either incline the hearts of those who are now in New Zealand to devote themselves to the instruction of the natives, or He will find other instruments to do His work. The present missionaries, though some of them have erred greatly from the right way, yet they all have had their trials, their fears, and their troubles. Some allowance must be made for their peculiar situation, their want of Christian society and the public ordinances of religion, such privileges as are enjoyed by the Church of God in England. I have a lofty tree upon one of my estates in New South Wales. It stands upon the summit of a hill. When I first got possession of the land, this tree was surrounded with many more. It appeared from its strength and stateliness that it would stand uninjured for ages. I removed all the rest and left it to stand alone as a conspicuous ornament, when it soon withered and died. It still remains in its former situation,



a dead, leafless object, and has furnished me with many reflections at different times. Remove a Christian from London who is bearing the fair fruits of righteousness, like a tree planted by the water side, into the barren deserts of New Zealand, and I apprehend he would in a short time put on a faded appearance and his leaves droop and wither. If missionaries in heathen lands lose their spiritual strength, which they are very liable to do, it would be happy for them if they could be removed for a time into Christian society, till their strength is recruited and they are prepared for their work again.

Monday, August nth. – This morning I left Rangheehoo and went on board the Brampton, where most of the missionaries assembled in order to send off all the stores we could to Kiddee Kiddee, before the ship left her present anchorage. It was the master's intention to take the ship this day to the south side of the harbour, about nine miles from where we lay. After the goods were sent off, I accompanied the Revs. J. Butler and H. Williams to the head of Tarria's (Tareha) River, about six miles from the vessel, in order to fix upon another new station. After we had met the chief and his people and determined upon the ground where the settlement was to be formed, we gave directions to the natives to erect a temporary building for Mr. J. Butler and his wife, saying that they would immediately come and live amongst them as soon as it was ready. We afterwards returned to Rangheehoo, about twelve miles distant, where we arrived about sunset.

In the evening I called a special committee, when all the missionaries were present excepting Mr. William Hall who was absent on some other duty. We did not close our proceedings until about midnight. At this committee the resolutions of the Society were brought under consideration a second time, the respective salaries and some other concerns connected with the mission were arranged, when the committee was adjourned to another day.

Tuesday, August 12th. – This morning we procured what boards and other sawed timber we could from Mr. William Hall for the purpose of erecting a temporary building for the reception of the Rev. Henry Williams and his baggage and stores at Pyheea, in order that all his goods might be landed as soon as possible from the Brampton. We hired a large war canoe to take the boards, etc., to Mr. Williams's station, about nine miles distant on the south side of the harbour. We then proceeded on board the Brampton, accompanied by the Rev. J. Butler, Messrs. Kemp and King, in order that they might render what assistance they could to the Rev. Henry Williams in landing his stores and securing them on shore.

After all these matters were settled, I paid a second visit to the Rev. Thomas Kendall and delivered him my public letter, in which I had enclosed the Rev. Josiah Pratt's public letter and the resolution of the parent committee containing his dismissal from the service of the Society. When I handed him my letter and communicated to him its contents, he said he would not open it. He was determined to send it home to his friends just as it was. I replied that he would act in that respect as he thought proper, that as I had acquainted him verbally in what relation he now stood to the Society it was a matter of little



moment whether he opened my letter or not. His conduct had compelled the Society to withdraw its countenance and patronage from him, and there was now an end of their connection. I informed him that I was authorized to find him and his family a passage to New South Wales and that he and his family could return with me in the Brampton. He still persisted in his determination to remain in New Zealand. I recommended him to consider the subject well – to consider his own situation in the island, the situation of his large family, the distressing prospect his children had before them. Some of them were now growing up men and women, and what were they to do amongst the heathens? They could not marry amongst the natives, and how were they to be settled in life? After advancing such reasons as I thought might weigh with Mr. Kendall in his cooler moments to induce him to leave New Zealand, I dropped the subject. I think he will alter his determination in a few days when his present feelings subside.

Since my arrival I had not lost any moment in examining the natives relative to their wars, their religion, customs, and manners, and, wishing to correct any error I might have fallen into for want of a more perfect knowledge of their language, I entered into conversation with Mr. Kendall upon these subjects, told him what enquiries I had made and what information I had gained, and requested him to correct any mistake I might have committed. I found Mr. Kendall at considerable loss to find English words to arrange his ideas, and to clothe them with such terms as to enable me to conceive what he wished me to understand. His reasoning upon the different subjects is so subtle and metaphysical that when he attempted to explain them I could not, with the utmost exertion of my mental powers, often comprehend what his meaning was. I am satisfied he has acquired a great knowledge of the native language, and also of their customs, manners, and religion; but whether he will be ever able to arrange these matters in a proper manner – in inoffensive language – so as to be of general benefit to those employed in the mission, is a matter of some doubt. By prying into the obscene customs and notions of the natives with a vitiated curiosity, his own mind has become so polluted that it will be very difficult for him to purify his ideas so far as to render what he writes acceptable to the public eye, and to make himself, at the same time, understood.

The character and history of the New Zealanders would be very interesting if it could be purely written. They are a noble race of men: they are very religious in their way, they are men of the first capacity of mind – men of great perseverance and enterprise – who never lose sight of an object that they set their mind upon" until they attain it. They are powerful reasoners upon every subject that has come within their knowledge, possess a quick conception, and are well acquainted with human nature. At present there is nothing in New Zealand but war to exercise their active minds. Should the arts of peace in time open to them the field of commerce to find them employment, they will then have less inclination for war. Upon all these subjects, as well as on the general concerns of the mission, I spent several hours' conversation with Mr. Kendall this day, and after dark returned on board the Brampton.



During the time I had been on shore, the Snapper, a small cutter, had arrived from Port Jackson bound to the Society Islands.

Wednesday, August 13th. – It was resolved this morning to take up the Snapper to convey the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Turner and the Society's stores to Wangarooa to join the Revs. Leigh and White, as there was no prospect of their getting to their station by any other conveyance. As the Rev. S. Leigh was so very ill and could not settle with the natives about the land, and so earnestly solicited me to visit their station, I determined to embark in the Snapper and it was arranged for her to sail

in the afternoon. The weather became very stormy before all the stores were on board, so that our sailing was put off until the following morning. I expected to return before all the stores were landed from the Brampton so as to complete my other business before she was ready for sea.

Thursday, August 14th. – At daylight this morning I embarked on board the Snapper, a very small vessel carrying about thirty tons. The wind was very fresh and against us. When we got out to sea the cutter jumped about much. We had to work up against the wind. The distance between the two harbours is between forty and fifty miles. Late in the evening we arrived opposite the mouth of the harbour of Wangarooa, but could not get in. We therefore lay off until daylight. The wind was against us getting in. We got the boat ahead, and several canoes came out and towed us into the harbour. About twelve we came to anchor. Shortly afterwards, George, the chief, and several more with him, came on board. I requested George to take charge of the vessel until I and the master returned from visiting Mr. Leigh, who resided about eight miles higher up the river (the Kaeo). The Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Turner also accompanied us to the missionary settlement, where we found Mr. Leigh very ill attended by Mrs. Leigh. The master returned in the evening to the vessel, but I remained all night with Mr. Leigh. Many whom I had seen before came to visit me, and rejoiced that I had come again to see them.

As soon as I saw the state Mr. Leigh was in, I recommended him to return with me to Port Jackson. He wanted more care, more comforts, and medical advice. These were not to be procured in Wangarooa. I felt much for Mrs. Turner, a young woman, who would now be left without any female companion but a young girl she had taken from Port Jackson. Mrs. Turner had one young child at the breast. It was the opinion of Mr. Leigh's colleagues, as well as my own, that his weak state of health required his speedy removal. The Revs. White and Turner are both young men. They have a very trying situation, as they must want experience. I hope they will do well and conduct themselves with patience and perseverance. Young men are apt to be too soon angry, and if they fall into this error they will often be very uneasy. They will have much to bear with from the heathens around them until they become better acquainted with their customs and manners.

Saturday, August 16th. – Early this morning Messrs. White and Turner went down to the Snapper after the stores and baggage. I remained with Mr. Leigh, as George had not returned. We took a walk to view the land they wished to purchase, in order that an arrangement might be made for it as soon as George arrived. While we were



in the field we heard down the river a regular discharge of muskets, which was kept up for some time. I was very much alarmed at their report, fearing that some of the sailors had insulted some of the natives and that a serious quarrel had been the consequences. I was very anxious to go down to the vessel as soon as possible to learn the cause of the guns being fired, and immediately returned and went down to the river side in order to get a canoe. The tide was down, and I could not go until the return of the tide. George's brother, Tippoohee (Te Puhi), saw I was alarmed and wished to know the cause. I told him that several muskets had been fired down the harbour and that I was afraid some difference had taken place between the natives and the Europeans. He told me I need not be under any apprehensions, for, if any injury was done to the Europeans, Shunghee would kill a number of them. While we were standing upon the banks of the river, some natives arrived and informed us that a party had returned from the war and that the guns we had heard had been fired on the occasion, which removed all our fears.

In about an hour afterwards Messrs. White and Turner returned from the vessel and told me the master wished me to go down, that he was very uneasy in consequence of such numbers of natives being assembled about the Snapper. I determined to comply with his request in order to prevent any difference. Before I set off George returned. We examined the land, fixed the boundaries, and made an agreement with him for it which he signed in his way; he received payment and the business was finally settled.

I told George I was going down to the cutter. He came to the boat with me in order to accompany me. When we got to the wharf we found Mr. Turner had very imprudently left Mr. Hobbs' tool-chest in the boat, without any person to take care of it. It had been broken open and several things carried off. George threw off all his mats, apparently in a dreadful rage, and said he would put the thief to instant death. A number of his people were about him; he demanded to know who had committed the theft, and was told that one of his brother's slaves had done it and had run off with the property. He took a spear and ran up the bank of the river; in about ten minutes he returned with some of the articles and said he had speared the thief, but I do not believe he did. As we went down in the boat he expressed his indignation against a thief, and how determined he was to punish all thieves with death. I believe this was all a mere pretence. We talked over the business of the Boyd. He told me how he had been despised and insulted for cutting off the Boyd by the different tribes, and what trouble it had given him, as they would not be reconciled to him on that account. He said he should wish to visit Port Jackson again but he was afraid that he would be hung there if he went. He thought he might now venture as he had got some Europeans at his settlement; they would be a security for him and, if he should be hung, his people would hang the Europeans. He asked me if I would take care of him if he should venture. I told him I would, and that the reason why the Governor at Port Jackson would not hang him now was because the captain of the Boyd flogged him first. George replied that he should not do anything of the kind again, as he knew better now. At the same time he would



not venture yet to Port Jackson, but his brother's daughter should go along with Mrs. Leigh, and, if she was not hung, he would afterwards go himself.

We had a very dark and stormy passage to the vessel with very heavy rain. When I got on board I found all quiet; the natives had behaved well. I lay down in my clothes, for the night was very cold and very wet.

Sunday, August 17th. – Last night was very dreadful for wind and rain, which still continued. After breakfast I left the vessel to go up to the missionary station, as we had agreed to administer the Lord's Supper before the Rev. S. Leigh and I left them. It rained very heavy, so that I arrived very wet. After I had changed my clothes we had Divine service, the sacrament being administered and Mrs. Shepherd churched, having being confined about three weeks. Though God is in every place, yet "He loves the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob." Nothing tends more to maintain the life of God in the soul of men than to meet in the assembly of His saints in His public House of Prayer.

Monday, August 18th. – This morning the Rev. S. Leigh and Mr. Shepherd prepared to send off their baggage to the cutter. It had been apprehended that the natives would not allow them to take away their property if they allowed themselves to go away. The missionaries at Rangheehoo mentioned this to me before I came to Wangarooa. However, this difficulty was soon removed. The natives made no objections, and the whole of their effects were quietly sent on board without the smallest loss.

It was agreed now that George's niece should go along with Mrs. Leigh. Her father was very anxious to know from me whether she would be hung or not. He said, "We are reconciled to you, but we cannot believe that you are reconciled to us, but will demand sacrifices for the people of the Boyd." It is a law amongst them to

have life for life, and they do not believe that there is any other mode of appeasing the wrath of the deity but by human sacrifices. It will be impossible to remove these people's fears until they have some proof that we will not avenge the loss of the people of the Boyd. Their religion would not allow them to pass over such an act unpunished, and they cannot believe that our religion will allow us.

Tuesday, August 19th. – It was intended that the cutter should sail this morning for the Bay of Islands. We rose about three o'clock in order to prepare, and, as soon as the remainder of the baggage was embarked in the boat and canoe, we left the missionary settlement. The chief's daughter accompanied us, after taking an affectionate leave of her friends who all wept much. Her father was very anxious about her, and accompanied us to the vessel. He repeatedly asked me if his daughter would be hung when she arrived in New South Wales. I assured him to the contrary. He requested, if she should, that I would send her body home that he might see her bones.

When we arrived at the cutter we found George on board, and the vessel crowded with natives on deck and on every side with canoes. We immediately got under way. George gave me a hog, and his wife





a mat, at parting. He wept much when he took leave of the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Leigh. I requested him to be kind to the missionaries, which he promised to do.

Many of the chiefs belonging to another tribe who reside in and near the entrance of the harbour had just returned from an expedition to the southward. I had not seen them since my arrival until now. They expressed much satisfaction at my coming to visit them again, and wished much to have a missionary to reside with them. I made them a few presents of such things as I had, and at ten o'clock we cleared the Heads of Wangarooa with a strong, fair wind, and about seven o'clock the same evening anchored in Kororareka Bay, when I went on board the Brampton for the night. There were some chiefs on board. They spoke to me respecting the Rev. T. Kendall's conduct and we had a long conversation on the subject. I explained to them the reason why Mr. Kendall was no longer considered as a missionary: that he had taken the daughter of a New Zealand chief to live with him as his wife, which was contrary to our customs and laws; and that good men in England had only one wife, and that, by so doing, he had offended his friends. They admitted that he had done wrong, but contended that, as he was not living with the young woman now, his misconduct should be forgotten.

Wednesday, August 20th. – I have been fully engaged this day in the different concerns of the mission. Messrs. Butler, Hall, and Kendall were all on board. I had much conversation with the Rev. T. Kendall upon the concerns of the mission and his own unhappy situation. I am inclined to think that he will consent in time to leave New Zealand. His mind has been greatly polluted by studying the abominations of the heathens, and his ideas are very heathenish. No change will ever be produced in his sentiments and feelings while he remains here. He never will recover from his fall, as he is now as a man without strength and in the most awful state as it respects his soul. "Strangers have devoured his strength, and he knoweth it not." (Hosea vii, 9.)

Thursday, August 21st. – I remained on board in consequence of the stormy weather. I was informed that when Mr. Cowell left Rangheehoo the natives would pull down the house he lived in, where Mr. Kendall formerly resided. I knew that some of the natives at that settlement were very angry on account of Mr. Kendall's dismissal, yet I could not believe that they would proceed to do such an act of violence. I spoke to two of the chiefs, who happened to be on board, on the subject, and told them what I had heard They replied that it was a mere wicked report, that I might be assured that nothing of that kind would happen. I spent much of the day in conversation with the natives respecting their wars, their religion, and their country, which was very interesting. Some of the native chiefs had travelled much into the interior, and described many places where the land was level for several days' journey and the soil good. They described high lands covered with snow, and internal lakes, and hot springs situated to the southward, and a great population. All their fine mats and carvings are made at the southward, which as yet remains unknown to the Europeans.





Friday, August 22nd. – This morning I went on shore to see the Rev. Henry Williams. I found all things going on well; the natives had been very attentive and had rendered every assistance in their power. The public store was nearly completed, and all the stores were safely lodged in it without the loss of a nail. Three temporary buildings will soon be completed – the store, the houses for Messrs. Williams and Fairburn, the carpenter. I remained with Mr. Williams a good part of the day, and before I returned on board we agreed to visit the upper part of the Cowa Cowa River the following morning.

The situation Mr. Williams occupies is a very important one, as he may have in a short time a very large school of young children. The inhabitants generally are orderly and well behaved. Natives from very remote parts are in the constant habit of visiting this station either as prisoners of war or to see their friends.

Saturday, August 23rd. – Early this morning I set off to the upper part of the River Cowa Cowa, accompanied by the master of the Brampton. On our way I visited several natives on the banks. Very considerable cultivation was going on upon the banks of the river, where no culture had been attempted before when I visited this district. The Rev. Henry Williams had agreed to go with me, but he was detained at his new station for some time, and about two o'clock p.m. he came up to us. I returned with him a little before dark on board the Brampton with an intention to go on shore with him for the night, in order that we might set off early the next morning for Kiddee Kiddee; but I found myself so unwell from fatigue and want of rest that I declined going with Mr. Williams and he returned on shore alone.

After Mr. Williams was gone several chiefs came on board – one, named Toua (Taua), the son of the late Tippahee, a very fine young man who had resided with me at Parramatta more than twelve months, addressed me and said that Mr. Kendall had informed him that day that he was going to leave New Zealand, and they wished to know if Mr. Kendall had been dismissed as a missionary for selling muskets and gunpowder to the New Zealanders. To this I replied that Mr. Kendall was directed by the gentlemen in England who had sent him out as a missionary not to sell muskets and powder; that it was not the custom in England for clergymen to sell muskets and powder and that no missionary could be allowed to sell them in New Zealand. As several of the chiefs who were present had been at Port Jackson, I observed that they knew that the clergymen there did not sell muskets and powder. They knew that I had not one musket in my house and that they had never seen any when they were with me. They replied they knew what I said was true. I further added we did not interfere with the government of New Zealand. They did what they pleased, and the missionaries ought to be allowed to do what they pleased. Toua said that was but just, and observed that they were at present in the same state as the Otaheitans were some time back. The Otaheitans wanted only muskets and powder and would have nothing else, and now, as they knew better, they wanted none. The New Zealanders would care nothing about muskets when they knew better, which they would in time, but time must be allowed them to learn better. He had gone to war some time ago but he would never go again. All the chiefs acquiesced in the observations Toua made.





I was happy to find that their minds were so enlarged, and that they had begun to take such proper views of the subject. I said that Toua's remarks upon the

conduct of the Otaheitans were very just, and told them that the Queen Charlotte brig, which had sailed from the bay the preceding day, belonged to the young King Pomare; that the Otaheitans had sent oil and various other articles to Port Jackson for which they had received in return tea, sugar, flour, and such clothing as they wanted; and that the New Zealanders might in time have a ship of their own to procure sperm oil, spars, etc., which they could sell at Port Jackson, and that many of them were able to kill the whales, having been employed on board the whalers. When they got a vessel of their own they would soon be equal to the Otaheitans and give over their cruel wars.

They expressed much pleasure at the idea of having a vessel of their own to procure what they wanted.

After we had closed our conversation upon these subjects I called their attention to Mr. Kendall's conduct in another respect. I told them that the gentlemen who had sent Mr. Kendall to New Zealand were not only angry with him for selling muskets and powder, but for having two wives; that in England a man was only allowed to have one wife; that King George could only have one wife; that the Governor at Port Jackson had only one; that Mr. Kendall had violated our laws and our religion, and for being guilty of so great an offence he had been dismissed from the service of the Society. He was at liberty to act now as he thought proper, but it would be better for him to leave New Zealand. Touhee (Tohi), a chief, was present, for whom the young woman had been tabooed or set apart that Mr. Kendall had taken to live with him, and he said Mr. Kendall ought to leave New Zealand. I told them he should go along with me in the Brampton. The chiefs were satisfied that Mr. Kendall had violated our laws and customs and had brought all his distress upon himself. Though Mr. Kendall had not informed me yet of his intention to leave New Zealand, I was happy to find that the chiefs were willing that he should return to Port Jackson, with the exception of one family – the father and friends of the young woman with whom he had cohabited. They were not yet reconciled and had taken care to keep very much out of my way.

Sunday, August 24th. – Early this morning I left the Brampton in order to accompany the Rev. Henry Williams to Kiddee Kiddee, sixteen miles distant. We purposed to be up to morning service, but did not arrive in time. In the evening we attended the catechizing of the natives. They sang several hymns in their own language and repeated some prayers. I was much gratified with the progress they had made since my last visit and the prospect thus afforded of their future welfare. There can be no doubt of the success of the mission if those employed in it will only do their duty. The children are as fine subjects to work upon as any in the known world.

After we had heard the natives perform their service I expounded a portion of the Scriptures, and the evening was concluded with our united worship of that God Who has made of one blood all nations that dwell upon the face of the earth. The voice of Joy and Gladness shall yet be heard in the barren deserts of New Zealand. The Divine



promises must be fulfilled, which assure us that, in that great multitude which no man can number, there shall be some of every nation, kindred, tongue, and people.

Monday, August 25th. – I had summoned a full committee to meet at Kiddee Kiddee to-day, and, early this morning, prepared the different subjects which I wished to bring under consideration relative to the expenditure of the public stores, the public buildings, schools, etc. The committee met at the appointed time, and we did not close our deliberations till after twelve o'clock in the evening. A mass of evils required close investigation, and many of the subjects were very painful to consider. I trust the regulations and resolutions which I proposed, and which were adopted will restrain many evils, if not cure them.[378] When men have got a great way out of the right path, they do not like to return again to the place from whence they erred. This is the situation with some in this mission. It is awful to think how they have fallen and how much advantage Satan has gained over them. I much fear some will never benefit the Mission; their minds and habits are not calculated for the work they have engaged in. There is no consideration can induce a man to do habitually what he has a habitual aversion to do. Missionary work is very hard work unless the heart is fully engaged in it. A sin will always be in that man's way who cannot bend his mind to the instruction of the natives. The sooner such a one leaves the work the better it will be for himself and the mission.

Tuesday, August 26th. – This morning we met again for further deliberation and continued until after midday when most of the subjects under consideration were finally closed, so that I enjoyed a little quiet in the evening. I had been very much harrassed since I arrived. I was apprehensive the Brampton would be ready for sea before I had completed the object of my visit to New Zealand; and the captain informed me he would sail immediately the ship was ready.

Wednesday, August 27th. – I entered this morning into the consideration of the salaries allowed the Rev. John Butler and his son. Mr. Butler wished me to confirm the bills he had drawn upon England, and to allow him the same salary for himself and son for the last year which he had drawn for the former year. At this rate their salaries for two years from October 1st, 1821, to October 1st, 1823, would have amounted to £600 sterling. This I objected to. I had considerable difficulty with his account and never could close it to my own satisfaction.

About one o'clock I left Kiddee Kiddee to fix upon a new station for Mr. Shepherd, on my way down the River Wypoppa (Waipapa) which falls into the Kiddee Kiddee, to see if I could find a fall of water convenient for a water-mill at some future period. I met with a very suitable situation for the purpose, very central to all the missionary stations. A boat may go up at all times to the very foot of the fall where the mill may be erected. There is a natural dam of rock across the river, over which the river falls between ten and twelve feet above the level of the water below. I then proceeded to Rangheehoo and arrived in the evening.



I was now determined to see the chief with whose daughter Mr. Kendall had cohabited. I had sent to her brother before, and he had sent me word that he was ashamed to see me. The chief informed Mr. Hall that he also was ashamed to see me. None of the family would come near me. I went into the village and called upon the old chief. He was at home and his sons, daughters, and wife with him. They seemed much embarrassed at first. At length the young woman's sister-in-law said she understood that I would not allow Mr. Kendall to have any more sugar, tea, axes, hoes, spades, etc., or any provisions. The conversation relative to the young woman and Mr. Kendall became general. The young woman was sitting by me. They admitted Mr. Kendall had lived with her as his wife, but said that he was not living with her now, and, as he had left the young woman, his conduct should not be noticed now. They also said the other missionaries did not like Mr. Kendall, and that they were as bad as he was. This I denied, and mentioned the names of five missionaries and asked them if they were bad. They said no; but they mentioned others. I told them what our laws were with respect to marriage and that Mr. Kendall had broken those laws, and on that account his friends in England were angry with him. One of the young woman's sisters, who is married, admitted that it was best for one man and one woman to live together as man and wife, but she was of opinion that Mr. Kendall should not be punished any more, as he was not now living with her sister. She said that when Shunghee returned from the war he would be very angry if Mr. Kendall was gone away, and that he would not allow the missionaries to live at Kiddee Kiddee. I replied that if Shunghee did not wish the missionaries to live at his place I would send a ship and take them to Port Jackson; and that the missionaries did not come to New Zealand for anything that they had to give them, for they had plenty of provisions and clothes in their own country. I appealed to her husband and brother, who both had lived with me,

if we had not plenty of everything in Port Jackson and did not want anything from them, which they admitted. I said that the missionaries came only for their good, and that, when they wished them to leave New Zealand, they should. I told her I did not believe that Shunghee would be angry when he returned, for he had no cause. This old chief and his family could not bear the idea of Mr. Kendall leaving the island, because he had been the chief support of the whole of them and they were sensible of the loss they would sustain when he went. Before I left them I promised the old chief and his sons a few presents, and we parted mutual friends.

Thursday, August 28th. – Early this morning I sent for Werreepork (Wharepoaka), one of Shunghee's principal officers in the late war between him and Enakkee (Hinaki), chief of the River Thames, in order that I might learn the origin and event of the war, when he gave me the following account: – Several years ago a vessel from Port Jackson took a young woman from Wangaree (Whangarei), the sister of a chief named Temmarangha (Te Morenga), and carried her along with them by force to the southward, where they sold her to another chief for some mats. The chief who purchased her took her for his wife but she did not like him, in consequence of which the chief put her to death. Some time

HONGI'S ATTACK ON TE HINAKI



afterwards the ship King George, belonging to Port Jackson, was at or near the East Cape when a native came in her to the Bay of Islands, from whom Temmarangha heard the fate of his sister. Temmarangha, according to their laws, was bound to revenge her death. About three years ago, when the Coromandel lay in the Thames taking in timber, Temmarangha determined to send an expedition against the chief at the southward, and gave directions accordingly. His tribe assembled, and on their way they stopped at the River Thames in Enakkee's district. Enakkee and Temmarangha were both on board the Coromandel at the time Temmarangha's people, while they lay there, robbed Enakkee's potato grounds, and were seen by Enakkee's people to carry potatoes away. About a week afterwards Enakkee's slaves fell in with a near relation of Temmarangha's, a chief named Towakka (Towaka) and killed him. Temmarangha was very much enraged, but he was not able to avenge his death at that time. When the Coromandel sailed for Port Jackson, Enakkee went to the Colony in her, when Towhee (Taui), a chief belonging to Temmarangha's tribe, determined to revenge the death of Towakka. In about a month he set off from the Bay of Islands to the Thames. When Towhee arrived he made an attack upon Showpa's (Haupa) tribe, who were at amity with Enakkee's, and killed one chief and five common people, when he returned home. Shortly afterwards Showpa's son came to Wangaree to revenge upon Towhee's tribe the death of their chief whom Towhee had killed, and killed a chief belonging to Shunghee. Shunghee was not yet returned from England. While Enakkee was at Port Jackson, Shunghee arrived there. Enakkee informed him of the difference that had taken place between him and Temmarangha in consequence of Towakka being killed by Enakkee's slaves. Shunghee asked Enakkee what he intended to do – whether, on his return, he would go to war or whether he would be quiet. Enakkee was inclined for war. Shunghee recommended him to give over fighting. Enakkee asked Shunghee to give him a billhook which he had brought from England, which he did. Shunghee gave him also a pair of pistols and a red shawl, and Enakkee agreed to give Shunghee, on their return to New Zealand, a war canoe. These mutual presents were tokens of mutual friendship.

When Shunghee arrived in New Zealand he made enquiry after different chiefs, his former friends, and was informed that the chief of Tootookakka (Tutukaka) had been killed by Showpa's people, who were in alliance with Enakkee. Shunghee was very much enraged when he heard that his friend had been killed, and determined to go down to the Thames to see Enakkee to demand satisfaction.[379] He assembled his forces, and took with him sixty war canoes, which formed a powerful armament. As soon as Shunghee and his army arrived within sight of Enakkee's settlement, he looked through his glass and saw Enakkee's colours flying. He called his officers and asked them if they saw Enakkee's colours. They answered that they did. Enakkee also blew his trumpet, and Shunghee observed him dressed in regimentals amongst his people. Shunghee then told his officers that Enakkee was determined to give them battle. Shunghee then put on his coat of mail, his sword,

HONGI AT THE MOKOIA PA



helmet, and red coat. Wycotto (Waikato) put on his regimentals also, and they walked in the front of the army. Shunghee blew his trumpet, and watched through his glass Enakkee's movements. Shunghee was a little afraid of Enakkee; his army was very strong. Shunghee then called his eldest son Charles,[380] a youth about sixteen or seventeen years of age, and desired him to take a long spear and tie a handkerchief at the end of it, take a chief and a few men with him, and bear it as a flag of truce towards Enakkee's army, as Shunghee wished to have a parley with Enakkee before any action took place.

When Enakkee observed Shunghee's son with the flag advancing towards his camp, he sent out his oldest son, Kupee, with a spear in one hand and a tomahawk in the other, to show that he would come to no parley. When Charles and the chief came within gunshot, Enakkee fired and shot the chief through the head, when he fell. Charles and his little party now turned and ran to their own camp. Shunghee was looking through his glass and saw the chief fall. Shunghee's son cried much, and the whole army sat down and mourned for the death of the chief until afternoon. In the evening Shunghee walked about to see if he could meet with Enakkee, but could not fall in with him. Both armies continued in their stations for three days. On the morning of the fourth day, with two or three chiefs, Shunghee advanced towards Enakkee's army in the sight of both armies. Enakkee came forward to meet him. Shunghee had his coat of mail on, and his sword, but no gun, his helmet also and regimental coat. Shunghee put both his arms under his coat of mail to show Ennakkee that he came peaceably, and that he wished to come to some terms of reconciliation with him. Enakkee was dressed in English regimentals. When Shunghee advanced he took off his helmet, made a bow, and saluted Enakkee. Enakkee (turned on one side and spurned his compliment. Shunghee said he did not wish to fight; Enakkee said he was determined to fight. Shung-hee said, "I have seen King George, as you may see by my war mat, or coat of mail, my sword, and helmet." Enakkee replied, "I have seen General Macquarie." Shunghee said he was very strong. Enakkee replied he was not afraid to meet him, for he was strong too. Shunghee then proposed to deliver up his eldest son as a hostage to Enakkee if Enakkee would deliver up his son to him, and that this should be the condition of their reconciliation, but Enakkee would hearken to no terms of accommodation. Shunghee then took off his helmet and said to Enakkee, "Do you see my face?" Enakkee answered, "Yes." Shunghee replied, "You shall see my face no more until we meet in battle." He then bowed and returned to his own army and told them what had passed. He desired his men to get their dinners, and to prepare for battle as soon as they could, for he was determined to fight that day. The men threw off their common mats, put on their war mats, and prepared for action.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE MOKOIA PA



When they were ready Shunghee marched before them. When they came near Enakkee's army, Shunghee wished to speak to Enakkee again, who appeared like a madman. His officers advised him against it lest Enakkee should shoot him. However, he advanced and fired his musket into the air. Enakkee fired, and hit Shunghee on the side; though some of the links were broken, the ball was turned off by Shunghee's coat of mail, when one of Enakkee's people rushed forward and struck Shunghee behind the head with one of their marees (meres), or stone weapons of war, and knocked Shunghee down. Werreepork was near Shunghee. He called aloud for him to succour him, when the man who knocked Shunghee down was instantly killed by a shot from Shunghee when on the ground. Enakkee also fired a pistol at Shunghee, one of them which Shunghee had given him at Port Jackson, but without effect. Enakkee then rushed forward with his bayonet fixed to

stab Shunghee while on the ground, when two of Shunghee's officers – Riva (Riwa) and Eve (Iwi) – that instant fired and shot Enakkee, when he fell. Werreepork (Wharepoaka) was speared at the same time through the arm by one of Enakkee's men.

Shunghee, as soon as he recovered from the blow he had received, ordered the village to be immediately set on fire, which was crowded with Enakkee's people.[381] The battle then became general. In the midst of the contest Werreepork was anxious to save as many of the children of the chiefs as he possibly could, and carried twenty-five off the field to a place of safety, though he himself was speared. Ten of these he restored to their friends before he left the Thames, and fifteen he brought with him to the Bay of Islands as prisoners of war, but has since returned them all.

As soon as the battle became general, Shunghee was sure of victory. He ordered all Enakkee's auxiliaries to lay down their arms and fly into the woods, as he only wished to destroy the strength of Enakkee's tribe. Many saved themselves by flight. Such children of the common people whose mothers were killed in the action were put to death, and such children whose mothers were alive to take care of them were saved alive, and both made prisoners of war. Werreepork appears to have acted a very kind and humane part both in the time of action and since. He has given up his prisoners of war, and returned them to their friends. Many of them have gone home since I arrived. He lived with me some time at Parramatta; he is a very brave, active, and well-disposed young man.

From the whole of the account given me by Werreepork, Shunghee appears, either from fear or inclination, to have had no wish for war, but to have come to some friendly terms with Enakkee. It was also kind in Shunghee to spare Enakkee's friends and to save the lives of the children of the chiefs. I have seen at the Bay of Islands several chiefs from the River Thames who had not returned since the war, who



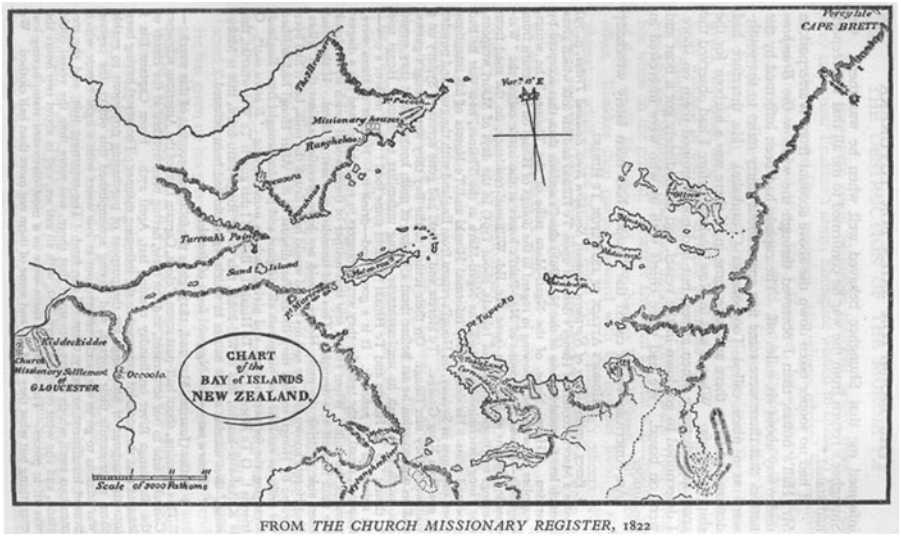


informed me that Shunghee behaved well when he was there. On Shunghee's return from the war he confirmed to me all that Werreepork had stated.[382]

I had no sooner taken down the above account from Werreepork in Mr. Hall's house, than I observed through the window the Brampton under way about six miles off. The captain had been informed by the natives that there were some fine spars about thirty miles to the southward at a place called Tootookakka (Tutukaka). He therefore had determined to go there and take some in, if there was a harbour for the ship to lie safe. When I was in New Zealand before I had observed the spars at a distance when at sea, but had not examined them on shore. I determined to go down in the vessel, and immediately got a boat and went on board. We had three chiefs with us who were interested in the timber.

An American vessel called the Cossack had been lately wrecked[383]






FROM *THE CHURCH MISSIONARY REGISTER*, 1822

CHART OF THE BAY OF ISLANDS, NEW ZEALAND
FROM THE CHURCH MISSIONARY REGISTER, 1822





in coming out of the Gambier (Hokianga)[384] River on the west side of New Zealand, commonly called by the natives Shokee Hangha. The loss of this vessel had been a subject of much conversation amongst the New Zealanders. The chiefs gave me the following reasons for the loss: – There are two rocks on the south side of the entrance of the harbour, which they consider sacred, being the residence of the god of the winds and waves. The sailors belonging to the Cossack paid no respect to these rocks, but struck them with hammers. The natives cautioned them against doing so and entreated them not to touch them, for, if they did, their god would be angry. The sailors paid no attention to what the natives said. When the Cossack got out of the mouth of the harbour upon the bar, the god of the rocks got under her bottom, and, in great anger, danced under her and threw her up and down like a ball. The master let go his anchors to hold her, but the angry god cut the anchors – not the cables – at the bottom of the sea, and threw the vessel up until he dashed her to pieces. The Cossack would have met with no accident if the sailors had not provoked the god of the winds and waves by striking the sacred rocks. This is universally believed by the New Zealanders. When I visited at the river, and when I came near these rocks, they begged I would not touch them lest I should die. Such is the present superstition of these people.

I had seen some sailors, who were on board the Cossack when she was lost, who gave me the following account of her wreck: – The wind had been blowing hard from the south-west, which had caused a very great surf upon the bar. They left the harbour with a light breeze. The master thought the wind was sufficient to carry the vessel through the surf, but when they got out upon the bar the wind failed them; the surf overpowered the vessel and she became a perfect wreck. No property was saved and no lives were lost. The natives were very kind to them when they got on shore.

Friday, August 29th. – This morning we were off the harbour of Tootookakka. The boat was hoisted out, and Captain Moore went to examine the entrance. He returned in about three hours, and reported that there were plenty of spars but not sufficient water for a large ship in the harbour, and that the entrance was very narrow. He now determined to return to the Bay of Islands, for which we immediately made sail with a fine breeze, and arrived at the mouth of the harbour at the

close of the evening. The wind being now against us we lay off and on all night.

Saturday, August 30th. – This morning was very fine. We had made little progress during the night, and the wind still continued against us. About eleven o'clock a.m. we observed a boat making towards the ship. When she came alongside we found she was from



Wangarooa with the Rev. Mr. White who was going to Kiddee Kiddee. I immediately left the Brampton with Mr. White. We called on our way at Rangheehoo; and then proceeded to Kiddee Kiddee, where we arrived in the evening. The Rev. S. Leigh and Mrs. Leigh had left the Brampton when she sailed to Tootookakka, as he was very weak and poorly, and had taken up their lodgings with the Rev. John Butler. We found all the other brethren well.

Sunday, August 31st. – This day the Rev. John Butler read prayers and I preached, when we administered the Holy Sacrament. There were present: the Revs. Leigh and White, Mrs. Leigh, Mrs. Butler, Mrs. Kemp, Mrs. Shepherd, Mrs. Puckey, and Messrs. Kemp, Shepherd, and Puckey. How thankful should Christians be for the Sabbaths and ordinances of religion! What comfort and support do they administer to the pious soul! Without the Divine ordinances, how feeble and how languid would the best of Christians be! We never can be sufficiently thankful for these privileges. The psalmist loved God's house – "the place where His honour dwelleth" – and so does every Christian. How much more delightful it is to meet in the great congregation in God's holy temple than in any of the dwellings of Jacob, in any private house whatever! There is something so solemn, so sacred, in God's house where His saints meet to pray and to praise him that the pious soul relishes religion better there than in any other place, because God hath put His name there and has promised to meet His people there at all times.

Monday, September 1st. – This morning I drew up some regulations for the future government of the Mission, and wrote a public letter to the missionaries relative to their past and future conduct; exhorting them to repent of what they had done amiss, and warning them of the consequences of sinning in time to come. When I reflect upon the dreadful evils that have crept in amongst the missionaries I am astonished that the mission has not been completely annihilated. That it should ever have existed in the midst of so much wickedness, so much contention, so much unfaithfulness in the servants of the Mission, affords a strong proof, in my judgment, that God will carry on the work and that the wickedness of man shall not prevent Him. Amongst those who have been employed in the Mission, and set apart for the work, some have been weak and led astray, some have been wicked and have fallen from their steadfastness and wounded the cause, others have been idle and unfaithful, others have been worldly minded and have lost sight of the interest of the Mission by paying too great attention to their own welfare. The Mission has not suffered only for the want of support from those whom the Christian world supported, but from powerful secular enemies and infidels who have striven to overthrow it altogether. But, blessed be God, it still maintains its ground. Some have been faithful like Caleb and Joshua, and these will take the land as certainly as ever Joshua and Caleb put the Israelites in full possession of the land of Canaan. Difficulties of every kind must be fairly met and opposed and the Christian world must be determined to plant the Gospel standard upon the strongholds and fortifications of the Prince of Darkness, and his kingdom will finally fall. Known unto God are all His works from the beginning, and He will accomplish His Divine



purposes whatever instruments are employed in the work. He appointed Saul king over Israel as well as David, the man after His own heart, and accomplished His Divine will by them both.

About one o'clock I left Kiddee Kiddee in order to hold a committee at the station of the Rev. H. Williams in the Cowa Cowa, where I had summoned all the missionaries to attend. We sat upon public business until a late hour, and afterwards we all remained in his hut for the night.

Tuesday, September 2nd. – This morning we closed the business we entered upon last night. I now considered all the public concerns arranged as far as I could. After breakfast I went on board the Brampton and agreed with the master for the passage of the following persons to Port Jackson: – the Rev. Samuel and Mrs. Leigh, the Rev. Thomas Kendall and family, and Mr. Cowell and family – being fifteen persons in the whole. I afterwards called on Mr. Kendall to arrange with him for the delivering up of all the public stores in his possession, and purchased his sawed timber towards building the Rev. Mr. Williams' house, etc., and then crossed the harbour to inform Mr. Williams what I had done, in order that he might take immediate steps to remove the stores, timber, etc., to prevent any disputes with the natives afterwards when Mr. Kendall was gone. I then proceeded to Kiddee Kiddee, where I arrived after dark, extremely cold, having been several hours upon the water.

Wednesday, September 3rd. – To-day I took my leave of Kiddee Kiddee with an intention to return no more this voyage. I went to visit Mr. Samuel Butler's station (Mangonui), about fourteen miles from Kiddee Kiddee. The Revs. John Butler and White accompanied me. We had a very rough passage; the wind was strong and the sea high, but we arrived safe in the afternoon. The natives had built a comfortable temporary house for Mr. Samuel Butler, and were all very busy in different kinds of labour. This is a very important station if attention is only paid to the native children. The inhabitants are numerous and well behaved. The head chief is one of the tallest and stoutest men I have seen in New Zealand, a relation of Shunghee's. I made the natives a few presents of such articles as I had, and in the evening returned to Rangheehoo with the Rev. Mr. White who was on his way to Wangarooa. We arrived in the cove just at dark, and took up our lodgings for the night with Mr. William Hall, at whose house we held a prayer meeting. I had some conversation with Messrs. Hall and King relative to the instruction of the children. They promised to begin immediately Mr. Cowell embarked.

Thursday, September 4th. – This morning I sent for the old chief Rakow (Rakau), the father of the young woman Mr. Kendall had cohabited with, in order to see if I could pacify him and his family to Mr. Kendall's departure. When he came he was greatly agitated. He laid hold of me with both his hands and squeezed me as if I had been in a vice, and said I would give Mr. Kendall no more hoes, axes, spades, etc., and remonstrated with me in strong terms against Mr. Kendall's departure. He represented the other missionaries as inimical to Mr. Kendall, and contended that Mr. Kendall ought not to leave New Zealand, but be supported. After the old man had given vent to his feelings he became a little more cool. I made him a present of a blanket and a



few edge tools, which reconciled him a little. While we were talking several natives came in, and amongst the number Wycotto (Waikato)[385] whom I had not seen before. The whole of Rakow's family and friends were much ashamed to see me on account of Mr. Kendall's conduct. Wycotto said he was ashamed. They all manifested much propriety of feeling. I told them Mr. Kendall was the person who was to blame; that I had no cause to be angry with them; that Mr. Kendall had offended the gentlemen who had sent him out and supported him, by acting contrary to their instructions and our laws, and that they could not any longer be his friends. After much conversation upon these subjects, they all seemed more satisfied and easy. I asked Wycotto to accompany me on board the Brampton, and I would make him a few presents. He replied he was ashamed to ask me for anything, but he would go with me. As it was the last time I intended to be at Rangheehoo, I thought it prudent to invite Rakow's son, Werreepork, whom I have already mentioned, to go with me to Parramatta, as it would tend to quiet the

old chief and his family.

When all these matters were arranged I took my leave of Messrs. Hall and King and their families and the natives of Rangheehoo. Wycotto accompanied me on board. I was very happy to learn that he had behaved well to the missionaries since his return from England. We had much conversation upon the state of New Zealand. He told me he had accompanied Shunghee once in his wars since his arrival from England against Enakkee, in the war in which Enakkee was killed, and that many fell on both sides; but he was determined never to go to war again. Shunghee pressed him to go with him in his present expedition, but he had refused. He said that he wished the English would come and take possession of the country, as he was sure there would be no end to their public calamities until there was a power sufficient to prevent those evils of war. I have heard many chiefs express the same wish. Wycotto attends now to the cultivation of his farm, and to his wife and children of whom he is very fond.

On our arrival on board the Brampton, I presented him with a spade and a few edge tools for which he was very thankful. I assured him that if he did not go to war he should have the present of a blanket every year, or some other article of value; that I should make enquiry after his conduct, and if I found that he attended to agriculture I would remember him. Wycotto returned on shore much gratified with our interview and much relieved in his mind. Since his return from Europe he has had time to reflect upon what he saw and heard, and he appears to me much improved and softened. I was much gratified with many of his observations. He said that he was very desirous that a missionary should be sent to the River Thames, and that if one was sent he would go and live there. I told him this could not be done at present, but at some future time it perhaps might.



THE BRAMPTON PREPARES FOR SEA

Friday, September 5th. – This morning a war canoe returned from the southward and came alongside the ship. I observed a dead man in the stern wrapped up in mats. She was full of people. Tootooroo(Te Toru), one of the chiefs of Wycaddee (Waikare), was in her. He seemed worn down with fatigue and privations. He had been with me formerly at Parramatta. He was much affected when he saw me, but did not come out of the canoe but sat in a mourning posture. What hardships do these poor heathen suffer under the dominion of the Prince of Darkness!

In the afternoon I went on shore to pay a visit to the Rev. Henry Williams and to purchase a canoe to take with me to Port Jackson for the accommodation of the natives who were going along with me. While we were walking on the beach another war canoe arrived, in which I understood there were two dead chiefs. When they came within a short distance of the land they all sat silent in the canoe crying, and the women on shore began to cry also and to make great lamentations. These poor creatures sorrow as those without hope. They have none of the consolations of religion to support their minds, no hope full of immortality. What infinite blessings will the Gospel impart unto them when once they receive it with joy! After I had purchased the canoe I went on board for the night.

Saturday, September 6th. – I remained the whole of the day on board preparing for sea, as the captain had determined to sail the next morning, and I was very busy in securing the different useful plants I had procured for New South Wales and settling my little accounts with the natives. The Rev. Mr. Williams and several of the brethren came to take their leave, and some of them remained till late in the evening. Werreepork thought it was not right to sail on our Sabbath day, and asked if I should not be angry. He was informed that I had no control over the master of the ship, and that he would do as he pleased. The New Zealanders in their way are very particular in observing all their religious ceremonies, as they believe their happiness and life itself depend upon their doing this.

I had now got all my business settled as well as I could, and, in some degree, to my satisfaction, considering the deranged state the affairs of the Mission had been in for so long a time. The Rev. T. Kendall and family, Mr. Cowell and family, were all on board without any unpleasant differences with the natives. I now felt much pleasure in the prospect of a speedy return to my family and people, and, being very weary with various toils and anxieties both of body and mind, I longed for a little rest, and retired to my cabin with much thankfulness and comfort. I had cause to be thankful for continued good health, during the period I had been in New Zealand, as I had not lost one day. I was not well when I left New South Wales, but I found myself better and able to undergo much fatigue. I also was happy to see that there was every prospect of success in the Mission, and felt confident that the Rev. H. Williams, either by precept or example, or by both, would be able to rectify many evils when I was gone. The removal of the Rev. T. Kendall and Mr. Cowell will also prove a great benefit to the Mission, and I doubt not but God will prosper the work yet and raise up a seed in this benighted land to serve Him. "For many shall come from the south as well as the north, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the Kingdom of God."



THE WRECK OF THE BRAMPTON

Sunday, September 7th. – This morning the captain gave orders to weigh the anchors and proceed to sea.[386] I went into the Rev. S. Leigh's cabin and read the first chapter of Romans, making a few remarks upon it, and observed that it was my intention to read with him the whole epistle on our passage to Port Jackson. We had a comfortable little meeting while the sailors were preparing for sea. The weather was very threatening and stormy. The wind blew very strong from the east 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 twice missed stays. The lead was kept continually sounding, and we soon found ourselves in little more than three fathoms water with a rocky bottom, and a shoal of rocks on our lee. It was then near 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 began to turn, the ship began to strike. The gale increased and the sea with it. I was convinced the ship would be wrecked – there appeared to me no possible way to prevent it. The Rev. Samuel Leigh was very ill, and unable to bear the noise and anxiety occasioned by such an awful occurrence, and Mrs. Leigh was also much alarmed. I requested the captain to lend me the boat to take Mr. and Mrs. Leigh to the nearest island, which he kindly granted. The wind was high and the sea very rough but I did not apprehend much danger in going on shore, as the island[387] was only about two miles distant and the nearer we approached it the smoother the water would be, as we should be more sheltered from the wind and sea.

We arrived safe, though very wet with the rain and the sea washing over the sides of the boat. We found a few poor natives on the point of the island called Mootooroa (Moturoa) where we landed. It rained very heavy. The natives expressed much concern for us. They made a fire and prepared the best hut they had, which was made of bulrushes, for our reception. I requested them to send a canoe to Rangheehoo to inform Mr. William Hall of the loss of the ship and to bring his boat to assist to land the people, and at the same time desired that they would tell the natives to bring a large war canoe. The natives for some time objected to go, on account of the storm and the high sea, alleging that their canoe would be dashed to pieces by the waves. At length I prevailed upon them. They had between five and six miles to go through a very rough sea. About three o'clock p.m. Messrs. Hall, King, and Hansen arrived in Mr. Hall's boat, and a large war canoe with natives. They immediately proceeded to the ship, and we had



ON MOTUROA ISLAND

the satisfaction to see them arrive safe and waited until dark with the greatest anxiety for their return, but neither of them came. The rain fell in torrents and the gale had increased. We lay down in our little hut full of fear and alarm for the safety of all on board. The night appeared very long, dark, and dreary, as we could not rest, and we most anxiously wished for the morning light in hopes of receiving some account from the vessel.

Monday, September 8th. – When the day returned we had the happiness to see the vessel still upright but driven nearer on shore. No boat came from her, or canoe, and the gale still continued. About midday we saw the foremast go overboard. The natives on the island shrieked aloud when the mast fell. I concluded they had cut away the mast to relieve the vessel. We spent the whole 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. William Hall returned, and informed us that the bottom of the vessel was beat out, that both her chain and best bower cable were broken, and that she beat with such violence upon the rocks when the tide was in that it was impossible to stand upon her decks. At the same time he was not apprehensive that the people on board were in any danger of losing their lives, as he did not think that the ship would go to pieces as she stood firm upon the rocks when the tide was out. I wished to know why the women and children remained on board. He said it had not been determined what they would do or where land as yet, and they wished to wait until the gale abated. We were much relieved by the information Mr. Hall gave us. As it was now dark, the sea rough, and the wind high, we could not leave the island, and therefore took up our lodgings in our little hut. The natives kindly gave us a few potatoes and a little fish – the best they had to bestow.

My pleasing prospect of returning to Port Jackson was now at an end, for some time at least. A great change had been made in my views and feelings from what they were on Sunday morning. The scene was then apparently bright and clear, but now a dark cloud rested upon all around me. I was exceedingly concerned for the loss of so fine a ship on many accounts, as individuals who are interested in her must suffer as well as the passengers on board, and perhaps more then they. An hour before this melancholy accident happened the object of my visit to New Zealand appeared to be accomplished. All the Europeans, sixteen in number, with twelve natives, were embarked. We had parted with the principal chiefs in every part of the Bay of Islands with mutual satisfaction, and with every prospect of success to the Mission. But now an unexpected storm seemed to have rendered abortive all that had been done. I spent the night in ruminating upon the difficulties with which I was surrounded, while the stormy wind and rain still continued, and the raging sea to dash against the shores.

Tuesday, September 9th. – At the return of day we observed the ship still upright, but (she) appeared to be driven higher upon the reef. I now determined to return to Kiddee Kiddee in Mr. Hall's boat, with Mr. and Mrs. Leigh. We had suffered two dreary and stormy days and nights under the most painful anxiety for the safety of those in the ship. We now left the island as soon as we could for the missionary





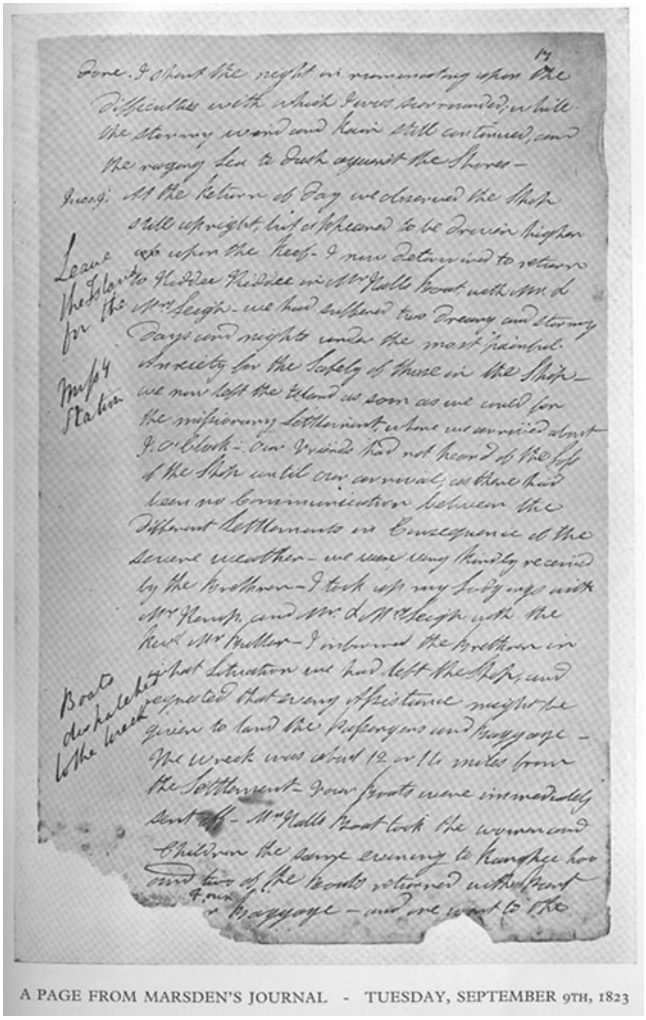
settlement, where we arrived about nine o'clock. Our friends had not heard of the loss of the ship until our arrival, as there had been no communication between the different settlements in consequence of the severe weather. We were very kindly received by the brethren. I took up my lodgings with Mr. Kemp, and Mr. and Mrs. Leigh with the Rev. Mr. Butler. I informed the brethren in what situation we had left the ship, and requested that every assistance might be given to land the passengers and baggage. 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 the same evening to Rangheehoo, and two of the boats returned with part of our baggage, and one went to the station of the Rev. Mr. Williams. All the brethren rendered every aid in their power to provide for our comfort and to secure our baggage, for which we are their debtors.

When the boats returned they brought the welcome news that all were well on board. It was a great mercy that the Rev. Mr. Leigh appeared not to have suffered much injury from the wet and cold while we were confined in the island though in so weak a state, and Mrs. Leigh bore our dangers and privations with much patience and resignation. Divine wisdom no doubt has some good ends to answer in all that has befallen us. The word of God expressly says, "All things shall work together for good to them that love God," and the Scriptures cannot be broken. We cannot see through this dark and mysterious dispensation at this present time. The why and the wherefore we must leave to Him Who ordereth all things according to the council of His own will. As the gale continued with increasing violence, if we had got out to sea we might have been cast on shore under more dangerous and distressing circumstances. Our shipwreck has been a most merciful one, as no lives have been lost nor anything but the ship. The natives have also behaved exceedingly well as yet and respected our property. We should not have been so kindly treated in this respect if we had been wrecked on our native shores.

Wednesday, September 10th. – This morning Mr. Kemp informed me that the captain purposed to land from the wreck what provisions and stores he could on the island of Mootooroa, and wished me to go down as he was apprehensive there might be some disputes with the natives, as a report had been circulated that a large party of natives were coming from Shokee Hangha to plunder the wreck. I did not believe that report, as the people on the banks of that river and in the different settlements are all quiet and well-disposed, as a body. The day continued stormy and, not being very well for want of rest, I remained at the missionary settlement with a determination to go down on Thursday morning, agreeable to the request of the captain, as I did not apprehend any danger from the natives, several well-disposed chiefs being on board.

Thursday, September nth. – About four o'clock the Rev. Thomas Kendall's son arrived at Kiddee Kiddee with a letter from his father requesting assistance to land his baggage and other property. Mr. Kendall considered the situation of the vessel very precarious, a very heavy ground swell having set in. I sent back his son immediately with a letter to his father authorizing him to hire some canoes to land

[Inserted unpaginated illustration]



A PAGE FROM MARSDEN'S JOURNAL - TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9TH, 1823

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his property and I would pay the expense of them. Afterwards I went to the island of Mootooroa, taking the Rev. John Butler with me. When we arrived I found that a considerable quantity of stores and provisions had been landed from the wreck. I remained on the island conversing with the natives and requesting them to protect the property and people. They assured me they would watch night and day so that I might be assured nothing would be lost. I requested the Rev. John Butler to proceed on to the wreck, and to render what assistance he could to Mr. Kendall with the boat. In a few hours Mr. Butler returned and informed me that part of Mr. Kendall's baggage was gone on shore, and that Mr. Kendall was well satisfied with, and thankful for, the arrangements I had made to save his effects from the wreck. Mr. Butler informed me also that there had been some altercation amongst the natives themselves at the wreck, but that King George and the chiefs on board had settled the difference and all was perfectly quiet.[388] I was very happy to receive this account and to see that a savage nation – so poor and so distressed as they are, many of them not worth a nail – should abstain from plunder under such strong temptation to gratify the natural avarice of the human mind in the midst of the wreck of so much property. I apprehend no stronger proof need be adduced in testimony of the advances these poor heathen have made in civilization than the respect they have paid to the Europeans and their property in such a time of general distress. We were all, both on shore and on the vessel, as well as our property, completely in their power. They could take our lives any moment, and it cannot be doubted but they would have done so if the missionaries had not been settled amongst them and gained their confidence and good-will.

I would here observe that, for the last nine years – the period when the Mission was first entered upon to the present time – no European has received any injury from the natives throughout the whole extent



of coast from the North Cape to the River Thames, though they have met with many provocations and injuries from masters and crews of vessels which have visited them. The Mission has been of infinite service in this respect. A vessel can now enter into the harbour in the Bay of Islands with as much safety as any ship can anchor in Port Jackson. The time, no doubt, will come when the inhabitants of New Zealand shall not only advance in civilization but in the knowledge and worship of the only true God, when the Christian world will have cause to rejoice and praise the God of the whole earth.

In the evening we left the island of Mootooroa and the natives preparing a new house for the master of the Brampton and his ship's company, and returned to Kiddee Kiddee.

Wednesday, September 17th. – I have spent the last few days at the missionary settlement; the weather has been very wet and stormy. I have suffered from cold and sore throat. I feel very anxious to return to New South Wales but at present have very little hope.

While ruminating upon these subjects the Sisters arrived from Port Jackson, and this morning I have received a letter from my colleague (the Rev. R. Hill) informing me that all my family were well on August 28th. This was very welcome news and revived my spirits. All the information I received from the Colony was very satisfactory. I should be very glad if the captain of the Sisters will be prevailed upon to take us to Port Jackson, but I fear he will not and our stay here may be

some months. I am determined that the missionaries shall begin to erect a school at Kiddee Kiddee the next week. Should I be obliged to remain two months I hope to see it completed and the children admitted into it. The foundation must be laid in the education of the rising generation. If there were means equal to give the children generally instruction, ignorance and superstition would soon give way to knowledge and true religion. The children possess great minds, are well behaved and teachable, and would make great improvements.

Thursday, September 18th. – This morning Captain Moore informed me that he had quitted the wreck and had got his stores all landed on the island of Mootooroa; that the chiefs on board had behaved well; that on one occasion between 500 and 600 natives came round the ship in their canoes, and appeared as if they intended to be troublesome; that King George desired the captain to be still and not to interfere; that King George addressed the natives in a speech more than an hour long, pointed out to them the fatal consequences of committing any act of plunder or violence, reminding them of the Boyd and what followed the destruction of that vessel. King George took the captain's sword and told them that he would cut down the first man that attempted to come on board the vessel. By his firmness and prudence, order and quiet were restored, and everything which the master wished to take from the vessel he was at liberty to do so. Captain Moore told me if he had been wrecked on the English coast the English would have been a thousand times more troublesome than the New Zealanders were. The Christian world is not labouring in vain and spending their strength for nought, when they are labouring to aid this noble race of human beings to free themselves from want, ignorance, and superstition.



MAORI CUSTOMS

Without assistance they never can free themselves; they never can rank with civilized nations nor enjoy the comforts of civil life, nor the blessings which Christianity imparts. But with the Divine blessing and Christian benevolence they will become a great people. Their means of living are wonderfully increased since I visited the island nine years ago. The introduction of tools of agriculture, such as axes, hoes, spades, has encouraged very extensive cultivation in every district, and it is extending more and more every day. A nation can do nothing without iron. They had none until the Missionary Society supplied them. To give a man a spade is not like giving him 100lb. of potatoes to supply his immediate wants, but it is furnishing him with the means of raising many hundreds. This is evident in every part of New Zealand.

Friday, September 19th. – This day Riva (Rewha), a chief next in command to Shunghee, returned from Wycotto (Waikato) and some other chiefs with him, where they had been as ambassadors to make peace with the tribes on that river. Wycotto is a very populous part of New Zealand. Several persons belonging to Wycotto returned with them. Shunghee was at Towrangha (Tauranga) and was not expected for some time. Riva is a married man with a family of five fine children. The last war expedition he was upon he brought home another wife, which very much distressed his first wife. She could not bear the idea of Riva's having two wives. During Riva's absence his second wife had a son; his first wife was pregnant at the same time and was shortly afterwards delivered of a son also. She was so much hurt at the second wife having a son that she murdered her own infant and, in a little time, the second wife died also. When he arrived this day and was informed of the above circumstances he was much distressed and wept greatly. Infant murder is not common in New Zealand, and particularly boys. They are very fond of their children, and take great care of them. Riva's wife murdered her child from mere vexation – to be revenged upon her husband for taking another wife. It is apprehended that Riva will offer a human sacrifice to relieve his mind.

Bushee (Te Puhi) went yesterday to the funeral of a near relation. On these occasions it is common for all the friends of the dead to cut themselves when they weep and mourn. Bushee abstained from this ceremony, and when he returned he said he would never practise it again, and that if his wife was to die he would not cut himself for her. He disapproved of this barbarous custom. Bushee's mind is much enlightened, and he laments much the state of his country. He expressed a wish that some soldiers might be sent to New Zealand to put a stop to their wars. The light of civilization is gradually making its way amongst the higher classes, and in time will produce a happy effect upon them.

Saturday, September 20th. – This morning I called upon Riva. He expressed his regret at the loss of the ship, and asked me if she was a king's vessel. I informed him she belonged to a private gentleman in England. He told me he had heard of my arrival on his way from Wycotto, but not of the wreck of the ship. Many chiefs had returned with him from Wycotto, and peace was now established at Wycotto, the River Thames, Towrangha, and Rotooru (Rotorua), a very populous district in the interior where Shunghee had been carrying on the war.



MARSDEN AND REWHA

In an action at Rotooru Shunghee had received a ball against his shoulder, another on his breast, and a ball lodged in his helmet and had broken it, but he had received no injury. As the whole of that part of the country was now subdued, he expected Shunghee would return as soon as the weather would permit. His fleet consisted of one hundred canoes. Riva's father told me that it was their intention to take possession of some parts of the conquered districts and settle in them, and, if they did, some of the missionaries must go with them. Divine Providence may by these public calamities be preparing the way for His Gospel.

I informed him that Mr. Kendall was going to Port Jackson, and asked him what Shunghee would say. Riva replied that Shunghee would cry much and be very angry. I told him that if Shunghee did not wish the missionaries to remain at his settlement, I would send a ship and take them away to Port Jackson. Riva said they must not leave the settlement. He said that when Shunghee and Mr. Kendall returned from England, Mr. Kendall wished to live at Kiddee Kiddee and for Mr. Butler to go away; that Shunghee and he had some warm altercations upon the subject, as he would not allow Mr. Butler to go away, and at length carried his point. It appeared clear that Mr. Kendall had arranged with Shunghee to live at Kiddee Kiddee, and that Shunghee's mind was very much prejudiced against Mr. Butler and that he was determined on his removal.

I stated to Riva that Mr. Kendall had offended his friends in England by taking two wives, and, on that account, they would send him no more supplies, and if I should not see Shunghee he would inform him. I think Shunghee when he returns will not be much offended,, though he will feel for Mr. Kendall's situation and serve him as far as he can. Mr. Kemp informs me Riva has just killed a young woman for a sacrifice for the death of his second wife. He had a short time before left me. His son came to call him away when we were conversing together – perhaps to perform the bloody ceremony. When will these cruel rites be abolished? Nothing but the Gospel of our blessed Redeemer can free their minds from tyranny and superstition. How awful is the state of the poor heathen who can thus in cool blood sacrifice their fellow creatures! This young woman was a prisoner of war taken in the last expedition against the River Thames.

Riva has just called upon me full dressed and presented me with two mats. He tells me he has killed a young woman, but has ordered her to be buried and not eaten. There are two charges alleged against the deceased. The one is that she had not paid proper attention to Riva's wife during her confinement, and the other that she had performed the funeral rites to her mistress and afterwards taken the provisions, which she ate with her own hands, before she was cleansed from her ceremonial uncleanness in consequence of having touched a dead body. This last is considered as a very great crime against their god. For these things it was necessary that she should be made a sacrifice as an atonement for the dead and as a safety to the living.

No art of persuasion, no rewards, no promises, can stop these bloody rites. The Gospel alone can supply a remedy for these dreadful effects of superstition. Satan has got fast hold of the consciences of these poor heathens and leads them captive at his will. He makes them believe



that if a person serves himself with his own hands with any kind of provisions when labouring under any ceremonial uncleanness he commits the greatest sin and merits the wrath of the deity, and that to sacrifice the offender for so doing is an acceptable service and an indispensable one. Riva seemed easy in his mind when he had made this offering. I mentioned to him the former state of the Otaheitans and what they did now, and that I hoped New Zealand would do the same.

Sunday, September 21st. – This morning I enquired what was done with the body of the young woman that was sacrificed on the preceding day, and was informed that it had been dressed and eaten by the natives of Wycotto, though Riva had told me he had given directions that it should be buried. Previous to retiring to rest last evening, I heard the natives singing and dancing near the spot where the young woman was killed. I have no doubt but that they were then preparing to eat the sacrifice. However horrid and revolting this custom is to the Christian's mind – and nothing can be more so – yet the New Zealander feels himself as much bound by his superstition to kill and eat human sacrifices as the Christian does to offer up his sacrifices of prayer and praises to the true God. These bloody rites will never be laid aside by the natives until the fetters of their superstition are broken by the sword of the Spirit. Nothing short of the power of the Divine word can effectually remedy these dreadful customs.

While we sang the 72nd Psalm last evening I could not but contrast the situation of the New Zealanders with our own. We are made of the same blood and have one common Father, and yet what an infinite distance there is between the believing soul and the poor ignorant heathens, both as it respects this world and that which is to come. The joys of the one are pure, heavenly, and divine, and of the other barbarous, sensual, and devilish. The one has a hope full of immortality, the other is without hope and without God.

Monday, September 22nd. – As there had been no building erected for a public school at Kiddee Kiddee, I informed the Rev. John Butler and Mr. Kemp that I was resolved to have one built immediately; that they were now all comfortably provided with houses and outhouses and there was no necessity for delaying the erection of a school any longer. Messrs. Kemp and Shepherd most readily offered to assist in the building. I hope in eight weeks, should I be detained so long, to see the school nearly completed. It is very distressing that a school has not long since been established here.

Tuesday, September 23rd. – The weather has been very stormy and wet. I remained in the house nearly all the day examining the New Zealand Grammar, which appears to be very imperfect. The rules laid down in the Grammar for the orthography and pronunciation of the language are not simple enough for the missionaries to comprehend. They cannot retain in their memories the sound of the vowels as laid down in the rules of the Grammar, and consequently the pronunciation, so as the natives can understand them. The changing the English pronunciation of the vowels has created very great confusion amongst the whole. I do not see any good reason for changing the sound of the vowels as the New Zealanders can with so much ease sound all the



English alphabet. If in speaking and writing the New Zealand language the Europeans retain the English pronunciation, the whole difficulty of which they complain will be removed. I propose taking an early opportunity of conversing with the Rev. Mr. Kendall upon this subject – to know if there is any cogent objection to the missionaries retaining the English sound of the vowels in the New Zealand language. I cannot see any myself, and I am sure I should despair of ever being able either to write or speak the New Zealand language according to the rules in the Grammar.[389]

Wednesday, September 24th. – I am very anxious now to return , to my family and congregation, but have no prospect. I may be detained for months. This is a very dark dispensation. I know the Lord is too wise to err and too kind to afflict willingly. At the same time I feel an inclination to murmur and complain, and, like the Israelites of old, am discouraged because of the way. What I know not now I perhaps shall know hereafter. The loss of the Brampton appears to me very mysterious. No ship was ever lost in the Bay of Islands before – the harbours are so commodious and fine. I censure no one for her loss, though I think – and always shall – that it is a very extraordinary circumstance. I know nothing happens by chance, and, therefore, it was the Divine will that she should be wrecked for reasons which man cannot explain. Therefore, Thy will be done!

Thursday, September 25th. – I wrote this day a circular letter to the missionaries recommending them to unite cordially in the work of the Mission and to form some regular plan respecting the language. Everyone has hitherto followed his own system, and all different, which can never answer and will create nothing but confusion. Some have not ability, and others have not learning sufficient to write the language, and should avail themselves of the superior abilities of their colleagues. The want of humility has been very great in the missionaries. The apostle's advice has been wholly forgotten by them: "In lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves." (Philippians ii, 3.)

Friday, September 26th. – This morning I left Kiddee Kiddee to pay a visit to the Rev. H. Williams at Pyhea (Paihia). On my way I passed by the wreck of the Brampton. It is a very distressing sight to see so fine a ship knocked to pieces upon the rocks. The Lord in the midst of judgment remembered mercy, or we might have been buried in the great deep. The vessel could not have been lost upon a more secure place for the safety of our lives and property than she was, and therefore we should be thankful to Divine goodness Who commands the stormy winds when they arise.

On my arrival at Pyhea I found all the Europeans well and comfortably lodged in their new situation. The natives had behaved very kindly. Though their stores and other property had been much exposed,



no theft had been committed; they had not missed so much as a single nail. The head chief is a very excellent character. He had lived with me at Parramatta, and his son afterwards died in my house, which attached him and his wife very much to our family. He was his only son. I had given him permission to go with me to the Colony in order to remove his bones to their family sepulchre. The Rev. H. Williams is settled in a very beautiful, as well as important, situation, and has. every prospect of being both useful and happy in his work.[390]

Saturday, September 27th. – This morning I visited the Rev. Thomas Kendall and conversed with him relative to his Grammar. I stated to him the difficulty I found in it with respect to the pronunciation of the vowels, and that the missionaries met with the same difficulty in following his rules. Mr. Kendall candidly admitted that the difficulty was so great that he could not himself follow the system he had laid down. It appeared to me absurd to study Mr. Kendall's theory, which he himself could not reduce to practice, and I conceived that, if a vocabulary of the New Zealand language was written in which the pronunciation of the vowels was

retained according to the English, the difficulty would be removed. They also spelled proper names different from what they were in the original, by which great difficulties were created both in writing and pronouncing the New Zealand language.

Mr. Kendall gave me no satisfactory reason. I contended that, as the New Zealanders were so quick in learning our language and could pronounce the vowels so well according to our custom, I thought it would be advisable to retain the English pronunciation of the vowels, as this would greatly facilitate the acquirement of the language. The missionaries would soon then learn to speak and write it, while according to the present system they never could. I also recommended that all the English terms for such things as the natives had never seen should be introduced into the New Zealand language – that a sheep should be called a sheep, a cow a cow, etc. If we did not do this the New Zealanders would give their names by comparison, and probably it would



require three or more words in some things to express what we do in one. The New Zealand language is also very impure, and that impurity would increase by allowing them to give names to animals, etc., but if we retained our own terms and interwove our language with theirs, this would tend to make their language more chaste. At present it is very unchaste and offensive.

It was at length determined to write a new vocabulary of the New Zealand language, and to retain the English pronunciation of the vowels and the English terms for such things as the natives never saw. I recommended Mr. Kendall to set about this important work immediately, which he agreed to do. He was not to write this vocabulary on the Church Missionary Society's account, as he is no longer a servant of theirs. I observed to Mr. Kendall that the Society was no debtor to him, but he was a debtor to the Society and therefore should do anything he could to repay them. I promised to furnish him with all the words I could procure from the other missionaries, as I knew that they would cordially write in the plan now adopted.

Sunday, September 28th. – I preached for the Rev. Mr. Williams this morning in his little thatched church – about thirty feet long by fifteen – which has just been built. Several natives attended, besides the Europeans, and behaved well. When once they know the joyful sound they will become a great people. I never saw finer or better behaved children than the children of the natives.

In the evening I preached to the crew of the Brampton on the Island of Mootooroa (Moturoa), about six miles distant from Pyhea. I long much to return to my family and people. To worship God on an island in a savage land is very different from meeting in the assembly of the saints in God's holy temple here on earth. There wants that sacredness and solemnity and holy reverence which appear to be attached to the very walls of God's house where His people meet to worship Him, and which lend so much to excite devout affections in the pious mind.

Monday, September 29th. – This morning we observed some large war canoes cross the harbour, and in a little time afterwards I was informed that Shunghee had returned from his expedition. I was very glad to hear this news, as it was apprehended he would have been exceedingly angry if he had on his return found Mr. Kendall gone. I am in hopes I shall be able to convince him of the necessity of Mr. Kendall's removal, and also induce him to make some other arrangements with him for the good of the Mission. His mind was very much prejudiced against me on his return from England, in consequence of my opposition to the missionaries supplying the natives with muskets and powder. He had also been told that I had written home against him, which made him very angry. He has been expecting Mr. Clark (Clarke) for some time to make him guns. I have retained Mr. Clark in New South Wales until I have a full explanation with Shunghee relative to Mr. Clark's employment should he come to New Zealand. If Shunghee is determined that he shall work as a gunsmith, Mr. Clark must not come. If he will allow him to come as a missionary, he may then venture.[391]



It is much to be lamented that Shunghee is so fond of war, and that from his firearms he is so powerful that no tribe in the island can withstand his force. Great slaughter has been made in this expedition of the inhabitants to the southward. Shunghee has been absent about eight months, fighting on the east side and in the interior. Another party connected with Shunghee was carrying on war on the west side, at a place called Terranakkee (Taranaki), said to be very populous, situated 200 miles or more from the Bay of Islands. A man of high rank, a relation of Shunghee's named Toukoukou, has been killed in this expedition. His friends secured his body and prevented it from falling into the enemy's hands. They cut his head off and have brought it with them. They also cut off all the flesh from the bones and burnt it, to prevent it from being eaten, and brought his bones with them. These they carried a long way overland, and they have arrived to-day. There will be great lamentations over these bones. The death of this chief will cause another expedition against Terranakkee. Whenever a man of high rank is slain in battle, though in the common chance of war, his surviving relatives feel themselves bound to revenge his death whenever they are strong enough to do this.

Tuesday, September 30th. – Last night Mr. Kemp came to Pyhea, and this morning I went with him to Mr. Kendall's, as Mr. Kendall



had consented to hand over some books belonging to the Society. I renewed my conversation with Mr. Kendall respecting the native language, as I wished to gain what information I could on the subject in order that I might form some opinion on the best mode to adopt in learning it. I cannot rely upon my own judgment for want of knowing more of the language myself. From every information I can gain, it appears best to retain the English pronunciation of the vowels. Following the directions of the Grammar with respect to the vowels burdens the memory too much, and is more than the missionaries can accomplish. They read the English language daily, and are in the constant habit of pronouncing the vowels according to custom; when they come to the New Zealand language they are at a stand.

Wednesday, October ist. – This morning I went to visit Tooi's (Tuhi) tribe, accompanied by the Rev. H. Williams and Mr. Kemp. The distance is about nine miles by water. We found an immense number of women and children at home. Tooi and his brother, Korokoro, with his uncle, Repo, and their fighting men were gone to war. Information had arrived that Kipo (Kaipo) had been slain in battle, and that Korokoro had also died a natural death. Kipo was a young man when Captain Cook visited New Zealand. He was a very fine old man and a great warrior. His widow and daughter were dressed in their mourning dress and sat very silent and afflicted together. They literally appeared to sorrow as those without hope. The whole tribe was much concerned for the loss of their chiefs. They told me Tooi was waiting with his brother's body on a small island not far from the Thames until they could bring it to the Bay of Islands. They requested me to come and see Korokoro when his body was brought home. One of Tooi's brothers was there. He told me that Tooi was so much distressed in his mind from the continual wars that he was determined to leave New Zealand. Perhaps as Korokoro is dead, who was so very great a man for war, Tooi may use his influence with his people now to abstain from it, as he will be the head of the tribe. His elder brother, who loves peace, will, I have no doubt, second Tooi if he should be desirous to lead a quiet life. The other chiefs, when they cannot prevail with their neighbouring friends to join them in their expedition, shame them into a compliance by accusing them of cowardice. They urged me very much to send them a missionary to live in their district, said they had been long promised one, and contended they had a claim as Korokoro came first to Parramatta for the missionaries and Tooi afterwards went to England. The reason why a missionary has not resided with them to the

present time is that it has been considered that, as all the fighting parties from the northward and in the Bay of Islands pass by their settlements, a missionary would be much annoyed by them and liable to be robbed, as the New Zealanders are very much like common soldiers in war, and delight in plunder and destruction of property. I hope the day may come when a missionary may be spared for them and safely reside with their tribe, in which the children are very numerous. Should Tooi return previous to my departure I shall be able to learn what are his future intentions, and, now that his brother is dead, he may yet be useful to his countrymen.



THE REV. THOMAS KENDALL RECALCITRANT

Thursday, October 2nd. – This morning I left Pyhea with Mr. Kemp, as I wished to see Shunghee and also to get on with the school. When we arrived at Kiddee Kiddee Shunghee was gone to Wymattee, about twelve miles distant from the missionary settlement, where the principal part of his cultivation is carried on. He is expected to return in a day or two. What reception he will give me I cannot say.

I feel like a person in prison, having no prospect of leaving New Zealand. I am afraid of going to the Thames or any other distant part lest I should lose an opportunity of getting a passage. I should wish to visit Wycotto (Waikato), but the distance is too great unless I was certain a vessel would not arrive in my absence.

Friday, October 3rd. – The Rev. Mr. Turner,[392] missionary from Wangarooa belonging to the Wesleyan Mission, paid us a visit to-day. One great object of his journey was to consult us about the native language. They were all in confusion at their settlement about it, as they could not follow the rules laid down in Mr. Kendall's Grammar with respect to the pronunciation of the vowels. I informed Mr. Turner what resolutions the missionaries had come to respecting it and also what the Rev. Mr. Kendall said. Mr. Turner expressed much satisfaction that an alteration was to be made; that it was his opinion, as well as that of his colleagues, that the English pronunciation of the vowels should be followed. The Rev. Samuel Leigh coincided in the same opinion. I hope this question will now be at rest, as all are unanimously of opinion that the vowels should retain the English pronunciation and that future experience will prove that the mode now adopted is the best.

Saturday, October 4th. – The Rev. Thomas Kendall paid me a visit. He brought me about 500 words for examination and correction to the intended new vocabulary. He appeared very much agitated in his mind and under the government of a very unchristianlike spirit. He inveighed most bitterly against the missionaries, spoke very disrespectfully of the parent committee, and, at the same time, attempted to cast some reflections upon me. I had treated him with great tenderness hitherto, so that he had no cause to complain on any just grounds. He told me he would not leave New Zealand but was determined to come and live at Kiddee Kiddee. What a dreadful tormentor is an accusing conscience! When professors fall into open scandalous sin they lose the fear of God. Their pride increases continually, after their fall, until they become a terror to themselves and to those connected with them. Mr. Kendall appeared to me to be as full of pride, wrath, and bitterness, as if he had never known anything of Christianity. He manifested all the violent passions of a heathen. When professors of religion fall into the snare of the Devil, how dreadfully does the Prince of Darkness work in their hearts! He seems to glory in scourging them in every possible way and inflames their pride to the utmost, while, at the same time, he furnishes them with arguments to vindicate their wicked conduct, either from the example of living or the departed



HONGI INTERVIEWS MARSDEN

saints. If drinking is his sin, he appeals to the example of Noah; if fornication and adultery are his crimes, he tells you the man after God's own heart was guilty of the same. The sorrow which a man in this state may occasionally express for his misconduct springs more from pride and self-love than humility. He is sorry that he has injured his reputation, his temporal interest, and lost his rank in society, but this is only the sorrow of the World. His pride is greater, his haughty spirit is more captious, and he is more vindictive than a man who has never known anything of Divine things. He seems to be wholly under Satanical influence and his last state is worse than his first.

I recommended Mr. Kendall to be cool and to consider what he was about before he went too far, but it was in vain to reason with him. I was apprehensive that he would create much mischief in the Mission, should it be in his power, by his rash and inconsiderate conduct. He contended the Society were bound to pay him his salary and to maintain his family while he remained in New Zealand, and afterwards to find him a passage to England. I replied that if he wanted support for his family until an opportunity offered for his going to Port Jackson, I would direct his wants to be supplied; but I could only do this on the express condition that he left New Zealand by the first opportunity. He replied with much warmth that he was determined to remain and would not be driven out of the Island. I used every argument in my power to pacify him, but to no purpose.

While we were talking Shunghee walked into the room. I had not seen him before since my arrival, as he had only returned a few days from the war and had been out at his farm. I was very sorry that our first meeting should have happened at this unfortunate time, as Mr. Kendall's countenance and manner betrayed the angry state of his mind. Shunghee was very civil but a little reserved. I was afraid Mr. Kendall would say something bitter to him to vex him, and I was very uneasy while he remained. At length he departed, observing to Shunghee that he would see him again, and asked Shunghee if he would allow him to come to live at Kiddee Kiddee. Shunghee said he would pay him a visit in a little time. I invited Shunghee to take tea with me, which he readily agreed to, and we parted afterwards very friendly. At the same time something appeared to be preying upon his mind. He asked me what had passed between me and Mr. Kendall, but I did not think it prudent to tell him the whole. Shunghee behaved much more civil than I expected he would have done, as we did not part very cordially at Parramatta in consequence of my difference with Mr. Kendall about muskets and gunpowder, and on some other accounts.

Sunday, October 5th. – I preached to-day at Kiddee Kiddee and administered the holy Sacrament, but I spent the Sabbath very uncomfortably. I could not free my mind from the great anxiety which Mr. Kendall's violent conduct had excited the last evening. It is very painful to have anything to do with professors of religion who have fallen from their steadfastness and are under the dominion of unbridled passions. They are the most unreasonable of all men. The difficulty is much increased when this happens in a savage land, where there is no legal authority to protect the good from the designs of the fallen, enraged



DISPUTE BETWEEN BUTLER AND MARSDEN

slave of sin. Mr. Kendall's fall must be considered as a most awful event, and has been attended with much distress and misery to himself, his family, and his colleagues, as well as to all the friends of the Mission. It has been a source of grief to all who love the Gospel and pray for the heathen.

Monday, October 6th. – Shunghee was invited to breakfast with me this morning. I wished for an opportunity to enter into a full explanation with him. He accepted my invitation and we met very cordially. After a little conversation he alluded to what had passed between us at Port Jackson when he returned from England, and reminded me that he had told me never to come to New Zealand again. He found by my coming that I was not afraid of the New Zealanders, and observed that my anger was only in my mouth; that if it had been in my heart I should have come no more. I told him I had no cause to be under any

apprehensions, nor was I angry. We conversed upon various subjects, and all prejudice appeared to be removed from his mind. I did not mention to him as yet Mr. Clark's (Clarke) name, but intend to do so the first fair opportunity. I know he has been long talking about him, and has been anxious to see him. It will be a nice point to settle Mr. Clark's business with Shunghee, as he knows he is a gunsmith. If Shunghee will allow him to come as a schoolmaster, and promise that he will not require him to repair his guns, Mr. Clark would be a valuable man in the Mission. I believe Mr. Kemp and Mr. Clark would go on well together. Mr. Kemp wants a pious companion to second him in the work of the Mission.

We held a committee to-day, when different subjects came under consideration. I conceived the house which the committee had agreed to build for Mr. Samuel Butler far too large and expensive. I told the missionaries that it was out of my power to sanction such unnecessary expenditure of the Society's funds. Mr. Butler did not like the alteration, as he thought his son ought to have such a house as the committee had agreed to. At length I carried the alteration, and the building was reduced to 48 feet by 15, divided into different rooms.[393] This





was a building quite large enough and to spare, as Mr. Butler has only his wife and himself. The public business took up the whole day, during which many unpleasant observations passed in the committee, which grieved me much. The evils of this Mission have been very great.

Tuesday, October 7th. – This day the committee met again to close the matters under consideration. I was far from being satisfied with all that had been done. The Rev. John Butler had been very warm, and had expressed himself very unguardedly. His son had also shown a very improper disposition. I was determined to write to the Rev. John Butler and to speak to both him and his son, to point out to them what appeared to me so very improper in their conduct at the committee.

After the committee closed I went with Shunghee, accompanied by the Rev. John Butler, to fix upon a place for a small house for Shunghee 20 feet by 10. I have no doubt but a little house will be highly acceptable to him, and it is but right that he should have one. I have long wished this to be done for him and I hope it now will.

Wednesday, October 8th. – I sent for Mr. John Butler this morning and spoke both to him and his son relative to what passed at the committee, and also wrote him a public letter which I hope will be attended with some good effect. It is painful to have to reprove persons in public situations, who ought to conduct themselves so as never to require anything unpleasant to be said to them. I wrote also a letter to the Rev. Thomas Kendall upon his improper conduct on the fourth instant at Kiddee Kiddee. I feel my situation far from being pleasant in such a society. There are some in the Mission whom I much esteem for their piety and Christian behaviour. I would they were all such.





Shunghee called upon me in the morning, and we had much conversation upon different subjects. He told me that he wished to turn his attention to agriculture, if I would send him a man to teach his people to plough and furnish him with a team. He would then make a road into the interior to Wymattee (Waimate), about twelve miles from the missionary settlement, where the land was rich, and carry on his cultivation there. I replied that if he would give over fighting he should have a man and a team, and told him if he wished to be king of New Zealand he must become a great farmer first and get plenty of provisions, and, when he grew rich in provisions, he would increase his power and influence on New Zealand. However, he did not promise to abstain from war. At the same time he expressed a strong desire to cultivate wheat, etc. He wants some object of importance to employ his great mind. There is nothing in New Zealand but war that can meet his active spirit. Agriculture alone offers a substitute, and I think that would have a good effect. I now told him that Mr. Clark was at Port Jackson, teaching the natives in the Colony, and I wished to know if he would allow him to teach the children at Kiddee Kiddee if I should send him down. He said he might come to Kiddee Kiddee and teach school. Shunghee had long been looking for Mr. Clark to make muskets for him, and he told me at Port Jackson he was coming for that purpose. I did not mention the muskets to him at this time; it was too sore a subject to touch upon. I believe Shunghee will give up this point at last. I was very much pleased with the whole of his conversation, and particularly with his remarks upon agriculture. He told me that he was apprehensive that the English would send soldiers to New Zealand from Port Jackson, and take the country from them. I told him we had plenty of land at Port Jackson – more than we wanted – and took a chart and showed him what a little spot New Zealand was compared with New Holland, and that New Zealand was not an object to the English and therefore he need not be afraid of them. When he saw the chart he seemed satisfied. I told him I thought the chiefs of New Zealand had better make him king, and then he might put an end to their wars. He replied the chiefs would not be persuaded to do this by him; that when he was at war he was feared and respected, but when he returned home they would not hearken to anything he might say. I endeavoured to point out to him the evils of civil war – that it must destroy the country and therefore ought not to be practised, that if a foreign enemy came to fight them then they might go to war, but not one with another. He said he had conquered all the country further than Towrangha (Tauranga), as well in the interior as on the coast, and had made peace with them, and that great numbers had been cut off. He showed me where he had been struck three times with a ball. His helmet saved him once, and his coat of mail once, and a ball had hit his thigh. After dinner I accompanied the Rev. Henry Williams to his station, where I remained for the night.

Thursday, October 9th. – This day I spent with the Rev. Henry Williams. I am happy to see him go on so well. He and his family are now comfortably settled and are happy in their new situation. I think they will prove a great blessing to the Mission. He is a man of a superior character, and better informed than any who have hitherto



The Mission Station at Kerikeri in 1824.

From the Atlas of the Histoire du Voyage de la Coquille (Paris, 1826).

The Coquille, commanded by Captain L. I. Duperrey, reached the Bay of Islands on April 4th, 1824, and remained there for a fortnight. Renamed the Astrolabe in memory of the lost navigator La Perouse, and commanded by Captain Dumont d'Urville, who had served as a lieutenant under Duperrey, the vessel again visited New Zealand in 1826-7, and in 1840. On April 26th of that year she entered the Bay of Islands and remained there for a week during the excitement caused by the arrival of Governor Hobson and the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

While the Coquille lay in the Bay of Islands in 1824, Dumont d'Urville remarks, "the most amiable relations were maintained between the French and the natives, and several officers made an interesting visit to Kidi-Kidi (Kerikeri), the principal station of the English missionaries at this place." – Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe (Paris, 1831), Vol. I, p. 7, and Vol. Ill, p. 672.

[Inserted unpaginated illustration]

ETABLISSEMENT DES MISSIONAIRES ANGLAIS A KIDIKIDI (NOUVELLE ZELANDE)
Lejeune et Chazal delint.



been employed in this Mission. I hope he will be able to correct and remedy in time many evils that have existed, and also set an example to the rest what they as missionaries should do.

Friday, October 10th. – This morning I left the Rev. Mr. Williams and proceeded to Monganuee (Mangonui), where Mr. Samuel Butler is stationed, about fourteen miles distant. On my arrival there I met with the Rev. John Butler and Mr. William Hall. We fixed upon the place where the new house is to stand.[394] Most of the materials are on the spot. It is an excellent station in every respect, provided those employed will do their best. In the evening I returned to Rangheehoo with Mr. Hall, where we arrived before nine o'clock. I had not visited Rangheehoo since the shipwreck. A school is now begun here, and I hope it will go on well under the care of Messrs. Hall and King. The natives are all very quiet, and they live in as much peace as they could in any civilized country. They assured me they have now no trouble whatever with the natives. The missionaries never would have had much trouble if they could only have agreed amongst themselves. It is not the natives that have distressed them, but they have tormented and distressed one another.

Saturday, October 11th. – This day I visited the old chief Rawkou (Rakau) and his family. His son[395] pressed me much to allow him to go to New South Wales. One native young woman gave me a very bad account of Mr. Kendall's conduct. She made many very proper remarks upon the impropriety of his proceedings. She said she had been told he would not leave New Zealand. I replied if he did not his friends would not send him any more supplies of tea, sugar, etc., and he would be in want. She answered he had got plenty of money and would purchase what he wanted for himself. After some conversation the young woman asked me to give her a little print for a gown. I told her I was afraid that she went on board a ship and did wrong. She assured me that she had never been on board a ship since I first went with Duaterra (Ruatara) to New Zealand, and that she never would go. I believe she told me the truth from the manner in which she spoke and the reasons she gave me. I was much pleased with the whole of her observations. I told her if I found upon enquiry that what she stated was true I would give her a new gown.

While we were talking two other young women joined us. One of them wished to know what was the subject of our conversation. I told her I had been informed the young woman went on board a ship, and I supposed she was one that did so. She replied if I had been told that she had ever gone on board a ship for improper purposes I had been told what was false, for she never had. I then charged the third young woman with doing so, who did not attempt to deny that she had. I was much pleased with the moral virtue of the two first I conversed with. They spoke of such improprieties with more disgust than I



could have conceived any woman in their situation could have possessed. I firmly believe they said what was true. They desired me to appeal to the Europeans or to their own people, who could affirm the truth of their assertions. A brother of one of the young women, a fine youth, died at Parramatta.

In the evening I called upon Wycotto (Waikato), as I could not see him before as he was out at work on his farm. We had a long conversation on the distressed state of New Zealand in consequence of their perpetual wars. He told me many thousands had been slain since his return from Europe, and that, at Shunghee's earnest request, he had accompanied him in one expedition to the River Thames against Enakkee (Te Hinaki). The scenes of slaughter and cannibalism at and after the battle in which Enakkee was killed were so horrid and offensive to him that he could not eat anything for four days. He spoke with the greatest abhorrence of the cannibalism of his countrymen, and said that he would never go to war again; that Shunghee had solicited him to accompany him in his last expedition against Rotooru (Rotorua), but he had refused to go. He observed the New Zealanders would never be quiet from war – that he could not live in the country – and asked me if I would afford him any protection if he and his family came to Port Jackson. I promised him I would. He said he had seen Shunghee since his return, who informed him that it was his intention to form another expedition against Terranakee (Taranaki) as soon as I left New Zealand, but he would not do it until I was gone.[396]

He asked me if I had seen Shunghee and whether he was friendly or not. I told him I had, and that we were very friendly. He thought our difference at Port Jackson might have interrupted our friendship, and expressed his satisfaction that we were reconciled. Wycotto observed that there was no force in New Zealand that

could resist the people at the Bay of Islands – they were so powerful from the abundance of arms and ammunition which they possessed – and lamented that they had such means for continual war which occasioned such great public calamities, famine, and distress everywhere, as all their pork and potatoes were destroyed and their farms neglected. I replied it would be much better for all the chiefs to assemble and make Shunghee king, upon condition that he would not fight but protect them. He asked me if I had mentioned this to Shunghee. I informed him I had. Wycotto approved of Shunghee having the authority, if he would only be quiet, and said he would go to see Shunghee and talk with him on the subject; but he had little hope that Shunghee would abstain from war. As for himself and some others, they were ashamed, when called upon to join in an expedition, not to go, as they would be considered as cowards if they did not, however much averse to war they were; but he was determined to leave New Zealand rather than be compelled to fight. His wife told me she would give me a slave on Monday morning. He was a chief's son who had been killed in battle. The boy had been taken a prisoner of war. I accepted her offer, as this would redeem another poor creature from the sorest bondage and slavery. A slave has no security for his life. His master kills him whenever he pleases, and



treats him in any way his passions may dictate. They are much to be pitied. Nothing but the Gospel of our blessed God can effectually provide a remedy for their spiritual and temporal bondage.

Sunday, October 12th. – I preached to-day at Rangheehoo both the morning and evening. It gives me much pleasure to see a school at length begun. The children are capable of learning anything that we wish to teach them. It is much to be lamented that they have been so long neglected. It is most distressing to think of the evils which have existed amongst the Europeans, which have impeded all improvements amongst the natives.

Monday, October 13th. – Early this morning Wycotto brought me the boy his wife had made me a present of on Saturday evening. I found on enquiry that his father had been killed in battle a considerable distance to the southward of the River Thames, and he was made a prisoner of war at the time, that he had been taken prisoner a second time and brought to the Bay of Islands. I intend to take him with me to the Colony and give him some useful instruction, so that he may be of advantage to his country at some distant period should Providence open the way.

I had much conversation with Werreepork on the state of New Zealand. He is a chief of very considerable influence and considered one of the bravest warriors in New Zealand. He wishes for peace, and requested me to speak to Shunghee on the subject. If Shunghee would give up fighting, most of the chiefs in the Bay of Islands appear anxious to attend to their cultivation and to their families. Their minds are gradually enlarging, only they want an object – something of importance to exercise their active abilities with. I have recommended to several of them to turn their attention to the building of a vessel of about 120 tons, with which they could keep up a constant communication with Port Jackson. Many of them are very anxious to go there. If they would turn their attention to agriculture and commerce, these would furnish a field sufficient to occupy their minds. They would increase their wants and their means of supplying them. Until something of this kind is adopted, I cannot conceive how their wars are to be prevented. When they have lost a near relation in battle their minds continually dwell upon the death of their friend, having nothing to occupy them. If they are able to revenge the death of their friend, they will attempt it as soon as possible; if not, they will think of their loss for years, and mourn over it, and if, at any future period, they can obtain satisfaction during their life, they will never lose an opportunity. Their wounded feelings never appear to be healed, and they feel it a sacred duty which they owe to their departed relatives to punish those by whose hands they have fallen, though they were cut off by the common chance of war. It is possible if they had a regular intercourse with civil society, and objects of importance to occupy their minds, the force of those national affections and superstitious notions would be gradually weakened and their feelings relieved. It is to be hoped that the rising generation will have different views and different objects in view, as they will be better informed in civil matters and less instructed in their art of war. In the evening I went to Pyhea to visit the Rev. H. Williams, and found all well.



Tuesday, October 14th. – This morning I returned to Kiddee Kiddee with Mrs. Kemp, who had been on a visit to Mrs. Williams. I wished to have some further conversation with Shunghee relative to the state of New Zealand. On my arrival I learned he was gone to Wymattee to superintend the planting of his sweet potatoes. I had a long conversation with Riva (Rewha), the next in command to Shunghee. He had heard that his brother had been killed in battle, and another chief to the southward, and said that if the information was correct he must go and revenge his death immediately. I pointed out to him the calamities of war, and how much better it would be for them to cultivate the arts of peace. He replied his heart was so big when he thought of his brother that he could not keep it down, and satisfaction he must have before he could rest.

Wednesday, October 15th. – Riva called upon me this morning,, and we renewed our conversation upon the distressed state of New Zealand on account of their internal wars. I told him that the chiefs had better make Shunghee king, and then there might be some prospect of peace. He replied the chiefs of New Zealand would never consent to do that, because they would think this would degrade them to have any superior. I told him this would not affect their estates or their liberty, as Shunghee, if he was appointed king, could not take their lands from them any more than King George could take the lands from the gentlemen in England. He replied they were in a very different state, and asked me if I intended to compare the chiefs in New Zealand with the chiefs in England. I told him if they could not agree to make Shunghee king, I thought the chiefs of the Bay of Islands might unite and build a vessel, and, if they would do this, I would furnish them with a shipwright. Many of them wished to come to Port Jackson; they might then come when they wished to do so. He replied the chiefs would never agree together in having a ship for each of them would want to have the direction, and observed that they could not agree to allow the missionaries to live all together. Everyone wants them to reside with their tribes. Those who have not got missionaries in their district, their hearts are sick and they are continually coveting them. He made many pointed remarks upon the corruption of the men's hearts and on the passions that governed them.

The New Zealanders are men of great reflection and observation,, and they try to find out the motive for every act which a man does. It is a very common observation with them that the outside of a man may be seen but the inside cannot, and they frequently observe to me, after I have been conversing with any of their countrymen, "You hear them speak, but you do not know what is in their hearts!" If it should ever please God to give them the knowledge of His grace and love, they will become a very wonderful people. They study human nature with the closest attention, and endeavour to find out every man's real character from the whole of his conduct. A rude and violent man is very offensive to them. Amongst themselves they live in great peace and harmony. I have not seen either man, woman, or boy struck by one another since I have been in the island.

Wednesday, October 22nd. – To-day Temmarangha (Te Morenga) paid me a visit, having just returned from war. He is a man of very



high rank – a great warrior at the same time humane and a lover of peace. I found him one of the most intelligent chiefs in New Zealand when I formerly was in the island. In one journey, about three years ago, he accompanied me to the west side of New Zealand to Towrangha (Tauranga) and to various other parts. We were

about three months on our journey.

Shunghee and Temmarangha have always been very jealous of each other. They had a difference when I was in New Zealand before, in which Temmarangha had eight men killed and some wounded. Temmarangha afterwards made an attack upon Shunghee's settlement, where the missionaries reside, and burned his war canoes. That difference has not been finally settled yet. Neither Temmarangha nor Shunghee appear to have been in such a situation since the above period as to venture to decide their quarrel by force of arms. It is expected they will do this when a fair opportunity offers. Ever since Shunghee's return from England he has had enough to do in carrying on his wars to the southward, in order to revenge the death of some of his friends who were cut off in his absence. In these wars Temmarangha has joined him.

Shunghee came into my room while Temmarangha was with me. They saluted each other with much politeness. In the course of our conversation they gave me a very particular account of their last expedition to Rotooru (Rotorua). When they went to war against the tribes of the River Thames, there was a chief there from Rotooru. He was along with the chief whom Shunghee and Temmarangha were going to attack. Temmarangha advised him to return to Rotooru before the action began, as he might be cut off. They had no difference with him and Temmarangha did not wish him to risk his life. However, the chief remained with his friend, and fell in battle. Shortly after this action a trading party went to Rotooru from the Bay of Islands and Wangarooa. The inhabitants of Rotooru, having lost one of their chiefs at the Thames and taking these traders for spies, killed fifteen of them and the rest narrowly escaped. When this information arrived at the Bay of Islands, Shunghee, in conjunction with the other chiefs, prepared to revenge the deaths of their friends upon the people of Rotooru. A large army was assembled from the different tribes and Shunghee proceeded at their head to Towrangha. The number of war canoes which met at Towrangha is stated to amount to one hundred. Rotooru is an island situated in the middle of a large lake in the interior, and very populous.[397] Shunghee had to make roads through the woods and to drag his canoes to the lake, which was accomplished in about twelve days. There are two lakes which the army had to cross. The second and largest is Rotooru. Two chiefs, Pomare and Showrakkee (Hauraki), proceeded before Shunghee, and the main body attacked the inhabitants on the island in the first lake. They were both defeated, lost part of their men and were nearly cut off themselves, and compelled to retreat to Shunghee. When Shunghee arrived at the large lake he launched his canoes and advanced towards the island, which he found fortified all round, very populous, and the inhabitants prepared to



THE BATTLE AT ROTORUA

defend themselves. Shunghee examined the island for three days before he fixed on a place to make an attack. All the chiefs were afraid, excepting Shunghee; they conceived the place was too strong for them. Their fortifications were very near the edge of the lake.

When Shunghee had determined the point where he would begin his operations, he recommended that all the canoes should advance at once in line of battle. He took the centre, and every chief had the command of the men of his own tribe. When he drew near the shore they heard the natives in the fort say, "Shunghee is not there." One of the chiefs named Showrakkee had married a wife from that place.[398] He landed her, and she went into the fort to request her friends to make their escape, or they would be put to death. She told them Shunghee was there and pointed him out. The people then cried aloud, "There is the god of New Zealand; we shall all be killed."

As soon as the chief saw Shunghee he fired at him and the ball passed through the front of his helmet but did not wound him. The chief fired two more shots at Shunghee; one hit his arm and the other his thigh. After this the natives rushed out of the fort to oppose Shunghee's army in their landing, when a very great slaughter was made. They could not resist the firearms of Shunghee's forces and fell in great numbers. Shunghee told me he had fifteen muskets himself which his servants loaded for him as he fired them. The island was soon subdued, and about five hundred prisoners of war were taken. Shunghee lost some of his people and had many wounded.

In some parts of this lake the water is hot and full of sulphur springs. Shunghee had his wounded bathed in these warm springs, in which they lay all night. He told me he could make the water any heat he wished, as some of it was always boiling, by making little channels in the mud to convey either the hot or cold water into the baths where his people lay. It cured them also of cutaneous eruptions and other complaints.

After the island was subdued peace was established, when they returned to Towrangha with their prisoners of war, many of whom had made their escape in the night. Shunghee's army on their return were so fatigued in dragging their canoes through the woods that they were unable to guard their prisoners of war, being overpowered with sleep. Tooi (Tuhi) was in this action; he had an uncle killed named Kipo (Kaipo).

The hunger, toil, and hardships the New Zealanders suffer in. these expeditions are very great. They are a very persevering people. No privations or hardships can prevent them pursuing any object their minds are set upon.

I was told that Shunghee and Pomare in this expedition had some difference. Pomare wished to have the matter immediately settled by force of arms. Shunghee objected, alleging that while they were in an enemy's country they should unite their forces, and, when they returned to the Bay of Islands, they could then decide their present disputes. Pomare is a very proud man: he had not returned when I sailed. How their difference will be settled when he arrives in uncertain.. I think he will be quiet.



KENDALL'S INFLUENCE UPON HONGI

Thursday, October 23rd. – To-day I went down to see Captain Walker of the Dragon in order to get a passage, if I could, to Port Jackson. He demanded a thousand pounds. In the evening I proceeded to Pyhea to the Rev. H. Williams' station. Mr. Kemp and Shunghee accompanied me. I had much conversation with Shunghee about the state of New Zealand. He said, for the first time I had ever heard him, that he had no wish for war, but the other chiefs called upon him to revenge their quarrels. I wished to know whether I might send Mr. Clark (Clarke) to New Zealand or not, and what the real thoughts of his heart were on the subject – whether he would let Mr. Clark be quiet. He asked Mr. Kemp if he ever troubled him now. Mr. Kemp replied, "No." He would not promise, but intimated I might trust him without his word. I therefore resolved to send him.

Friday, October 24th. – This morning I wrote a note to the Rev. T. Kendall to know whether he intended to go to Port Jackson with me if I took up the Dragon. I called upon Captain Walker on my way to Kiddee Kiddee; he still stood out for £1,000. I am very anxious to return home but must remain unless Mr. Walker lowers his terms. I received a letter from Mr. Kendall this day written on the 14th inst. He shows a very unchristian spirit through the whole.

Sunday, October 26th. – Assisted in the Divine service, but was not comfortable. Found my mind too much burdened with difficulties that I could not enjoy the Sabbath as I ought. It is very distressing to have to do with unreasonable professors of religion. I have always found it more easy to deal with unreasonable and wicked men than such characters. In the evening I was informed the Rev. T. Kendall was arrived at Kiddee Kiddee. He did not visit the missionary settlement, but

went to Shunghee with whom he remained all night – a strong proof of the state of his mind, when he could prefer on the Sabbath evening the company and conversation of savages to the society of his countrymen in the very sight of their houses. I suspected his intention was not good, but to prejudice and inflame Shunghee's mind against myself and all the missionaries.

Monday, October 27th. – This morning Mr. Kemp sent to invite Mr. Kendall to breakfast, but he declined coming. I wished Mr. Kemp to do this to soften things as well as we could, knowing the influence he had over Shunghee's mind. Mr. Kemp afterwards went over to Mr. Kendall to request him to settle his accounts with him as he was at Kiddee Kiddee, but he refused to come. Shunghee was very distant with Mr. Kemp, and wanted to know why I and all the missionaries were angry with Mr. Kendall. Shunghee told Mr. Kemp that Mr. Butler was a bad man and should not stay at Kiddee Kiddee, and made many more unfavourable observations. Mr. Kendall had promised to build Shunghee a house and to come and live with him at Kiddee Kiddee. I saw he had wrought powerfully upon Shunghee's mind. Mr. Kemp invited Shunghee to dine with me, but he declined. At length Mr. Kendall went away without calling upon me or any of the missionaries.

After dinner I called upon Shunghee; he was rather distant. We had some conversation upon indifferent things, when I returned home. I was very much hurt to think that Mr. Kendall should act such an





unchristian part as it appeared from Shunghee's conduct he was doing. I had also an unpleasant altercation with the Rev. John Butler about his son's house. He told me repeatedly he would leave the Mission; he would not remain in New Zealand to be annoyed as he was. There was no cause whatever for him to be angry, and I replied he was at liberty to leave the Mission when he thought proper. His son, in the first place, wanted an extravagant house building, far too large and expensive for a missionary. I had reduced the plan considerably, but still it appeared to me unnecessarily large. His son was hurt that I had made any alterations, and spoke in a very improper manner. I sent for the carpenter and gave him the plan of the house that I wished to have built at Tee,[399] and desired him to inform me when he would complete it; when it was done he was to hand over the key to Mr. Butler, and Mr. Samuel Butler was not to interfere with the building, but to attend to the duty which he was sent out to perform – the education of the children. At the same time I pointed out to the Rev. John Butler that his son had wholly neglected his duty since his arrival in New Zealand in having no school of any kind, which was very disgraceful to all concerned.[400]

After I had expressed my sentiments to the Rev. J. Butler relative to his son's house and had shown him the plans, he left Kiddee Kiddee for Tee, where his son was, and informed him that I made some alterations in the plan of his house and reduced the dimensions. His son left the Tee and arrived in the evening at Kiddee Kiddee to remonstrate with me. I told him the carpenter had received orders to build a house at Tee containing four rooms – one for a kitchen, two bedrooms, and a dining room – which I considered large enough for any missionary with a small family; that he was not to interfere with the carpenter, and, when the house was completed, the key would be given to him if he was at that station. In the meantime he was to employ himself on a school immediately. Mr. Butler told me in the morning in his anger that if he was in his son's situation he would not stay in the Mission. I told him they might both retire when they wished to do so. In that unfortunate temper he went to Tee, and I learned he had gone afterwards on board the Dragon which lay about six miles distant. He has a very unhappy temper and cannot bear any control.





In my last public letter addressed to the missionaries I cautioned all of them not to go on board any of the vessels in the harbour, for by so doing they would fall into snares and be tempted to drink and expose themselves to contempt and disgrace. This has been one of the principal evils that they have fallen into, and has led to many others. From Mr. Kendall's conduct this day I believe he has no intention to leave New Zealand. It will not be safe to leave the Rev. J. Butler and him in the island. I must take one at least with me, and it would be well for the Mission if both were removed. How difficult it is to know how to act! However, I must not hesitate. If I cannot persuade Mr. Kendall, who is now out of the Mission, to leave New Zealand, I must compel Mr. Butler, who is still a servant of the Society's, to accompany me, and this will be a painful duty.

Tuesday, October 28th. – This morning I accompanied Captain Moore on board the Dragon, when we made a final agreement with Captain Walker for his vessel to convey us to Port Jackson. I agreed to pay Captain Walker for my share of the freight 1,200 dollars and Captain Moore 1,600. I was much concerned to learn that the Rev. Mr. Butler had been on board the preceding evening in a state of inebriety. What insurmountable difficulties has this Mission to contend with! How awful is the consideration that the two clergymen who ought to have been the stay and the strength of the Mission should be the principals in transgression. When I consider the errors and the crimes of which the missionaries have been guilty, I am astonished that it has existed so long. I am convinced if it had been possible for men or devils to have overturned the Mission it would have been at an end long ago. I admire the forbearance and patience of the natives on many occasions. In many instances they are an example both in word and deed to the missionaries. God will bless this Mission in the end, and, by some means or other, make the wickedness of man to promote His glory. He will find men after His own heart, in due time, to carry on His work, and these heathen shall praise Him. After leaving the Dragon I proceeded to Pyhea and remained all night with the Rev. H. Williams.

Wednesday, October 29th. – This morning I requested the Rev. H. Williams to accompany me to Mr. Kendall, as I had some accounts to settle with him on account of the Society. Being aware of his rude and violent conduct I did not think it prudent to go alone. We met him in the boat coming over the bay and returned with him to his house. I settled my business with him as far as related to the timber we had purchased, etc. At length he began to break out in the most violent manner and to cast severe reflections upon me and the Society. The Rev. Henry Williams attempted to point out the impropriety of his conduct and to pacify his mind. He soon became outrageous with Mr. Williams and extremely rude. While we were in conversation Messrs. Moore and Walker came in. I informed Mr. Kendall that I had provided a passage for him in the Dragon, expecting he would tell me when he would be ready to embark; but instead of this he continued to pour out his reproaches upon the Society for their injustice to him, and to reflect upon my conduct also. I made very little reply to all his bitter language. Mr. Williams reasoned with him a little, until Mr. Kendall





jumped up in a rage and took his hat and walked out of the house using some strong language to Mr. Williams. I got up and told Mr. Williams we had better take our departure. No man in bedlam was ever more under the influence of insanity than Mr. Kendall appears to be under the influence of a wicked and satanical spirit. Captain Walker wished to know Mr. Kendall's intentions relative to his embarking, but I could not tell him for he would not inform me.

I am surrounded by very great and painful difficulties on every side. I can do nothing with Mr. Kendall, and what I shall do with the Rev. John Butler I cannot tell. His conduct must not be passed over unnoticed. I must call him to account for it and I am apprehensive he will not be able to justify himself, which will leave me no alternative but either to suspend him or dismiss him altogether. Either will be very painful. I also feel great anxiety lest I should be obliged to leave both the Rev.

John Butler and Thomas Kendall in New Zealand. If Mr. Kendall puts his threat in execution and goes to live with Shunghee, his mind must be bent upon evil, and it is impossible to see what may be the consequences. I have experienced a thousand times more fear, anxiety, and vexation from the misconduct of the Europeans than from the whole of the natives put together. The natives as a body of heathens have behaved well, and have been much more kind to the missionaries than some of them have deserved. Mr. Kendall's family were left under their protection during his absence in England, and they were very attentive to it. There is nothing to prevent their civilization but the want of proper means – good and faithful missionaries. God will never bless that man whose heart is full of lust and pride and envy.

Thursday, October 30th. – It was my intention to have returned to Kiddee Kiddee to-day, but I could not on account of the stormy weather. I therefore spent the day with the Rev. Henry Williams. I am at a loss what to do with the Rev. John Butler. He cannot remain in the Mission unless he proves his innocence. I have ever been persuaded since he landed in New Zealand that he is a man totally unqualified for the work. His violent temper carries him beyond the bounds of decency, and not only endangers his own life but the lives of his colleagues. He never will alter his conduct. His habits have become fixed and cannot, humanly speaking, ever be eradicated. How happy shall I be to see the day when the missionaries have love like brethren and constrain the heathen to say, "See how these Christians love!" At present I hear little from the natives but complaints against the missionaries for their quarrels and disputes one with another. This has a very bad effect upon their minds and they repeatedly speak of it to me.

Friday, October 31st. – To-day I left Pyhea and returned to Kiddee Kiddee, when I communicated to the Rev. John Butler the information I had received relative to his conduct on board the brig Dragon. He denied the charge. I recommended him if guilty to retire quietly from the Mission. However, he demanded an investigation which I told him should be granted. From the whole of the circumstances, as related to me, I have no doubt of the extreme impropriety of his conduct. After much conversation with Mr. Butler upon various circumstances that had occurred, I informed him that he must leave New Zealand and return



with me to New South Wales; that the difference between him and Mr. Kendall and some other circumstances that had taken place between him and the natives rendered his removal a matter of necessity. At length he expressed his conviction that it was necessary that he should remove for a time. I recommended also that his son should accompany him, as it would not be prudent to leave so young a man situated as he was with the natives. It was very painful to have recourse to such measures, and it required the utmost caution in carrying into execution what existing circumstances demanded to be done. The natives were all eye and all ear, watching every look and every motion. I sent for Shunghee and told him what I had resolved to do; that it was my intention to take Mr. Butler and his son with me to Port Jackson, and stated my reasons for doing so. Shunghee approves of my intention. He had expressed his displeasure at Mr. Butler's conduct before. Swearing is a capital offence in New Zealand, and Mr. Butler was accused of this sin. Shunghee had said he had heard him swear himself. As a chief's wife had told me previous to Shunghee's return from the war that Mr. Butler was guilty of swearing and that Shunghee was angry with him for it, as Shunghee mentioned after his return that he had heard him and it had made a very bad impression upon his mind, I concluded that Mr. Butler had been guilty of some unguarded expressions. From the whole of what Shunghee said, he would be glad of his removal. As Shunghee and Mr. Kendall were such warm friends, I was persuaded that it would be safe neither for Mr. Butler nor the other missionaries for him to remain.

It was now whispered amongst the natives that Mr. Butler was going. All wished to know the real cause. It was difficult to satisfy their enquiries. I had only one strong argument which they could understand to advance in favour of his going away, viz., that he was often angry, and that they did not like an angry man. I was afraid when Mr. Butler was angry that some of them would be angry and strike Mr. Butler and then there would be a fight, and that no missionary must fight. They admitted the force of this argument, as many of them had mentioned to me that Mr. Butler was, to use their own words, "too much fight." I have nothing to apprehend from any opposition the natives may show to his departure. There is nothing that they despise more than a passionate man. They are not accustomed to fight amongst themselves excepting in regular warfare, and they cannot bear an angry man. When I have told them that I intend to send them a missionary, they have immediately asked me what tempered man he was, and that if he was an angry, fighting man they would beg of me not to send him. If he was the same as some individual they would name for mildness of temper, they would request he might be sent.

I had much conversation with Mr. Butler upon the improprieties that had been committed ever since the first establishment of the Mission at Kiddee Kiddee, pointed out to him the serious errors in which he had fallen – how the instruction of the natives had been lost sight of, that no schools had been built while a very large and unnecessary building had been put up for him – and could not tell how he could account to the Society for these things. Mr. Butler admitted he had done wrong, but contended that he was now prepared to carry on the work



with effect, and lamented that those adverse circumstances should occur at this particular time. I replied it was now impossible for him to stay. I could not leave him and Mr. Kendall in the Island together as they were both so violent. I told him what Shunghee said, and it could not be foreseen what might happen if he was not removed.

While we were talking in the garden two chiefs came in and wished to know if I was angry with Mr. Butler. They also mentioned that they had been told Shunghee had said Mr. Butler should not remain at Kiddee Kiddee. We enquired from whom they had received their information and they immediately told us, from which Mr. Butler was convinced what impression had been made upon Shunghee's mind in his last interview with Mr. Kendall. Mr. Kendall, when he was at Kiddee Kiddee on the 4th ultimo, told me he would bring his family up to the settlement and fix them in sight of the Society's store, where they should remain until they starved to death. This declaration showed the desperate state of his mind and how he is governed by unsubdued passions. After many arguments, Mr. Butler saw that if Mr. Kendall came to Kiddee Kiddee he could not remain. Mr. Butler was greatly agitated; he had many painful reflections, and the charge of late inebriety to answer for as I told him it was impossible for me to look over such a charge without an investigation without committing myself and the interest of the Mission. I recommended him to weigh well the charge and the probability of his conviction before he attempted to justify his conduct.

Saturday, November 1st, 1823. – I left Kiddee Kiddee this morning with the Rev. John Butler and Mrs. Leigh, and proceeded on board the Dragon in order to see what accommodations could be provided for him and his family, as I had fully determined that he should be removed from New Zealand. Mr. Butler was very unhappy; he could not but see the great impropriety in his conduct as the head of the Mission. It was his duty to have been an example to all the other missionaries of meekness, of wisdom, and of godliness. He should, as their shepherd, have watched over them with pious care and conciliated their minds by well-timed attentions. On the contrary, the missionaries had no respect for him; he had been violent and very headstrong, which had destroyed all that esteem which they ought to have had for their minister. This was a misfortune much to be lamented. I was fully convinced that the wounds would never be healed in the minds of his colleagues. The natives also were very much dissatisfied with his violent temper, which he could not control, and complained to me on this account. The most rooted hatred appeared to exist between the Rev. T. Kendall and him. I was very apprehensive that if Mr. Kendall went to live at Kiddee Kiddee the differences

between them might occasion some very serious quarrels amongst the natives, and might cause some of them to be cut off. From all the existing circumstances, as Mr. Kendall would not leave New Zealand, there was no alternative but to take the Rev. Mr. Butler with me, and I therefore told him plainly he must retire to Port Jackson. After leaving the brig Dragon, Mrs. Leigh accompanied me to Pyhea on a visit to Mrs. Williams who expected to be confined every day. We arrived in the evening, where we were welcomed by the Rev. H. Williams and his lady. I had only left them the day before, under



a promise to return immediately I had arranged the plan for the Rev. J. Butler to quit. The situation of Mr. Williams' station is most beautiful, and the natives very well behaved. They are as quiet and feel themselves as secure as if they were in any part of England. I have no doubt but they will be blessed in their work.

Sunday, November 2nd. – I spent this Sabbath with comfort at Pyhea, where I preached and administered the sacrament, and christened a little boy born here since we arrived belonging to the carpenter, Mr. Fairburn. Our congregation of Europeans was but small, only eleven besides natives, yet we found it good to wait upon the Lord. I always feel comfortable at Pyhea. A church I hope will be raised here against which the gates of Hell will never prevail.

Monday, November 3rd. – This morning I purposed to visit Kiddee Kiddee to arrange with the missionaries for making the enquiry into the charge against the Rev. John Butler. I had to wait until Mr. Moore came to Mootooroa (Moturoa) with the boat. He arrived about ten o'clock. From Pyhea we went on board the Dragon, where I unexpectedly met the Revs. Kendall and Butler with Mr. King. Mr. Kendall was very distant. There were on board two of the brothers of the young woman with whom Mr. Kendall had cohabited. One of them appeared very indignant and angry with me. I asked him how he did; he turned with savage disdain from me. I knew the cause of his displeasure. It wholly originated from my discountenance of the conduct of the Rev. Thomas Kendall, who was present. Riva, another chief from Kiddee Kiddee, who had accompanied the Rev. John Butler, a man of high rank and influence, wished to know the reason why I had ordered Mr. Butler to leave New Zealand and asked me if Shunghee had been saying anything to me against Mr. Butler. I clearly saw that Mr. Butler had been very imprudently working upon this chief's mind, as he spoke to me with some degree of warmth. I told him Mr. Butler was too violent in his temper to remain at New Zealand; reminded him how he had complained to me of him for striking one of the natives and had expressed his displeasure, and further told him that no missionary who struck a New Zealander should remain in the country – that the natives were not to strike the missionaries nor the missionaries the natives, and, in either case, the Europeans should not live in New Zealand. At length he was perfectly satisfied and approved of this plan, and made no objection to the removal of Mr. Butler. I avoided relating to him what Shunghee had said to me on the subject, as I thought it more prudent for Shunghee to explain his sentiments himself to prevent any misunderstanding between Riva and Shunghee. I could not but consider it a very extraordinary circumstance that the two clergymen should appear to be the only persons who attempted to prejudice the minds of the chiefs against me, from no other cause than my public duty requiring me to express my disapprobation of their conduct. How dangerous are men who have fallen from their steadfastness!

After arranging the berths for Mr. Butler and his son and fixing the time for the enquiry into the charge made against him, I returned to Pyhea and took up my lodgings with the Rev. H. Williams, having settled the business on board which induced me to visit Kiddee Kiddee. I purpose to remain here until Thursday, when the investigation will



take place at this settlement. I am persuaded Mr. Butler will find great difficulty in vindicating his conduct and in wiping off the stain that has been cast upon his character.

Tuesday, November 4th. – To-day a whaler arrived in the Bay from England having had a four months' passage. It was very gratifying to see a ship from Europe. I sent on board for a few newspapers, but the servant returned without them in consequence of those in command on board being intoxicated.

Wednesday, November 5th. – I wished much to see the public papers and this morning went on board, but found some difficulty in getting any from the master, he seemed to be so much given up to drunkenness. I could gain little information from him.

Thursday, November 6th. – This was a very uncomfortable day. The committee met to investigate the Rev. John Butler's conduct. It was a painful reflection to me to see a man in the character of a minister of the Gospel put himself in the power of those who knew not God. I was in hopes Mr. Butler would not have exposed himself by having an investigation, as he had no prospect but of disgrace by doing this. After the enquiry had closed, before the proceedings had been laid before me, he demanded to know the result. I could not tell him, as I did not know. He was very much agitated and enquired first of one member and then of another. When he was informed that he was not acquitted his anger became very hot. He insisted upon a further investigation, though he had had every opportunity afforded him to justify his conduct that his colleagues could give him. The Rev. Henry Williams applied to me to know what was to be done as they had closed their proceedings, Mr. Butler having declined to bring forward any further evidences in his defence. I replied that though it would not be regular in a court of law for an accused person, after judgment had been given against him, to call upon the court to examine further evidence, yet, as Mr. Butler was so urgent, I saw no serious objection to the committee sitting again in order to meet Mr. Butler's wishes. I was fully persuaded he could never make his case better and he might make it much worse, and would do so if other evidence were called against him. However, the committee sat again, when a man who had been lately a convict was examined. How degrading to the sacred character to be obliged to call for the testimony of such a man to vindicate his reputation!

When the whole of the proceedings were handed over to me, I saw Mr. Butler was in a very unfortunate state and such as I had warned him of before he ventured to call for an enquiry. I consider him a ruined man. God permits men to fall into sin and covers them with shame to humble their pride and to subdue their evil passions. Should Divine goodness bless this awful event to his soul he may become a new man. I hope Mr. Butler will be the last who will disgrace the Mission. There have been vast sums of money expended on, or by, the Rev. J. Butler, which have not as yet turned to much account. He has laboured hard in his own way, but unfortunately not for the honour and general good of the Mission. His conduct towards his colleagues has been very discouraging and distressing to them. His removal from New Zealand will be a great relief to the minds of those who are heartily engaged in the work.



Friday, November 7th. – I left Pyhea for Kiddee Kiddee, with an intention to return the following morning in order to be ready to embark. On my arrival I found it would be necessary to settle many unpleasant circumstances that had occurred lately before I took my final leave of Kiddee Kiddee. Shunghee and all the chiefs, with most of the inhabitants, were gone to the River Gambier (Hokianga) in order to remove the bones of four of their relatives to the family sepulchre. This is a very great religious ceremony. The people assemble from all parts on such occasions. The funeral orations are spoken, when all the great deeds the deceased have done and the virtues they possessed are recited. If my time would have permitted I wished much to have seen the funerals. Shunghee's mother was one, his son-in-law (who had been killed in battle at the River Thames) was a second, others, a chief who had fallen in action at Tarranakkee and another great chief who had died

a natural death at Gambier River.

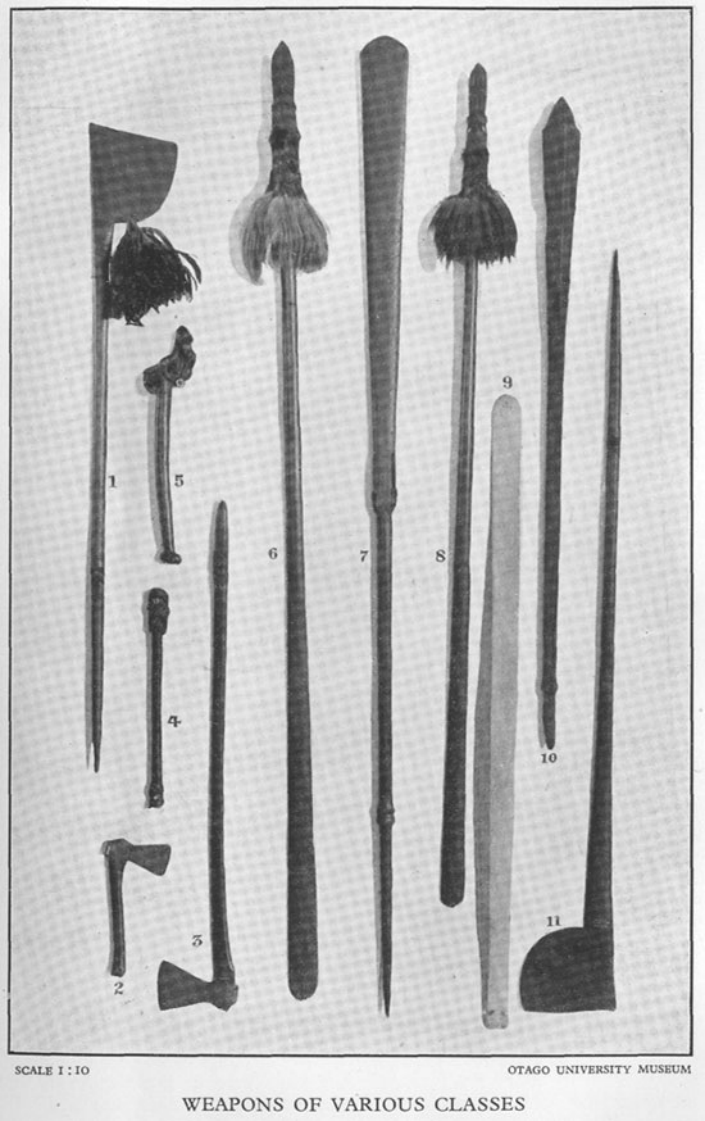
Shunghee had a long conversation with Mr. Kemp before he went, about Mr. Kendall. He told Mr. Kemp that Mr. Kendall had purchased the Brampton's longboat for him to go to war with, and that Mr. Kendall intended to come to live at Kiddee Kiddee. Shunghee said we ought to pardon him now and supply him with what he wanted from the Society's stores, and if we did not he should be very angry, for Mr. Kendall was his friend and had done much for him. Mr. Kemp pointed out to Shunghee the impropriety of Mr. Kendall's conduct, which was the cause of our withdrawing support from him. Shunghee said we acted very differently from them, for, if one chief took another's wife, they had one fight and there was an end of it, but we continued our anger. Mr. Kemp wished to know how he was to act if Mr. Kendall made application for supplies. I directed that if he (Mr. Kemp) apprehended any evil consequences would follow from a refusal he was to comply with Mr. Kendall's application, if the stores would allow of his being supplied, on Mr. Kendall paying for the articles he obtained. Should Mr. Kendall refuse to pay for them and demand them as a right, and should Shunghee interfere, Mr. Kemp in that case would do right to let Mr. Kendall have them, and report to me and the Society at the first opportunity all the circumstances; at the same time he was to remonstrate with Mr. Kendall, and to inform Shunghee that if the missionaries could not remain in New Zealand quietly they would return to Port Jackson.[401]



Wooden and Whalebone Weapons.

The Maori generic name for weapons was rakau or patu, neither of which is convenient for present-day descriptive use. No. 1 is a tewhatewha beautifully made from akeake wood and decorated with a tassel of split hawk feathers. It was wielded with both hands, the blow being delivered with the back edge of the expansion, while the thrust with the point was delivered only in in-fighting. At about one-third of the length above the point a small double human face is carved, the point forming a protruding tongue. This feature is found in many Maori weapons and is most evident in the taiaha. The tewhatewha was often used to give the time to the paddlers in the war canoe. No. 2 is a patiti, a trader's tomahawk, hafted with wood. No. 3, a long-handled tomahawk, was called kakauroa. No. 4 is the upper part of a tokotoko or walking staff, used in emergency as a weapon. No. 5 is a beautifully carved handle of a toki poutangata, or man-killing adze, a weapon usually ceremonial but occasionally used in fighting. No. 6 is a taiaha, most notable of two-handed weapons. The richly-carved point represents a tongue protruded in defiance from a human face. Above the face is a circlet of scarlet kaka feathers surmounted by one of dog's hair tassels. This particular weapon was named Mahuta, and it was associated with the Kingite movement in the Waikato. Its possession signified that the chief holding it had authority to kill any European crossing the boundary of the King Country. It was presented to the Government by Wahanui in token of the establishment of peace, and was deposited in the Otago University Museum by the Hon. John Ballance, Native Minister, 1887. No. 7 is a pouwhenua of unusual length collected by George Vancouver during Cook's third voyage. Above the grip are carved two human heads each surmounted by a pair of feathers. No. 8 is a taiaha. No. 9 is a whalebone hoeroa, an orator's staff, occasionally used as a weapon. No. 10 is an ancient weapon resembling a pouwhenua, from the Piako swamp. The blade represents a very elongated human face with tongue protruded. No. 11 is an unusually large tewhatewha.

[Inserted unpaginated illustration]




WEAPONS OF VARIOUS CLASSES
SCALE 1:10
OTAGO UNIVERSITY MUSEUM



THE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST JAMES SHEPHERD

It is uncertain what Mr. Kendall will do in his state of mind, as he appears to have no control over his passions. At the same time I think Shunghee is too just a man to support any unfair demands which Mr. Kendall might make upon the stores. He feels great regard for Mr. Kendall and is under strong obligations to him for indulging his passion for war. But in all my conversations with him relative to Mr. Kendall's conduct, Shunghee always condemned his unlawful intercourse with the native women. On the commission of this crime I argued the necessity of Mr. Kendall's removal from New Zealand,, saying that he had violated our customs and laws and made our God angry. Shunghee would reply that he had put away the woman now and our anger should cease. I hold the removal of the Rev. John Butler and Mr. Cowell, with their families, from New Zealand will have a good effect upon the natives. It will convince them that missionaries must act properly or they will be dismissed and sent away.

Saturday, November 8th. – This morning I had a long conversation with the Rev. J. Butler on his own unhappy situation. I told him that, from what had passed, he could never return again to New Zealand, nor did I think he could remain in Port Jackson with any comfort to himself. I recommended him to return to Europe when an opportunity offered. The whole of his misconduct would soon spread through the Colony after our arrival, which would under his situation be painful. He replied he would preach there when he arrived if it was under an hedge, and no man should prevent him. I told him that perhaps he would alter his mind when he got there.

As there appeared to be the most rooted hatred in his mind against Mr. James Shepherd and many wicked and infamous reports circulated against this young man, and Mr. Butler having expressed himself to me in strong language, I told him I was determined to examine into the ground of those infamous reports before I went, in justice to Mr. Shepherd and to prevent anything from being said at Port Jackson to his prejudice after we arrived there if he was unjustly accused. Mr. Butler said he had no charge against him, and blamed Mr. Kendall for propagating them. I wished to know the reason, if he knew nothing against Mr. Shepherd, why he had said such evil things of him. As yet I had never hinted to Mr. Shepherd that anything had been said to me to the injury of his reputation, as I believed him to be a sterling character and wholly devoted to the work and that the true reason for charging him with crime was his devotedness to the Mission, his conduct being such a condemning contrast to that of others. I was aware that when we landed in New South Wales the same evil reports would be circulated there against Mr. Shepherd as were propagated here, which would greatly distress his pious father. I sent for Mr. Shepherd, informed him of what I had heard, and called upon him to vindicate his character, which he showed the greatest willingness to do. I sent for the Rev. John Butler and requested the Rev. Samuel Leigh to be present, who happened to be at Kiddee Kiddee, and as many of the missionaries as I could collect at the time.

The investigation ended much to the credit of Mr. Shepherd and not less to my satisfaction. It is impossible to conceive to what a painful height the evil of

defamation had arisen amongst the missionaries,



which had produced want of love, of confidence, and of every Christian feeling. It is melancholy to reflect that the greatest part of this scandalous conduct has originated with those who should have set a very different example to their colleagues. Mr. Butler was greatly agitated during this investigation, and his feelings wounded. I think if anything can be a warning to him – if anything can subdue his stubborn pride – it is what he has lately and is now suffering and will have to suffer before his mind recovers a state of quiet and peace. What a dreadful tormentor is a man's conscience when it is permitted to operate united with wounded pride and merited contempt! When men are bad themselves and guilty of open sins they will magnify the errors of others to the utmost. What a blessed grace is humility! How happy is the man who possesses it, who learns of Jesus to be meek and lowly in heart! May the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ give me an humble mind that I may at all times think others better than myself, and act with the meekness of wisdom at all times towards all men. I have never experienced more the want of wisdom and meekness than during the period I have been in New Zealand. I have met with many things to try me, many to cast me down, and many to provoke me to anger. I pray that all I have attempted to do may be attended with the Divine blessing. This whole day has been a very distressing one, but I hope that such evils will never afflict this Mission in future which have been examined into this day, but that some of them are cut up by the roots.

In the evening the chief George from Wangarooa came over to see me, and also Mr. Leigh, before we sailed. I am rejoiced to find that he is so attentive to the Wesleyan missionaries. He promised he would be kind to them when I went over to settle their concerns with him. That the man, who about fourteen years ago cut off the crew of the Boyd and became a terror to all Europeans, should soon be within the preaching of the Gospel, nay, that the missionary house should be built within sight of the very spot where the crew of the above ship were all eaten by these cannibals, is wonderful. George is now sitting by me; I told him I have mentioned his name. He begs me to say in writing that he will never injure any of the Europeans more. He has frequently expressed his sorrow for the event. God, no doubt, had some wise end to answer in permitting such an awful calamity to happen. The New Zealanders had previously suffered much from our countrymen. Justice in the common way could not overtake the guilty – the natives could not bring the murdered to punishment in any court of justice – and therefore the supreme Governor of the World let loose these ferocious cannibals upon this crew and they devoured them, and their bones now lie scattered upon the ground – an awful monument of Divine vengeance. I must now close this day's proceedings – it has been full of anxiety and very unpleasant feelings. I shall now lie down, weary and fatigued, under the protection of Him Who keepeth Israel. To-morrow is the Sabbath.

Sunday, November 9th. – I preached to-day at Kiddee Kiddee. The Revs. Butler, Leigh, and White attended. It was rather a gloomy day in a spiritual sense, arising in a great measure from the recent circumstances that had occurred. Mr. Butler was very low. He was sensible he had not acted correctly. It is a most painful duty to cut



off one member from the body, especially a minister of the Gospel to the heathen. All human institutions are imperfect though under the direction of the wisest and best of men. Moses was greatly disappointed in the princes he selected to spy out the land of Canaan. Only two of the twelve gave him satisfaction – the other ten endeavoured to excite rebellion and mutiny in the congregation of Israel – and the only two faithful servants who gave a true report, all the congregation bade them stone them with stones. The same spirit is still in the world and will manifest itself when opportunity offers. We should not, therefore, think it strange we are disappointed in our hopes of men. Time will prove every man. If men are not on the Lord's side, they will fall off in the day of trial and yield to the lusts of their own hearts. Moses was much distressed when he found his hopes disappointed in those whom he had appointed to spy out the land. So will all good men be at the present day. But the bad conduct of the spies did not prevent the Israelites from taking possession of the land of Canaan. Neither shall the misconduct of missionaries prevent the final success of the Gospel amongst the heathen – it must prevail.

Monday, November 10th. – I took my leave this morning of Kiddee Kiddee. I have no doubt but a church will be raised there to the honour of the God of Israel. In time this will prove a great settlement. It possesses many local advantages, and is one of the best missionary stations I have met with for a principal settlement. Had I to select again I should fix upon this spot. I left it with feelings both pleasing and painful; pleasing as it respects the prospect of the Mission, and painful in being constrained to remove the Rev. John Butler after four years' residence. Samuel, the prophet, was directed to anoint Saul king over Israel, yet he did not do what was right in the sight of the Lord. At the same time he prepared the way for the man after God's own heart to fill the throne of Israel. God will still find men who will do His work faithfully when others who do not are removed.

The day was very stormy; we were compelled to put into the island of Mootooroa, as we could not reach the brig. In the evening I requested Captain Moore to convey me to Pyhea, distant about seven miles. The sea ran very high and broke awfully grand almost across the whole bay.

While I stopped at Mootooroa I endeavoured to purchase the island from the chiefs, as it is a most excellent station for a missionary, especially a medical man. It is situated in the middle of the Harbour, in the very centre of the other missionary stations. When I asked the chief to sell me the island, he said that, if I should give him axes, hoes, or spades, etc., for the island, all these articles would soon be bartered away for mats or canoes or any other thing, and then he and his tribe would be no better than they were then; but if I would send them a missionary to live upon the island he would give it to me for nothing, as a missionary would be a permanent advantage to them. The old chief made many more very judicious observations. I told him if it was in my power I would send them a missionary at some future time. A young man observed, "When you send us one, do not send us an angry, fighting man."

In the dusk of the evening I arrived safe at Pyhea, and in about an hour after my arrival Mrs. Williams was safely delivered of a little



boy.[402] She had a very easy birth. The Lord is good and gracious, a present help in time of need, and never faileth those who put their trust in Him. Mrs. Williams is a woman of strong faith and sound piety and has no idea of fear, and on these accounts she is well suited for her present situation – happy and content at all times.

Tuesday, November 11th. – I have been busy this day in examining the public accounts and have also written my last public letter to the missionaries, as it is said the brig will sail to-morrow. I hope when we do sail we shall be more successful than we were in the Brampton. God has some wise ends to answer in the loss of that ship. Many changes have taken place since that event which I cannot doubt will turn out to the furtherance of the Gospel. When the Brampton was wrecked I had not seen Shunghee and many other chiefs; they had not returned from the war. Since then every necessary arrangement has been made with them to my satisfaction. I should have left the Rev. John Butler in the Mission, and I do not believe he would have altered his conduct, which might have ended in something very serious. Though I have spent a very anxious time in New Zealand, yet I leave it with full confidence that the Mission will prosper. I have no doubt but the

removal of those who accompany me will be attended with the greatest good. When missionaries will not do their duty it is the wisest way to remove them at once. They weaken the hands of the rest that are faithful, continually throw difficulties in their way, and set a bad example to the heathen.

Wednesday, November 12th. – I spent this day, as the Dragon did not sail, in various arrangements with the Rev. Henry Williams for conducting the Mission. Messrs. William Hall and King came on a visit to Pyhea. I had a long conversation with them relative to the affairs of the Mission and their own past conduct. I contended that Mr. King ought before this period to have taught some of the native youths to have made a pair of shoes for the comfort of his colleagues and their families, as they had made many complaints to me for the want of shoes. They had neither anyone to mend them any shoes. Mr. Hall also ought to have taught some of the natives to do a little carpenter's work. We could not agree in our views. They have now begun a school, but I am afraid they will not do their duty faithfully. They have followed their own way too long, and despise all the orders that have been given to them by their superiors. I was so much vexed with Mr. King's observations that I wrote to him on the impropriety before I left New Zealand. When men once get wrong it is very difficult to persuade them that they are so – pride or avarice or obstinacy or some besetting sin opposes their return to the discharge of their duty.

Thursday, November 13th. – I went on board the Dragon, as we expected to sail; I was obliged to leave the chiefs behind that had embarked with me in the Brampton, as there was no room for them. Six native youths would not leave the Dragon. I told them there was no place for them, and therefore they could not go. They entreated to be allowed to lie upon the deck, saying that if we would give them this indulgence they wished no more, which was granted.



THE VOYAGE TO SYDNEY

Friday, November 14th. – At daylight we weighed anchor and stood out to sea; there was very little wind. Towards evening the breeze freshed a little and we stood for the North Cape.

Saturday, November 15th. – This morning the wind was against us; we were opposite Doubtful Bay and endeavoured by tacking to work round the North Cape, but gained little ground all the day.

Sunday, November 16th. – We found ourselves nearly in the same situation we were in last night, and tried all the day to weather the Cape but in vain. Towards evening it blew a strong gale and we were compelled to bear away to the northward and eastward, and from that time until our arrival at Port Jackson on Sunday, November 30th, we generally met with very stormy weather and a very high sea.

[Marsden's fourth journal ends here.]

The Rev. John Butler's MS. journal[403] gives further particulars of a voyage which must in all respects have been a most disagreeable one, since Marsden's disciplinary measures had, naturally, estranged him from the missionaries and their families who also complained, with much reason, of the roughness of their accommodation. "We had a very rough trip in the Dragon" Marsden puts it, "and our company was not very agreeable. I never took my breakfast or dinner or tea below during our passage, whether it was raining or not. I could not make up my mind to be in such company as were on board."[404]

"Having got our trunks, etc., on board," Butler writes, "we embarked on board the Dragon on Thursday, November 13th, 1823. On Friday morning the vessel sailed, and on Sunday fortnight, about eight o'clock in the morning, we came to an anchor in Sydney Cove.

"I must now make a few remarks on what passed during our voyage: – Mrs. Butler, myself, and our little daughter had only our sofa widened by boxes for us all to rest upon during our voyage, and a bit of old canvas nailed up before us to keep us from the sight of all belonging to the cabin table, stewards, etc., etc. Where we sat to eat, there we were obliged to sit and dress and undress, etc. But even this Mrs. Butler and myself would not complain of for a moment were it not coupled with other things of a more serious nature.

"Captain Walker, as I have said before, is a man of reprobate character; he had on board a woman who personated his lawful wife, who is now living in Sydney. Mr. Marsden well knew this before he took up the vessel. He, therefore, never came to table during the voyage lest he should be defiled; nor did Mr. Leigh or Mrs. Leigh, as they had a cabin provided for them by Mr. Marsden. But where could the rest all go but to the cabin table, since we had no other place? This was a matter of great affliction to myself, but more especially to Mrs. Butler. But what could she do? She had no cabin, nor any place to sit down but on the table-bench, and my little daughter at death's door at the same time. But is this Christian feeling to bring us into such a place? Is this Christian kindness to those who have left their native land and friends? For what? To spend their strength in a savage land for the salvation of a race of cannibals!



THE DRAGON REACHES SYDNEY

"I would wish the Society to remember that Mrs. Butler is not at present, blessed be God, company for (the pretended Mrs. Walker), although by Mr. Marsden's arrangements she was obliged to be so, as well as Mrs. Samuel Butler, for a season. It may be asked, what could Mr. Marsden do in this case? Why, he could almost effectually have prevented the evil by speaking to Captain Walker, but when I spoke to him on the subject he refused to take any part in the matter, saying, moreover, that he did not feel himself annoyed by it. And for why? Because Walker had served his turn in New Zealand.

"Rev. Mr. White felt himself so much annoyed the first few days that he withdrew from the table, got his food on deck, and never came to it again during the voyage. But as a man he could do what a woman could not do.

"My wife had a sick child to look after, and Mrs. Samuel Butler was ill herself during the whole voyage; and when the weather was fine, the vessel was so cumbered on deck with things belonging to the Brampton, and about a hundred souls besides, that it was almost impossible to get out of the way anywhere but by lying down in your berth. But this was not all; the most abominable and filthy conversation was continually going at table. Captain Moore used to come to table with his hat on; and because I would not drink with them at table they used to go on in a very disgusting manner about all the parsons, as they called them; but we never made any reply, as it could do no good but make them worse.

"One day, however, Moore, in giving a bone of mutton to the steward, said unto him: 'Here, take this devil to hell to one of my imps, and tell him to roast it and bring it back.' Mrs. Butler and my daughter had not been accustomed to hear such language, and were quite ashamed; and I felt so much indignation at it that I said to him: 'Captain Moore, if the Bible be true, as it certainly is, and there be a hell to be endured, without repentance, into that hell you will go and be tormented for ever and ever.' He made some frivolous reply, and then went on deck.

"In this manner we were living for sixteen days when the vessel let go her anchor in Sydney Cove. Mr. Marsden seemed in haste to get on shore, and I said to him: 'Sir, will you be so good as to give us some instructions what you would have us do?' He said: 'Do as you like; you know Sydney as well as I do.' But how could this

be, as we knew but few folks in it? And, moreover, we considered ourselves as under Mr. Marsden's protection, and expected he would provide for us. But away he went, and we were left behind. A boat soon came for Mr. and Mrs. Leigh, and all the passengers left but Mrs. Butler and me and my little daughter. Mrs. Butler was so affected by this treatment and the thought of being left on board all day on Sunday in the company of Mrs. Walker, that she sat down and wept sore.

"On Monday he came on board and brought Rev. Richard Hill with him, and he thus began to address me: 'What do you mean to do?' I said: 'Sir, I do not understand the question, but we must get on shore somewhere before we can do anything.'

"'But," said he, "I want to know what you mean to do on shore?' 'Indeed, Sir,' said I, 'I cannot tell, but you seem to me to be forestalling things in general. I mean to act as a Christian ought to do, both toward myself and the Society to which I belong.'



"'I wish to know,' said he, 'how you mean to act, as I shall then know what to do. I mean,' said he, 'to have the advice of all my friends and show these papers to the Governor.'

"'You are at liberty, Sir,' said I, 'to do as you please; I care not to whom you show them, only let me have an opportunity of facing them with such evidence as I shall bring, and then the falsehood will soon be manifest. I am in a British Colony now and shall have justice done me.'

"But Mr. Marsden has not brought me before his friends as he threatened, though I know he has had his lawyer's and Judge Field's[405] advice. And what is the reason? Why, because they are false."

Such were the unhappy circumstances under which the fourth voyage was completed.

Marsden forwarded his journal of the voyage to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society on December 28th, 1823, along with various other documents bearing upon the work of the New Zealand Mission.

To the Secretary he wrote: "By this conveyance I forward to you my Journal and copies of various letters and other documents connected with the Mission. From my journal you will see the principal occurrences that took place daily while I was in New Zealand as I noted them down as they occurred. I have answered the queries proposed by the Society as fully as I am able from all the information I could receive.

"You will see from the various conversations I had with the chiefs that their views are very much enlarged, and the way is gradually preparing for the Gospel. A nation does not easily part with their gods, more especially their false gods. The New Zealanders are very much under the influence of the Prince of Darkness. He will not quietly give up his prey. Nothing has happened since the first establishment of the Mission to the present time but what might have been expected, especially from the natives. As Shunghee justly observed, 'We have made no new laws, we have established no new customs; we are only following the institutions of our forefathers, which we cannot as yet relinquish. Our forefathers ate human flesh and taught us to do so.' Many of their superstitions are giving way. Wars they will carry on, but I think the body of the chiefs have less inclination for it. Wycotto has only been once since his return from England, and he assured me he never intended to go again. He had resisted Shunghee's solicitations in his last expeditions. When the horrid acts of their cannibalism are stated to the Christian world, the causes should be stated at the same time which, according to their laws and customs, sanction these acts. We do not abhor their cannibalism more than they abhor our custom of hanging felons. They have often remonstrated with me on this custom. They think it is much better to kill a man with one blow then to hang him.

"We do not see the New Zealanders drinking and swearing and fighting and murdering one another, as is the case in civil society. I never saw a woman struck by a man in New Zealand, nor two men fighting together. Nor did I ever hear of a private murder unless theft,



adultery, or some crime had been committed meriting that punishment according to their laws. Horrid deeds of cannibalism are committed, I readily admit, and human sacrifices are offered up by them. Yet these acts of ignorance and superstition only call more loudly for the aid of the Christian world to help them. Satan has them in sore bondage. Their miseries are great, both mental and bodily.

"In my journal I have stated everything as fairly and as justly as I could in order that the committee may form a just idea of the situation they are in. I think some things have been stated by the missionaries which does not give a just idea of their character, and I told the missionaries so. Persons forming their opinion of the New Zealanders from some detached statement which the missionaries may inconsiderately make, would be led to think that it would not be safe for Europeans to live amongst them. But this opinion would not be correct. Their conduct for nine years has proved that the Europeans have been safe in the midst of them. Their national religion, their laws and customs should be fairly weighed in forming a true estimate of their characters. If a battle is fought or if a woman or man hang themselves – which is common – or if a slave is killed, on enquiry the New Zealanders will always immediately tell you the cause. A chief's wife, whom I knew, hung herself when I was there this time in a fit of jealousy. Her husband for her sake determined to follow her example. Another chief's wife told me her husband had taken another wife and she would hang herself. I pointed out to her the sin of such an act. She contended that it was meritorious. Their attachments are strong, and the enemy takes advantage of their natural feelings to destroy them. They have no spiritual weapons to resist Satan with. They have no sword of the spirit, no shield of faith, no hope full of glory to support and comfort them in the hour of temptation. We cannot be astonished at any acts they do while under the sole dominion of the god of this world. They have no written laws, human or Divine, to govern themselves by; no courts of justice to appeal to. I am surprised not at the number and greatness of their public crimes but that they govern so well without laws. When the light of Divine revelation once shines upon them, it will be like the rising sun upon the benighted world. But we must wait until the Lord of Glory arrives and has mercy upon them, and continue to sow in hope. In the above light I view the New Zealanders."

The first of the documents forwarded by Marsden with this letter embodied his observations upon the practice of cannibalism among the Maoris.

"Agreeable to your request," he stated, "I have made every enquiry respecting the cannibalism of the New Zealanders, and beg to return the following answers to the queries proposed by your committee: –

"Question. – What acts of the New Zealanders eating human flesh have fallen under your own actual observations?

"Answer. – Some of the missionaries never saw them eat human flesh. Mr. Kendall never did, and I could not learn that any of the missionaries at Rangheehoo ever did. At Kiddee Kiddee, on Shunghee's return from war, some slaves were killed and eaten. The missionaries saw some human flesh dressed for eating.

"Question. – On what occasion were those perpetrated?

"Answer. – As a sacrifice or satisfaction for the death of a relative or friend. The dead body is considered holy food, or holy sacrifice, and the persons who eat it are holy after a battle. The heads of the chiefs are cut off and laid by themselves, and, when this is done, the brains and the whole of the inside of the skull are taken out and prayers are offered up to their god and the funeral ode is sung. The very same ode, they believe, which the first man, Mowhee, sang over the dead body of his son. When the sacrifices are offered up at too great a distance for their friends to partake of them, the priests take some small splinters of wood and pass them through the flesh of the sacrifices and, when they return home, bring them with them; when they are put amongst the dressed food and afterwards drawn through the mouth of the priest in the presence of the chiefs who went to war, and prayers are offered up at the time, and then the splinters of wood are taken to their family sepulchre and deposited there. When the chief has eaten the sacrifice at a distance and returns home with the pieces of wood, he is considered unholy, having touched a dead body; but when the priest has received the pieces of wood from him and he has been sprinkled by the priest between the shoulders with water, he is cleansed from all his pollutions and admitted into the society of his friends again. It may here be remarked that every man who goes to war and kills and eats another is considered as having done the act of a god. When the chiefs return from battle and have any particular cause for rejoicing or mourning, they will kill a slave or slaves and eat them.

"Question. – By what circumstances were such acts accomplished?

"Answer. – I have heard of slaves being killed in cool blood as well as in moments of revengeful anger. One young woman was killed and eaten in cool blood when I was there at this time, near my lodgings.

"Question. – Is the cannibalism of the New Zealanders confined to their prisoners of war?

"Answer. – It is, excepting the offering up and eating those who are killed in battle.

"Question. – Is the killing and eating prisoners of war limited to any specific period after they are taken?

"Answer. – Prisoners of war are seldom killed but are kept as slaves, but they are liable to be killed by their masters at all times. With respect to the women and children, they generally save what they can of them.

"Question. – Is it a custom among the New Zealanders to kill and eat those who are convicted of thefts?

"Answer. – Thefts are of different kinds – common and sacred. Sacred thefts are often punished with death. I saw one young woman who was killed for sacred theft, such as breaking into the sweet potato houses when tabooed, or into the sepulchre of the dead to carry away the bones, or into any sacred ground, especially if the offender be a slave. If any of their own friends are guilty of theft they are liable to be punished some other way. The New Zealanders do not think that theft is a crime of that magnitude generally as to merit death.

"Question. – Is there any particular class of persons to whom the liability to be killed and eaten is confined?



"Answer. – There is no class of persons that are liable to be killed and eaten in cool blood. There is always a reason assigned for such an act, which generally originates in superstition and very distinct from cannibalism, though the whole system of their religious ceremonies is interwoven with the eating of human flesh.

"Question. – Are there any restrictions with respect to age in persons who are killed and eaten by the New Zealanders?

"Answer. – Persons of all ages are liable to be killed in battle. Those who are or have been the greatest warriors are the most aimed at. I have not heard of any old persons or very young children being killed as sacrifices, but those who are grown up.

"Question. – Will you state such well authenticated facts relative to the practice of cannibalism by the New Zealanders as have been communicated to you by others, distinguishing those from such as you are acquainted with from your own knowledge?

"Answer. – I have had many conversations with the chiefs at the Bay of Islands, the River Thames, etc., respecting cannibalism. It is admitted by all as a fact and practised by all as a religious ceremony in their wars. Every chief when he falls in battle expects to be eaten, as it is their universal custom, but the New Zealanders have not been known to kill and eat one another privately without there had been some previous injury meriting the punishment according to their laws.

"Question. – What account do the natives give of the origin, object, and advantage of eating the flesh of their fellow creatures?

"Answer. – It appears to have originated from a belief that Mowheeboo (Maui-pu), the first cause of all, sacrificed his son and ate him. Their object is to satisfy their superstitious minds, to appease the deity and the names of their departed friends. It cannot, however, be doubted but that they gratify their appetites and revengeful feelings. At the same time this custom does not originate in this gratification but in superstition."

Along with this report Marsden forwarded to the Secretary, for his approval, a copy of the regulations which he had left with the missionaries at the Bay of Islands and which, he hoped, would end some of the abuses that had arisen among them.[406] He had framed these regulations in the following terms: –

THE REV. SAMUEL MARSDEN TO THE MISSIONARIES BELONGING TO THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Bay of Islands,
November 14th, 1823.

In consequence of the dreadful evils originating from the intercourse that has been carried on for years between the missionaries and the various ships and vessels which have from time to time put into the harbours of the Bay of Islands, I feel it my imperious public duty, as Agent of the Church Missionary Society, to establish the following rules and regulations for the guidance of the body of missionaries, their servants, and the mechanics employed in the Mission, in order to prevent as much as possible the public scandal which has heretofore been cast upon the characters of the missionaries, and the great injury that has been done to the souls of the missionaries themselves and, by their

unguarded and unthinking conduct, to the cause of the Gospel, through the above dangerous intercourse. It may not be improper, previous to the establishment of the proposed rules and regulations, to mention some of the reasons which urge me to adopt this measure.

1. The missionaries, by going on board of ships, they are tempted to traduce the good reputation of one another by speaking evil one of another to men of the most abandoned characters, who glory in hearing them bite and devour one another, and afterwards propagate every evil report against the missionaries in New South Wales and in every other part of the world they visit. This improper and, I may add, wicked conduct of the missionaries, gives just occasion for the enemies of the Gospel to blaspheme. The masters of ships will always feel a sweet pleasure in retailing every story to one missionary which another has told to his prejudice, by which every bond of brotherly love, kindness, and Christian forbearance are destroyed and deceit and guile and evil surmising are substituted in their stead.

2. It is a well-known fact that some of the missionaries in their intercourse with the ships have been tempted to drink too much, and in these moments their angry passions have been kindled and they have occasionally used improper language to one another before the masters of the ships to the great scandal of the Christian name and by which they forfeited all respect for their characters as missionaries.

3. This intercourse encourages a spirit of idleness and trifling, of petty barter and traffic, which excites the love of money, calls for the avarice into exercise, and turns the whole attention of the missionaries from their proper object, exposes them to a thousand other temptations, wounds their own conscience, and strikes at the root of every Christian principle, and greatly injures the minds of those who are conscious to be found faithful.

The above are some of the well-known evils that have originated from this intercourse, and every means must be adopted to prevent a repetition of them. It is hereby ordered and directed: –

1. That no missionary or missionary's servant or mechanic in the service of the Mission shall, directly or indirectly, carry on any private trade or traffic; 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 first be 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, 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 dismission as the nature of their 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 gainsayers.

The above regulations to remain in force until the parent committee shall rescind them.[407]

SAMUEL MARSDEN,
Agent to the Church Missionary Society.

The case of the Rev. John Butler which had arisen out of the fourth voyage was not settled, so far as Marsden was concerned, till the beginning of 1824, when he received from the Secretary a letter approving of his conduct of all matters relating to the New Zealand Mission and thereupon suspended Butler from the service of the Society. Writing to the Rev. Josiah Pratt from Parramatta on January 13th, 1824, he said: –

"I have this day suspended the Rev. J. Butler from all connection with the Church Missionary Society until the pleasure of the committee is known at Home. It was my intention to have sent him to England, if I could have prevailed upon him to have gone, as I did not know what step to take with him excepting this. When I received your letters on the 10th inst. I was much relieved. I then saw my way clear. I had an interview with Mr. Butler this morning after I had written my letter to suspend him, a copy of which I have forwarded to you.

"I have determined upon purchasing a small estate immediately, about thirty-four miles from Port Jackson, in the interior. On this I shall establish the seminary for the general instruction of the New Zealanders and in which also the children of the missionaries may be maintained and educated together. I have no doubt but the allowance granted for the support and education of the missionaries' children will be sufficient to meet all the expenses. Judge Field will explain all my views on this subject.

"If I had not suspended Mr. Butler I could not have had sufficient control over him, and, in this colony where his improper conduct is so well known, it would have been a disgrace to the Society to have



continued him in the service of the Society as a clergyman and missionary. I informed Mr. Butler he could not officiate as a clergyman in these settlements under his present disgrace. I further informed him that, as he was now suspended from all connection with the Society, he was at liberty to act as he thought proper until his case was laid before the parent committee; and that I would hire him myself, if he would quietly retire into the interior, and put the New Zealanders under his care. He consented to my terms. Mr. Butler will make a good servant, I believe, but he will never make a master. I have little doubt but I shall now be able to keep him in due subjection and induce him to live retired from the world. Here he will have time to reflect, to mourn over his past errors, and to become a useful man. I do not think that anything but such a severe measure as this would have in any degree subdued his stubborn mind. On my arrival in New Zealand I saw the necessity of his removal, as well as that of his son, but I said nothing on the subject at that time. My wish was to get Kendall and Cowell away first. I could not take

them all. I purposed to remove Mr. Butler at a future period as I despaired of his altering his conduct there.

"The day Mr. Kendall refused to embark in the Dragon, after I had taken his passage and we expected to sail in two or three days, I then told Mr. Butler and his son that they must embark with me to Port Jackson – that I could not leave them and Mr. Kendall together in the Island. Mr. Butler expressed his astonishment. I now told him I expected letters out from England that would seriously affect his son, and I could not allow him to remain behind. Mr. Butler saw there was no alternative but to obey. With many contending passions and tears he consented. The discharge of this duty was a most painful and distressing task to me. Considering his family, his situation as a clergyman and missionary, his connection with the Church Missionary Society, the public disgrace brought upon him and the Mission – all these things together made me very uneasy. I am now perfectly satisfied with all that has taken place. In the ungovernable state of mind Mr. Butler was in, I considered his removal more necessary in many respects than Mr. Kendall's. Mr. Butler had power and means: Mr. Kendall had no power in the Mission. God will overrule all for good in the end.

"From pride, passion, and vexation, Mr. Butler has not known what to do since his arrival in New South Wales. He has joined with Mr. Cowell and others against me. He has threatened to prosecute me for bringing him away or for other reasons. He has consulted the lawyers on various points. He has wished to bring the two masters of ships who accused him of inebriety before a court of justice for defamation. I advised him to be quiet, but in vain. I mention these things to convince you that nothing less than sending him Home or suspending him could bring him to reason. This has had the effect. He is now quiet and willing to go where I wish and to do what I wish, if I will take him into my service on my own terms. All our differences are now settled, and I hope he will go on well in a retired situation. He has died very hard, and I believe his heart has been ready to break many a time. Such is the pain which the dominion of passions creates in the human breast.



CONCLUSION

"I may here remark that the last year has been a year of toils, dangers, and anxieties both by sea and land, at home and abroad, continual fighting without and fears within. In the beginning of the year I spent nearly three months in Van Diemen's Land, where I travelled across the island from sea to sea – 160 miles – and in different directions through the land. We met with storms at sea both going and returning. I had many vexations when at home from the magistrates at Parramatta. I was brought before the Bench, convicted without information or evidence, fined, and an execution put into my house and my property sold to the amount of the fine, merely to degrade me. Though these are matters of trifling importance, yet they serve to vex and annoy. They are amongst all the things which work for the Christian good. The magistrates convicted me of a flagrant breach of the Colonial Regulations, when I had done no wrong and violated no regulation. I appealed to Caesar and obtained redress.[408]

"As Judge Field[409] can tell you, I was absent twenty weeks on my voyage to New Zealand. Here I had both pleasure and pain, as my journal will show. I am not a little surprised that my strength should be equal to my day. I have gone through so much fatigue of body and anxiety of mind and am still alive and well. God is still good to Israel. His care over me has been very great. I was weak and weary when I embarked for New Zealand, but returned strong and healthy. I may say with the Psalmist, ' Of Judgments and of Mercies unto thee O Lord will I sing.'"[410] (Psalm ci, I.)



APPENDIX TO THE FOURTH JOURNAL

THE CASE OF THE REV. THOMAS KENDALL[411]

Kendall, when first accused of misconduct, had found his chief excuse in the temptations to which he was exposed by his environment. "He means to say in plain language, according to my opinion of what he has stated," wrote Marsden to the Secretary from Parramatta on April 19th, 1823, "that by prying into the obscure mysteries of the natives in order to ascertain their notions of the Supreme Being, etc., his own mind was polluted, his natural corruptions excited, and his vile passions inflamed, by which means he fell into their vices." With regard to this Marsden comments: "Whatever defiling effect may have been produced upon Mr. Kendall's mind by his examination into the obscene notions entertained by the natives of the Supreme Being and their own lascivious customs, I am of opinion that whenever we come to the true knowledge of the character of the New Zealanders they will not be found much worse than the ancient heathen mentioned by St. Paul in the first chapter of Romans who 'changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image like to corruptible man and to birds and fourfooted beasts and creeping things.'[412] After his dismissal, however, Kendall frequently acknowledged that the Society had dealt justly



KENDALL IN VALPARAISO

and that he had forfeited his place through his own folly. Thus on August 15th, 1823, he wrote to Marsden from Missionary House, Paternoster Valley (Matahui), saying: "I have long since made an open confession of my sins before God and have magnified them before men, regarding as I have done the public situation which I held in this Mission, and my duty to God and the Society.

"I have been free and open in the acknowledgment of them not only on my own account, but on account of some others, who are, or have been, united with the Mission and have fallen into gross sins of the same or of a different nature, and who, I hope, have repented with me."

Kendall ultimately left New Zealand in the beginning of 1825, sailing with his family for Valparaiso in the St. Patrick.[413] He remained there until June, 1827, when he took passage for Sydney in the Elizabeth. While on board that ship he had a circular letter printed under date July 29th, 1827, which he despatched to his various friends. In this letter he gave some account of his experiences after leaving New Zealand. "In the beginning of the year 1825," he wrote, "I removed with my family from the Bay of Islands to Valparaiso for the purpose of paying that attention to my children which was really necessary and which I could not give them in New Zealand, and of recruiting my worn down spirits.

"On my arrival in Chili, I immediately received every attention from C. R. Nugent, Esq., the British Consul General, and his amiable lady, and I continued to do duty under his sanction as a clergyman and schoolmaster for two years, and until such time as I felt on the one hand my spirits much refreshed by my intercourse with civil society and, on the other, that there was in Valparaiso very little prospect of my becoming essentially useful amongst my countrymen, the greatest part of whom were young men and their continuance there very uncertain. One thing I had seen accomplished, namely, a burying-ground set apart, and surrounded with walls, for the reception of the remains of Protestants, a thing which had been hitherto sadly neglected, and in that ground I had prayed over forty-seven persons, who had been decently interred, and amongst whom I could number a few friends who had rendered me their kind and disinterested services during the short time I knew them. But a churchyard, without any prospect of a church, is no very agreeable thing to a clergyman.

"Towards the latter end of my two years' residence in Valparaiso, I began to experience the ill effects of an enervating climate; and my kind friend Mrs. Nugent not only became unsettled and discouraged on account of the unsuitableness of the situation for her young family but she also experienced some very heavy losses. By

one post she received the afflicting intelligence of the death of her grandmother and her most affectionate mother in England, and a little time after this she also lost her youngest female child – a pretty little creature – whom I had the honour of baptizing and, within eleven months after her birth, the pain of committing to the grave.

"After this afflicting circumstance took place, Mrs. Nugent intimated to me her intention of proceeding to England with her children, whose private tutor I had been, in His Majesty's frigate the Blanche. About the time this was in contemplation I received letters from my



friend the Rev. Basil Woodd and the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. The Elizabeth of Sydney also returned from Lima to Valparaiso, and I learned that she was about to return by the way of the Society Islands to New South Wales. One clause in my friend's letter had very much affected me and, although I had only just been raised by the tender mercy of God, Whose most unworthy servant I am, from the brink of eternity after a severe and dangerous attack of dysentery, yet, being desirous to follow the apparent leadings of Divine Providence, I thought it my duty to take a passage for myself and family in the said vessel, and to commit myself and mine to His protection, with a view of visiting at least once more such spots as were sacred to Christian missions and of seeing again my eldest daughter whom I had left behind me. The British and United States Consuls and foreign residents rendered me every assistance I desired on my departure; and it is but just to express my gratitude for those marks of respect and attention which they have shown me on all occasions during my residence among them. Mrs. Nugent and her children embarked on board the Blanche at the same time as I was preparing to take my departure in the Elizabeth."

The Elizabeth called at Tahiti and various other islands of the Society group in the course of her voyage, Kendall's impression from his observation of mission work there being that the facilities for missionary work were much greater in the Society Islands than in New Zealand. "The natives," he wrote, "are much milder in their natural dispositions and are not attached to such horrid customs as the New Zealanders are; and houses and churches can be built with ease in these Islands while at New Zealand they are obtained with difficulty and expense."

He was still occupied with his literary work. "My leisure time of late," he wrote, "has been occupied in preparing a new edition of my New Zealand Grammar, and two other books of elementary instruction in the same language, ready for the press; these I intend to have printed, if possible, on my arrival in New South Wales. Whether these productions may prove useful or not it is not for me to determine, but they certainly are the result of the strongest effort of my best wishes and best abilities.

"Mrs. Kendall and my children, I am happy to state, were never happier than they are now, nor did they ever enjoy a better state of health than during this passage; my boys are at school every day; they, with two little children of Captain Powditch's,[414] form a healthful group, being equally industrious at play and at the table. My son Basil[415] I have left with my friend Commodore Wooster in Chili."



Upon his arrival in Sydney, Kendall, on October 10th, 1827, wrote to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society in words which showed how much his mind still turned to New Zealand and how enthusiastic he had remained for his work upon the Maori language. "Since my arrival here," he wrote, "I have had an interview with Mr. Marsden and have shown him my second edition of the New Zealand Grammar in manuscript, but he appears to be afraid of committing it or any of my labours to the press lest by so doing the missionaries who are now at New Zealand should be discouraged. I could wish very much to know what I am to do with them. It really would afford me the sincerest pleasure to make myself useful by contributing to the benefit of the New Zealanders in any way, and I do assure you I wish to offend no one. I have made the New Zealand language my delightful study during the whole of the past fourteen years, and cannot give it up. I perceive the missionaries in their late publication have discarded the consonants b, d, f, j, l, s, v, y, and z. I could wish to be favoured with Professor Lee's candid opinion as to the propriety of discarding these consonants which would be so useful in transcribing all foreign names, especially Scripture names. If Professor Lee should coincide with the missionaries I will discard them also, but I cannot consent to do it until I hear from him. It has been acknowledged by all that the Grammar which was published seven years ago has been very useful. I should hope that the present one, which has been improved and corrected throughout, will also be useful, having seven years' experience in addition to the seven preceding ones."

Unfortunately Kendall, probably through lack of the necessary means, was unable to print more than a few pages of the second edition of the Maori Grammar which embodied the results of his long period of study. These pages were published in October, 1827, prefaced by the following advertisement: – "The Church Missionary Society having signified their pleasure to receive from me any 'works that I may have prepared, calculated to promote the real good of the New Zealanders,' I have thought it my duty to commit the following work to the Press, in order to assist them in promoting their benevolent plans for the instruction of that uncivilized but interesting race of human beings. It is the production of fourteen years' incessant study, and, however defective it may be, it is certainly the result of my best wishes and best abilities."[416]

There is no doubt that the tragedy of Kendall's life affected Marsden deeply. "I see him occasionally," he wrote to Mr. Dandeson Coates of the Church Missionary Society on April 24th, 1829, "though he lives



a long way to the southward at Bateman's Bay. I saw him very lately. We had the subject of his conduct in New Zealand under our notice. He regretted his misconduct very much, expressed his gratitude to me for my long forbearance with him, and acknowledging that what I had done in having him removed from the Mission I had done from necessity. His own conduct compelled me to it. He seems to reflect seriously, now that he is removed from the scene of his temptation and awful fall. The Government have been very kind to him in giving him a valuable grant of land upon which he will be able to provide for his family. His circumstances are good. God in His infinite mercy may restore him to His favour, but the sword will never depart from his house. His peace of mind can never be restored. The very reflection of what is passed will always wound him and give him pain. I shall assist him when opportunity offers, as a private individual, in his little temporal affairs, but further I cannot go. I mean to admit him to do any clerical duty for me. Mr. Kendall spoke to the Archdeacon relative to his being a clergyman, and offered his services. The Archdeacon mentioned the subject to me, and I told him I could not admit him to do any duty for me in my church in consequence of my former connection with him. If he thought proper to allow him to do any surplice duty in the district where Mr. Kendall resided at the southward, he could do so. I believe the Archdeacon has sanctioned his burying, etc., where he resides."

On December 15th, 1829, he again wrote to Mr. Coates with regard to Kendall and his affairs. "The Rev. Thomas Kendall," he stated, "called upon me again yesterday to settle a claim which he states that he has upon the Church Missionary Society for £120, being for one year's salary from October 1st, 1820, to October 1st, 1821.

"He further states that when he was in London he drew a cheque upon the Society for the above amount, with the knowledge of the Rev. J. Pratt and the Rev. Basil Woodd, which cheque he left with Mr. Mortlock and which has not been honoured. At the time he drew the cheque, admitting that his statement is correct, that sum could not be due to him until 1821, in the month of October of that year. I apprehend there must be some mistake in this matter, but as it did not come under my observations I am unable to rectify it and therefore declined to do more than to forward his statement to you. When I, by the instructions I received, finally settled all accounts with him as far as I had any concerns, I promised to examine my accounts and see if I could throw any light upon the subject.

"I regret to say Mr. Kendall is a very unhappy man. His fall has been awful, and the consequence of it will bring him with sorrow to the grave. He is a man without strength. His mind is well informed about the doctrines of the Gospel. He feels his lost, degraded state, but he appears as if God had departed from him and left him without any power to withstand his propensity to self-indulgence, and, at the





same time, he appears to suffer the severest stings of conscience from the painful reflections upon his own great transgressions. I cannot conceive a man to be in a more pitiable condition than he is in. The justice of St. Peter's observation is most strongly verified in him. It is better for men 'not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after they have known it, to turn from the holy commandment delivered unto them.'" (II Peter ii, 21.)

"In truth I do not know a convict in the Colony who appears so oppressed with the load of guilt as Mr. Kendall, without that consoling and sweet humble feeling which true godly sorrow always inspires. When I talk to him his hope of relief seems at a great distance. I pity his case much. I think he has no prospect of comfort in this life. God may in the end, in infinite mercy to his soul, deliver him from death, but he is likely to bear the chastisement of his sins to the end of his days.

"Many missionaries in this Colony have been the most awful examples of Divine displeasure when they have acted unworthy of their holy character. Some of them have come to the grave under the most awful judgments. What has happened to others with whom I have been intimately acquainted I am fearful will happen to Mr. Kendall. I hope for the contrary, but I cannot help my fears. When a missionary falls into any public scandal, Sir, either through powerful temptation or the dominion of sin, he should be removed immediately from his station. On no consideration should he be allowed to remain on the ground where he has fallen. Drunkenness and whoredom are the two sins to which the unguarded missionary is most exposed, and particularly the latter sin amongst heathens. Perhaps it may not be very proper in me to mention these things to you, but my mind has been naturally led to do this from what I have seen and known and the dreadful effects produced by them on the future usefulness and happiness of a missionary, as I consider them both at an end. I believe few missionaries are sufficiently aware of their danger until it is too late, those especially among savage nations. When a missionary falls his fall is dreadful. If he once offend his God in the way I am speaking of, the sword will never depart from his house. Sin is as abominable to God now as it was in David's time."

The grant of land to which Marsden refers had been allotted to Kendall by Governor Darling in recognition of his services in New Zealand. It consisted of 1,280 acres situated in Ulladulla, a district in the south of New South Wales celebrated for its beauty, which had just been opened up for settlement. Much fine timber, and especially cedar, grew in the district, and Kendall and his sons engaged in the timber trade. He bought a small vessel, of which he himself apparently was skipper. His habits, however, were unsteady, and his last years were ruined by that over-indulgence in drink which likewise cursed the lives of his gifted but unstable descendants – Basil Kendall, his son, and Henry Clarence Kendall, his brilliant and unfortunate grandson.





The end which Marsden had feared came with tragic swiftness. Kendall's vessel was caught in a storm when off Port Jackson Heads and was driven ashore near the entrance to the Shoalhaven River, with the loss of all on board. On September 10th, 1832, Marsden wrote to Mr. Coates his last note with regard to the unfortunate man whose career had been so strangely interwoven with his own. "The Rev. Thomas Kendall," runs the postscript to a letter, "came to an awful death lately. He and the boat's crew were drowned. None of their bodies have been found. He was very much given to indulge in spirits."

## A LETTER OF ADMONITION

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to the Missionaries]

PYHEA (PAIHIA), November 11th, 1823.

DEAR SIRS,

Previous to my embarking a second time, I wish to address a few lines to you. When the Brampton was wrecked, clouds and darkness surrounded that dispensation. I felt a painful foreboding that something of importance would take place relative to the Mission before I left New Zealand and that my work was not done, and so it has come to pass. Many circumstances have occurred that have rendered the period from the wreck of the Brampton to the present time very distressing. You have seen judgment begin at the house of God. You have seen two of your colleagues, men appointed to minister in holy things, fall into the snares of the devil and now left to suffer the reproaches of their own consciences, the stings of wounded pride, the degradation which always attends the loss of rank and character, and a thousand mortifications that they have not as yet taken into their account. Pride and stubbornness and rebellion have ruined them and have almost been the ruin of the Mission, and what distress of mind have they occasioned to all concerned in the work. I may also add the afflictions they have brought upon their families. I do most sincerely pray that these dreadful examples will be a warning to all who remain in the Mission, and that every one that has despised the authority of their superiors will not venture to proceed any further in their own way. What has happened to your colleagues may and will happen to you if you do not avoid the evils that others have fallen into. .

If the fall and punishments of Messrs. Butler and Kendall does not induce you who remain in the Mission to do your duty, nothing ever will. The sooner those leave the Mission who will not obey them who have the rule over them, the better it will be for the Mission and the poor heathens. The missionaries should recollect that they are not to say to the Society what they will do and what they will not do, but to follow the directions they receive in all things as far as local circumstances will permit. Let each consider what were their original engagements with the Society – what they promised to do. I am aware that you who first entered this land of darkness and engaged in this arduous work had many trying difficulties to contend with and are subject to many fears. But your difficulties, privations, and dangers have not been equal to what you might reasonably have looked for in a savage nation. Your dangers, your troubles, and your vexations have principally originated from yourselves, from an unhumbled, insubordinate, and jealous spirit. The natives have been kind to you as an uncultivated nation. I would ask whom have they seriously injured? Whom have they robbed or plundered? I believe from all I have

been able to learn that for the nine years the Mission has been established, taking all the thefts that have been committed in every settlement, they would not amount to £40, though they saw you possessed of all things and themselves poor and in want of all things, with the power in their hands at any moment to have stripped you of all you possessed. The natives have been hewers of wood and drawers of water for you, so that you cannot say that your difficulties have been very great on their account. But they have been exceeding great amongst yourselves. While I give you full credit for your constancy and perseverance in maintaining your station, I feel I cannot too severely condemn your disobedience of the orders of your superiors and the unkind and unchristian feeling which you have manifested towards one another. I shall always feel the greatest pleasure in affording you every comfort and support in my power, either as a body or as individuals, as long as you act becoming your characters as missionaries. But if any of you do act otherwise, I do solemnly declare that it is my determination to have no communication with those who do offend, and if the Society leave it in my power I will upon clear conviction remove all such persons from the Mission, however painful this measure may be. . . .

A few days ago I saw Shunghee (Hongi) sitting down with a large needle and twine sewing up the cracks in the soles of his feet which had been made in his late long journeys through the country, and he observed to me he had got no shoes, which made his feet so bad. His eldest son came also very lame. A stump of wood had passed through his foot in his journeys; nothing would have been more acceptable to them both than a pair of shoes. I merely mention the above to show how many-ways and opportunities you have of gaining the esteem of the chiefs by little well-timed attentions and at little expense. I cannot but blame the Revd. J. Butler also for not erecting a small cottage at Kiddee Kiddee (Kerikeri) for Shunghee during the four years he has been in New Zealand. I hope the missionaries will not lose sight of doing any little thing for the chiefs when it is in their power. The missionaries did not come here for their own sakes, merely to make themselves happy and comfortable, but to promote the good of the poor heathen. . . .

I request you to weigh these things well. Do not suffer one another to go on in the wrong way with your eyes open. You are all responsible one for another in this respect, and if you allow any of your colleagues to live in idleness, or to expend the property of the Society in any improper manner and take no notice of these things, you become guilty in the highest degree.

To you who remain, the field of labour is now open. The prospect is clear. You have nothing to apprehend from the natives. They are ready to receive you everywhere. They now understand more our benevolent views, and their only cry is "Send us some good missionaries!" You cannot doubt but God will bless you in your work if you are found faithful. Set then your hand to the plough. Study what you can do for the cause you are engaged in. Unite in one heart and mind and live in unity and godly love, and then you will shake the very foundations of the kingdom of Satan, and you will see the temple of the living God gradually rising up amongst you and will hear the voice of joy and gladness in those dark and dreary abodes of ignorance, superstition, and cruelty.

I am, dear Sirs,
Your sincere and affectionate friend,
SAMUEL MARSDEN.

**372** Archdeacon Henry Williams was the third ordained missionary in New Zealand of the Church Missionary Society; the Rev. John Butler went out in 1818, and Thomas Kendall was ordained when he visited England in 1820, but his connection with the Mission terminated in 1823 as is narrated in this Journal. Born in 1792, Williams entered the Royal Navy in 1806. He was present at Copenhagen in 1807 and, while in the Galatea, was wounded in an engagement off Tamateve on May 20th, 1811. At the conclusion of the war he retired upon half-pay as a Lieutenant.

Taking holy orders, he entered the service of the Church Missionary Society, and reached New Zealand on August 3rd, 1823, in company with Marsden, being stationed at Paihia. Till his death at Pakaraka in July, 1867, at the age of 75, he played an outstanding part in the history of New Zealand. – Hugh Carleton, The Life of Henry Williams (Auckland, 1874).

**373** The Rev. Samuel Leigh reached the Bay of Islands on February 22nd, 1822, and established the first Wesleyan mission station at Kaeo (Whangaroa). The first religious service there was conducted on Sunday, May 8th, 1822. – Alexander Strachan, The Life of the Rev. Samuel Leigh (London, 1863).

**374** In July, 1822, William Hall, writing from the Bay of Islands, had said: – "It is the conversation of the brethren here that Mr. Kendall has been in England and carried everything before him. He has brought out cases of muskets and barrels of powder, and has distributed them among the natives without the least restraint, and continues to do so to the great injury of the mission. The others, all endeavouring to abide by the Society's instructions, have been frequently without a piece of animal food to use, while Mr. Kendall is buying it up with muskets and powder and selling it to the different ships in the harbour. At the same time, he has no school, he says, for the want of supplies. Nor has there been any in New Zealand for these three years and upwards." "If you had had the faintest idea of the real character and conduct of Mr. Kendall since he came to New Zealand," he continued, "you would no more have ordained his shoeblack. If I were but an hour in your company I could tell you absolute facts respecting the conduct of Mr. Kendall that would make your hair lift up your hat." Anxious apparently, at the same time, that he should not leave the impression that the mission had failed on account of the unworthiness of its agents, Hall continued in a succeeding letter: – "Yet, notwithstanding all existing evils, there has been much good done. Although there are no converts, yet there is much knowledge communicated and much real benefit imparted to the natives." – MS. Journal of William Hall (Hocken Library).

In March, 1822, again, Kendall had written to Hall: – "We have now been connected in this mission more than eight years, yet there has never been a time in which we have cordially united in carrying on any work of importance in the service of the Society." – MS. Journal of Rev. Thomas Kendall (Hocken Library).

King was at variance with both Kendall and Hall, and stated bluntly to Marsden himself when, during this visit, he called a special meeting to examine into the state of the mission, that he would neither make nor mend a shoe for either of these men.

Marsden had already had the unpleasant truth thrust upon him that Kendall had developed in a manner which he had not dreamed possible, and in January, 1822, had written to him: – "As a Christian you possess many valuable qualifications for a missionary amongst the heathen, but these only shine forth occasionally, like the sun in a winter's day. As a man you are under the dominion of very strong, angry passions, and obstinately bent upon following your own opinion upon all occasions regardless of future consequences. You appear never to suspect that your opinion may be erroneous. This has been the rock upon which you have often struck, and upon which I fear you will continue to strike against all remonstrance, till you are involved in difficulties out of which you may not easily escape."

**375** John Cowell, a twine-spinner, sailed for New South Wales in the Saracen in December, 1819. He proved an unsatisfactory servant of the Society from the outset, showed no enthusiasm for the work, proceeded to his station only after repeated admonitions from Marsden, and was finally dismissed when the latter visited the Mission in 1823. – Marsden Correspondence, 1821-3.

**376** HONGI'S WARS, 1821-3.

Hongi, accompanied by Te Hinaki, the chief of Ngati-Paoa from Mokoia, and Te Horeta of Coromandel, whom he had met in Sydney upon his return from England, arrived at the Bay of Islands on July 11th, 1821. In Sydney he had exchanged the presents given him by English friends for muskets and powder. Each of his muskets was named, his own particular weapon being called Patu-iwi (killer of tribes).

On September 5th Hongi left the Bay of Islands with his fleet, determined to avenge defeats suffered at the hands of the Thames tribes. Whangarei had been chosen as the place of assembly, and there met there such an armament as had never before been seen in New Zealand. Hongi left the Bay of Islands with at least 2,000 warriors, carried in fifty canoes, and Butler, who witnessed the departure of the fleet, writes: "We are all persuaded that there are little less than a thousand stand of arms amongst them on this occasion, with plenty of ammunition." The Ngati-Paoa of the Tamaki district were routed with great slaughter, their pas at Mokoia and Mau-inaina being captured; Te Totara, the great stronghold of Ngati-Maru, next fell, and, by December 21st, 1821,

Hongi had returned to the Bay, bringing with him, it is said, 2,000 prisoners.

The Waikato people had assisted in the defence of Te Totara pa, and Hongi, therefore, directed his next attack against them, the expedition, which Mr. Leigh estimated as numbering not less than 3,000 warriors, leaving the Bay of Islands on February 25th, 1822. The Waikato tribes – Ngati-Whatua and Ngati-Paoa – had assembled at Matakitaki, a large pa situated near the junction of the Mangapiko Creek with the Waipa River, near the present township of Alexandra or Pirongia. Three pas in one – Matakitaki, Taurakohia and Puketutu – were situated here "with steep, almost precipitous, slopes down to the two rivers, and with a very large and deep ditch cutting off the pa from the plain on the east side." These pas contained at least 5,000 inhabitants.

Taking the usual route, Hongi led his fleet up the Tamaki Inlet. At Otahuhu his men hauled their canoes over into the Manukau. Having crossed this, they went by way of the portage over Te-pae-o-Kai-waka, between the Waiuku and the Awaroa which runs into the Waikato. "The Waikato tribes, in anticipation of this event," states Mr. S. Percy Smith, "had felled trees across the stream to stop the fleet, but these were cleared away, and in some places – which are pointed out still – Hongi had to cut short channels across sharp bends in the river to allow his canoes to pass." The native accounts say it took Hongi two months to clear the obstructions. He then, however, had the whole of the Waikato and Waipa Rivers before him, and a few days' paddling took him to Matakitaki about the middle of May, 1822. Hongi's muskets quickly decided matters, the pa was stormed by Nga-Puhi and the Waikato and their allies scattered. By the last days of July Hongi had returned to the Bay of Islands.

Butler, writing under date July 30th, says: "The natives of our place are returned from the war at the River Thames. They have lost many of their friends in this expedition. Two canoes were upset at sea, and thirty persons drowned. They report that they have killed two thousand people at Waikato and its vicinity, and they have brought away many prisoners of war. Rewah (Rewa), Shunghee (Hongi) and Moka, and several of their friends have been to see us, and dined with me on this day. I had a great deal of conversation with them about the war, and it appears they returned more through the inclemency of the weather than from a desire to cease from slaughter and devastation."

In February, 1823, Hongi again left the Bay, his intention, on this occasion, being to exact vengeance from the Arawa tribe for a defeat inflicted on a party of Nga-Puhi at Motutawa, in Roto-kakahi Lake, in 1822. Leading a war party of some 1,200 men, Hongi led his expedition down the East Coast to Tauranga, and thence, by way of the Pongakawa stream, to Roto-ehu Lake. From Roto-ehu the canoes were dragged to Roto-iti lake, and thence up the Ohau stream into Lake Rotorua. The Arawa tribes had assembled on the island of Mokoia, which was taken by Hongi in March or April, 1823. The victorious warriors returned to the Bay of Islands by the same route, reaching that place, with their prisoners, in the early days of September, 1823. – S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern Nem Zealand Tribes, pp. 77-113; MS. Journal of Rev. John Butler (Hocken Library).

**377** Paihia from this date became the head centre of the Church Missionary Society's stations, with Henry Williams, and two years later his brother William, as the resident and ordained missionaries.

**378** The Regulations proposed by Marsden are detailed on page 411, infra; – cf. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, Vol. X, 1822-24, pp. 181-2.

**379** Te Hinaki's pa was at Mokoia (Panmure).

**380** Hare Hongi, afterwards killed at Kaipara in the battle known as Te Ikaranganui, where Ngapuhi, led by Hongi, met Ngatiwhatua, under Te Murupaenga. The battle was a drawn one, but as Ngapuhi withdrew and returned home the moral victory lay with Ngatiwhatua. – cf. S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, pp. 158-166.

**381** The destruction of the village of Mokoia took place about November, 1821.

**382** HONGI'S ATTACK OF 1821 UPON TE HINAKI.
S. Percy Smith (Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, p. 79) quotes a Maori account of Hongi's descent upon Te Hinaki and his folk which gives a much less favourable view of the Nga-Puhi chief's actions than that accepted by Marsden. "Hoani Nahe, of the Ngati-Maru tribe of the Thames," he writes, "supplies me with the following in regard to the doings of Hongi on his return from England: – It was on account of Nga-Puhi's losses at the battle called the 'Wai-whariki,' fought at Puketona (near Mr. Ed. Williams' residence, on the road from Waitangi to Ohaeawae, Bay of Islands, about 1795) in the days of Maori weapons, that Hongi determined to attack the Ngati-Maru at the Thames, now that he had procured arms. He deliberately informed Hinaki and Te Horeta of his intentions when they met in Sydney, on Hongi's return from England with the guns and powder he got from King George. Te Horeta and Hinaki had gone across to Sydney on a visit when they met Hongi. On their return to the Bay they were Hongi's guests, and on one occasion he set before them a bucket of milk, knowing that they would not touch it through its unpleasantness (being unfamiliar to them). Hongi said to them: 'O Te Horeta and Te Hinaki! behold some food! It is milk of a cow – an animal of the pakeha's. It is a good food – drink it.' Neither of them were, however, equal to the task, for they were strangers to such things, and felt a disgust towards the milk. When Hongi saw that neither of them would touch it, he drank the milk himself at a draught. This was intended as a test of them. If they had been able to drink the milk, Hongi would not have prevailed against their tribes. Had Horeta known this, he and his friend would have drunk the milk, but it had been karakia by Hongi, so that they should feel disgust at it. After Hongi had finished the milk, he exhibited to his guests all his guns and powder brought from England, I arranging the former in rows, and giving each its name, saying: 'E mara ma! ** O friends! O Te Horeta! and Te Hinaki! Behold! this gun is Te Wai-whariki, this is Kaikai-a-te-karoro, this is Wai-kohu, this is Te Ringa-huru-huru, this is Mahurangi,' thus naming all the battles in which Nga-Puhi had been defeated."
** E mara ma. – The Ngapuhi form of greeting.

**383** Butler (Journal, May 2nd, 1823) gives the following account of this wreck: – "This morning, about half-past seven o'clock, Captain Dix, of the American schooner Cossack, came to our settlement, and the crew, having been wrecked at the Heads of the Shukianga River on Sunday evening last, April 27th. From Captain Dix I learned that the accident happened in the following manner: The vessel having been into the harbour of Shukianga for the purpose of purchasing provisions to enable them to prosecute their voyage, and having accomplished this object, the captain was anxious to go to sea, and ventured out at low water with a light breeze which proved insufficient to carry them off the land, The returning tide, and the tremendous swell which always sets upon that shore, was more than the vessel could stand, and she went on shore stern first, with all sail set, and in about two hours she was all to pieces. The whole of them were in a most distressed state, having lost everything but what they had on, and some of them not more than half clothed. We furnished them with supplies to carry them down to Kororarica in the bay, two whalers – the Mary Ann and Sarah – being at anchor there, and they, intending as many as could to get on board those ships, to get away from New Zealand."

**384** The Hokianga had, in 1820, been styled the Gambier by Marsden in honour of Lord Gambier, who was a strong supporter of the Church Missionary Society, and the name appears in contemporary maps in the Missionary Register. It never came into general use, however, although Marsden uses the term frequently in his correspondence.

**385** Waikato and Hongi had accompanied Mr. Kendall on his voyage to England of 1819-20, when, in conjunction with Professor S. Lee of Cambridge, Kendall published his Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand (London, 1820). Waikato was now a man of about thirty years of age, described as of "open and manly countenance" and able to understand and speak English fairly well. Waikato and Marsden's friend Ruatara married two sisters. Neither Waikato nor Hongi ever professed Christianity. – The Church Missionary Register, 1820, pp. 326-7, 429.

**386** "This morning (Sunday, September 7th, 1823) the ship Brampton weighed her anchor, having on board as passengers Rev, Samuel Marsden, Rev. Samuel Leigh and wife, Rev. Thos. Kendall and family, Mr. John Cowell and family, a quantity of New Zealanders, and several shipwrecked sailors from the American schooner Cossack. The wind was blowing strong from the eastward, and directly into the harbour." – Butler's MS. Journal (Hocken Library).

**387** The island of Moturoa, not far from the entrance to the Kerikeri. The ship was wrecked on what is still known as the Brampton Reef, about midway between Moturoa and the Waitangi River.

**388** Butler gives the following account of his experiences on this occasion, when he evidently acted with the greatest energy and courage: –

"Tuesday morning (September 9th). – Rev. Mr. Marsden and Rev. Mr. Leigh and his wife returned to Kidde Kidde to remain until an opportunity offers for them to go to Sydney. Mr. and Mrs. Leigh are at my house and Rev. Mr. Marsden at Mr. Kemp's.

"As soon as they arrived and informed me of particulars, I set off, accompanied by Messrs. Kemp, Shepherd, and Puckey, with three boats, to get Mr. Marsden's and Rev. Mr. Leigh's things from the wreck. The wind blew very strong, so that on our near approach we landed on an island about a mile and an half from the ship to take a survey of the surf which was beating against the ship.

"We remained some time on the island to consult whether it would be prudent to attempt getting the things out of the ship. At length we determined to make the trial, and we happily succeeded in getting the things from the wreck, but then we had a very heavy sea to go against in our return, and in which I had nearly been upset many times, and got a complete drenching notwithstanding. However, we arrived home about ten at night, much fatigued and very wet.

"Wednesday (September 10th). – Spent the day at home to recruit my exhausted powers, etc, etc.

"Thursday, 11th. – Went down to the wreck accompanied by Rev. Mr. Marsden as far as Mutoroa, where I left him, and proceeded by myself to the ship; gave directions about Rev. Mr. Kendall's things, Mr. Cowell's goods, got the remainder of Rev. Mr. Leigh's things, and returned to Moturoa, took in Rev. S. Marsden, and reached Kidde Kidde about seven in the evening." – Butler's MS. Journal (Hocken Library); R. J. Barton, Earliest New Zealand, pp. 292-3.

**389** In the Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand, prepared at the instance of the Church Missionary Society by the Rev. S. Lee, Professor of Oriental Languages at Cambridge, along with Thomas Kendall, and published in London in 1820, the Maori language had, for the first time, been reduced to fixed principles, the open sounds of the vowels being used. Marsden, accustomed to the rough and ready spelling of Maori words which is evident in his journals, did not approve of the adoption of these new principles.

**390** Mrs. Williams thus describes the arrival at Paihia of the mission party: – "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, 'Tena ra ko koe,' and 'Homai te ringaringa' ('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 pohutukawa tree. Within an enclosure of paling stood our raupo hut, which had, except in shape, the appearance of a beehive. By the side stood the store, and scattered about were the cart, timber carriage, goats, fowls, and horse, and near the beach were the saw-pits. Behind was a large garden – [premature toil, and a waste of good seed. Within a short time, all trampled down and destroyed. Comfort was attained, at last, but was many years distant yet.] – 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 reposed more comfortably. On Sunday 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 to the natives that it was the sacred day. The whole scene was delightful." – Hugh Carleton, The Life of Henry Williams, Vol. I, p. 30.

**391** George Clarke had arrived in New South Wales on October 16th, 1822. He resided with Marsden at Parramatta till January 1st, 1823, when he left to take part in the work of the settlement then being formed for the aborigines of New South Wales. He left Sydney for New Zealand on March 20th, 1824, in the Coquille, a French corvette commanded by Captain Duperrey who, by order of the French Government, was engaged in a world voyage of observation and discovery. The vessel reached the Bay of Islands on April 3rd, 1824, and remained there for fifteen days.

Clarke landed with his wife and infant son on April 4th, and, as had been arranged by Marsden, was stationed at Kerikeri. "We took up our abode with Mr. and Mrs. Kemp," he writes in his journal, "till such time as the house the Rev. J, Butler left could be cleared for us, and, on the 18th of May, took possession."

Captain Duperrey tells of Hongi's chagrin when he found that Clarke came as a missionary and would not follow his trade of gunsmith: – "M. Clarke, que nous transportions en 1824 avec sa famille a la baie des lies, avait ete annonce a Shongui a ce titre. En effet, le premier metier de M. Clarke avait ete celui d'armurier et de serrurier; mais, dans sa nouvelle condition de missionaire, il avait pris un ton et des pretentions bien au-dessus de celles d'un simple ouvrier, et je vis bien qu'il ne se ravalerait jamais a ses premieres fonctions. Shongui qui se faisait une fete de le recevoir eut lui-meme asser de jugement pour en tirer la mime induction la premiere fois qu'il le vit, et le chagrin qu'il e'prouva de voir encore une fois ses esperances renversees rendit un peu froid l'accueil qu'il fit a M. Clarke. 'C'etait un bon ouvrier que je voulais,' dit Shongui, 'et non pas un ariki de plus; j'en avais deja trop.'" – Observations de M. Duperrey, commandant la corvette la Coquille. Voyage de l'Astrolabe, Vol. III, pp. 676-7.

Clarke was appointed Protector of Aborigines by Governor Hobson in 1840, and held the office till 1846 when he resumed work under the Church Missionary Society. He afterwards became a Judge of the Native Land Court, and died in July, 1875, at the age of 78.

His son, George, born at Parramatta on June 29th, 1823, became Sub-protector of Aborigines under his father. He assisted in 1844 in the negotiations with the Maoris leading to the purchase of the Otago block, and assisted the Government throughout Heke's war and during the beginning of the war in Taranaki. In 1853 he left New Zealand for Hobart where he was ordained as minister of a Congregational Church. He was Chancellor of the University of Tasmania from 1898 to 1907. – MS. Letters and Journals of George Clarke and of Rev. George Clarke, 1822 to 1871 (Hocken Library); George Clarke, Notes on Early Life in New Zealand (Hobart, 1903).

**392** The Rev. Nathaniel Turner was stationed at Whangaroa from 1823 to 1827 when a native outbreak destroyed the settlement. He then went to Tonga, but returned to New Zealand in 1835, residing at Hokianga. He died at Brisbane in 1864 at the age of 95. – J. G. Turner, Life of the Rev. Nathaniel Turner (Melbourne, 1872).

**393** The Rev. John Butler strongly resented Marsden's action with regard to Samuel Butler's house. "During this interval of about eight weeks (after the wreck of the Brampton)," he writes, "Mr. Marsden got several strange notions in his head, and for no other purpose than serving himself.

"Mr. Marsden now began to take action against my son, who was, at this time, with his wife, doing his utmost for the good of the cause in establishing another settlement at the head of north harbour, called the Tee (Ti), belonging to a chief named Tarayha (Tareha), a man of extraordinary size, as his name imports. Mr. Marsden began by finding fault with the plan of his house, which was an L house, of three fourteen feet rooms with a verandah. This plan had passed through the Committee and been approved of, three rooms being quite little enough, with two pantries taken out of the verandah, for a family in New Zealand, where everything wants keeping out of sight as well as locking up from the natives.

"Mr. Marsden spoke to me, saying he would enter a protest against it to the Committee at Home if it went on on the present plan, the ground plates being then laid, and the best that ever I saw put down in New Zealand. The verandah, he said, should be cut off. Samuel told Mr. Marsden if he would let him have the verandah, it being so comfortable in New Zealand, he would be glad to pay the additional expense. But no; it must be cut off, and this was accordingly done.

"A few days after, Mr. Marsden wrote me a letter saying that the plan of Samuel's house must be altered altogether, and the three rooms put in one range, and the house removed into another spot; the end room was accordingly cut off, and the whole removed to a place pointed out by Mr. Marsden, and again laid down according to his directions. Not long after he wrote me again, saying one of the front rooms must be cut off and two skillions formed at the back – one for a bedroom and another for a kitchen.

"At length Samuel got angry and grieved, and well he might; a missionary surely is not a post; he must certainly feel, and he did feel very much. Yet he said nothing to anyone but me. Is this sort of treatment according to the Gospel or mind of the blessed Jesus, and to those who have left their native land and all that an Englishman holds dear, for the great cause of Missions?

"Mr. Marsden next made some observations on the expense of it; but I find it would not have cost more than £150, and the building would have been the most substantial little cottage belonging to the Society in New Zealand.

"From these, and many other circumstances which I could mention, I began to see Mr. Marsden's determination to get some pretext for removing Samuel as well as me. Tarayha, the chief, and his son, Okeeda (Okira), and indeed all the natives, were particularly fond of Samuel and his wife. The young chief's wife lived in the house along with Samuel's wife and a young girl, the daughter of another chief. They acted as servants, and were learning to sew and other household work, and their prayers in the native language, and came on very fast. Indeed, the married woman is one of the finest, quietest, and best behaved women I ever met with in New Zealand.

"Samuel's rush house, which he had built to live in while his other was erecting, would have made a good school house for the natives, which was intended, it being fenced in with a garden around it. He also had two sawpits, and two pair of native sawyers at work, besides four others employed in general work. In short, everything was going on in the most encouraging manner, and there was every prospect of success; but nothing can stand before envy and revenge." – MS. Journal of Rev. John Butler, November 9th, 1823 (Hocken Library).

394 With regard to this Butler remarks in his journal, "Friday, October 10th, Rev. Mr. Marsden came in the afternoon and ordered Mr. Samuel Butler's house to be altered in cutting off the angle and placing the room at the end. His house consists of three rooms, fourteen feet each, with a passage of six feet through the house."

395 Te Wharepoaka.

396 Hongi did not go on this expedition to Taranaki.

397 Marsden evidently confuses Lake Rotorua with the island of Mokoia situated in it occupied by the Arawa tribe Ngati-Whakane.

398 Mr. Graham notes that she was named Kapuaterangi.

399 Te Ti, close to Paihia.

400 The Rev. John Butler strongly denied any lack of enthusiasm with regard to the establishment of a school.

"He then charges me with not doing my utmost in establishing a public school, but, happily for me, as false an assertion as ever was made. I have, and I again repeat it, taught more natives in the principles of religion than all the missionaries put together. No man can deny this. My grief has been that I could not get a school erected sooner. However, I had natives in the wood at Pookatoutarra (Puketotara) falling timber, both for a school and a church, although I knew that a great part of the heaviest labour would fall upon me, and also upon my wife, as we should have all the native workmen to feed, and she would have to cook for them all. But we should have a good schoolroom at the end of the stores – the two rooms which I formerly lived in – had not Mr. Marsden sent Mr. X to live in them, who is an idle man, and one who has committed fornication among the natives, and with more than one, beyond all doubt. If ever I see the Committee in London, and they should wish to know the particulars, I would give them, but I have no wish but to bury such things in everlasting oblivion." – R. J. Barton, Earliest New Zealand, Chapter IX, passim; MS. Journal of Rev. John Butler (Hocken Library).

401 Kendall remained at the Bay of Islands, under the protection of Hongi, till the beginning of 1825, when, with his family, he sailed for Valparaiso. He ultimately returned to New South Wales in 1827 and was drowned there in 1832. – Vide Appendix to this Journal, pp. 421.

William Hall left New Zealand almost immediately after Kendall, being compelled to resign from the mission owing to the unsatisfactory state of his health. He bought a farm in New South Wales and settled there, rendering such assistance to Marsden, in the affairs of the New Zealand Mission, as opportunity and the state of his health permitted.

Of the original party of three who had first reached New Zealand in 1814 only John King was left. He laboured on, rendering the Society faithful service till December, 1853, when he wrote his last report. He died on May 6th, 1854, in the fortieth year of his residence at the Bay of Islands. – MS. Journal of Rev. John King, 1819-53 (Hocken Library).

402 Henry Williams, afterwards a member of the Upper House. He died in 1907.

403 Vide also Barton, Earliest New Zealand, pp. 324-6.

404 Rev. Samuel Marsden to Rev. James Kemp, from Sydney, January 8th, 1824.

405 Vide footnote infra, p. 414.

406 Cf. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1822-34, Vol. X, pp. 181-2.

407 In drawing up these drastic regulations, it is plain, Marsden practically confessed, that "the settlement system," which depended upon the missionaries growing enough to support themselves, had failed. "It was not until 1830," remarks the Rev. H. T. Purchas, "when a move was made from the mangrove-lined shores of the Bay to the higher and more English country twelve miles inland at Waimate, that farming operations really began to succeed; then they prospered in marvellous fashion." One main object of Archdeacon Henry Williams in building the Herald, which he launched in 1826, was that provisions for the settlement might be brought in her from Sydney and the New Zealand coast, and that the missionaries might thus be rendered independent of visiting traders. – H. T. Purchas, The English Church in New Zealand, pp. 43-4.

408 Vide supra, p. 52, et seq.

409 Barron Field (1786-1846), celebrated as the B.F. of Charles Lamb's Essays of Elia, to whom the essay entitled "Distant Correspondents" was addressed, became Judge of the Supreme Court of New South Wales and its dependencies in 1817, reaching Sydney in February of that year. He returned to England in June, 1824, to be granted a pension of £400 per annum and return to the practice of his profession. For a few years he was Chief Justice at Gibraltar. He always showed the warmest interest in the affairs of New South Wales and was in constant correspondence with Marsden. In 1825, upon his return to London, he published Geographical Memoirs of New South Wales by Various Hands in the appendix of which he gives some account of his own experiences in the Colony. – Article in Dict. Nat. Biography.

410 The Rev. John Butler remained in New South Wales till July 13th, 1824, when he embarked for England in the Midas. Driven back by a storm, the vessel finally left Sydney on August 18th, reaching England at the end of December.

He held appointments in various parishes in England until in 1839 his services were secured by the New Zealand Land Company. He reached Port Nicholson on April 21st, 1840, in the Bolton, and took up duty as Native Guardian and Interpreter, preaching also at Petone. He survived, however, only till June 18th, 1841, when he died at the age of sixty. His only son, Samuel, was drowned in the Hokianga River in 1836. – R. J. Barton, Earliest New Zealand, pp. 395-431.

Mr. Butler, it must be noted, consistently denied all the charges against him which led to his removal from the Superintendentship of the work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand. In particular he denied the accusation of drunkenness upon October 27th, 1823, which the committee of missionaries at the Bay of Islands found to have been proved. His vindication of his conduct upon that occasion is given in detail in Earliest New Zealand, pp. 331-2 and 341-2.

Although Marsden was supported in his decisions by the committee of missionaries in New Zealand who heard the case, it seems plain that the whole situation was greatly influenced by the general feeling of exasperation and disappointment caused by Kendall's lapse, and by the obvious incompatibilities of temper among the members of the mission.

411 On March 17th, 1825, Marsden wrote as follows to Mr. D. Coates with regard to Kendall's departure from the Bay of Islands: – "I am happy to learn that the Rev. T. Kendall has taken his departure from New Zealand for Valparaiso, which event you may perhaps hear of before this reaches you. This is a merciful Providence. I have heard a very bad account of his proceedings since my return from New Zealand, even from ungodly men. I am persuaded he was very immoral and too fond of spirits, which led him into other sins. He was so far lost to all religious feelings when I was in New Zealand that he would contend that the civilization of the young women was promoted by their living as prostitutes on board the whalers. On this subject his conversation was that of a man whose mind was greatly corrupted. I need say nothing of Mr. Butler now. I pray that they both may remedy their evil ways and turn unto the Lord their God."

Captain Duperrey of the Coquille, on the other hand, who met Kendall at the Bay of Islands in April, 1824, admired the manner in which he had gained the confidence of the natives and, in particular, his devotion to the study of Maori language and customs. Kendall was now frankly of opinion that all attempts at conversion were premature, and that the missionaries should devote themselves merely to directing the natives towards the gradual abandonment of such customs as were absurd or vicious. Duperrey speaks thus of Kendall: – "Plus raisonable que ses collegues, M. Kendall s'etait concilie l'affection de Shongui et de tous les Zelandais en vivant au milieu d'eux sans defiance, et en remettant a leur disposition tous les outils qui pouvaient leur etre utiles. En outre, il me parut avoir, a l'egard de leur conversion, des idees bien plus saines que ses collegues. Il soutenait que le temps n'etait pas encore venu d'en faire des Chretiens; que toutes les

importunites des missionnaires ne servaient qu'a ennuyer les insulaires, et qu'on devait pour le moment se borner a gagner leur confiance, a apprendre leur langue, et a leur faire voir peu a peu le ridicule et Tabus de leurs coutumes. Enfin M. Kendall etait le seul jusqu'alors qui se fut occupe de recueillir des documents sur ce peuple extraordinaire; sous ce rapport on doit regretter qu'il n'ait pas pu prolonger son sejour dans ces contrees." – Observations de M. Duperrey, commandant la corvette la Coquille. Voyage de l'Astrolabe, Vol. III, pp. 676-7.

**412** Romans i, 23.

**413** The Church Missionary Register, 1826, p. 164.

**414** Mr. Graham states that Captain Powditch afterwards emigrated to New Zealand, and died at Auckland. He was buried at St. Andrew's (Epsom).

**415** Kendall had eight children; six of these were sons, of whom Basil was the second. Basil had become a junior officer in the Chilian fleet, then commanded by the dashing and eccentric Lord Dundonald and engaged against Spain in the War of Liberation. Upon the successful conclusion of that war Dundonald left the service of Chili to aid Brazil against Portugal in the War of Independence, and Basil Kendall appears to have accompanied him and to have seen further war service in the Brazilian fleet. In 1827, however, Dundonald left South America to take part against Turkey in the Greek War of Independence. Basil, now a young man of some twenty-three years of age, thereupon joined his father in New South Wales. Henry Clarence Kendall (1841-82), the celebrated Australian poet, was the son of Basil Kendall. – Turner and Sutherland, The Development of Australian Literature, pp. 238-299.

**416** Dr. Hocken's copy of this Grammar has the following note in Kendall's handwriting on the fly leaf: – "I have had to struggle with greater difficulties in getting this edition printed than the first, which was printed some years ago in London. The enemy still continues his unceasing efforts to check my ardour in everything that relates to New Zealand.
"Pitt Street, Sydney,
"THOMAS KENDALL.
"October, 1827."

# CHAPTER VI. MARSDEN'S FIFTH VOYAGE TO NEW ZEALAND



CHAPTER VI

MARSDEN'S FIFTH VOYAGE TO NEW ZEALAND

Marsden sailed from Sydney in H.M.S. Rainbow on March 14th, 1827, and reached the Bay of Islands on April 5th. He re-embarked on April 10th, and arrived at Sydney on April 18th. [417]

NO journal exists of this voyage which, though of short duration and involving only a five days' stay in New Zealand, is so full of interest as to justify the compiling, from the available sources, of a record with regard to it. The voyage was undertaken at short notice, upon the receipt in New South Wales of the news that the existence of the New Zealand Mission was seriously threatened by hostile Maoris.

In 1823 the Rev. Samuel Leigh had founded the first settlement in connection with the Wesleyan Mission, upon the banks of the Kaeo River at a point about seven miles from where it debouches into the bay at Whangaroa, not far from the scene of the terrible Boyd massacre of fourteen years before. In this settlement, which he named Wesleydale, Mr. Leigh and his successors, the Revs. James Stack, Nathaniel Turner, and John Hobbs, laboured amidst continual danger with an absolute fearlessness begotten of zeal and faith.[418]

Towards the end of 1826 it was plain that a conflict between the warriors of the celebrated chief Hongi and those of the Whangaroa district was imminent. In the following January the storm broke, with the result that the mission at Wesleydale was totally destroyed, while its peaceful inhabitants were compelled to seek a refuge with their brethren of the Church Mission at Kerikeri and Paihia, about twenty miles distant. News of the calamity quickly reached New South Wales, and Marsden immediately decided to proceed without delay to the Bay of Islands that he might render such aid as his influence with the natives could effect. He sailed from Sydney in H.M.S. Rainbow



HONGI'S AFFLICTIONS

(Captain the Hon. H. J. Rous)[419], on March 14th, 1827, and arrived at the Bay of Islands by way of Cook Strait on April 5th. He remained there for four or five days and re-embarked on the 10th, reaching Port Jackson on April 18th.[420] Before leaving New South Wales, Marsden had written on February 24th, 1827, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, informing him of his proposed voyage to New Zealand,[421] "Before this reaches you," he wrote, "you will have heard that the Wesleyan missionaries have left their station in Wangarooa, and returned to this Colony, on account of some civil commotions which have occurred amongst the natives. They have suffered the spoiling of their goods, but no personal injury. I have not heard the real cause of the late disturbance amongst the natives. The following is one account: – Shunghee has lately suffered very great personal as well as family afflictions; some of his own tribe have behaved ill to him, in taking one of his favourite wives; his oldest son[422] was shot in war; a near relation hung himself; his daughter died and other heavy calamities came upon him, in consequence of which he resolved to leave his tribe – at least that part which he was not upon good terms with. As Wangarooa originally belonged to his father, he determined to go and reside there. If the inhabitants would allow him to take quiet possession of a portion he wanted he would not disturb them, but if they refused he would take it by force. The natives did refuse to give up the land. Shunghee then went to war. He was shot through near his shoulder, as we hear, but not killed, and gained a victory. Part of Shunghee's people plundered the missionaries and destroyed their premises, when the missionaries came away, being greatly alarmed.

"The following circumstance occurred at or near the same time at the Bay of Islands: – The brig Wellington had been sent from Port Jackson with sixty-five felons to Norfolk Island. The sentence of death had been recorded against many of these men for crimes committed in the Colony. The felons took the Wellington and carried her

[Inserted unpaginated illustration]

ARCHDEACON HENRY WILLIAMS
1792-1867
By courtesy of Dr. E. H. Williams, Dunedin



into the Bay of Islands, when forty-five of those felons landed and got amongst the natives, which alarmed our missionaries. The Sisters, a whaler, made an attack upon the Wellington and retook her, and the natives delivered up the forty-five who were on shore, when they were all brought to Port Jackson. Some of them have been tried and are now under sentence of death. The Sisters came with them.

"As soon as I received the missionaries' letters and saw the Wesleyan missionaries, I determined upon going to New Zealand as soon as possible in order to arrange the concerns of the Mission, see the chiefs, and settle their disputes as far as I could. The missionaries have sent up several tons of their goods to Port Jackson in the Sisters, from the alarm they were in at the time the Sisters was there.

"It was my intention to have gone in the Sisters; but, while I was thinking upon it, His Majesty's ship of war the Rainbow came in, and will sail soon for New Zealand. I immediately applied to the Captain, the Hon. Rous, for a passage, who accommodated me immediately. On obtaining a passage I wrote to the Archdeacon (Thomas Hobbes Scott)[423] and the Governor (Sir Ralph Darling) for leave of absence, which was readily granted.

"I am not under any apprehensions for the personal safety of the missionaries; at the same time there are many important considerations which induce me to visit them at this time. I want to point out to the natives the greatness of their crimes in robbing the Wesleyan missionaries; to learn from the chiefs what security they will afford to the persons and property of the missionaries, and also what further civil commotions are likely to take place and how they may be prevented; to rectify some hasty opinions which appear to have been formed amongst the missionaries relative to forming a colony of New Zealanders in New South Wales. This subject requires great consideration before any movement is made



unless the state of New Zealand should be such that the missionaries could remain no longer in safety, which in my judgment is not likely to happen. The education of the missionaries' children requires also deliberation – how this is to be conducted and whether in New Zealand or New South Wales. Mr. Norman and also Mr. Lisk will both remain in the Colony until my return. The committee will then determine their station and employment, agreeable to the instructions received from the parent committee.[424]

"Before the present disturbance the prospect of success in the Mission was very gratifying. Peace and union of spirit prevailed amongst the body. The Rev. William Williams[425] is a man of rare talent, piety, zeal, and Christian wisdom, and promises to do much. His heart is in the work and so is his brother's. Their wives are both devoted to the work, and most amiable and valuable women. In short the missionary field in New Zealand has now faithful labourers to cultivate it, and we

may hope for the Divine blessing. God has been very gracious to them all.

"The Mission has now been established about thirteen years, and no man, woman, or child who was sent out to work has died or had a bone broken, though living in the midst of cannibals."[426]

THE BATTLE OF TE IKA-A-RANGA-NUI



The New Zealand missionaries had, as Marsden thus wrote, enjoyed a remarkable immunity from serious harm while the natives among whom they lived were continually engaged in intertribal warfare. The chief protector of the missionaries at the Bay of Islands, Hongi, was also the scourge of his neighbours of the north, eager to exploit the advantage given him by his possession of muskets and powder. Year after year he set forth to take vengeance for injuries which the Nga-Puhi had suffered before the introduction of firearms. By 1825 he was in the full tide of conquest, and in February of that year he defeated the ancient enemies of his folk, the Ngati-Whatua of Kaipara, at the great battle of Te Ika-a-ranga-nui.[427] To that field Hongi brought a taua, or war party, of some 500 warriors, nearly all of whom bore muskets, while he himself wore the famous coat of mail given him by King George IV upon his visit to England in 1820. The Ngati-Whatua, Uri-o-Hau, and Roroa[428] met him on the banks of the Waimako with over 1,000 men, but these were armed only with the old national weapons and had but two muskets among them. The result of the fight was a foregone conclusion. All the bravery of the Ngati-Whatua could not avail against Hongi's muskets. Hongi lost his son, Hare Hongi, who fell mortally wounded, and some seventy of his men, but the Ngati-Whatua lost hundreds of warriors and were driven from their homes to seek refuge in the mountain ranges and the depths of the forest.[429]

Late in 1825 Hongi again left the Bay of Islands to descend upon Waikato where he learned that some of the Ngati-Whatua, fleeing from Te Ika-a-ranga-nui, had taken refuge. "He went by the usual way down the East Coast, thence across the portages of Otahuhu and Waiuku. He then paddled up the Waikato, Waipa, and Mangapiko Rivers to Noho-awatea, where Ngati-Whatua had just arrived and were taking refuge with Te Rauroha of Ngati-Paoa who themselves were

THE ATTACK ON WHANGAROA



fugitives."[430] The Nga-Puhi – 240 strong – were joined by the Ngati-Haua tribe of Waikato, and the allies then asked Te Rauroha with the Ngati-Paoa to leave the pa that they might attack Hongi's enemies, the Ngati-Whatua. Te Rauroha acted as he was requested to do, and Hongi and his allies thereupon stormed the pa and killed many of their enemies. Hongi then returned to the Bay of Islands by his former route.

His ambitious, restless spirit, however, together with his unhappy domestic circumstances, prevented him from being satisfied to pursue the ways of peace. The loss of his eldest son in battle was followed by the death of his eldest daughter of disease. His favourite wife deceived him and, when discovered in crime, committed suicide. Calamity succeeded calamity until his followers regarded him as one cursed of the gods, while he himself seemed anxious to find relief in action and to leave the lands where so much evil had fallen upon him.[431] The condition of the renowned warrior's mind was well known to his neighbours at Whangaroa and caused much uneasiness amongst them. Thus, writing at Wesleydale, on October 17th, 1825, Mr. Turner, a Wesleyan missionary, noted that the natives of his district were in a highly excited condition. "They report," he wrote, "that the Bay of Islanders are on the eve of paying another visit to Wangaroa, and say that Shonghi has sent a message to our natives to leave their food and fly into the woods, so that when he comes into the harbour he may not see one of their faces, lest they be killed."

The first blow from Hongi's warriors upon the Ngati-Pou of Whangaroa (Hongi's own near relatives) fell on Monday, October 20th, 1825. "Shortly after breakfast," Mr. Turner wrote,[432] "the taua, or fight (as the natives call it), came up the river with the tide; and they no sooner arrived at the plantations than they began their work of devastation in pulling up the kumeras, corn, etc., which to them were of no use as they were but just up above the ground. In the early potatoes they found a booty. Their number I judged to be about 300, and to us they appeared a formidable body, as they spread themselves over the plantations. Some made for our premises immediately and at once broke into our boathouse and were taking away the rudder for the iron that was about it. Brother Hobbs ran down and we followed. He seized the rudder and succeeded in getting it from them. They had a complete scuffle, in which they took his hat from him and carried it away. We were thankful, however, he was not personally injured by them, for they threatened to spear and shoot him. We had a good many fine potatoes growing in the garden, which we had planted for our domestics. These attracted their notice and it was not long before the garden was filled with at least a hundred of this lawless banditti, whose appearance indicated them to be almost as ready to devour us as the contents of the garden. In order to come at the garden they had to pull down two fences and pass through our wheat-field, in doing which they trampled much of it under their feet. We exposed ourselves to considerable

THE FIGHT AT HUNUHUNUA



danger in attempting to keep them out of the garden, but all to no use. They soon ran over the potatoes, onions, etc., and we were afraid they would then attack the house; but this they did not attempt. The greater part returned to their camp, but others remained in the garden and about our premises picking up whatever they could find. Two wheelbarrows we had unfortunately left out in the yard; these they broke all to pieces for the iron that was about them. The wheels also, which were of cast-iron, they carried away. Another party were rowing away the boat but were prevented, though several of the oars they carried away with other articles. Some of our fences they broke down and knocked to pieces for the nails. Soon after this, upwards of two hundred went over the hills to the potato plantation of our people and in a few hours all returned well loaded. Our natives all this time were at the pa and durst not move either to defend themselves or us. Tipui (Te Puhi) had concealed himself in the bush, expecting that if seen he should be shot.

"In the afternoon a chief, with several others in his train, broke into our yard and demanded from us a slave-girl whom we had redeemed from him about eighteen months ago. We felt very reluctant to give her up, but as the man appeared quite furious and had several armed men in his train we durst not oppose. Mrs. Turner in this has sustained a great loss, for she was better to her than any two of the girls besides."

The unwelcome visitors departed with the tide next day, taking with them Mrs. Turner's domestic who "waved her hand to her companions of the school as she went along." The incident, however, left the unpleasant impression that this was but the first of a series of calamities. The centre of trouble was still Hongi, concerning whom Turner wrote, on December 31st, that his disturbed state of mind had at last compelled him to leave Waimate, his former residence, with the intention of taking possession of Whangaroa, or some part of it, for his future residence. "Whether he intends killing or driving away the present inhabitants," wrote Turner, "or what may be his design is unknown. We see ourselves in a precarious situation."[433]

In the first days of January, Hongi's warriors descended upon the Ngati-Pou of Whangaroa and drove them from their homes. Hongi pursued the Ngati-Pou and their allies, the Roroa subtribe of Hokianga, to a place called Hunuhunua, on the banks of the Mango-muka branch of the Hokianga River. In the ensuing fight Hongi, when near Oporehu, was shot through the chest by a young man named Maratea, and was borne by his followers to his home at Whangaroa where he died

on March 6th, 1828. Ngati-Pou fled to Wai-mamaku, near Hokianga Heads.[434]

It was as a result of these episodes in the last fighting days of the redoubtable Hongi that the Mission Station at Wesleydale was destroyed and the missionaries there compelled to take refuge in flight. Upon their arrival at Sydney in the Sisters (Captain Duke) on February 9th,



1827, after an eleven days' voyage from New Zealand,[435] they made public the following report with regard to the character of their New Zealand Mission settlement and the dangers from which they had just escaped: –[436]

"The Wesleyan Mission in New Zealand," they wrote, "was commenced in June, 1823. It was established in a beautiful and fertile valley, now denominated Wesleydale, situated about seven miles from the mouth of a river (the Kaeo) which empties itself into the harbour of Wangarooa, and about twenty miles west from Kiddee Kiddee, the nearest settlement of the Church Missionary Society in the Bay of Islands. A substantial and commodious dwelling-house, together with a barn, carpenter's shop, and various other outbuildings, had been erected. An excellent and productive garden had been formed, which, with a plot cultivated for wheat, comprised about four acres. The whole premises were surrounded by a good fence, and constituted a respectable specimen of English civilization in the midst of a barbarous people.

"The natives who resided in the valley amounted to near two hundred, and were called the Ngati-huru tribe; they were headed by several chiefs, of whom the principal was Tepui (Te Puhi), called the Ngate-po (Ngati-Pou), which contained six or seven hundred souls. - To these two tribes the missionaries directed their labours. Having made some proficiency in the language, they regularly employed the Sabbath, and as much of their time on other days of the week as could be spared from other occupations, in communicating to them Christian instruction. A school was also established, which was attended daily by about twenty youths; eight of these had learned to read and write their vernacular tongue, and, on their minds as well as on the minds of many of the adult population, the truths of God had been assiduously inculcated and, in some cases, received with much apparent interest. We began to be greatly encouraged in our work. A good deal of the most fatiguing and disagreeable part of our undertaking had been accomplished, and we entertained lively hopes of increasing a permanent prosperity. This cheering prospect has, however, by a mysterious dispensation of Providence, been suddenly darkened, and our pleasing anticipations, at least for the present, blighted.

"For some time various rumours were circulated through the valley as to some project which the celebrated chief Shunghee had in view. It was stated by some that he had sent to Tepui commanding him to remove to some other part of the country to make room for him, as he intended to take possession of our valley; by others, that he determined to fix his residence among the Ngate-po. Though these vague reports could not be depended upon, it was evident that Shunghee was preparing for some important movement, and, from his well-known character, the more sagacious suspected that his designs were mischievous. This singular man has been driven almost to a state of desperation by some recent domestic occurrences. His eldest son, a young man of great promise and in whom all his hopes centred, was



slain in battle. His eldest daughter died of a consumption, and, while she was lying sick, her husband was detected in incestuous intercourse with Shunghee's favourite wife. This woman hung herself, and was assisted in this act by Shunghee's sister who, for this crime, nearly forfeited her own life, as her enraged brother shot at her twice but happened to miss her both times. Another of his wives was killed, contrary to his desire, as satisfaction for the death of the adultress, and the guilty paramour put an end to his own existence by shooting himself through the body. These heavy calamities greatly oppressed the heart of Shunghee, and some of the natives, according to their universal custom, which is to keep a man down when he is down, took advantage of his distresses by plundering him of his property.

"Under these circumstances his mind was wound up to a high pitch of exasperation, and he resolved to abandon the spot which had been the scene of so many misfortunes and where he was perpetually reminded of them. Thus chafed and irritated, however, there was much reason to dread that, wherever he might remove, there war and bloodshed would accompany him. Even the uncertain intimations that had reached us of his intention to visit our neighbourhood spread general alarm and consternation. At length we received intelligence of his being actually on his way to Wangarooa Harbour, but that he had been compelled by adverse winds to put in at Rangheehoo, a settlement of the Church Mission occupied by Messrs. King and Shepherd. It was also stated that while the expedition was lying there some of the party expressed a design to plunder our premises; our fears were of course somewhat excited, and, though we did not give entire credence to all we heard, we could not help feeling that our situation was one of painful suspense.

"On Thursday evening, the 4th of January, 1827, whilst engaged in Divine worship with our native domestics, we were disturbed by the long expected announcement of Shunghee's arrival in the harbour. The father of a native lad belonging to the Mission family delivered the tidings, and requested his son to join him as he said he was fleeing for his life. All now was commotion and anxiety, as Shunghee's intentions were yet involved in mystery. The night following the whole settlement rang with the cries of the natives, and Tepui, with his brother and several other principal men, accompanied by their slaves, fled to Shukeangha (Hokianga), a place about forty miles distant.

"On Sunday morning the daughter of Shunghee and the wife of Tarria (Tareha), one of his chief allies, with several attendants, came up the river to inform us that he did not intend to visit our village – though he was very angry with Tepui for running away – and to request that some of our fighting men would go and assist him in an attack on the Ngate-po which he intended to make the same day, urging upon them as an inducement the duty of taking revenge on that tribe for having murdered some of their friends a few years ago. The men readily complied with this request and immediately proceeded down the river, rejoicing that the storm which wore so black an aspect towards them was about to burst on the heads of their neighbours.

"On Monday we were informed that a skirmish had taken place between Shunghee's party and the Ngate-po, in which two or three



AMULETS IN HUMAN FORM.

Maori amulets in the form of pendants were of many kinds, but the best-known is undoubtedly the hei-tiki. Hei means "pendant," while tiki means "human." The hei-tiki signified fertility and was appropriately worn by women.

When the early European explorers visited New Zealand the hei-tiki fashion was at its height. It seems probable that the typical form represented by No. 3 on the opposite page is a comparatively late development, for it was not known to the Morioris of the Chatham Islands nor to any other branch of the Polynesians. A comparative study suggests that No. 5 represents an old – perhaps the oldest – form of hei-tiki. Then, as many hei-tiki were made from greenstone adzes (No. 4), the

adze imposed its outline on the human figure, and forms like Nos. 2 and 3 resulted.

The commonly accepted suggestion that the hei-tiki is an attempted realistic representation of the human embryo is unsupported by evidence. When sex is indicated, as it is in one hei-tiki in four, it is always female. A certain, though small, proportion show a A-shaped, snake-like tongue. Almost invariably fingers and toes number three to each hand and foot. When the back is bent, as is the case in almost all examples of the variety represented by Nos. 2 and 3, the curve is concave. None of these features is characteristic of the human embryo.

The materials employed were various, but can almost always be covered by the term greenstone." Bone was used, but only very rarely. An occasional soapstone specimen has been recorded. Bowenite was used, but genuine specimens in this material are excessively rare. Ninety-nine per cent, of genuine tikis are made of nephrite, the lighter and more translucent varieties of the stone being preferred. One of these varieties resembled in shade and translucency the fish called whitebait, and was in consequence called inanga. The other names of colours or grades of greenstone appear to have varied in meaning somewhat in different districts. Greenstone was secured in the country lying to the west of the main mountain mass in the South Island, and the problem of transport back to the more populous districts over the range was a real one. Surplus weight was got rid of by breaking the nephrite into blocks suitable in size and shape for manufacture into adzes. Hence most tikis were made from adzes or from adze-shaped stone.

The large hei-tiki, No. 3, was given to George Clarke, jun., Protector of the Aborigines, by Maoris of the Wellington district. No. 1 is stated to have been in the family of Hone Heke, and hence, presumably, of Hongi Hika. No. 2 is an unusually small and perfect specimen from Te Mahia. No. 5, which has several unusual features including tattooing on thighs and shoulders, and notches around the edge, is from Whangarei. No. 4 is from Kaikai's Beach.

[Inserted unpaginated illustration]

HEI-TIKI
SCALE 1:2
OTAGO UNIVERSITY MUSEUM





were killed; that Shunghee had been repulsed from the pa, or fastness, on the summit of a high and almost inaccessible hill on which the Ngate-po had taken their position; and that a general and more serious engagement was fixed for the morrow.

"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 Rarawa tribe, who would seek hutu (utu) or satisfaction for their hostility towards the Ngate-po. 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.

"Being now left alone and entirely at the mercy of any marauding party that might be disposed to take advantage of our 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, whilst employed in writing a letter to them, ten or twelve armed men of the Ngapui (Nga-Puhi) – that is, Shunghee'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 with us. When they saw her they were evidently 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 therefore had no right to engage 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 sweet potatoes 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 intimated to us that we might expect a general plunder to-morrow, and a native lad who had continued with us overheard them saying that the party was too small to rob us, as, 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 for Kiddee Kiddee bearing a letter to our brethren of the Church establishment in which we informed them of the occurrences and requested their assistance. About eleven o'clock, as we were on the eve of 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 the Ngate-po had abandoned the pa, and that a division of Shunghee's party had gone in pursuit of the fugitives; that in the pa two old women were found who were instantly despatched, 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 of 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 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 Wyemattee (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 upper store, and the carpenter's shop, carrying away everything that they found. As soon as this work of spoliation was commenced several guns were fired, which appears to have been 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 violent 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 came and expressed their grief at witnessing our circumstances and offered to go with us. We very gladly accepted this proposal, considering that their assistance in carrying the children would be very serviceable. We hastily partook of a little refreshment and got a few things ready for our journey, still resolved, however, not to leave until driven to the last extremity.

"Whilst we were 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 into every room and carrying off everything we possessed. The native youths who were to accompany us evinced great alarm and urged us to be gone, assuring us that if we remained a little longer we should escape with our skins only, by which they meant that we should be divested of the very clothes we wore. But, though our situation was exceedingly perilous, we still lingered, feeling the strongest reluctance to abandon the spot on which we had bestowed so much time and labour and which had become endeared to us by many associations. At length, however, the last shadow of hope disappeared, and we were fully satisfied that the awful crisis had arrived in which it was our imperious duty to flee for our lives. About six o'clock, therefore, 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 Kiddee Kiddee, the nearest station belonging to the Church Mission.

"Our party consisted of two missionaries, Messrs. Turner and Hobbs, Mrs. Turner (who had been confined only five weeks and was still very weak), three small children, Miss Davis, Luke Wade (an English servant) and his wife (who had been for several weeks extremely ill and was hardly able to move at all), five native boys, and two native girls – in all sixteen persons. We had before us a journey of twenty miles over a most rugged and mountainous country, of which some of the hills are so steep that but for the roots of trees, which form a sort of steps, they would be almost inaccessible.

"With much painful solicitude as to the possibility of our travelling so far, we set forward, the strong supporting the weak and all depending on the aid of Divine Providence. The road at first leads up a valley through which a river pursues its winding course, which it is necessary frequently to cross. Over this stream we had to bear the females upon our arms. After having proceeded about a mile we were met by three of the men who left the valley in which we had resided on the preceding Friday. They informed us that a large company consisting of a thousand fighting men were on their march from Shukeangha (Hokianga) and close at hand; that they were accompanied by Tepui (Te Puhi) and several of his people; and that their object was to rescue Tepui's wife and children from the danger apprehended from Shunghee and take them to a place of safety. They also strongly urged us to turn out of the road and conceal ourselves, declaring that if this party met us they would most certainly kill us. We had no reason to doubt the information they gave us, but we had much reason to suspect their advice as we knew them to be bad characters. One of them had attempted, about two years before, to take away Mr. Turner's life; and another of them was known to be the man who treacherously conducted two individuals belonging to the crew of the Boyd to a place where they were killed and eaten. We were perplexed as to what we should do, but, as no time was to be lost, we turned aside for the purpose of hiding ourselves. We had not gone far when the men requested us to sit down. This revived our suspicions as in that place we could be clearly seen from the road, and, these suspicions being heightened by the singular behaviour of these men in other

respects, we were led to believe that their intentions were mischievous. We therefore determined to return to the road and at all hazards to pursue our journey. Before we reached the path we were glad to meet two other natives in whom we could more safely confide. They confirmed the statement as to the approach of the Shukeangha party and recommended us to stay till they had passed. However, we resolved to proceed, and prevailed on one of them, Warreenui (Whare-nui), a friendly chief from the Bay of Islands, to accompany us. We now went forward with less hesitation, though our minds were still agitated by distressing fears.

"In a short time, as we were turning round a sharp corner of the road, we found ourselves close upon the war party of which we had been apprised. Though not so numerous as they had been represented, they had a most formidable appearance. They amounted to



several hundreds and were coming down in one dense mass with the utmost silence and order, armed with muskets, bayonets, and long-handled hatchets. This was to us a solemn moment, as we were doubtful whether they would prove friends or foes. Warreenui (Whare-nui) called out to them to stop, which they instantly did. He then informed the chiefs who marched at the head of the body of our circumstances, on which they spoke to us with kindness and requested us to place ourselves close together near the edge of the water and to sit or kneel down. We did so, expecting, we must confess, that they intended instantly to slaughter us there. However, to our inexpressible joy, they formed themselves into a circular line around us and commanded their followers to pass on, thus protecting us from those who were disposed to injure us, and, fearing that we should be exposed to dangers from some stragglers who were at a distance behind, one of these friendly chiefs (Patuone) joined our party and accompanied us till we had passed them.[437]

"When about seven miles from Wesleydale we were met by Mr. Stack and Mr. Clarke, who, with about twelve natives, were hastening to our assistance. Mr. Stack had arrived at Kiddee Kiddee between four and five o'clock in the morning. Messrs. Kemp and Clarke, having perused our letter, evinced the kindest sympathy for us and prepared to render us immediate succour. They lost no time in despatching a messenger to Pyhea (Paihia), another Church Missionary station fifteen miles from Kiddee Kiddee, to apprise the brethren there of what had transpired and to solicit their assistance. In the meantime the party we had now the pleasure of meeting set off without delay towards Wangarooa. The narrative of our losses and dangers filled the minds of our friends with the greatest concern, and our meeting them was to us a source of the greatest consolation as we thus obtained that aid of which we greatly felt the necessity. Before we arrived at Kiddee Kiddee the Pyhea friends came up, consisting of the Rev. Henry Williams, Mr. Richard Davis, and Mr. William Puckey, accompanied by Mr. Hamlin and upwards of twenty natives. We were astonished at the expedition with which our kind and excellent friends had hastened to our relief, as only about eighteen hours had yet elapsed since Mr. Stack left Wesleydale with our communications and Pyhea is little short of forty miles distant. The remainder of the way – about six miles – we travelled with comparative ease, as the natives carried Mrs. Turner, Miss Davis, and Mrs. Wade, who were quite exhausted with fatigue, the latter having fainted twice on the road; and thus, about seven o'clock in the evening,



after a day spent in excessive toil and most appalling danger, we reached a friendly asylum, thankful to God for our miraculous preservation and feeling deeply indebted to our brethren of the Church Mission for their tender sympathy and generous assistance.

"On Thursday, the 11th of January, we removed to Pyhea, and there we found the minds of the brethren so impressed by the unsettled and warlike spirit which prevails throughout the country – and especially by some alarming threats which had been thrown out as to an attack on the Pyhea tribe which, if put in force, would inevitably expose them to the same disasters as those which had befallen us – that they immediately commenced packing up their disposable goods with a view to sending them to Sydney lest they should fall into the hands of the natives.

"On Friday a note was received from Messrs. Clarke and Kemp of Kiddee Kiddee, stating that tidings had reached them of a severe wound received by Shunghee in pursuing the fugitive Ngatepo; that this news had produced considerable commotion among the natives at their station, many of them having gone to succour the wounded chief and others preparing to follow them; that two of the principal men, before their departure, had assured them that in case of Shunghee's death or of his being dangerously wounded they would certainly be plundered, and that, as they should then have enough to do to defend themselves, they could hold out no promise of protection to the missionaries. This intelligence was accompanied by a request that two boats might be instantly despatched for the most valuable part of the Mission property.

"On Sunday a letter was brought from the brethren of Kiddee Kiddee informing us that a messenger from Shukeangha (Hokianga) had announced to them the intelligence of Shunghee's death, and that they were in momentary expectation of the arrival of a party which, it was stated, was coming to plunder them, and requesting a boat to be sent without delay for Mrs. Clarke, which was accordingly done. At daybreak on Monday morning the boat which had been sent the preceding evening for Mrs. Clarke hove in sight, having a red flag at the masthead. It had been agreed upon that this signal should be hoisted if, upon the arrival of the boat at Kiddee Kiddee, the news of Shunghee's death should appear to be authentic. A strong sensation was produced when the signal was discovered, and the utmost diligence was employed to ship the Mission property with all possible expedition.

"On Wednesday, the 17th, we went to Rangheehoo where we met with some men who had just returned from Wangarooa, where they had been on an expedition commanded by the chiefs Whykato (Waikato) and Warreepork (Wharepoaka), the object of which was to obtain potatoes as a satisfaction for what they had lost by Shunghee's party while it was encamped in their neighbourhood. From these men we learned that on the arrival at our Mission settlement of the Shukeangha party, whom we met on the 10th when we were fleeing to Kiddee Kiddee, they had driven away the first plunderers who belonged to Shunghee's party and who were able to carry off only the more portable part of the booty, and that they had seized the remainder themselves; that they had returned to Shukeangha 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 burnt to ashes; that the cattle, of which there were eight head, the goats, poultry, etc., were all killed; that the heads and feet and other parts of the stock were lying strewed about upon the ground mixed with other articles which the robbers did not think it worth their while to carry away; that, not content with what they found above ground, these barbarians had dug up the body of Mr. Turner's child, which had been interred a few months before, merely for the sake of the blanket in which they supposed it was enveloped. They had left the corpse of the tender babe to moulder upon the surface of the earth – a monument of their relentless cruelty. These men also informed us that Shunghee was not dead, but that he had been shot through the body; that the ball, having broken his collarbone and passed in an oblique direction through the right breast, had come out a little below the shoulder blade, close to the spine; that, after his return from pursuing the Ngatepo, his principal wife, Turi (Turi-ka-tuku), whose heroism and judgment were much admired and whose abilities in war were so surprising that, notwithstanding her blindness and other infirmities of age, she always

accompanied her husband in his fighting enterprises, had died at Wangarooa.[438]

"On the 19th some natives arrived at Kiddee Kiddee in a canoe from the south-east part of the island, who reported that the news of Shunghee's misfortune was received there with every expression of joy and triumph, such as singing and dancing, which were kept up without intermission night and day; and that in case of his death a very large body might be expected at the Bay of Islands to revenge the atrocious injuries which he has inflicted upon them.

"This evening a letter was received by the Rev. Henry Williams from Captain Hurd (Herd) of the New Zealand Company's ship the Rosanna, then lying at Shukeangha, in which the Captain very kindly expressed the deep concern he felt on hearing of our disasters, and generously offered to accommodate us with a passage to Sydney and to render us any other assistance that lay in his power. Such kindness



manifested by a stranger, under circumstances so peculiarly trying as ours were, excited in our bosoms the liveliest emotions of gratitude and respect.[439]

"On the 21st a chief of Wytanghee (Waitangi) stated that Shunghee was very likely to die; that they expected a party to come on the morrow to cut them off, but they intended to fight in their own defence and



have the satisfaction of killing some of their enemies before they themselves were slaughtered, adding that the Wangarooa natives had taken great satisfaction for their deaths in having slain so formidable a foe as Shunghee.

"On Monday, the 22nd, the natives assembled in considerable numbers around the Mission Station at Pyhea (Paihia). The brethren were very suspicious as to their intentions, but they suddenly dispersed on the following day. Whykato (Waikato) and Warreepork (Wharepoaka), the two friendly chiefs of Rangheehoo, said that if Shunghee should die they should undoubtedly be attacked by hostile parties, but that they and the white people would fall together.

"The Church missionaries considered their situation in New Zealand as so precarious that they shipped about twenty tons of goods on board the Sisters to be conveyed to Sydney, and, of the rest, what was of any value and not required for immediate use they either buried underground or deposited on board a vessel in the harbour. They adopted these precautionary measures to secure what might be requisite for their voyage, deeming it not improbable that they should be compelled to flee to Port Jackson, and fearing that if the natives should suddenly come upon them they would, like us, be stripped of everything.

"On Wednesday, the 24th, a letter was received from Mr. Clarke of Kiddee Kiddee, stating that some messengers who had been sent to Shunghee had brought intelligence of his being likely to recover, and of his having almost utterly destroyed the Kaitangata tribe who resided on the western side of Wangarooa harbour. Their statement was that only ten of the unhappy tribe were supposed to have escaped; that old Matapo, the chief, who was the principal actor in plundering the brig Mercury, was among the slain; that Shunghee's advice to the missionaries at Kiddee Kiddee was to remain on their station while he lived, but to flee as soon as he died to their own country; that the contest in that quarter had been brought to a close and that the natives were dispersing to their respective places of abode. The head of Matapo was a few days afterwards exhibited on a pole at the Bay of Islands as a trophy of Shunghee's success.

"When we left New Zealand, which was on the 28th of January, a very large party, led by the chief Tarria (Tareha), was lying in Kororarika Bay which is on the east side of the Bay of Islands. This was so formidable a body that when they were making towards the Sisters Captain Duke thought it expedient to fire two six-pounders over their heads to deter them from approaching. Their real views were not known, but their leader, Tarria, is one of those chiefs who had threatened the Pyhea tribe. Considerable alarm was therefore felt in that quarter.

"We forbear to express our opinion as to what may be the result of this tumultuous state of things, though we cannot but fear that the immediate consequences will be disastrous. However, we beg it to be distinctly understood that our mission to New Zealand, though suspended, is by no means abandoned. While we are not blind to the difficulties which at present obstruct its progress, we are convinced that



it may yet be prosecuted with rational hope of extensive and lasting usefulness."[440]

The missionaries at Kerikeri had meanwhile been somewhat reassured as to the situation. Hongi had sent two slaves to them on the evening of January 17th to ask for "some tea, sugar, rice, and some linen and other things to dress his wounds." They sent him the comforts he requested along with a somewhat stern message with regard to his conduct, which they complained had hindered their usefulness among the people, caused the destruction of the Wesleyan Mission, and imperilled himself and his people, body and soul. They exhorted the wounded warrior to consider the narrow escape he had just had as a warning from God to him to cease to do evil and learn to do well.[441]

By March 6th the missionaries were convinced that all danger had passed. Hongi seemed to be recovering from his wound, and had shown his disapprobation of the proceedings of those who had attacked the Wesleyan station by compelling them to disgorge their booty and flee for their lives. He declared that the principal agent in the attack upon Wesleydale was Te Puhi, who had also been one of the chief actors in the destruction of the Boyd. Thinking that Hongi was about to seize Whangaroa and that all the advantages he derived from the residence of the missionaries were about to end, he decided to seize all their property so that nothing might be left for others.[442] Hongi having thus been exonerated, the ordinary work of the Mission continued although the natives were for the most part unresponsive and sometimes definitely hostile. "They charge us as the authors of their evils, as having introduced among them many diseases," wrote Clarke. "Till we came among them, they say, young people did not die but all lived to be so old as to be obliged to creep on their hands and knees. Our God, they say, is cruel; therefore they do not want to know Him."[443]



The Wesleyan missionaries, however, in spite of the fact that the natives of the Bay of Islands seemed in more settled mood, did not think it advisable to re-establish themselves at Wesleydale but, upon the invitation of Patuone, a head chief of the Hokianga district, decided to purchase land there. On October 8th, 1827, Mr. Stack arrived at Paihia to enter into the necessary negotiations with the Maoris, being joined in the early days of November by Mr. and Mrs. Hobbs, Miss Bedford, and Mr. and Mrs. Wade.[444] By April 2nd, 1828, these negotiations had been completed, and the missionaries took possession of their new station at Mangungu on Hokianga Harbour.

Already, on March 12th, Stack had been given an interesting account by Patuone of the death of Hongi Hika[445] who, on March 6th, 1828, died of his wound at Whangaroa. "Patuone told me several things," wrote Stack, "all of which I felt interested in listening to, as connected with the end of this extraordinary warrior. I perceived that Patuone spake of him in the most affectionate manner. When he and his party arrived at Pihia (Paihia), where Honghi was, they found him so emaciated that they were much affected. They all, as is usual, wept together, after which they informed him they feared he would soon die; to which he replied in the negative, saying he was never in better spirits. After waiting sufficiently long with him to pay him proper respect, they were about to return, when he was taken suddenly ill, upon which they determined to wait longer, to see if peradventure he might die. Perceiving by his inward sinking that he was going, he said to his friends, 'I shall



die now shortly, but not to-day.' He called for his gunpowder, and when it was brought to him, he said, 'Ka ora koutou' ('You will be, or are, well'). This was addressed to his children. His morys (meres) or battle-axes, muskets, and the coat of mail he received from King George the IVth he bequeathed on this day (5th inst.) to his sons. After he had settled these matters, he spake of the conduct of the natives after his death, as, in all probability, likely to be kind towards his survivors, saying, 'Kowai ma te hia mai ki a koutou? Kaore' ('Who will desire to eat you all? None').

"He spent his last moments on the morning of the 6th inst. exhorting his followers to be valiant, and to repel any force, however great, which might come against them, telling them this was all the utu, or satisfaction, he desired; which intimates that he had had the question proposed to him, 'Who is to be killed as a satisfaction for your death!' This abominable principle still exists in New Zealand, of honouring the dead by human sacrifice. His dying lips were employed in uttering, 'Kia toa, kia toa!' ('Be courageous, be courageous!').

"As soon as Honghi ceased to breathe all his friends in the pa at Pihia trembled for themselves; for they did not know but that the Hokianga natives would fall upon them and send them as companions for their dead chief 'to the shades of night.' The Hokianga natives, to prevent suspicion, caused all their people to remain quiet in their huts while they went to the pa to see Honghi's body dressed. On their approach, though they had used the above precautions, they perceived the people in the pa shivering like leaves in the wind, till Patuone and the others bade them dismiss their fears for they were groundless.

"A wish to keep Honghi's death private till he was buried, lest a party should come and attack the survivors, induced his children to determine to bury him, or rather to place him on the wahi-tapu, or sacred place, the day after his death. This Patuone reproved them for, saying, 'I have only just become acquainted with those who wish to bury their father alive.' He was not buried, therefore, for some days, which were spent in paying all the honour which the New Zealanders were capable of to the remains of the once renowned Honghi. The natives spent their time haranguing, crying, cutting themselves, dancing, firing off muskets, etc."

Mr. George Clarke, who had known Hongi well, thus summed up the character of the dead chief.[446] "His character as a warrior is celebrated throughout the two or three great Islands known by the name of New Zealand, and has reached the shores of Great Britain. 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 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 kindness, 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. Respecting his state of mind and views of Eternity all was midnight darkness, though he was sensible that his departure was near at hand. He had often



heard of the glorious Gospel of Peace; but it always interfered with his plans. Consequently he rejected the offers of mercy held out to him to the very last, and neglected the 'one thing needful.' His family, which consists of five children – two sons and three daughters – are bereaved of one of the most affectionate parents that could possibly exist, and must very sensibly feel their loss, and the whole of this part of the Island acknowledge that, through him, they have enjoyed a superiority over their enemies living in the southern part, as well as prosperity, for twenty years. He seems not to have attained to the years of sixty, but before he received his wound at Wangarooa was very active and seemed as though he might have lived to be an old man.

"Notwithstanding this great change of affairs, all is peace around us, and the natives continue to give us great satisfaction as to their conduct towards us. Thus, sirs, is the once dreaded gathering storm blown over."

Such was the end of this great chief and outstanding leader in Maori warfare. His early possession of firearms, it is true, did much to spread the terror of his name but, in addition, he was a master of the art of native warfare, and if cruel and treacherous he but followed the usual Maori standards of his time.[447] His death marks the end of the period in the history of the New Zealand Mission during which success depended on the favour of the chief, and the beginning of the self-reliant policy which gradually made the missionary counsellor and ambassador of peace the most influential man in New Zealand during the remaining years till the proclamation of British sovereignty in 1840.

While Hongi lay dying, Marsden, who had so often sought to direct the steps of the warrior chief in paths of peace, had been co-operating



with Mr. R. Davis of the New Zealand Mission in the task of printing the first translation of Scripture into Maori. During a visit to New South Wales, Davis had carried through the press a translation of the first three chapters of Genesis, the first chapter of St. John, the twentieth chapter of Exodus, thirty verses of the fifth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, the Lord's Prayer, and seven hymns. In the beginning of 1828, upon his return to New Zealand, Davis wrote: "The natives are much pleased with their new books; many can read them; and they act as a stimulus in learning to read to those who are not yet able." The Church Mission schools contained at this time 111 native scholars – 75 male and 36 female.[448]

Marsden himself felt that this brief visit of April, 1827, had served a useful purpose since it had convinced him that all was now well with the Mission whose fortunes lay so near his heart. "It gave me much pleasure," he wrote upon his return, "to find the missionaries so comfortable, living in unity and godly love, devoting themselves to the work. I trust that the Great Head of the Church will bless their labours."

Writing from Parramatta on April 25th, 1826, Marsden had given the Church Missionary Society a list of the missionaries on the New Zealand station to whom he thus referred with some information regarding their duties.[449]

He also informed the committee of his re-establishment of the Seminary for the education of New Zealanders at Parramatta. The buildings there had been completed in 1819,[450] and had been used for a short time to accommodate the Maoris living under Marsden's guidance. It was quickly found, however, that the New Zealanders failed to accommodate themselves to the new living conditions that were of necessity imposed upon them. Thirteen of the young chiefs died, either while in residence at Parramatta or soon after their return home, and Marsden was compelled to conclude that his attempt was premature. "The natives of New Zealand," he wrote, "must become better acquainted with habits of civil life before they will be governed by them."[451]

The Committee of the Church Missionary Society, however, was unwilling to allow Marsden to abandon his original plan of educating young New Zealanders in New South Wales, and in August, 1822, when the Rev. Henry Williams was set apart for the work of the New Zealand Mission, he was specially directed to inform Marsden of their mind on the matter. "The members of the Committee wish particularly," they put it, "to direct the attention of Mr. Marsden and the other friends of the Society to the revival and enlargement of the Seminary which has heretofore existed at Parramatta for the instruction of New Zealanders.

"The circumstances of New Zealand and of the Mission to those Islands have greatly increased, in the view of the Committee, the importance of a Seminary of that nature. The collateral security which will naturally attach to the Society's settlements from the residence in New South Wales of a number of New Zealand youths, the superior advantages of instruction to be obtained for them in the Colony, the more effectual influence which may be there brought to act on their minds in weaning them from the evil habits of their country, the frequent visits of their relatives; these, and other considerations, have much weight with the Committee in inducing them to think that a more promising measure could not well be adopted in behalf of this Mission than the establishment of an efficient Seminary in New South Wales for the Christian education of young New Zealanders, perhaps of both sexes. Major-General Macquarie has, since his return from the Government of that Colony, expressed to one of the Society's officers his decided opinion that this measure would be highly advantageous to the objects of the Mission."[452] Marsden himself, in the course of his New Zealand journey of 1823, had come to the conclusion that the Seminary must be revived in the interests not only of the Maoris but of the children of the New Zealand missionaries. "I consulted with some of their parents," he wrote to the Secretary of the Society, "to know what could be done for them to prevent their children from becoming heathenish in their principles and behaviour. It was thought that the most prudent means that could be adopted were to establish a Seminary in New South Wales for them and some of the chiefs' children who might be disposed to visit





Port Jackson. On my return to the Colony, I consulted some of my friends here who very much approved of the proposition. I immediately wrote to the Parent Society informing the Committee what my intentions were and, without waiting for their answer, began the building on my own responsibility. In due time I received the sanction of the Society for establishing the Seminary. When the building was ready for the reception of the New Zealanders who were then living with me, they removed into it and some have continued in it ever since.

"The building is still my property. No part of the expense attending it has been charged to the Society, nor for the support of the New Zealanders who, from time to time, resided in it. As it was a concern entirely under my own direction, I was unwilling to make any demand upon the Society until the premises had been surveyed by competent judges and some sanction given by persons of respectability in the Colony for me to draw upon the treasurer of the Society for the value of the building. Should a Corresponding Committee be formed, and the Seminary found upon trial to answer the intended purpose, in that case I shall leave it to the option of the Society to purchase the building or to pay the Colonial Committee interest for the amount of the money that has been expended, so long as the Seminary may be required for the original purpose. I shall with this view make out an account of expenses and lay them before the Committee, and the Committee may then form their own determination on the subject."[453]

The Seminary had been built upon a piece of land belonging to Marsden. "I have fixed on some good land," he had written to the Secretary upon his return from New Zealand in 1823, "which I purchased a few years ago, where there is plenty of water with other local advantages, within sight of my own house, and at a little distance from the town. When the Seminary is built, if 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 free-stone; 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 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.

"I purpose to have the New Zealand youths taught shoemaking, tailoring, weaving, flax-dressing, and spinning, with gardening and farming. If the chiefs' sons are educated with the children of the missionaries they will become attached one to another, and the work of the Mission will be much promoted thereby. I have six New Zealanders with me now, all young men of chiefs' families: they rejoice to see the foundation of our institution laid."

In September, 1824, he wrote again upon this subject. "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



The Wounded Chief Honghi (Hongi) and his Family.

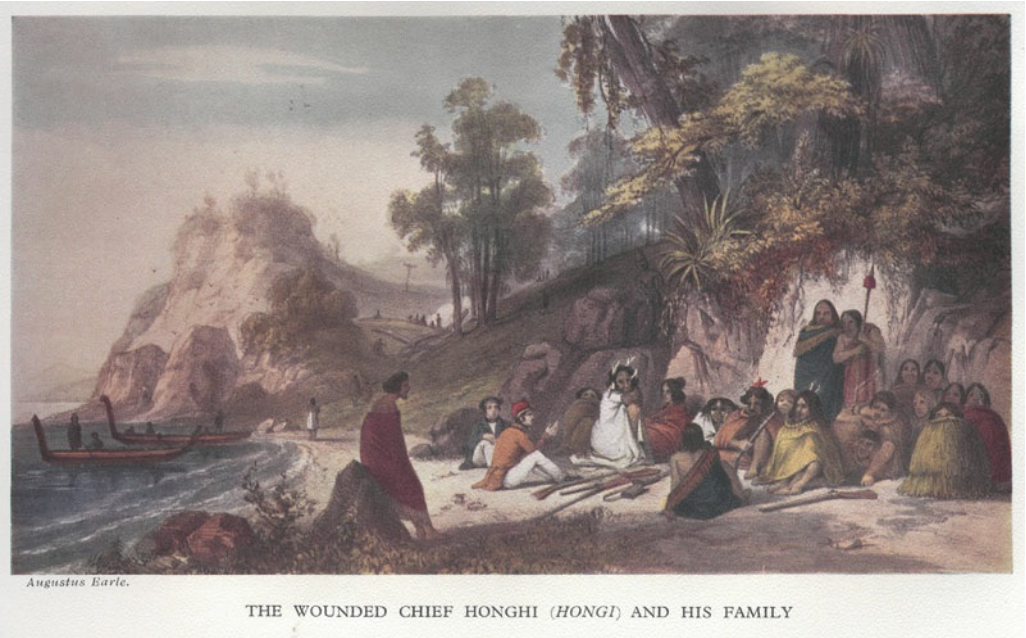
From Sketches Illustrative of the Native Inhabitants and Islands of New Zealand from Original Drawings by Augustus Earle, Draughtsman of H.M.S. Beagle (London, 1838).

Augustus Earle, who joined the Beagle in 1831, reached Hokianga from Sydney in the Governor Macquarie in 1827, and wrote an account of his New Zealand experiences in his Narrative of a Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand in 1827 (London, 1832).

While at the Bay of Islands, he visited Hongi who had been wounded in January, 1826, while fighting against the Ngati-Pou on the banks of the Mango-muka branch of the Hokianga River and who died at Whangaroa on March 6th, 1828. The scene was a memorable one. "In a beautiful bay, surrounded by high rocks and overhanging trees," writes Earle, "the chiefs sat in mute contemplation, their arms piled up in regular order on the beach. Shungie, not only from high rank but in consequence of his wound being taboo'd or rendered holy, sat apart from the rest. . . . He was arrayed in a new blanket, which completely enveloped his figure, and his head was 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." – Earle, A Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand in 1827 (London, 1832), pp. 64-66.

Hongi Hika, at the time of his death, must have been about fifty-five years of age. His mother, who lived to be a very old woman and who was still alive in 1820 when her famous son visited England, told Kendall that Hongi Hika was born soon after Captain Cook visited the Bay of Islands in 1769. – The Church Missionary Register, 1820, p. 326.

[Inserted unpaginated illustration]




THE WOUNDED CHIEF HONGHI (HONGI) AND HIS FAMILY
Augustus Earle



in the new building, as sufficient accommodation may then be had for them and the schoolmaster. 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."[454]

All these things served to encourage Marsden. After his fifth New Zealand journey, he wrote on January 1st, 1829, to the Secretary of the Society, the Rev. E. Bickersteth, in still more hopeful strain with regard to the future of the New Zealand Mission, with evident thankfulness that he had been privileged to visit it once more. "It is of very great importance," he said, "to visit the missionaries occasionally and see what they are doing. The natives are now at peace one with another. The chiefs at the Thames and the Bay of Islands are now united, and further to the south. The Gospel begins to influence some of them, and they improve much in civilization. A chief is come to me this morning from near Cook's Strait to see if he can get a missionary. About two years ago he sent one of his boys, about five years old, to me though I had never seen him. I sent him home about fourteen days 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 had about twenty with me lately from the west side of New Zealand; they have not all returned yet. There can be no doubt but New Zealand will become a civilized nation. It is a great work, but a glorious one and one which the Christian World should perform. Freely we have received, and freely we should give."[455]



**417** William Morley, History of Methodism in New Zealand (Wellington, 1900), p. 16 et seq.

**418** Dumont d'Urville, the commander of the Astrolabe – Duperrey's old vessel the Coquille now renamed – visited the Bay of Islands in March of this same year, 1827. He found the natives so much accustomed to the visits of Europeans that his arrival aroused little comment. Their one interest was the waging of war upon their neighbours, and as d'Urville watched the departure of the war canoes he was struck by the contrast afforded by the entrance upon the scene of the new mission vessel, the Herald, of about 55 tons, which had been launched at the Bay on January 24th, 1826, and was unfortunately wrecked at Hokianga on May 26th, 1828.

D'Urville describes thus his sensations when he first saw the Herald: – "Au meme instant, a travers la brume, et tel qu'une ombre legere, un schooner courait des bords dans la rade pour atteindre le mouillage. Ce navire etait le Herald, que les missionnaires avaient construit a Pahia, et qui revenait en ce moment de Port Jackson ou il avait fait un voyage. On pouvait etre emu de ce contraste: ainsi ce petit navire, faible parcelle de la civilisation europeenne, monte seulement par quelques Anglais paisibles, ne servait que des projets pieux et philanthropiques; tandis que ces longues pirogues, dernier effort de l'industrie sauvage, allaient, surchargees de guerriers avides de sang, porter le fer et la flamme sur des plages voisines." – Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de l'Astrolabe, Vol. II, p. 214.

**419** Captain, afterwards Admiral, the Hon. H. J. Rous, a son of the first Lord Stradbroke, was one of the speakers in the celebrated House of Commons debate of June, 1845, with regard to the state of New Zealand. He then warmly defended Governor FitzRoy from the charges made against him.

He played a small part in the early exploration of Australia and discovered the Richmond and Clarence Rivers in 1829. Ipswich (in Queensland), Stradbroke Island, and the County of Rous were named in his honour.

He was distinguished both in New South Wales and in England by his keen interest in the turf. – cf. Lee, The Coming of the English to Australia (London, 1906), pp. 81-2.

**420** The Sydney Gazette of April 25th, 1827, contains the following paragraph concerning Marsden's fifth visit to New Zealand: – "By the return of the Rev. Mr. Marsden from New Zealand in His Majesty's ship Rainbow we feel it our duty to announce that Mr. Marsden has candidly acknowledged that the statement made by the Wesleyan missionaries on their arrival in the Colony

from Whangaroa contained nothing but matters of fact, and that the picture was neither too highly coloured nor the truth anyway distorted. Honghi was still in danger from the wound he had received in battle prior to the abandonment of the mission station at Whangaroa. There appeared not the least hope held out for the return of the missionaries to Wesleydale. The natives were all engaged in war, and misery and desolation pervaded every part of the Island."

421 Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. I, pp. 668-9.

422 Hare Hongi. – Vide supra, p. 357 (footnote).

423 At the time of Archdeacon Scott's appointment in 1824, many of Marsden's friends felt that he had just cause to feel aggrieved on account of the fact that his claims to preferment had been ignored. Marsden himself, however, accepted the situation with equanimity. On September 16th, 1824, he wrote to the Rev. Josiah Pratt: – "With respect to the appointment of Archdeacon Scott, it gives me no concern. Very considerable sensation was excited in the public mind when the information reached the Colony. It was considered as a great act of public injustice to me, who had been more than thirty years in the country and had borne the burden and heat of the day. If it would have been for my good and the good of the Church of Christ I should have been appointed. I am satisfied with what infinite wisdom directs. God gives me all things richly to enjoy, and what should I wish for more? Mr. Scott I know well. He is well acquainted with me and I do not apprehend he will throw any difficulties in my way. Should he do so, I shall think little of them because nothing that he can do will be new to me."

On February 7th, 1825, he again wrote to the same correspondent: – "I shall be happy when Archdeacon Scott arrives. He will give more weight and influence to the Established Church. I have laboured here more than thirty years in the most abandoned society and under the government of the greatest enemies to the Gospel, and never could get any support from my superiors in the Church but was left to fight my own battles with men possessed of more than sovereign power. Hitherto the Lord has helped me. The Archdeacon will now take the field, which will be a very great relief to me. I look forward for happier days. I have had a post to maintain, and did not possess strength to defend it as I could have wished to have done.

"With respect to the honours and enactments of the Archdeacon, I very willingly resign them. I wish for neither the one nor the other. I am perfectly satisfied with what I possess. They would neither add to my comfort nor my usefulness,, but might injure both."

424 The Rev. James Norman and Mr. James Lisk, with their wives, had been transferred, for health reasons, from the Sierra Leone station of the Church Missionary Society, and had arrived in New South Wales in February, 1827. Lisk at first worked among the aborigines of New South Wales, while Norman went first to Launceston and then to Port Dalrymple (Tasmania). It was hoped that both they and their wives would ultimately be able to proceed to New Zealand, but in 1830 both Mr. and Mrs. Lisk were compelled, by continued ill-health, to sail for home; while Mrs. Norman died in Hobart Town, Tasmania. – The Church Missionary Register, 1830, p. 42, and 1831, p. 86.

425 The Right Rev. William Williams, D.C.L., First Bishop of Waiapu, reached New Zealand in the Mission's new vessel the Herald in 1826. Born at Nottingham in 1800, he died at Napier in 1878. He gave some account of his experiences in Christianity Among the New Zealanders (London, 1867).

426 Marsden, it is to be observed, constantly maintained that the Maoris had been much maligned by Europeans, and that they injured none who conducted themselves in a reasonable manner. Marsden had occasion to stress this point when writing to the Rev. Josiah Pratt on September 16th, 1824, with reference to the arrival in New South Wales of the Rev. Daniel Tyerman (of the Isle of Wight) and Mr. George Bennet (of Sheffield), who, since April, 1821, had acted as a Deputation of the London Missionary Society in the South Seas. They reached Sydney on August 19th, 1824, in the schooner Endeavour, having, in the course of their voyage from the Friendly Islands, touched at the Bay of Islands where they lay from July 15th to 18th. "The deputation," wrote Marsden, "touched at Wangarooa, and in consequence of the master striking one of the New Zealanders they had a difference with them. The deputation was very much alarmed, and expected to be murdered and eaten. I need only say their fears were much greater than their danger. If the natives had had any intention to have killed and eaten them, they would have done so. They had no means to prevent them. I should not have mentioned the circumstance if an account of the difference had not been published in the Sydney Gazette, which is calculated to prejudice the public mind against the New Zealanders. The New Zealanders will resent any act of violence committed upon them. The very idea that they intended to kill them is absurd because there was nothing to prevent them from doing this. The Europeans were wholly in their power, and their not killing them is the best proof that they had no intention." In spite of Marsden's words, Tyerman and Bennet believed themselves "awfully endangered" and "providentially saved" by the arrival of some Methodist missionaries and the chief George. – Montgomery, Journal of Voyages of Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet (London, 1831), Vol. I, pp. 129-140; The Church Missionary Register, 1821, p. 236, and 1825, p. 240.

427 The appearance and character of Hongi about this time are thus described by Duperrey, the commander of the French corvette Coquille which visited the Bay of Islands in 1824: – "Malgre ses longues communications aves les missionnaires, malgre un voyage en Angleterre, il ne renonca a aucune de ses cruelles pratiques, et se montra toujours egalement vindicatif, egalement feroce. Du reste c'etait un fort bel homme, plein de dignite, mais dont le regard annoncait la faussete et la mechan-cete.

". . . Bien que le pere de Shongui fut aussi rangatira, il n'appartenait pas cependant aux premiers rangs de sa tribu, et c'etait principalement a sa bravoure personnelle que son fils avait du sa puissance et son influence sur toutes les tribus du nord d'Ika-Na-Mawi. A ses fonctions de premier chef il avait d'ailleurs uni celles de pretre et de prophete, et cela avait acheve de lui concilier la consideration publique. Il avait meme fait un pelerinage a la Caverne-Sacree, pres du cap Reinga, et a son retour il avait, dit-on, institue des ceremonies jusqu'alors inconnues a ces peuples.

"Shongui ne voulut jamais se rendre aux efforts des missionnaires pour l'engager a adopter le christianisme. Il meprisait une religion, dont l'esprit et les dogmes contrastaient d'une maniere si extraordinaire avec les idees qu'il avait nourries depuis son enfance touchant la gloire et les honneurs dont l'esprit de l'homme etait susceptible dans ce monde comme dans l'autre. Il ne tolerait ces etrangers que pour les services qu'ils pouvaient lui rendre dans les arts mecaniques." – Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de l'Astrolabe, Vol. III, pp. 675-6.

428 Uri-o-Hawmoewharangi and Te Roroa are hapus of Ngati-Whatua. Te Murupaenga was their leader.

429 S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, pp. 158-168.

430 S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, p. 182.

431 The Church Missionary Register, 1827, p. 338, et seq.

432 The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, Vol. L, part II, p. 485.

433 The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, Vol. L, part II, p. 489.

434 S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, pp. 196-7.

435 The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, Vol. L, part II, pp. 774-5.

436 The Church Missionary Register, 1827, p. 338, et seq.

437 Patuone's command over his people is demonstrated in a striking manner in the account of this incident given in the Report of the Select Committee (House of Commons) upon the State of the Islands of New Zealand (London, 1840), p. 219 – "The instant he saw us turn the point," the narrative runs, "he turned round upon the people and commanded them to stop; and never before in New Zealand did I see so much authority exhibited, and that authority so promptly obeyed. 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 towards him, 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 good-will."

438 Some curious particulars concerning Hongi's wound are given by Captain Peter Dillon who, while engaged in the search for relics of the wreck of La Perouse in the Research, touched at the Bay of Islands in July and November, 1827. He was visited by Hongi who, in spite of his wound, still maintained his warlike carriage. Dillon thus narrates the encounter: – "He arrived at the

ship accompanied by his chiefs and family in two splendid war canoes. Though labouring under the effects of a wound that is fast sinking him to his grave, his frame being already reduced almost to a skeleton, his manner is still commanding. Ferocity and cunning twinkle in his piercing eyes, while his curling lip and short teeth proclaim him a genuine savage but one in whom traits of intellect are manifested.

"His wound is singular, a bullet having passed through his lungs whence a hole appears upon his breast and back, through which latter the wind issues with a noise resembling in some degree that from the safety-valve of a steam engine; which, however, he himself makes a subject of merriment. Although he does not experience much pain it is evident he cannot last long, and of this he seems fully aware by the haste with which he is preparing to take the field in a few weeks as generalissimo to a general gathering of the chiefs of the north, the object of which is an attack on the River Thames." – P. Dillon, Voyage in the South Seas (London, 1829), Vol. II, p. 332.

**439** The New Zealand Company, which sent out the Rosanna under Captain Herd, had been formed in 1825, its outstanding members being the Earl of Durham (then Mr. Lambton) and Colonel Torrens, who was afterwards prominent in South Australia. Herd was a Scottish seaman who had already in 1822 traded successfully for spars at the Bay of Islands and Hokianga.

The Rosanna sailed from Leith with some fifty mechanics, and reached southern New Zealand in the early months of 1826. She then sailed for the Thames where some land, including the islands Waiheke and Pakihi, was bought. The threatening appearance of the Maoris, however, prevented settlement at the Thames, and Herd sailed for the Hokianga, calling on the way at the Bay of Islands, to be received very coldly by the missionaries who feared that the advent of white immigrants would prejudice their influence with the natives.

Early in 1827 the Rosanna reached the Hokianga, where Herd purchased a block of land for settlement at Herd's Point, near the present Rawene. The general demeanour of the Maori inhabitants of the Hokianga, however, intimidated the great majority of the intending settlers who therefore sailed with Herd for Sydney where the Rosanna arrived on February nth, 1827.

The hostility of the Maoris towards Herd is explained in a letter from Marsden to the Secretary of the Society, written from Parramatta on February 2nd, 1826. Marsden, during his New Zealand visit of 1823, had evidently heard the natives speak of Herd as an unscrupulous trader. His letter puts matters this: – "Should the Europeans, who I understand are gone to form a settlement at Gambier River, behave ill, as I fear they will, I am under no apprehension about the missionaries. The natives will not injure them. I think Captain Herd, who has the charge of the expedition, will not be very secure. The natives gave me a very bad account of him when I was in New Zealand, and said they would kill him if they could catch him. He had defrauded them so much."

The famous Captain Peter Dillon made some interesting comments on Herd's expedition in a pamphlet published by him in London in 1832 styled Advantages to be Derived from the Establishment of Well Conducted Commercial Settlements in New Zealand. "Captain Herd," he wrote, "knew nothing whatever of the New Zealanders, their character, language, manners, or customs; the result was that the expedition proved a complete failure through the ignorance of its commander, who undertook to perform a duty for which he was totally unfitted, both by nature and want of experience.

"The Lambton, one of the vessels in this expedition, was sold at Sydney in 1827, the mechanics were discharged and returned to New Zealand, where they established themselves as carpenters, smiths, etc. The Rosanna, Commodore Herd's ship, took in a cargo of freight at Sydney, and returned to London. Thus ended an undertaking which, if properly managed, would have been crowned with the most brilliant success.

"Captain Herd, a weak, nervous, old man, allowed himself to be duped by the missionaries, who wished to keep New Zealand for themselves and children; they assured the captain that the fatal oven would be his and all his crew's fate if he attempted to make an establishment in New Zealand without first obtaining permission from their Society in London, as the island belonged to them, they being the first Europeans who were established there." – cf. A. J. Harrop, England and New Zealand, pp. 8 and 9.

Earle, an artist, who visited the Bay of Islands in 1827, states: – "I found a respectable body of Scotch mechanics settled here, who came out in the New Zealand Company's ship Rosanna, and who determined to remain at Kororarika (Kororareka). Their persevering industry as yet has been crowned with success, and they seem well pleased with the prospects before them." – Earle, A Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand in 1827 (London, 1832), p. 51.

**440** With reference to these events and the operation of the curious Maori law of muru, the Rev. Henry Williams wrote at this time: – "The destruction of the Wesleyan settlement at Whangaroa was unexpected, and without any provocation: many tribes had been there assembled in consequence of the war which Shunghee was carrying on in that neighbourhood: their loss of property has been very great, nearly £2,000; independently of being driven from an extensive field. It is beyond a doubt, that, according to the present feeling and opinion of the natives, as soon as Shunghee, who is considered as their chief, dies, our brethren at Kiddeekiddee will be plundered: this is according to the law of the land, and very agreeable to the disposition of the New Zealanders. We ourselves have been told in as direct language as it is possible to use that when our chief Tekoke (Te Koki) dies we must expect the same: that is, our property will then become that of the natives, and they will be further at liberty to destroy any buildings, according to their pleasure. These are serious points: at present, we cannot determine anything beyond that of keeping possession till driven out by superior strength." – The Church Missionary Register, 1827, p. 627.

**441** MS. Journal of George Clarke (Hocken Library). $ Ibid.

**442** Ibid.

**443** D'Urville, when in the Thames in the Astrolabe in the last days of February of this same year, 1827, found, in similar fashion, that the outbreak of an epidemic to which Te Haupa with many of his warriors had just succumbed was attributed to the anger of the god of the English invoked by Marsden, their powerful tohunga. D'Urville writes of this as follows: – "Dans leurs idees superstitieuses, c'etait l'apparition de M. Marsden parmi eux et Intercession de ce tohunga ou prophet e puissant, qui leur avaient valu ce terrible fleau; mais ils ne pouvaient assigner aucun motif specieux a cette absurde opinion. On sait d'ailleurs que, durant tout son voyage dans ces contrees, M. Marsden vecut dans la plus parfaite intelligence avec ces peuples. Quoi qu'il en soit, regardant desormais ces lieux comme devoues a la vengeance celeste, les enfants de Houpa et leurs compagnons frapperent leurs antiques demeures d'un eternel tapou, et vinrent s'etablir plus au nord de la rive gauche du golfe Shouraki." – Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de l'Astrolabe, Vol. II, pp. 168-9.

While in the Thames d'Urville sent one of his lieutenants, Lottin, on a short: journey of exploration towards the west, where Marsden had anticipated him. – cf.. Ibid., p. 173 and note p. 274.

**444** The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, Vol. LI, part I, p. 266.

**445** Earle, the artist, gives the following picture of the last days of Hongi whom he visited in 1827 at the Bay of Islands: – "The scene altogether," he writes, "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. Shunghie, not only from high rank but in consequence of his wound being taboo'd or rendered holy, sat apart from the rest. Their richly ornamented war canoes were drawn up on the strand; some of the slaves were unloading stores, others were kindling fires. To me it almost seemed to realize 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 so to do on account of his taboo.

"He was arrayed in a new blanket, which completely enveloped his figure, and his head was 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." – Earle, A Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand in 1827 (London, 1832), pp. 64-66.

**446** MS. Letters and Journals of George Clarke (Hocken Library).

**447** Tama-rehe of Ngati-Whatua, the tribe which had suffered so much at Hongi's hands, wrote a song on the death of the warrior, in which he directed his wrath not so much against the dead conqueror as against the white men who placed the means of destruction in his hands: –

Kowai au, E Hongi, e i?
I riro mai a konei, e, i,
Tera Ngati-Whatua, e, i,
Te tangata nana i kai atu,
Hou-wawe, Hou-moka,
I Kai-a-te-karoro na, i,
"To upoko ra, te Tupai-i-tawhiti!"
Nana rawa i homai
Ko te kaha tuarangi,
Hei tua i te motu.
Ki'hinga ki raro ra-e.

By whom, O Hongi, was the deed performed,
That sent me here, an exile?
There in affliction lives Ngati-Whatua –
The people that in former times did eat
Hou-wawe and Hou-moka, northern chiefs,
At the bloody field of Kai-a-te-karoro,
"Curses on thy head, thou stranger from afar,"
That brought hither to this land
The strange and powerful weapons
That felled the mighty of this land
And laid them low in death.

The writer adds, "This is a curse on the white man, who brought here guns and powder." – S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, p. 197.

**448** T. M. Hocken, Bibliography of New Zealand Literature, p. 500; The Church Missionary Register, 1829, p. 126.

**449** In this letter, Marsden gave the following particulars regarding the missionaries: –

The Rev. Henry Williams and the Rev. William Williams. – These gentlemen are employed in the exercise of their clerical duties. William Williams has studied medicine and also contributes to the benefit of the natives in that capacity.
John King, by trade a shoemaker, is employed in teaching the natives at Rangheehoo and the neighbouring villages as a catechist.
James Kemp is a smith and acts as a storekeeper. He also teaches the natives at Kiddee Kiddee as his time will admit in conjunction with George Clark, who is also a smith.
Richard Davis is a farmer and attends to agriculture and the instruction of the natives at Kowa Kowa.
William Fairburn, Charles Davis, and William Puckey are carpenters, and are employed generally at their trades.
Hamlin is a flax dresser and weaver. (He reached New Zealand in 1826 with the Rev. William Williams.)
James Shepherd has no trade. He is generally employed in itinerating amongst the different tribes, instructing them in the Christian religion, as he understands the language better than any of the other missionaries. [Shepherd, though thus described by Marsden, was, as we have seen, a skilled gardener. – cf. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1820; and S. M. Johnstone, Samuel Marsden, p. 170 (Sydney,1932).]
William Spikeman is a herdsman.
William Hall is a carpenter, and, at present, resides at the Seminary at Parramatta on leave of absence for the benefit of his health.

The total number of men is ... ... 13
The total number of women is ... ... 10
The total number of children is... ... 36
– Total ... 59

Each man and woman has £20 per annum salary allowed for clothes, wine, spirits, and other little comforts, and also a ration; £10 per annum with a ration is allowed for each child. The estimated expense of 59 (men, women, and children) is £28 each per annum inclusive of everything, amounting in the whole to one thousand six hundred and fifty-two pounds. This sum will vary a little according to circumstances, but I apprehend not materially.

**450** Samuel Marsden to the Secretary, February 25th, 1819.

**451** Ibid., April 1st, 1822.

**452** Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, Vol. X, 1822-24, pp. 197-8.

**453** Samuel Marsden to the Secretary, April 23rd, 1826.

**454** cf. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, Vol. XI, 1824-26, pp. 170-171.

The Report of the Church Missionary Society for 1826 announced the completion of the Seminary. The Report reads: – "The buildings for the Seminary for New Zealand youths are nearly completed. The main building and the two wings are covered in, and the wings are inhabited. On March 17th 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. On this 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.'" – Ibid., Vol. XL, 1824-26, p. 122.

**455** Earle, upon the occasion of his visit to the Bay of Islands in 1827, found much to admire in the work of the missionaries in teaching habits of industry to the natives, although he thought some of them unfitted to expound the mysteries of theology and complained of their lack of hospitality. "I once saw a sturdy blacksmith in the prime of life," he remarks, "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!

"What causes much disapprobation here is the contemptuous manner in which they treat their own countrymen, as they receive most of them on the outside of their stockade fence.

"On our return from Marsden Vale (Paihia)** our savage friends laughed heartily at us. They had warned us of the reception we should meet with; and their delight at seeing us again formed a strange contrast to that of their Christian teachers, whose inhospitable dwellings we determined never to re-enter." – Earle, A Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand in 1827 (London, 1832), pp. 60-1,

The missionaries naturally held themselves aloof from the European sailors and visitors, whose influence with the natives, for the most part, ran counter to all their own teaching. Earle does not reveal the fact that he was most hospitably entertained at the mission station of Paihia until his somewhat Bohemian outlook upon life made his further stay undesirable. Edward Markham, who visited the Bay of Islands in 1834, speaks of the Paihia missionaries in very different terms from those used by Earle. All, he states, encouraged him both to attend their services and to visit them in their homes. He found much to admire in the work of both Henry and William Williams, and testifies to their high repute among the natives. – Edward Markham, MS. Journal of Nine Months' Residence Among the Maoris of Hokianga and the Bay of Islands Districts in 1834 (Hocken Library); cf. H. T. Purchas, The English Church in New Zealand, p. 91.

Peter Bays (the master of the shipwrecked Minerva), again, during his stay at the Bay of Islands in February and March, 1830, saw much of the difficulties encountered by the missionaries. "The

admitting girls on board our ships is the main hindrance to missionary exertions," he writes, "and the captains themselves confess that which the missionaries build up in one year the shipping pull down in one hour.

"The Church Mission, from various false reports, has been very much abused and misrepresented, and lies have not only been carried home to the Society but all over the South Seas. I feel happy in saying that during our stay here the missionaries met the captains of different ships face to face, and the latter were fully satisfied that the Mission had done everything in their power towards supplying ships really in need, even to half their stock, and that at a time when they were short themselves; although it was observed that missionaries were not ship-agents, and if ships were really in distress for want of supplies which New Zealand could not afford, the Colony was not above a week's sail, where all kinds of ship's stores were to be had.

"It may be observed here that I have been very officious in the defence of missions: I grant it, but it is in cases where the Mission dare not plead for themselves, as, respecting the girls, if it were known by the chiefs that the Mission had interfered, they would set fire to their premises and destroy them. . . . Indeed, as a member of the Established Church, I should consider myself as great an enemy to the Mission as the reporters of lies themselves, if, in writing a narrative wherein these belied men are concerned, I did not thus show the evils spread abroad originated in the conversation of ill-minded men to whom the missionary character, since it is so very opposed to their principles, is everything but good. . . . For my own part, I have no private or personal interest in defending the missionary cause farther than gratitude for common kindness; but let the saddle be put on the right horse, as, if Mr. Williams or any other missionary had acted in the manner in which they are too often described in the South Seas, I should have as readily espoused the cause of their opponents; but I am so fully persuaded of the missionary character that I am convinced that no hypocrite would suffer himself to be literally buried alive, shut out from all society, and forsake home, friends, and all the domestic comforts of an English fireside, with its pleasures and recreations, to go and spend a solitary life among uncivilized and heathenish savages, for a bare salary which will merely afford them the common necessaries of life, of which they are often deprived for want of timely supplies." – Peter Bays, A Narrative of the Wreck of the Minerva (Cambridge, 1831), pp. 167-9.

** Marsden Vale was Paihia; Wesleydale, Keao, Whangaroa; Pisgah Vale, Cloudy Bay; and Gloucester Vale, Kerikeri.

# CHAPTER VII. MARSDEN'S SIXTH NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL



CHAPTER VII

MARSDEN'S SIXTH NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL

Marsden left Port Jackson on February 16th, 1830, in the Elizabeth, and reached the Bay of Islands on March 8th. On May 27th he embarked in the Prince of Wales and returned to New South Wales.

IN the beginning of 1830 Marsden was granted leave by the Governor of New South Wales to proceed to New Zealand for the purpose of making another tour of inspection there among the Church Missionary Society stations. He arrived at the Bay of Islands to find both missionaries and natives greatly perturbed by the outbreak of the so-called "Girls' War," to which his sixth journal makes many references. Mr. S. Percy Smith gives the following account of the events which occurred at the Bay of Islands immediately before Marsden's arrival and which led to the beginning of hostilities: –[456] "In 1830," he states, "an occurrence took place at the Bay of Islands which is very illustrative of Maori customs and which led to further Nga-Puhi expeditions against the southern tribes. It has been called the 'Girls' War' for this reason: The captain of a whaler, then anchored off Kororareka (afterwards Russell), to which place very many such ships came in those days for fresh provisions, etc.,[457] took to himself two Maori girls as wives.[458] Tiring of these after a time he took two other and younger girls (sisters) and discarded the first pair. Not long after, the four girls were bathing on the beach at Kororareka and were sporting and chaffing one another, whilst their mothers looked on from the shore. From chaff they got to abuse, and finally to cursing in the Maori sense. The mother of the first two girls rushed into the water and nearly succeeded in drowning the other two girls. The first two girls were said to have been connected with the family of Te Morenga, an influential chief of Kawakawa, whilst the ladies who succeeded them in the affections of the captain were connected with Rewa's family, one of the most important of the Bay chiefs.

"This incident led to great disturbances, for insults of the nature offered could not be brooked by the old-time Maori. Ururoa, a chief of Whangaroa and brother-in-law of the late Hongi Hika, came to Kororareka with a large force and proceeded to plunder the kumara plantations of the local people, i.e., Te Morenga's and Pomare's tribes. This was on March 5th, 1830. The missionaries used their utmost



THE "GIRLS' WAR"

persuasion to avert a conflict, for the two parties were now in close proximity; but on the following day, owing to the accidental discharge of a musket which killed a woman of the invading party, a general fight was brought on in which a good many people were killed and more wounded – the Rev. Richard Davis says nearly one hundred. Amongst the slain was Hengi of Takou, north of the Bay, a chief of some rank."

Mr. Davis, in his journal,[459] gives the following account of the part played by his colleagues and himself during the "Girls' War": – "To-day (March 5th, 1830) we have been compelled to interfere between two contending parties which have been brought together on account of the exceeding wickedness of Captain Brind, but I hope all will end in peace. We are in hourly expectation of Mr. Marsden's arrival amongst us. I hope his visit will be attended with good.

"Saturday, March 6th. – Alas! What a day of horror and distress this has been! Last night we left the contending parties apparently desirous of making peace. They were sitting about a mile distant from each other. One, the defensive party, which was composed of the natives of the Bay and of a few people from Taiamai, was sitting at their own place at Kororarika, which is the harbour for shipping. The other party, who were the assailants, was sitting in Paroa Bay, and consisted of the late Hongi's party, the natives from Waimate, Rangihoua, and other tribes. As there are not more than two miles of water between us and Kororarika (Kororareka), by the help of our glasses we saw the assailants come over to the village this morning early, but from the conversation we had with both parties yesterday we hoped they were come over only to make peace; consequently we did not go to Kororarika. About an hour after we saw them come to the village we heard them firing and distinctly saw they were firing in a horizontal direction, and, concluding they were fighting, we launched our boat and went over to the shipping.

"As the Royal Sovereign, Captain King, was lying not more than 200 or 300 yards from the scene of action, we went to his ship. I went on board, but Mr. Williams went on shore and landed and endeavoured to stop the fighting, but was obliged to retreat to his boat as a very brisk fire was kept up by both parties. This was a hazardous attempt on the part of Mr. Williams as he was in much danger of being shot.

"The deck of the Royal Sovereign presented a woeful spectacle of horror and despair. Many of the wounded men had been brought on board and were lying on the deck in a mangled state. The surgeon was employed dressing their wounds, assisted by as many of the people as could be spared. Over and above the wounded, there was a great number of women and children who had fled on board from the village for protection. I stayed on board, at the urgent request of the captain, to assist him in the management of the natives, etc., etc. As the native village was expected to give way and the natives to fly to the shipping for protection, and as they were likely to be followed there by their victors, the ships were put in a position of defence and the worst prepared for. But I had not been long on board before the assailants gave way and fled in all directions. On seeing this I went on shore accompanied



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by Captains King and Dean. The sight was dreadful, as nearly a hundred people were killed and wounded. Soon after we went on shore the assailants were permitted to come and carry away their dead and wounded chiefs, but the bodies of their dead slaves they left behind. As one of the bodies left behind was the body of a chief, although of but little note, one of the chiefs of the village 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. After having visited both parties and remained with them until near night, we returned home much fatigued.

"Sunday, March 7th. – A great part of the morning was spent in dressing the wounded which had been brought to our settlement. In the afternoon the natives of Kororarika set their village on fire and came to our settlement. The poor creatures were full of terror and dismay. They were indeed as sheep without a shepherd. They did not know where to go or what to do. The assailants, although they had removed from Paroa in the morning, were still in sight encamped at Moturoa. We told them we could not let them stay at our place because by so doing we should draw the whole army upon us. This, they said, they were well aware of, and accordingly left us in the evening and went up the river. This was indeed a distressing day; nothing but the immediate presence of God will satisfy the soul in trials like these.

"Monday, March 8th. – This morning the natives came from down the river again to our settlement, not having settled upon what to do or where to go. One said one thing and another another. One said, 'Let us go there,' and another said, 'That place won't do; let us go to another.' But after they had stayed with us nearly the whole of the day and had heard from us that we intended to use every effort in order to make peace as speedily as possible, they seemed a little more cheerful.

"In my conversation with them I told them that I expected Mr. Marsden into the Bay every hour, and that if he came he would also use every effort in order to restore peace among them. Just as I had made an end of speaking to them about Mr. Marsden, a vessel was reported and the poor creatures eagerly asked if it was Mr. Marsden. I told them I thought it was, and, having stayed until one of our boats had boarded the vessel and given the signal that Mr. Marsden was on board; they all got into their canoes and went cheerfully away to look out for a suitable place in which to fortify themselves. About three o'clock Mr. Marsden and Miss Mary Marsden[460] safely landed at our settlement to the great joy of us all. O that the Lord may bless His aged servant while he remains with us, and make him a blessing to us and to our poor natives. . . .

"March 18th, 1830. – A great part of our time since my last date has been taken up in visiting the assembled parties in order to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation and conclude a peace between them. This, through mercy, has been effected, and peace is once more so far restored amongst us. As you will no doubt hear the particulars of



all our movements and the manner in which this disastrous affair came to a conclusion from Mr. Marsden, I beg leave to refer you to his communications for information. According to both European and native reports, the master of the Toward-Castle, Captain Brind, has been the cause of all this mischief.[461] I hope the Lord will so overrule affairs that this enemy to goodness may never come to the South Seas again. His proceedings have endangered our lives and also the lives of many other Europeans besides. It appears that a quarrel, of which Brind was said to be the sole cause, originated between Brind's girls and some women belonging to the native village at Kororarika, in which they swore at each other in a manner which was very insulting to the native mind. Brind considered himself insulted by the insults which had been offered to his girls, although his girls had insulted the other party in a similar way, and endeavoured to stir up the chiefs to seek revenge; but the chiefs being backward to take a cause of the kind in hand in Brind's way, he told them they were only slaves and he should never think them any otherwise unless they espoused his cause. It appears that he wanted them to go and kill the principal chief in the village at Kororarika, and because they refused he threatened to go and do it himself, but this step he knew better than to take because it would in all probability have cost him his life.

"On the 23rd of last month a party of natives assembled at Kororarika in order to revenge, or rather to make up, the breach, but as those natives were not disposed to act according to Brind's direction, he threatened to fire upon them himself and wished the other ships in the Bay to follow his example; but the other masters told him they should do no such thing, and the consequence was that being angry with them also he went on board his own ship, set his sails, and weighed his anchor. As the late Hongi's daughter was one of Brind's insulted girls, her party did not come to revenge her cause until the 5th inst., the result of which I have already made you acquainted with.

"On the 6th, the day on which the battle was fought, I said to one of the principal chiefs of the late Hongi's party, after the affair was over, 'My heart is very dark on account of the number of people who are killed and wounded, and I do hope you will speedily make peace.' He said, 'This battle has been fought on Brind's account, and don't you think he will now be satisfied with the satisfaction which has been taken for his woman, as a great number of our great men are now lying dead



on that account; and do not you think he will now give me a great quantity of powder as a payment?' I requested the chief not to mention the wicked man's name as it was an offence to me."

Mr. James Kemp, writing on March 18th, 1830, to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, confirmed in the following terms his colleague's account of the manner in which Brind's conduct had led to the outbreak of war among the tribes at the Bay of Islands: –[462] "Since my last letter to you," he wrote, "there has been a considerable disturbance amongst the natives in the Bay of Islands and several lives have been lost through the quarrel, which arose, I believe, through the wicked conduct of Captain Brind. Two young women with whom he cohabited on board his ship – one of them the daughter of the late Hongi, the other the daughter of Rawa (Rewha), the principal chief of the Ngapuhi – went on shore, and were greatly insulted by the wife of a chief belonging to the place. I believe the woman went so far as to pull some hair off one, if not both, their heads, and threatened to kill them and eat them with potatoes. Worse language cannot possibly be used by natives, and this they punish with the greatest severity. I have heard repeatedly from the natives that Captain Brind was much vexed and encouraged the friends of the girls to rise up and get a satisfaction for what the woman had done to the girls, saying to the friends of the girls that if they did not do so he should look upon them as poor men and slaves and not as gentlemen. He did this by way of tantalizing the natives to come and get a satisfaction for what the chief's wife had done. I believe that every time the account of the death of the different natives that were killed in the battle which took place has been told to me by the natives, they have always said at the close that it was the white people that was the cause of it, meaning Captain Brind. This is most distressing to hear from the natives, but it afforded us an opportunity of severely reproving them for their wicked conduct in prostituting their daughters in the manner which they do on board the ships, and we cannot but consider this a judgment from God upon them for their most cruel and wicked conduct.

"For the particulars of this late sad affair I must refer you to Rev. Henry Williams, who, I believe, was present at the time or shortly after the battle took place, and, I believe, was the means of preventing, in some measure, more blood being shed. Captain Brind left the Bay during the time that the natives were collecting together. It is likely he may return again in a few months, when he will leave this place for England. I think the natives are displeased with Brind's conduct, but so long as he can supply them with muskets and powder they will look over and bear with things which otherwise they would resent with the greatest resentment. The South Sea whalers are, by far the greatest part of them, great enemies to us and to the cause in which we are engaged, and Captain Brind is one of the worst; but he will only be suffered to run so far and no further."

While these stirring events were in progress Marsden had already left New South Wales for New Zealand and was on the high seas. His experiences during the voyage and the scenes which met him upon his



arrival at the Bay of Islands are described in his sixth New Zealand journal: –

Having obtained leave from His Excellency the Governor,[463] I embarked on February 16th, 1830, on board the Elizabeth, with one of my daughters (Mary), to visit the missionary stations in the Bay of Islands. We had no sooner cleared the Heads of Port Jackson's harbour than a heavy gale set in from the southward which soon raised a high sea. I immediately became very sea-sick, and continued so the following day when the wind shifted to the south-east. We met with contrary winds, with the exception of a few hours, and a head sea until Thursday, the 28th, when we saw land to the south of Cape Maria Van Diemen.

On Friday morning we came up to the Cape, and sailed close in with the north end of the island until we passed the North Cape. The wind being against us we sailed up Sandy Bay, working to windward all night.

Sunday, March 7th, was a most beautiful day. The sea was smooth, and a very light breeze. The scene around us was very interesting, as we were amongst the islands off Knuckle Point.[464] Four canoes came off from the islands with abundance of fish. The natives urged us much to go on shore and promised to supply us with plenty of potatoes and pork, but we declined their friendly offer. The chief gave me much information relative to many in New Zealand whom I had formerly known. I performed Divine Service and never spent a more pleasant day at sea.

Monday, March 8th. – The wind became fair and we soon passed the mouth of Wangarooa (Whangaroa) harbour and saw the Heads of the Bay of Islands, and in the evening anchored opposite to the missionary settlement, Paihea (Paihia). The missionaries had heard a few days before our arrival that I might be hourly expected. As soon as the vessel appeared in sight the Revs. William Williams and Brown[465] in one boat, and the Rev. Henry Williams in another, came off to meet us. It afforded us all great and mutual satisfaction to meet again in this heathen land of darkness. They expressed their joy at my arrival at that critical moment, as they were in greater agitation, anxiety, and difficulties than they had experienced at any previous period of their residence in New Zealand. They informed me that there was open war amongst the natives and that a battle had been fought on the opposite beach[466] on the 6th. On landing I found a great number of natives at the missionary settlement who had fled to them for safety, and some of the wounded who had gone over to have their wounds dressed by the Rev. William Williams, who is also a surgeon. From the information I received, about 1,400 natives had been in the contest.

The following statement contains the particulars of the quarrel as far as I have been able to learn from the natives and from the masters of the whalers and missionaries.

MARSDEN'S ACCOUNT OF BRIND'S CONDUCT



It appears that Mr. Brind, master of one of the whalers, had two young women on board of his vessel – one the daughter of Rewa (Rewha), a chief, the other the sister of Hari Hungi (Hare Hongi),[467] son of the late great chief known by the name of Shunghee (Hongi). There was also another young woman, sister to Warepouka (Wharepoaka), said to cohabit with a man on board. These three were all women of rank. Some difference took place between these three women and the wife and daughter of the head chief on that side of the bay in which the shipping anchored. The chief's name is Kewikewi (Kiwikiwi). Kewikewi's wife in this quarrel tore some of the hair from Hari Hungi's sister's head and put it into the fire, which was one of the greatest insults that could be offered to the young woman according to their superstitious notions. This was the account the young woman gave me when I spoke to her. Mr. Brind interfered on behalf of the two women who were his favourites, and the young women sent information to their friends relative to the circumstances in this quarrel that had occurred. Rewa and Warepouka took up the quarrel – the former on behalf of his daughter and the other on behalf of his sister. They met at Kororarika (Kororareka), the place where Kewikewi lived, to inquire into the difference. Kewikewi had heard of their intention and prepared to meet them. This took place on February 23rd. Rewa and Warepouka settled their disputes with Kewikewi, but the matter with respect to Hari Hungi's sister was not settled. Ururoa is the head of their tribe, and the young woman's brother had not yet arrived. Rewa, Warepouka, and Kewikewi all considered Mr. Brind the sole cause of the quarrel. It was stated that Mr. Brind wanted the natives to kill Kewikewi. Some of his allies had come to Kororarika to protect Kewikewi if any violence should be offered to him or his people. Mr. Brind had at this time 100 baskets of potatoes on shore. As a satisfaction for the disturbance he had created the natives took his 100 baskets of potatoes, which greatly incensed him against them, and he told the natives that if they did not kill Kewikewi he would kill him himself.[468]

There were several whalers in the Bay at this time which had put in for supplies. Mr. Brind wrote a note to each of the masters of these vessels, informing them that he deemed it necessary that they should bring their vessels as near to the shore as they could, hoist their colours, and fire upon the natives. The vessel Conway was a very large ship and mounted fourteen guns. They all refused to obey Mr. Brind's directions, when he immediately, after kindling the flames of war, weighed anchor and sailed for the whaling ground. The natives soon learned that Mr. Brind wished the ships to fire upon them and all supplies were immediately stopped.

On March 5th Ururoa arrived with his tribe and some of his allies to redress the insult which had been offered to the young woman whose

THE FIGHT AT KORORAREKA



hair had been burned by the wife of Kewikewi. Kewikewi had assembled his friends in case he should be obliged to fight. It appears that in some former difference Kewikewi's wife had given some offence to Ururoa's tribe. She is a woman of high rank and spirit, a native of the River Thames. Her feelings had been wounded by reproaches cast upon her friends at the Thames by Ururoa's tribe at some former period. She had told them that the people at the Thames would fight them and conquer them, and afterwards make slaves of them and they should carry their firewood upon their shoulders, heat their ovens, and cook their provisions. This language had given great offence to Ururoa and his friends.

In the evening of March 5th, the day he came to Kororarika, Ururoa and the chiefs of his party went over the adjoining hills, and early the next morning they returned each with a bundle of firewood upon their shoulders and their guns in their hands. They proceeded to Kewikewi's pa or fortification and told him that they had brought the firewood as their slaves, and laid it down. They then fired their loaded muskets into the ground at the feet of Kewikewi's wife. These balls were to represent the small stones with which they make their ovens in the ground. After some conversation they left the pa, apparently reconciled, when a young man belonging to Kewikewi's party fired a musket and killed a woman belonging to Ururoa's party. They now flew to their arms. After some time Ururoa's party gave way and left the beach, leaving about seventy killed and wounded on both sides. When the natives began to fire their muskets, Mr. Dean, master of the Elizabeth whaler, was on shore with his boat. Kewikewi's wife and daughter ran to his boat in order to escape on board the Elizabeth, when the boat put off, leaving Mr. Dean on the beach exposed to very great danger from the shot of the natives. The natives, when they saw Kewikewi's wife and daughter escaping in the boat, fired upon them in the boat and killed the young woman, while the mother escaped safe on board with her dead daughter. Some of the shot had gone through the boat.[469]

Some of the whalers had loaded their guns and were ready to fire upon the natives with canister shot in case they should fire upon any natives who had taken refuge on board their vessels, as the ships were anchored within musket shot of the shore. Mr. Davis, one of the missionaries, was on board the Royal Sovereign whose guns were ready loaded, and entreated the master not to fire upon the natives unless

THE ANXIETY OF THE MISSIONARIES



absolute necessity should oblige him for the protection of his ship. The masters of the whalers were very much agitated and scarcely knew how to act. There were seven or eight whalers in the bay. All the masters attributed the contest between the natives to the improper conduct of Mr. Brind. When the firing had ceased on

both sides, Ururoa with his party returned; they took up the dead and wounded of their friends and carried their bodies with them, leaving their slaves upon the beach where they had fallen and Kewikewi as the victor.

The following are the heads of the tribes who were in the action: – Hari Hungi (Tahuwai), Ururoa, Moka (Ngatiwaki), Tupe, wounded (Ngaituhunga), Hengi, killed (Ngati-rehua), Warepouka, Waikato (Hikutu), Rapa (Uri-o-Hua), Tepara, Taku (Ngati-rangi).

The above were the assailants. Six chiefs were killed, amongst whom were the late Shunghee's brother and also the brother of George of Wangarooa, who cut off the ship Boyd.

Kewikewi (Uritaniwha), Watonga, Puketutu (Uri-o-ngonga), Kemokemo (Ngati-rahiri), Motoi (Matohi), Temoranga (Te Morenga) (Urikapana), Tawirio, Pomare, Hihi.

The following chiefs were neutral: – Waikato, Tetore, Rewa (Rewha), Tohitapu, Ware-to-mokia, Urine-nui, Tonui, Wiwia (Whiwhia).

When the firing began, though they were in both parties, they immediately retired out of the reach of the shot until the contest was over; Ururoa's party having collected their dead and wounded, such as they wished to remove, departed from Kororarika (Kororareka).

On Sunday morning, 7th, at the advice of an old chief, Warenui (Wharenui), Kewikewi (Kiwikiwi) also left Kororarika and came over with his people to Paihea (Paihia) to the missionary station. Warenui was convinced Kewikewi could not defend himself at Kororarika when Ururoa renewed his attack upon him. Kewikewi wished to fortify himself near the missionary station.[470] To this the missionaries could not consent, as it would expose them to too much danger if their station became the seat of war. At length it was finally settled that Kewikewi should take up his position at the junction of two rivers – the Kowakowa (Kawakawa) and Warekure (Waikare) – a point strongly fortified by the natives, about four miles higher up the harbour. As soon as this was agreed upon, Kewikewi, with the main body of his people, removed to this point and began immediately to prepare to defend himself against Ururoa when he returned. Both parties now despatched messengers in all directions to their friends and allies, calling upon them to hasten to the Bay of Islands to assist their respective friends in the impending contest.

The missionaries were at this time in the utmost anxiety, as they could not tell what might be the issue of the war. They had received information a few days before by the New Zealander, which had arrived at Hokianga, that I was on my passage on Monday, March 8th. Two days after the battle we entered the harbour and, in the evening, anchored opposite to the missionary station. As soon as they saw the vessel the three clergymen – the Revs. Henry and William Williams and the Rev.



Mr. Brown – came in their boats to meet us. The colours at the station were hoisted and three guns at the fort were fired. The natives in every part of the Bay were now informed of my arrival. I met the brethren with mutual satisfaction and joy. They expressed how much they were rejoiced that I had visited them at that critical moment, as they were in greater difficulties than they had ever experienced at any former period. They informed me that a battle had been fought at Kororarika on the 6th, in which about seventy had been killed or wounded, and that great numbers had fled to their settlement for safety and were then within the enclosures together with some of the wounded who had been brought over to have their wounds dressed. They further informed me that they expected some thousands would assemble from different parts of the island in two or three days, as they had been summoned to attend by the parties at war. They hoped that my arrival would bring about a reconciliation and establish peace before their respective friends could arrive.

Soon after I had landed some of the chiefs came and informed me what had taken place and what was likely to happen, and requested that I would, along with the Rev. Henry Williams, early the next morning, visit Kewikewi's and Ururoa's camps, these being the two contending chiefs, and see if anything could be done to bring about a reconciliation before their different friends arrived, adding that no time was to be lost to accomplish this purpose.

Tuesday, March 9th. – Early this morning the Rev. Henry Williams and I set off on our mission. We first visited the camp of Kewikewi, distant about four miles from Ururoa's. We were received with great cordiality by him and all the other chiefs. I here met with many chiefs from distant parts of New Zealand with whom I had been formerly acquainted. They all expressed their gratification at our meeting again. After conversing upon different matters, the Rev. Henry Williams entered upon the subject of our mission, stated unto them the evils of war, and more particularly of a civil war, in which they were engaged. We laboured to impress upon them that they were not fighting against a foreign nation but killing each other, and even some of their dearest friends. They heard all we had to say with great attention, and several of them replied to the different arguments we used to induce them to make peace. They stated unto us the original cause of the war and laid the whole blame upon Mr. Brind, a master of a whaler. They expressed their regret at what had taken place and were desirous to have the difference settled; but it was not possible for them to settle it without the consent of their friends who had not yet arrived, as some of their relatives had been killed in the late action. At the same time they wished we would use our influence with Ururoa and the chiefs of his party to prevent any more fighting.

Having obtained the sentiments of Kewikewi and his party, we proceeded immediately to the camp of Ururoa. On our landing we went to the place where the chiefs were assembled. I was well acquainted with the leading chiefs of this party, and after the first salutations we entered upon the subject of our negotiation for peace and discussed for some time the different points that were brought forward. In all our conversations with the natives of both parties, they contended



that we were answerable for the lives of those New Zealanders who had fallen in the contest, as the war had been occasioned by the misconduct of one of the masters of an English vessel, Mr. Brind. They wished to know what satisfaction we would give them for the loss of their friends who had been slain. We replied that we could give them no satisfaction, that we condemned his conduct and were sorry that any of our countrymen should behave so bad as to cause any war amongst them, and that I would write to England against the captain, informing his owner what he had done, and prevent him from coming out again. They requested I would not do this, for they wished Mr. Brind to return and they would then demand satisfaction from him themselves as soon as they could get him into their power.

We further informed Ururoa and the chiefs that we had had an interview with Kewikewi and the chiefs with him, and that we were authorised by them to state that they were willing to come to terms of peace and wished we could assist in settling their differences. This information was received in a friendly way with the exception of one or two who wished to fight. A chief gave us private information that there was a large party of armed men on the island of Motoroa (Moturoa), about five miles distant, assembled from various parts to assist Ururoa, and that it was their intention to proceed after dark and surprise Kewikewi's party; and requested we would lose no time in proceeding to Motoroa. Having received this private information, we stated to the chiefs that we wished to see their friends at Motoroa and requested that two chiefs would go with us. Tetore (Titore) and Tareha, two very powerful chiefs, agreed to accompany us.

When we arrived at Motoroa we found the beach covered with war canoes and a large body of armed men. The assembly was crowded. Here also I met with many chiefs I had formerly known, who were glad to meet me again. After a short time the Rev. Henry Williams stated the business upon which we had come. The natives heard all he had to say with the greatest attention. In reply, many of the chiefs gave their opinions in turn. Some spoke with much force and dignity of address. These orations continued for a long time – some were for war and some were inclined for peace. We continued until the evening was closing upon us, having been engaged from early in the morning until evening in this business. However, we were happy to find that we were likely to succeed, and it was finally agreed that we should proceed the next morning to Ururoa and report to him and his party what had taken place at Motoroa. After this we returned to Paihea (Paihia) about nine o'clock, by the light of the moon.

Wednesday, March 10th. – This morning, as soon as the day dawned, a chief named Temoranga (Te Morenga) knocked at my bedroom window and said that he wished to see me immediately. He had just arrived from Tiami (Taiamai) with his tribe. I arose, and Mr. William Williams went with me to speak to him. He had brought his tribe to join the people at Koua-koua (Kawakawa) and to support Kewikewi. Temoranga had lived with me at Parramatta some years before. He was very glad to see me, and observed that the New Zealanders would not attend to the good advice which he and I had formerly given



them when I was with them. Temoranga had been my constant companion when I went to the River Thames, the Bay of Plenty, and the west side of New Zealand. He was always much attached to me and is a man of great consequence amongst his countrymen. I urged him to use his influence with the contending parties for peace, and he promised me he would.

Thursday, March 11th. – After Temoranga departed with his tribe, the Rev. Henry Williams and I went over to Kororarika to report what had passed the preceding day at Motoroa. We had now a long discussion with the chiefs; we wished that commissioners, two or three chiefs, should be appointed to meet to settle and finally to conclude the terms of peace, and that the two contending parties should not meet as their meeting might entirely defeat the arrangements we had made. Some turbulent character belonging to one or other of the parties might fire a musket, when both would fly to arms.

We had now an interview with Hari Hungi and his sister, the son and daughter of the late Shunghee. The first of the differences had originated with this young woman and the wife and daughter of Kewikewi: Ururoa had espoused her cause. She told me the circumstances that had taken place. Hari Hungi blamed Mr. Brind for the whole. I requested him to make peace and not kill one another any more. He appeared very willing to have the dispute settled. It was finally arranged that two commissioners from each party were to be appointed, along with Mr. Henry Williams and myself, to make peace; but this could not be done until the matter was submitted to their friends and allies who were still encamped on Motoroa.[471]

After we had urged all the arguments we could to bring about a reconciliation, we walked over the ground where the battle had been fought, where the remains of some of the bodies of the slain were lying unconsumed upon the fires. The air was extremely offensive and the sight most disgusting; we could not but bitterly lament those dreadful effects of sin and the baneful influence the Prince of Darkness has over the minds or these poor heathens. We now took our departure with the hopes that peace would be made.

Friday, March 12th. – This morning information arrived that a party of 600 men were coming from the northward to assist Ururoa and



his party, but from the influence we have with both parties I am persuaded nothing serious will take place. The weather has been very stormy to-day, so that we could have very little communication with the war parties. Constant informations were brought to us that large parties were arriving hourly in each camp.

Saturday, March 13th. – The weather is still very stormy; the war parties can make no movements to-day – the sea in the harbour is too rough and the wind and rain too heavy.

In the last interview we had with Ururoa's party we pressed upon them to bring the negotiation for peace to a final close, saying that we were tired with visiting both parties without their coming to any final determination. They replied that we must not be tired, but we must act with firmness and continue to go backward and forward until the difference was settled, for they could not make peace themselves. With this answer we took our leave and returned to Paihea.

Sunday, March 14th. – As the army at Kororarika was very numerous, it was judged prudent that the Rev. Henry Williams should go over to their camp and see what was going on and preach to them. He accordingly went and spent the forenoon with them with a view to allaying their angry feelings and strengthening the impressions we had already made upon their minds for peace.[472]

The Rev. William Williams and the Rev. Mr. Brown and myself proceeded to the chapel to perform Divine Service. The contrast between the state of the east and west side of the Bay was very striking. Though only two miles distant, the east shore was crowded with different tribes of fighting men in a wild, savage state, many of them nearly naked, and, when exercising, entirely naked. Nothing was to be heard but the firing of muskets – the noise, din, and confusion of a savage military camp, some mourning the death of their friends, others suffering from their wounds, and not one but whose mind was involved in heathen darkness without one ray of Divine knowledge. On the west side there was the pleasing sound of the church bell going, the natives assembling together for Divine worship, clean, orderly, and decently dressed, most of them in European clothing. They were carrying the litany and the greatest part of the Church Service, written in their own language, in their hands, with their hymns.

The Church Service, as far as it has been translated, they can both write and read with the greatest ease. Their whole conduct and the general appearance of the whole settlement reminded me of a well-regulated English country parish. In the chapel the natives behaved



with the greatest propriety and joined in the Church Service. Here might be viewed with one glance the blessings of the Christian religion and the miseries of heathenism with respect to the present life, but when we extend our thoughts into the eternal world how infinite is the difference!

The Rev. William Williams read the litany and nearly the whole Church Service in the New Zealand language, excepting the lessons and the Psalms, in which the natives joined with much apparent pious feeling. Many of them have a sincere desire to acquaint themselves with the true God and to learn His ways.

I consider this Sabbath to be one of the most pleasing and interesting I have ever spent. The Day Star from on High hath evidently begun to shine upon these poor

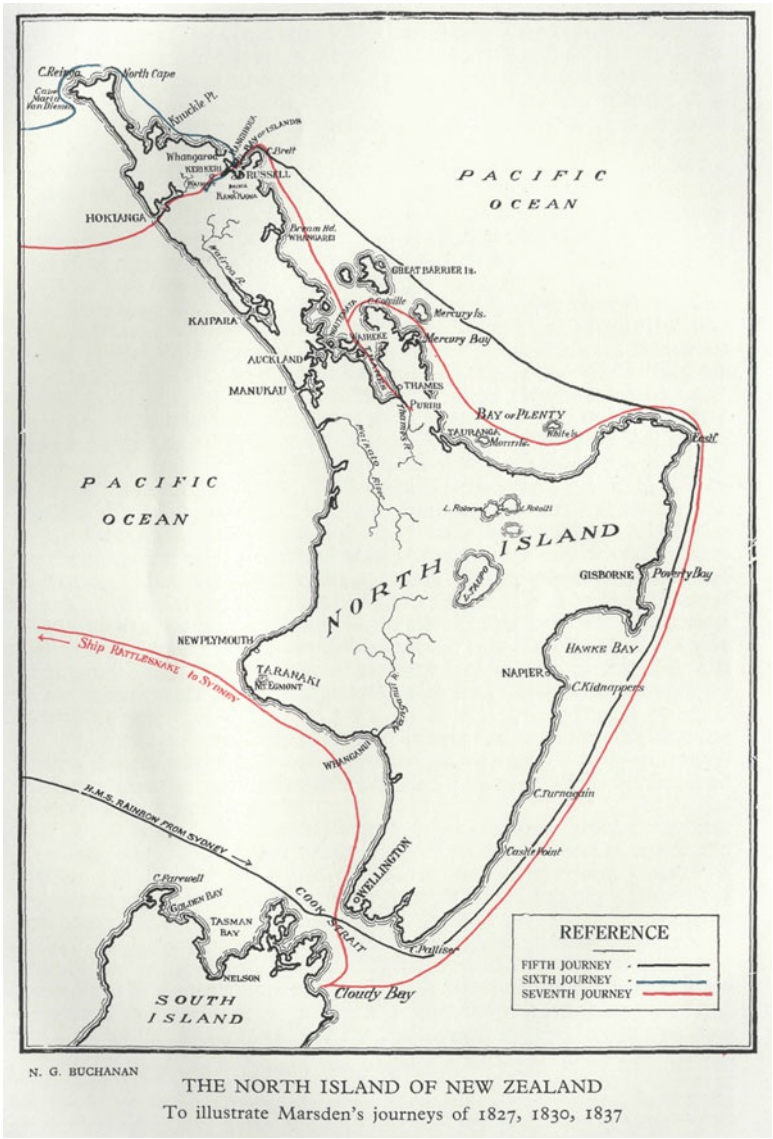
benighted heathen. Some have begun to enquire what they are to do to be saved. Though the missionaries are situated in the very centre of Satan's dominions, where he practises all his hellish arts and where the degradation of human nature, through man's depravity, is called forth into exercise by the influence of the Prince of Darkness and appears in all its horrors, yet they shall see the day when Satan will fall like lightning from heaven. God hath promised that His glory shall be revealed and that all flesh shall see it together,[473] and the Scriptures cannot be broken. The time will come when human sacrifices and cannibalism shall be annihilated in New Zealand by the pure, mild, and heavenly influence of the Gospel of our blessed Lord and Saviour. The work is great, but Divine goodness will find both the means and the instruments to accomplish His own gracious purposes to fallen man. His word, which is the sword of the Spirit, is able to subdue these savage people to the obedience of faith. It is the duty of Christians to use the means to sow the seed and patiently to wait for the heavenly dews to cause it to spring up, and afterwards to look up to God in faith and prayer to send the early and latter rain.

After the Rev. William Williams had read the Service, I preached to the Europeans from the two last verses of the eighth chapter of Romans, in which I endeavoured to show what the apostle meant by the love of God in this passage – what was the great point of the apostle's persuasion, and that whatever dangers the Christian was called to encounter, whatever trials to sustain, whatever privations he had to suffer, or whatever enemies were conspired against him, there was nothing on earth or in heaven that should ever be able to separate him from the love of God; and stated the situation of many of the saints – both of the Old and New Testament – out of which it appeared to human reason impossible for them to be saved; yet God gave them a glorious deliverance, to the utter confusion of their enemies. As the missionaries had the same God to protect them from evil, they might safely rely upon Him.

After Divine Service the Revs. William Williams, A. Brown, and I set off to visit the camp of Kewikewi at the Kawakawa in order to address them. A number of tribes were assembled; the pa was full of armed men. All was din and confusion.

I called upon Kewikewi. He informed me his mother, the old queen, was dead. I had seen her two days before. She was a very old woman and had lived at Kororarika ever since I have known anything

[Inserted unpaginated map]




THE NORTH ISLAND OF NEW ZEALAND
To illustrate marsden's journeys of 1827, 1830, 1837
N. G. BUCHANAN

of New Zealand, but was obliged to flee to save the few days she had to live which were only about six. They had brought her chin and knees together and wrapped her up in a mat, where she will remain so long as the flesh is on her bones, when they will be removed to the family sepulchre.

When we joined the assembly of the chiefs the Rev. William Williams addressed them in their own language. They were very attentive to what he said. They wished to know what had passed between us and their enemies and whether there was any prospect of peace being made. We informed them that the opposite party were inclined for peace. It was then agreed that Warenui (Wharenui) should return with us in the boat, and visit the enemy's camp the following morning and hear what they had to say on the subject. Warenui was an old wise chief of consequence, and had joined neither party.

When we arrived at Paihea it was time for the evening service. Mr. Williams was to preach in the native language. The chief was asked by Mr. Williams if he would go with us to the chapel. He immediately enquired of Mr. Williams what payment he would give him for going to church. After some little conversation he accompanied us.

Mr. Williams introduced the above question into his sermon, and asked the congregation what payment a person would receive for coming to church. Before Mr. Williams could return an answer to the question, a chief named Taiwanga (Taiwhanga)[474] stood up and immediately answered that a man would receive salvation. A short discussion took place between Mr. Williams and the chief. Mr. Williams asked also in the discourse what were the causes of the present evils of war in New Zealand. The same chief stood up again and answered this question, though it was not intended that any should reply to it since Mr. Williams intended to reply himself; but the chief said that the New Zealanders had but one thought and the Europeans on board of ship had but one thought. They both thought of nothing but of this present life, but the missionaries had two thoughts – one about this world and the other about the next.

The natives were very attentive during the whole of the Service. When the sermon was ended they sang an hymn in their own tongue and, the blessing being pronounced, they departed. The whole scene was very gratifying to me.

With respect to wars amongst the natives, they always originate in some crime committed, some injury done by the one party or the other. The law of Moses, as recorded in the twenty-fourth chapter of Leviticus, is in full force in every part of New Zealand. They have no other law or custom by which they seek to redress their wrongs – breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, life for life, is their universal law for personal injuries. When a man is guilty of theft, the injured person, when he finds it out, will take from the offender all he possesses by force if he is able, such as his potatoes, canoes, or anything he can lay hold upon. If adultery is committed, both the man and



the woman not uncommonly suffer death, when known. The injured husband may rob and put to death the man who has violated his wife, and he is also at liberty to put the woman to death.

For one chief to rob the sepulchre and steal any of the bones of another chief's departed friends is sufficient to incite a war. This is considered one of the greatest offences. In consequence of this, the bones of principal chiefs are hid in rocks and caverns by some surviving friend, where they can never be found. I enquired where the bones of Shunghee were deposited, and was told that no one could tell where they were hid.

Abusive language will also bring on war and contests. To speak disrespectfully of their relatives, whether dead or alive, gives very great offence. It appears that the late disturbance was much excited by some bad language used by one of the parties some time ago. As they have no civil law by which justice can be administered, they always appeal to force, and the weakest suffer. This state of things must continue until their minds are more informed and other laws are instituted amongst them. In time of war the fighting men take provisions wherever they can find them. Some chief, when he knows the plundering parties are out, will set apart some portion of his potatoes or corn and tell them he will allow them to take that, which will sometimes satisfy them.

Monday, March 15th. – This day has been very stormy and wet. We could not visit the camps of the fighting parties, and therefore spent the day in a great measure in conversation with such chiefs as were at our station upon the evils of war, and stated what arguments we could to induce them to lay aside these destructive habits – that to kill one another was the greatest cruelty as well as folly; that they ought to save every New Zealander's life they could for the protection of themselves and their country; that the time might come when a foreign enemy would visit them, and that, when they wanted protection, they would have no men to protect them. They heard us with attention and admitted the justice of our observations. I have no doubt but that they will reflect upon them, as they seemed to strike them very forcibly. The chiefs at Paihea wished us to keep up a constant communication with both parties in order to make peace, though the weather was so wet and stormy.

Tuesday, March 16th. – This morning the Rev. Henry Williams and Mr. Davis set off for Motoroa to visit the camp on that island. We were informed that 600 men from the North Cape, and other tribes, were assembled there ready to join the army at Kororarika, and we wished to know what they intended to do before they joined their allies. They met with a friendly reception, and after they had stated what had been already done towards a reconciliation and the different matters had been considered, it was finally agreed that, if we saw their canoes steering next morning to the upper part of the beach opposite to Paihea above Kororarika, we were then to conclude that they were willing to come to terms of accommodation; but that, if the canoes went towards Kororarika, they had determined for war. When Messrs. Williams and Davis returned and communicated this information, we entertained the strongest hopes that peace would be made on the following day.



Wednesday, March 17th. – Early this morning a chief, Tohitapu, called at my window and said that the army was moving from the island of Motoroa and that he wished me to get up. I rose immediately, and was informed that thirty-six canoes had been counted passing between the Main and the island. I saw a long string of war canoes proceeding in a line across the Bay. We immediately launched our boats and proceeded to meet them, and were rejoiced to find that they were directing their canoes to the point agreed upon the preceding evening.

When we came up with them we found that they had left their women and children upon the island, and that they were all fighting men well armed and ready for action in a moment's notice. I counted more than forty men in one war canoe. They stopped when we came up with them and we held a consultation with them relative to our future operations. We were anxious that the two main bodies should not come within gunshot of each other for fear of the consequences.

It was agreed that three chiefs should accompany us as commissioners to Kewikewi's camp, and that their party should take their station on the east side of the harbour upon a high hill opposite to Kewikewi's camp, in sight of it but at such a distance that they could do no injury. When these matters were settled the three commissioners accompanied us in a small canoe which they paddled themselves. The fighting men ran up to the top of the hill like as many furies, naked, firing

their muskets every moment, until they got to the station fixed upon. Here they remained, constantly discharging their muskets, in the sight of the enemy.

When we approached near the shore the commissioners brought their canoe between our two boats, and in that position we approached the beach. They told us that if they were killed we must be given up to their friends as a sacrifice for the loss of their lives. We were under little apprehension of danger, from our repeated communications with both parties, and as both parties placed the utmost confidence in us we were fully persuaded that the commissioners would be cordially received.

As soon as the canoe touched the shore they immediately jumped out without speaking a word to any persons, and ran with the utmost speed to the place where the chiefs were assembled. We followed as fast as we could. It was not easy to make our way through the crowds of natives that pressed upon us on every side.

At length we joined the assembly. One of the commissioners is known by the name of Captain Campbell, and is a very great priest amongst them. After sitting for a short time in silence, he stood up and addressed the chiefs. After saying a few words relative to his own party, informing them that the sun was beginning to shine upon them and that their prospects were brightening, he sang a song in a kind of incantation or prayer, the meaning of which none of us could understand. He proceeded with his address, and was listened to with much attention and respect.

Several of the chiefs spoke in rotation. They generally held a small stick in their hands while they were speaking, walking at the same time backwards and forwards before the audience, and at length broke the stick in two to signify that their anger was broken. Several chiefs

THE TREATY OF PEACE



replied to what was said by the commissioners, until the conditions of peace were closed as far as they could be at that time; on the following day, if the chiefs of the opposite party approved of what had been done, the final ratification of peace was to be settled before the public at Kororarika by the commissioners of both parties. The commissioners appointed by Kewikewi and his allies were to call at the missionary station the next morning for us to accompany them, as we and the other commissioners had to witness the final ratification of peace.

As soon as these points were settled the assembly broke up and each chief repaired to his respective tribe; they formed separate parties under their own chiefs. They formed into different lines upon a rising ground, their own chief taking the command of his own men. The men were naked and had only their belt on with their arms, when they all loaded their muskets, each tribe firing by itself several rounds and dancing their war-dance. At length they all formed one dense body and repeatedly fired their muskets and went through their various exercises, when they all closed with a general war-dance. Their dance and yell made the air sound like the roaring of the sea in a storm when the waves dash against the rocks. The party on the opposite hill continued to fire their muskets and dance in a similar way. We now took our departure from these wild and savage scenes with much satisfaction, as we had obtained the object we had been labouring for.[475]

Thursday, March 18th. – Just after break of day the chiefs were at my bedroom door and ready to proceed to Kororarika to ratify the terms of peace. We prepared to accompany them. On our arrival the chiefs soon assembled. Captain Campbell, one of the commissioners, opened the business, and stated that he had been received with kind attention by the chiefs to whom he had been sent. He informed the assembly what had passed and it was agreed by Kewikewi and his party to surrender up the beach and the adjoining land at Kororarika to Ururoa and his party, and thus the business ended.[476]

THE WAR-PARTIES DISPERSE



This cove is very valuable as a place of commerce. The shipping anchor close to the shore, which creates much trade for the natives. On this account Ururoa and his party wished to get possession of it if possible. As soon as matters were settled, the different tribes began to depart to their respective districts. Canoes left the cove in all directions and we returned to Paihea with much satisfaction.

Friday, March 19th. – Early this morning a number of muskets were fired at Paihea from two war parties who were returning home. We now hope to have a little rest as the storm of war for the present is blown over. I have no doubt but the present disturbances will tend to extend the influence of the missionaries amongst the natives and be overruled for good. Numbers were brought together whom the missionaries had never seen, from distant parts of the country, and we had an opportunity of speaking to them from day to day at all our public meetings, which addresses will leave an impression upon their minds. I also met with many chiefs whom I had formerly visited, whom I should not have seen unless they had been called together upon the present occasion. They recalled to my recollection various circumstances which had occurred when I was amongst them, and stated many changes that had taken place in different families by death and other causes.

Saturday, March 20th. – Several chiefs who were returning to their homes called at Paihea this morning to take their leave. I made them a small present of a few pipes and a little tobacco, articles which they highly value. I had some conversation with them on the cultivation of wheat in New Zealand. Temoranga, a very sensible chief, observed that it would be very good to grow wheat, but, as they had no means to grind it, it was not an object to them to grow it; but if they had mills it would be of great importance to them, and expressed his wish for an handmill.[477]

MARSDEN VISITS KERIKERI



Sunday, March 21st. – Much rain has fallen to-day. I preached in the chapel this morning from the 10th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles and 43rd verse – ("To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins") – and showed what were the first doctrines preached unto the heathens, namely, remission of sin through faith in Jesus Christ, and pointed out the wonderful effects produced by this first sermon, for the Holy Ghost fell upon all them that heard the word – they were all immediately baptized and received the knowledge of salvation by the remission of their sins, and that the same Gospel preached to the New Zealanders would, through the Divine blessing, produce similar effects upon them.

A very strong and deep impression has been made upon the minds of some of the natives by the preaching of the Gospel, and they are now earnestly enquiring what they are to do to be saved. As the good work has begun, we may hope God will carry it on. When these New Zealanders come fully to embrace the Christian religion and missionaries are raised up amongst themselves, they will then be able to declare the wonderful works of God in their own tongue to their countrymen, and will be more likely to gain attention.

I was much gratified at one circumstance that came to my knowledge. Some women had gone to Kororarika to attend their husbands in the late disturbances. In the evening they assembled together, sang an hymn, and prayed together in one of their huts. They were laughed at by some of the natives, when Tetore, one of the head chiefs who happened to be near, reproved those who ridiculed those who were singing their hymn. Some of those women, I know, would not have performed their sacred devotions in the midst of such a scene of bustle and confusion before they lay down to rest unless their hearts had been engaged and deeply moved

with the subject of religion. One single fruit will show the nature of the tree.

Monday, March 22nd. – This morning the Rev. William Williams, Mr. Richard Davis, and I left Paihea for Kerikeri, where we arrived in the afternoon. I found all the missionaries and their families well. Several improvements had been made since my last visit. They had got a very neat chapel, with a town block and their gardens and houses fenced in. I was happy also to see several of the young men and women who were living with the missionaries with them still, and greatly improved in their external appearance as well as in their knowledge of the best things. The natives were greatly rejoiced when I landed. I spent a very pleasant evening with them. It was most gratifying to me to see the progress they had made in civilization, and to learn that many were impressed with a due sense of the importance of religion and earnestly seeking after a greater knowledge of it.

Tuesday, March 23rd. – This morning I accompanied five of the missionaries to Waimate, a native settlement about ten miles in the interior. At this settlement the missionaries estimate the number of natives to be about 1,000, and about the same number within the compass of six miles round it. The land is very rich and in considerable quantities – plenty of good timbers and fine fresh-water brooks in all



A DISCUSSION WITH WAIMATE CHIEFS

directions, some capable of turning mills. In some parts there was a very heavy crop of maize ready to be gathered in, equal to what I have seen growing on the banks of the Hawkesbury in New South Wales. There were also many plantations of sweet and common potatoes. Little of this rich land is in cultivation comparatively to what is lying idle. If this land was brought into cultivation it would produce the greatest abundance of grain of all kinds – I should think sixty to eighty bushels an acre, as well as vegetables – and it would be easily wrought with the plough as the ground is generally pretty level and the land easy to work.

On our way we met with a number of chiefs all armed, followed by many slaves, both men and women, laden with provisions. They were going to take possession of Kororarika agreeable to the conditions of the peace that had been ratified between the parties. Though Ururoa's party was driven from the field of battle and conquered, yet, at the treaty of peace, it was agreed to give up Kororarika to Ururoa and his party as a compensation for the loss of their friends which had been killed in the contest. We had some conversation with these chiefs and informed them where we were going.

We arrived at Waimate in the evening. In this settlement there are a number of different establishments belonging to different chiefs, all either relatives or friendly allies. We had no sooner pitched our tent than we were surrounded with the natives. Rewa and some of the principal chiefs spent the evening with us. Our conversation turned upon the miseries of New Zealand from their constant wars one with another. We told them that if they wished to enjoy their native land they must not kill one another; if they continued to do so they would have no men to protect their country from any foreign enemy who should at any future period wish to take it from them. They seemed very sensible of this, and blamed Captain Brind for all the public evils that had lately happened.

In addition to politics we introduced the subject of religion. One chief whom the Rev. William Williams had formerly visited was there. He had told Mr. Williams that he prayed to God every day in consequence of what the missionaries had said to him, but, he said, God was a great way off; he did not know whether He heard him or not as he had received no answer. I was much struck with his observation. It evidently appeared that his mind was impressed with a desire to know the only true God. He reminded me of the Roman centurion Cornelius, who prayed to God always until he received instructions from heaven through the medium of an angel to send for Peter, who would tell him words by which he would be saved. I hope that God, Who answered Cornelius, will answer the prayers of this poor New Zealander.

The Rev. William Williams further remarked that he had some short time before, in one of his journeys amongst the natives, met the daughter of this chief, who had told him that her father prayed daily to our God. Though these are little incidents, yet they show that some impression has been made upon their minds and that they are gradually preparing for more knowledge. When I viewed such a number of these poor heathens crowding round our feet as close as they



Tohitapu, Chief and Tohunga of the Roroa.

From a sketch by Archdeacon Henry Williams.

Tohitapu of the Roroa, who lived at the Haumi, at the Bay of Islands, is a prominent figure in the early journals of Archdeacon Henry Williams. Renowned among his people as a great chief and still more as a powerful tohunga, largely endowed with the power of makutu (bewitchment), he was regarded as one of the most ferocious of the warriors of his day and celebrated as the chief to whom, after the massacre in 1772 of the French Captain Marion Dufresne and his sailors, the body of the commander fell for the cannibal feast.

The firmness and strength of character of Henry Williams ultimately conquered even the savage Tohitapu, and, acknowledging his defeat, he became a staunch friend. He died in 1830. – H. Carleton, Life of Henry Williams, Vol. I, pp. 38-39.

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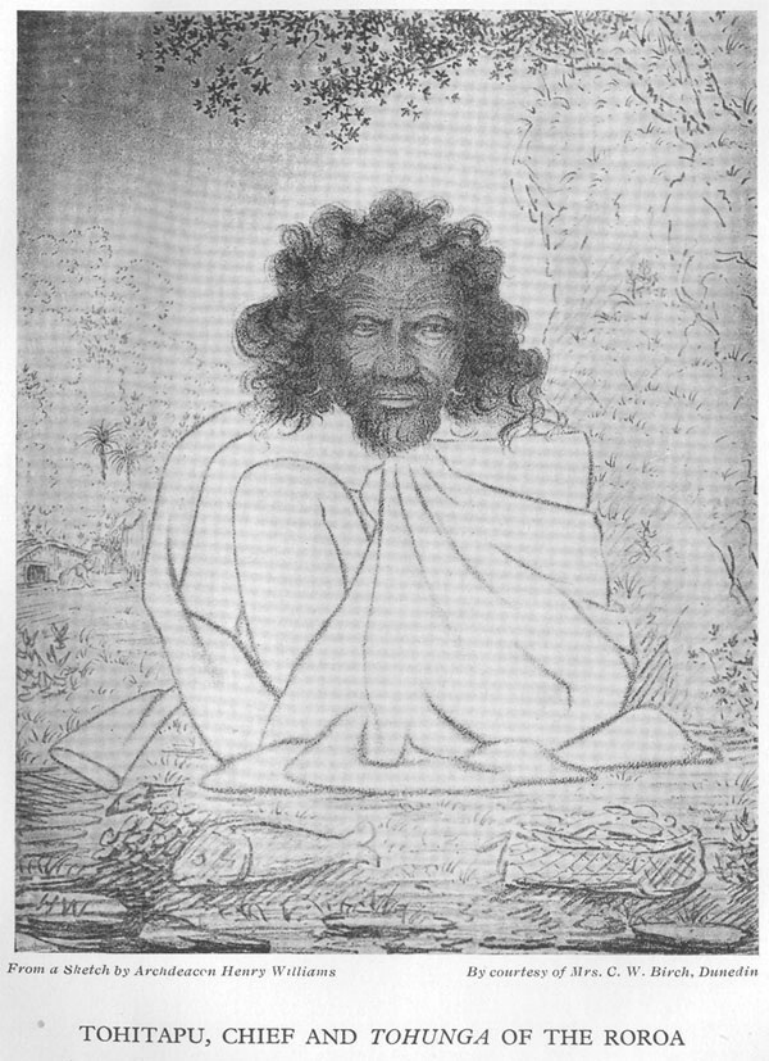


TOHITAPU, CHIEF AND TOHUNGA OF THE ROROA
From a Sketch by Archdeacon Henry Williams
By courtesy of Mrs. C. W. Birch, Dunedin





could press one upon another, and considered that they were or had been cannibals and that we felt ourselves more secure from plunder or personal injury than I should have done in similar circumstances in the woods of New South Wales, when we lay down in our tent I could not refrain from asking myself and companions, "How can this be? What will these people become when once they receive the blessings of the Gospel?" Before we finally fell asleep it was very gratifying to hear the natives, who had accompanied us to carry our tent, etc., sing their evening hymn in these distant woods, and the Rev. Mr. Williams pray with them in their own tongue, where the voice of prayer and praises to the God of Heaven had never until lately been offered up.

Wednesday, March 24th. – This morning, after breakfast, we set off to examine this settlement in different directions with a view to selecting a piece of ground for a missionary station and the purposes of agriculture. Rewa, a principal chief, has long wished for missionaries to reside at Waimate and has renewed his application since my arrival. It is most desirable that a missionary station should be established here in the interior, remote from the baneful effects of the shipping and where the inhabitants are so numerous, as already stated. From its local advantages it will at all times ensure a numerous population, as the necessaries of life may be so easily raised from the goodness of the land. I also consider it of vast importance that the missionary resides in the very centre of his people, wherever and whenever this can be done.

On speaking upon this subject to Mr. Kemp, one of the missionaries who occasionally visits Waimate, he told me that the natives asked him why the missionaries did not come to live with them. "You tell us," said they, "about your religion when you come, but we forget what you have told us before you came again, you are so long absent. You should live with us and tell to us to-day and to-morrow and the day after, and then we should not forget." Such are the observations which they make, and it is much to be wished that their desires should be complied with. After we had examined the different parts of the settlement and visited several places belonging to the different chiefs with which we were much satisfied, we took our departure for Kerikeri.

On our way home we fell in with numerous natives, some carrying provisions to Kororarika and others returning to Waimate. In the evening we arrived at the missionary station much gratified with our journey.

Thursday, March 25th. – This morning Mr. Collins, master of the Elizabeth whaler, paid us a visit. Mrs. Collins resides at Parramatta. It gave him much pleasure to hear of Mrs. Collins. He spent the day with us. He had been eight months whaling at sea and had got 150 tons of sperm oil on board. Had he completed his voyage, I and my daughter would have returned with him; but we must wait a little longer until an opportunity offers.

Friday, March 26th. – This day I have been affected with a sore throat in consequence of having wet my feet several times in crossing the runs of water on Tuesday on our way to Waimate and lying down

at night without taking any of my clothes off. We had also some cold rain in the night, accompanied with wind, so that I did not rest much. I feel it necessary that I should confine myself to the house to-day.

Saturday, March 27th. – For a long time it has been deemed necessary to form an agricultural establishment in order to grow some grain for the support of the missionaries and families, that they might not depend upon the uncertain supplies from New South Wales. The missionaries had previous to my arrival some intention of purchasing some land on a fresh-water stream, called the Wairoa, adjoining to their present settlement. They requested that I would on our return from Waimate examine this land and give my opinion. Agreeable to their wish I this day in company with Mr. Clarke went over the ground. I found the soil shallow, poor, and light. It contained no substance or strength for growing wheat without manure. There was no wood for building and fencing for miles, or even firewood. Some thousands of acres were entirely open and free from timber, being covered with fern. The land would make fine sheep-walks, being so sound and dry when cleared of the fern, and would grow grain when folded with sheep; but in its present state would not answer for a farming establishment.

Sunday, March 28th. – I preached morning and evening in the chapel, a neat building. There was a good congregation of Europeans and natives. The Church Service was read in the native language by one of the missionaries, the natives joining in the responses. Many of them can read and write in their own tongue well and understand the common rules of arithmetic. They could calculate to 100,000 before they learned anything of figures from the missionaries. No Christian congregation could behave with more propriety or be more attentive than the natives were during Divine Service. The Sabbath day is at this station a day of rest – all is quiet and still. I was much gratified with all I saw.

Monday, March 29th. – This day there was a full committee. All the missionaries were present. The subject of our meeting was to determine upon an agricultural establishment and the place where it was to be formed. When the committee assembled, I gave it as my opinion that the establishment should be formed in the interior, ten or fifteen miles from the Kidikidi (Kerikeri), at Waimate or in that direction. The land was rich and easy cleared and cultivated, the timber good and in abundance for building, fencing, and firewood, and runs of water in all directions. I considered these local advantages of the greatest importance. Independent of these, the natives were numerous. At Waimate they were estimated by the missionaries who visit them at more than one thousand within a circle of five or six miles about Waimate. If a missionary station were formed anywhere hereabouts in the interior, the missionary would be in the centre of his people, which would save much loss of time and labour in visiting from Kerikeri, and the natives would have the example of the missionary before them and his superintending care.

After this subject had received the most mature consideration, it was resolved that an agricultural establishment should be formed in the interior as soon as it conveniently could be done. The next subject was the removal of Messrs. King and Shepherd from Rangihoua. It



had been resolved by the parent committee that the station at Rangi-houa should be withdrawn.[478] Some of the missionaries had on former occasions voted for, and others against, withdrawing it, but the majority were for the removal. There appeared to me some strong objections to the removal of Messrs. King and Shepherd at the present time. This was the first station that had been formed – good had been done here. The natives and Messrs. King and Shepherd were on very friendly terms. They (the natives) wanted to know what they had done that the missionaries should be taken from them, and felt much hurt. Messrs. King and Shepherd were anxious to remain with their people. They stated there were 400 souls within an hour's walk and more than a 1,000 whom they visited, and these must be left in a great measure without instruction as they could not be visited but by water from any other station, the nearest of which was nine or ten miles. Another weighty objection with me was where were they to go; how were they to be provided for? At Paihea they could not. The three clergymen there were in miserable bulrush huts, in danger of being set on fire every day, so that there was no place there of any kind where they and their families could be lodged. At Kerikeri there were Messrs. Hamlin and Baker and the Rev. Mr. Yate. These had only bulrush huts similar to those at Paihea, so that there was no accommodation of any kind for them there. Under these circumstances I could not see that the resolution of the parent Society could be carried into effect and therefore recommended that Messrs. Shepherd and King should for the present remain where they were, and that, when the station is formed in the interior, the subject of the removal of the missionaries from Rangihoua may be renewed, and the resolution of the present committee carried into effect, to which all agreed. This measure satisfied all parties.

As a matter of private opinion I should regret the removal of Messrs. King and Shepherd from Rangihoua, unless the natives could be reconciled to the measure, as they conceive they have a claim to them from the protection which they have always afforded to them from the first.

Tuesday, March 30th. – The committee met again when the last quarter's accounts were examined, which occupied a very considerable portion of the day.

Wednesday, March 31st. – This morning, having a little spare time, I took my daughter Mary with me to visit an old chief named Kopiti, whom I had formerly known. Mrs. Clarke accompanied us. He was once a man of great consequence, and still considers himself the greatest man in all New Zealand. His rank may be great, and no doubt is in point of family, but his power is now very small. Some years ago, when he first came to pay me a visit, on arriving alongside the vessel he said he wished to know if King George ever went on board a ship, because if King George, who was King of England, did not, he as King of New Zealand could not come on board, but would remain in his canoe. On the breaking out of the late war he fled immediately from his settlement and took up his residence upon a very small island in the Kidikidi River, with his family and some of his people.



This island is nothing but a body of large whinstone rocks of various sizes and forms, all thrown one upon another, with no vegetation of any kind excepting one small tree. There is no beach. It is very difficult to find any place where the rocks can be climbed up. We found it difficult to land from the boat. We ascended the rocks and found the old chief sitting under the only small tree on the island, surrounded by his people. The old man was much rejoiced to see me, made enquiries after King George, reminded me of his own royal dignity, and wished me to leave my daughter for a wife for one of his family, which honour I declined. The old man had fled to this island for fear of being killed in the late disturbance. It is as strongly fortified by nature as a place can well be, with plenty of fish all round it for him and his people. He informed me that his slaves would now pay very little attention to him; they would not obey his orders and he was not able to make them. We made him a present of a few fish-hooks and a few trifles. Though he had nothing of the external appearance of a king, yet he appeared as great in his own opinion as any sovereign could be, and is perhaps not less happy than most sovereigns in his own mind. We took our leave of this old chief, sitting upon the rock under the shade of a small old tree, with mutual greetings. I could not but reflect how much man is the creature of habit and fashion, and how very few are his real wants.

Thursday, April 1st. – I spent this day with the missionaries and in arranging my matters which I had to settle there previous to my return, as I might expect the

Archdeacon[479] in the Crocodile every day.

Friday, April 2nd. – This morning I left Kerikeri for Rangihoua, which I had not visited since my arrival. Mr. and Mrs. Clarke with my daughter accompanied me. We landed about twelve o'clock. The natives received us with great joy. I went up to the village to visit the principal chiefs. They informed me with much distress that the day I came into the harbour, a fine young man, the son of the late Duaterra (Ruatara), died. He was a very promising youth and much respected by both the natives and the missionaries. Had he lived he was to have returned with me to New South Wales. He could read and write well. The chief's wife, who was his aunt, had observed to Mr. Shepherd that it was very singular that God should leave the old, infirm, and sick to live, while He called away the young by death. I expressed my sorrow at the death of the young man. Waicato (Waikato) said they could not help it. The head chief Warepouna (Wharepuna) said the following were the last words he spake: "Where is Mr. Marsden?" He had said a little before that he saw me, and pointed to the place where I stood. His mind was then weak.

The missionaries at this station had great expectations from this youth, as I had formerly. When it was mentioned that the missionaries were to be removed from Rangihoua he had expressed great concern, and observed that his father had brought the missionaries to New Zealand and if they were taken away he would come to Parramatta to solicit for some more.

A MAORI CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE



How mysterious are the ways of Providence! His father was the principal instrument in the hands of an all wise God in preparing the way for the introduction of the Gospel into New Zealand. He had laboured hard for nine years, and suffered every hardship, to prepare a way for the Europeans to reside in his country, and when he had the pleasure to see them settled he was called away by death, and his promising son; and his wife hung herself, at the request of her own mother, in order that she might accompany him into the invisible world that their mutual happiness might be uninterrupted after death.

After they were both dead a retired place was selected and enclosed with a fence, in which a platform was erected about six feet high, when their bodies were wrapped up according to their custom; and in that state they were laid together and would so remain until the flesh was decayed, when their bones would be removed. The enclosed ground was quite sacred and none could enter it to profane it. When I visited New Zealand afterwards, I applied to the priest for permission to go and see how they were laid and obtained leave. The priest told me that their god would not injure me if I entered the sacred limits, but he would kill any of them. Such influence has their superstition over them.

This day I united a young native man and woman in marriage. The nature of the Christian marriage ceremony was explained to them and the covenant into which they entered. They seemed to have great affection for each other and were anxious to be married. They were both servants to Mr. Clarke and had been with him for a long time, and very seriously disposed. Married women are considered very sacred amongst the natives. The young man was free and of a good family; the young woman was a slave. Mr. Clarke redeemed her of her master for five blankets, one iron pot, and an axe.

It is seldom that a chief can be prevailed upon to permit any of his female slaves to marry. He always sets apart a number of them as wives for himself. To violate any one of these women would be death to her as well as to the man who seduced her. On this account there are comparatively few of these slaves who are married, and hence there are very few children comparatively to the number of women. This is a very bad custom and very cruel to the poor women. The chiefs find these reputed wives more industrious than free women and more to be depended upon for honesty, and it is from motives of private interest that these poor female slaves are set apart for their masters. The interests of the chiefs are so much involved in the custom that it is not likely to be done away until the Christian religion has produced its due effect upon the minds of the inhabitants.

There is also another custom amongst them which appears to be universal. When the son of a chief attains the age of five or six years, his father gives him a basket of potatoes to plant. He either plants them himself or a slave cultivates them for him. The produce is his own sole property. From these potatoes he continues to plant ever after. If the chief has a daughter, his wife supplies her in like manner with a basket of potatoes, and she continues to plant ever after from the same seed. The chief and his wife each grow their own potatoes and the produce is the private property of each. This is a singular custom.

MAORI BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS



The New Zealanders have a strong belief in witchcraft, which they call makutu, and think that those persons who have the power to makutu can kill any person they choose by this art. When a person believes he is makutued he generally dies; the dread of it has such an effect upon his mind. It operates in a similar way to the Obeah in Africa. It sometimes happens that when a man of great note dies, though he dies a natural death, they believe he was makutued. When the chief Shunghee died of the wounds he had received in battle, his friends believed that he had been makutued by a chief Pango, who lived to the southward of the Thames, who chanced to be at the Bay of Islands, and they would have murdered him if he had not made his escape.

The greatest insult that can be offered to a chief is to make use of bad language to him, and particularly to curse him, as when this is done they are always apprehensive the curse pronounced will come upon them. Hence it rarely happens that the New Zealanders who are men of rank make use of bad language one to another as the Europeans do, but are cautious in what they say. When this is done it is not infrequently productive of serious consequences, as the friends of the person who has been abused will take up the quarrel and punish the offender. In consequence of the bad language which the English sailors use to them, they call the sailors white devils and look upon them with great contempt.

When a chief dies and leaves a widow, his brother may take her as his wife if he wishes to have her but he is not obliged to do so. When Shunghee's oldest son was killed in battle his younger brother took his wife to be his wife, and she lives with him now as such, and when Shunghee's son-in-law was killed in action his brother married the widow, with whom he now lives.

If a slave curse his master he is likely to suffer death for the offence. Slaves are either those taken in war or purchased. It is very difficult for a slave to make his escape from his master. The law of New Zealand is that, whoever apprehends a runaway slave, he becomes the property of him who apprehended him.

It is also a great insult to a chief to call anything after his name. If a man was to give the name of a chief to his canoe, the chief whom he had named it after would go and take it from the owner with any other thing to which he had given the name of the chief. Whether it was a pig, a dog, or a plantation of potatoes, they would all be confiscated, as they would be sacred from his name. It is an offence to call a gentleman an ass in England and the offence would be no less in New Zealand; and if any chief dared to do this he would be called to account for it.

When a child is born, both the mother and the child are tabooed. A few days after the birth preparations are made for a feast. Two ovens are prepared, one for consecrated food and one for common food. At this feast a name is to be given unto the child by the father and mother. Several prayers are offered up at the time while the different ceremonies are performed. The prayers that are offered up are that the child may be bold and daring, expert in all kinds of wickedness, and

polluted language is made use of to a very great extent at the time. After the



party have feasted – the mother upon sacred food and the others upon common – the leaves of a particular tree are procured and dipped into water. With these leaves[480] the person holding the child in his or her arms sprinkles the child with water. This is a universal custom amongst the natives. They believe the child would die if this ceremony was omitted.[481] But in dedicating their children they seem to dedicate them to Satan and not to God. From whence this custom of sprinkling the children with water originated I can obtain no information.

The New Zealanders do not correct their children lest they should abate their courage or subdue their violent passions. Hence the children are in no subjection to their parents.

Saturday, April 3rd. – Wishing to know the number of the inhabitants in the village (Rangihoua), I sent a message this morning to the chief requesting he would send down the people to the beach that I might muster them. In a short time they assembled, when I counted fifty-eight men, seventy-one women, and fifty-one children. The chief stated that a number were absent, that two canoes with twenty men were gone out to fish before I sent and others were gone to their plantations. I should estimate the number of regular inhabitants at not less than 200. What I counted were independent of those natives living with the missionaries. There are about 400 natives settled at and near the station of the missionaries and upwards of 1,000 more whom they visit from time to time.

The chiefs urged much that the missionaries might continue with them. I told them that I could not make them any promises until I had written to England. Warepouka (Wharepoaka) wanted to know the reason the missionaries were to be taken from them, what they had done to offend them. Had they killed any of them, or had they robbed any of them, or injured any? If they had given them any reason, they had a right to go; but if they had always been well treated they should be very angry if they left them. He had told Mr. King no one should touch their houses. They should stand until they were rotten, and when any Europeans came and enquired whose houses they were, they would tell them that they belonged to the missionaries and that they should remain as a monument of their disgrace for leaving their station without any offence or injury having been done to them. I was much concerned to see their feelings so wounded. They have been speaking to me constantly upon this subject ever since I came to Rangihoua, as they would consider it a public disgrace for the missionaries to leave them.

When they came from the village to be mustered they fired a salute and then arranged themselves in three lines – the men in one, women in another, and the children in a third. Waikato, who had been in England, was present.



The chief, Warepouka, observed to me that the men in New Zealand were dying off very fast. Some, he said, were lost at sea in their canoes in stormy weather, others were shot in battle, others died from the fatigues of war, others hung themselves, and some died in a natural way. He intimated that New Zealand would not be better circumstanced unless they had some commerce – something to do – by which they could get what they wanted, but they could not do anything without assistance – they had no means. They could assist to build a ship if they had materials and kill whales if they had a vessel, but, as they were, they could do nothing, and never could of themselves be better than what they were. On that account they would continue to fight one another until there were few remaining, and the white people might take the country to themselves. Such were his views. A number of natives were present when he expressed himself in the above manner, who agreed with him, so sensible are they that they can never rise without the aid of the civilized world.

Sunday, April 4th. – I attended Divine worship in the schoolroom. The service began by singing a hymn in the native language. Many of the natives were dressed clean and neat in European clothing, and behaved with the greatest propriety. Warepouka, the head chief, and Waikato were both at church with their wives and children. I read the lessons and part of the prayers. The Litany and some of the Service which had been translated into the native language were read by Mr. King, in which the natives joined in the responses, which they had either printed or written, both of which they could read and understand well, especially those who had attended school. Mr. Shepherd gave a short exhortation to the natives when the prayers were over. I then preached to the Europeans from the following words: "The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared unto Simon." (Luke xxiv, 34)

In the afternoon the natives met to be examined and catechized. I then spoke to them as well as I could in their own language on the sufferings of our blessed Lord and of his being laid in the sepulchre, which they could easily comprehend from the respect that they pay to their own burying places and the bodies of their departed chiefs. I also spoke to them of his resurrection from the dead and of his going to see his friends in the evening of the day he rose from the dead. I informed them that he had repeatedly told his disciples that he would rise from the dead before he was crucified, but they did not understand what he meant. When he came into the room where they were assembled together they were all afraid when they saw him and thought they saw a spirit, as he could not prevail by any assurances he made them that he was risen from the dead. At length he showed them his hands and his feet; the wounds which the nails had made in them when he was nailed to the Cross were not healed, and the large wound in his side made by the soldier's spear was still open. These wounds, and Jesus eating before his disciples, convinced them that he was risen from the dead. They heard what I had to say with deep attention.

I then informed them that after Jesus had remained with his disciples for a time he ascended up into heaven in their sight, and that he told them before he went that he would come again and take all good

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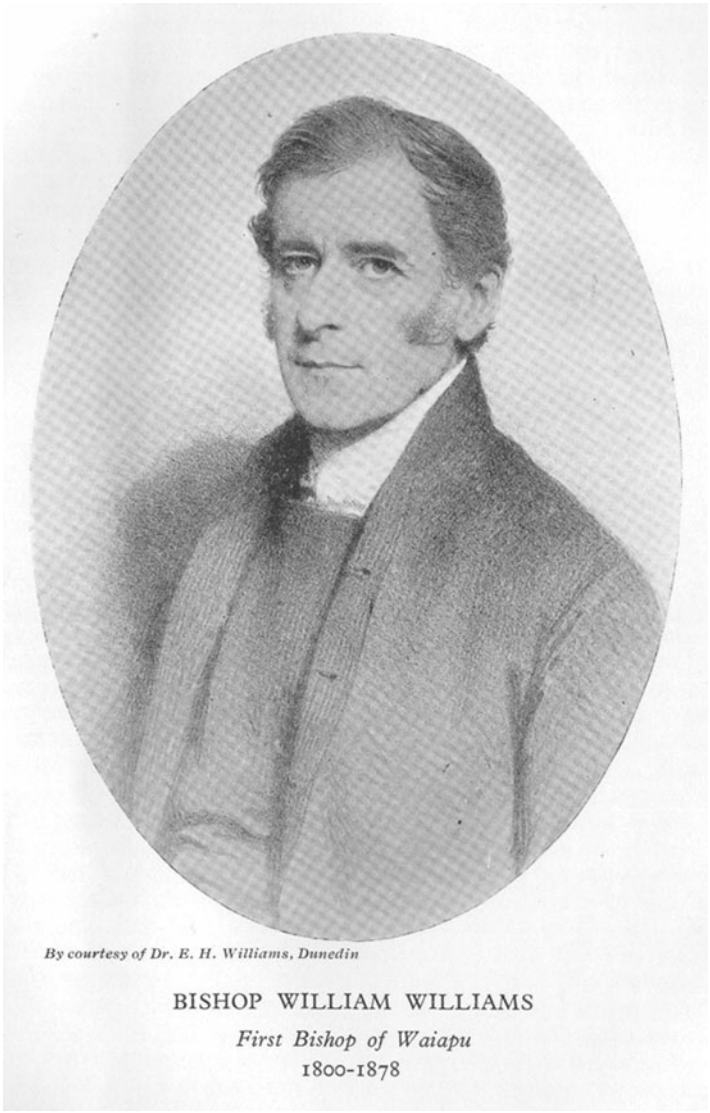



BISHOP WILLIAM WILLIAMS
First Bishop of Waiapu
1800-1878





men to live with him in heaven, and that they would see him when he came again and would be taken with him to glory if they now loved and served him. They were much interested in these subjects. They clearly understood what I said. When I was at a loss for a word, I applied to Mr. King to explain the meaning. I can have no doubt but God will take a people for himself from amongst the New Zealanders.

A Mr. Tapsell, who had been long in the whale-fishing on the coast of New Zealand and lately a master of a whaling vessel belonging to Port Jackson, applied to me after Divine service was over to marry the sister of the head chief. I had known this young woman for the last fourteen years. She is a very fine young woman as a native, clean in her person, well-dressed in European clothes, and of a very amiable disposition. She came along with Mr. Tapsell. Tapsell is returning to Port Jackson. I told them I would marry them in New South Wales, but they both, as well as her friends, wish the marriage to take place before he sails and then she will accompany him. If he leaves her she says she will go into the interior and live retired by herself. I shall speak to the Revs. Messrs. Williams on the subject. The young woman is pretty well acquainted with the English language and has long resided amongst the missionaries, who speak well of her. I see no objection against marrying them myself.[482]

Monday, April 5th. – This day I left Rangihoua and went over the bay to Paihea. It is about nine miles across. On my arrival I found all well. Mr. Henry Williams had got the roof upon his new house during my absence. In the evening Mrs. Williams provided a supper for the native carpenters, being eight in number. It was very pleasing to see them sitting down dressed in European clothes, clean and orderly, to a good English plum-pudding, which was the first I believe they had ever tasted. They were all highly gratified. Some of them can work very well as carpenters and will soon be able to build for themselves. One of the chiefs is building a very good house. He has got the frame up and the roof on. He is doing the work himself and he recommends others to follow his example. One at Kerikeri has got a neat cottage. He is a married man. His wife and himself are servants to Mr. Kemp, but lodge in their own cottage.

Tuesday, April 6th. – Several chiefs called upon me this morning; one of them had come from Hokianga to invite Kewikewi and his tribe to go along with him and to live in his district to prevent any more differences between him and Ururoa, who had taken possession of Kororarika, which, before the last battle, belonged to Kewikewi. The chief condemned the conduct of the parties who had been engaged in the late contest. He observed they had not been fighting against a common enemy but one friend against another, and that it was a murderous act. I made them some small present of a little tobacco, an article which they greatly value. Tobacco, pipes, and blankets are always in demand. The natives will give anything they possess for them. Blankets are an article of the first necessity with them, and are most esteemed.

Wednesday, April 7th. – This day I visited Tupuna (Te Puna) and examined the ground which had been purchased from the natives in order to remove the

missionaries from Rangihoua, as it was a much more eligible situation. I found there had been considerable work



done in fencing, and the frame of one of the houses was up and a good cottage built, but the works had been suspended by the local committee and confirmed by a resolution from the parent committee, with an order to withdraw the missionaries to one or both of the other stations. I regret that this measure had not been more maturely considered. As far as my own opinion goes, from seeing the number of the natives and their general improvement since I saw them last, I think it an important station. Perhaps the subject may be more fully considered before it is finally abandoned.

Friday, April 9th. – This being Good Friday, Divine service was performed morning and evening in the chapel. In the morning I preached from ninth chapter Hebrews, verses 19-22. The Rev. H. Williams read the service in the native language. The natives were very attentive.

Saturday, April 10th. – To-day I went to Paroa to visit the remains of a tribe to which Tooi belonged. The Rev. Mr. Brown accompanied me. This tribe was, when I first visited New Zealand, one of the most powerful tribes, but is now, by wars, reduced to a very small number. They were much gratified with our visit. We spent a few hours with them and returned to Paihea.

Sunday, April 11th. – This being Easter Sunday it was observed with much solemnity. I preached in the morning from the fifteenth chapter of first Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, verses 3-4: "I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures. And that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day."

In the time of Divine service a native man and his wife and child were christened, and a daughter of Mrs. Richard Davis[483] at the same time. It was a very solemn season. The natives were deeply affected with this solemn ordinance. This man and his wife had for a considerable time been anxious to obtain salvation. They had repeatedly expressed their views and wishes respecting this sacred ordinance. Their lives and conduct had been becoming their profession, and they were fully convinced of the necessity there was for them to apply to Jesus Christ for pardon of their sins, or they could not be saved. All the Europeans in the settlement were present, and a number of natives, both men and women. It was not possible for any Christian congregation to be more serious, or apparently more devout, during the whole of the morning service.

The church service and the baptism service were both performed in the native language, in which the natives joined in all the responses. They understand the service as well as the Europeans in general do, and are much more impressed with the importance of it. The grace of God which bringeth salvation is most evidently appearing in the lives and whole conversation of several New Zealanders who reside



at the missionary stations. They are thirsting after Christian knowledge. I may have observed that these poor heathens, though in a barbarous state, are far more likely to embrace the Gospel than any nation of civilized heathens. They may be said to have no national religion, no rooted religious prejudices to overcome. They expose themselves to no persecution from their near relatives and friends on embracing Christianity. They incur no public contempt and do not lose their rank in society. There are no religious castes amongst them as there are in India and other nations. In New Zealand there are only two classes – the free people and the slaves. Everyone is left perfectly free with respect to his religious opinions. They have their priests and their superstitions also. They believe that the priests by their prayers or incantations can do them the most serious good or evil. Their superstitions principally relate to their particular spots of ground which they have tabooed, or to their sepulchres or to their feeding themselves when they are set apart to attend the bodies of any of their departed friends before their removal to the family vaults. I have not met with an instance, though perhaps there may be some, where the priests have made any opposition to the doctrines taught by the missionaries or cast any odium upon those who regularly attend upon their instructions and openly confess the Christian religion. I consider these circumstances very favourable to the introduction of the Gospel amongst them and that they tend very much to relieve the anxiety of the missionaries, as their hearers are under no apprehension of evil from attending their ministry.

The great doctrine of atonement for sin is also easily comprehended by a New Zealander. They are taught from their infancy to demand satisfaction, or, as they call it, payment, for every injury, however small. If adultery is committed the injured husband may put both his wife and her seducer to death, and may take satisfaction for any other offence upon the offender according to its nature. Such is the universal custom in New Zealand. In the late battle of Kororarika, which was fought on the sixth of last month, the proprietor of the place was the conqueror, yet afterwards, when the different points came to be discussed relative to making peace, in the ratification for peace it was stipulated that he should give up the place to the conquered as a payment, or a satisfaction, for the lives of their friends who had been slain in action, because the number of chiefs who had fallen in that party was greater than those who fell on the side of the conqueror, and accordingly they took possession of it and the original proprietor was obliged to remove with his tribe and friends to another station.

Monday, April 12th. – We had a committee meeting to-day at Paihea to settle as far as we could the arrangements for the interior settlement at Waimate, but nothing was finally concluded.

Tuesday, April 13th. – This morning I left Paihea, in company with Messrs. Clark (Clarke) and Kemp, for Kerikeri. Several of the natives at this station express much concern for the salvation of their souls. One young man came in the evening, having first written a note in much distress of mind. He felt the burden of sin upon his conscience, and wanted spiritual advice. He is a married man of exceeding good character. I spoke to him of the life of Jesus – gave him the history of Mary Magdalene coming to Jesus when upon earth and of the reception she



met with, showed how Jesus loved Mary though she had been a sinner,, and how Mary loved her Saviour who pardoned her sins, and that, after his death, she still loved him and went to his sepulchre to weep over his dead body, had he been there. Jesus also appeared to her immediately after his resurrection, before he showed himself to any other person, from the love he had for her, and I said that he would receive him with the same love and pardon his sins. I told him that Jesus had appointed missionaries to preach to the New Zealanders as well as to the natives of Otaheate (Tahiti), Tongataboo (Tongatabu), and in all the world, and that the missionaries at Kerikeri had left their country and their friends for that purpose. He was much affected.

There were other natives in the room who were all attention, and amongst them was a very fine youth, the son of a chief, whose mind is also very much impressed with the subject of religion, and it is to be hoped that God will carry it on and relieve the inhabitants from the miseries and degradation which they now suffer from the influence which the Prince of Darkness exercises over their minds. They live in continual dread of being murdered by one another, and hence war may be said to be their study and their trade, and firearms and gunpowder the only articles they value.

Wednesday, April 14th. – I this day examined the whole expenses of Rangihoua station from January 1st, 1829, to December 31st, 1829.

Thursday, April 15th. – This day I remained at Kerikeri and spent it in conversation with the natives and the missionaries. On re-examining the public accounts we found they could not be completed without some documents which were at Paihea; we therefore determined to go down for them.

Friday, April 16th. – Mr. Clarke and I set off for Paihea this morning for the public papers we wanted. On our arrival we found all the missionaries well and busy in the public building.

Saturday, April 17th. – This morning we returned to Kerikeri as I intended to preach there to-morrow and to arrange some matters more fully relative to the settlement in the interior with Messrs. Clarke and Hamlin. On passing one of the islands in the river, the natives in the boat informed us that several natives who had fallen in the late action were buried on the island, and that amongst them there was one woman, the wife of a chief who had been slain in the battle, who requested, when her husband's body was brought to be interred, to be shot, which was immediately done, as she wished to be buried with him – so little control have these poor heathens over their feelings in the day of trouble. There was no sympathizing friend to administer to her the consolations of religion and to relieve her distressed mind. What blessings does Christianity impart to those who embrace it; and even nominal Christians derive many advantages from the very idea that there is a God in heaven who can relieve them in the day of trouble.

On my arrival at Mrs. Clarke's she informed me that the young man to whom I had spoken on Tuesday, 13th, had been with her during my absence, and had opened his mind to her more fully. He told her his heart was very heavily burdened with his sins. He was so distressed in his mind that he could not sleep on account of two sins which he had committed. The one was he had been tattooed, contrary to the advice



of Mr. Clarke who told him not to be tattooed. If he got tattooed he would then want to show himself, and then he would want to get a gun, and then he would want to fight, when he might kill some person or someone might kill him. Everything that had been told him had come to pass – he had got tattooed, he had got a gun, he had killed two men in the last battle and was nearly shot himself. He saw a man level his gun at him and instantly stooped; the shot went over his shoulder and killed the man behind. It was God alone that saved him, he says, from death and ruin. The reflection that he shot two men in this action greatly distresses his mind. He seems to be fully convinced of the evil of sin, and I hope his present repentance will be productive of a real change in his principles and conduct. He reminded me, when I saw his distress, of that which David experienced at the remembrance of the sin he committed, the murder of Uriah, and afterwards composed the 51st Psalm.

Sunday, April 18th. – This day I preached twice at Kerikeri chapel to a very attentive congregation, and administered the Holy Sacrament. In no part of the universe can the Sabbath day be more sacredly observed than in this settlement. The missionaries can leave their houses open and every European man and woman go to church without any apprehension of being robbed. All is still, quiet, and orderly from morning till night.

In the evening I took tea with Mr. and Mrs. Hamlin. They have some native domestic servants who are deeply impressed with the importance of eternal things, as well as several who reside with Messrs. Kemp and Clarke. I was much gratified with the account Mrs. Hamlin gave me of her female domestic servants. The word of God has produced a powerful effect upon their minds, and the communications of the Spirit both in their convictions and consolations appear to me to be very uncommon; yet their experience seems perfectly agreeable to the experience of some of the heathens in the Apostles' time.

About seven o'clock I retired to Mr. Kemp's where I lodged. He informed me there were several young men and women who wished to come into the room to have some conversation upon religious subjects. I replied that I had no objections, when twelve young persons came in. Their anxious countenances expressed the inward working of their minds. Their object was to know what they were to do to be saved. I endeavoured to represent to them the love of Jesus in coming from heaven to die for a ruined world, and mentioned many instances of his love and mercy which he manifested to poor sinners when upon earth, such as his compassion to the two blind men who sat by the wayside begging, the woman of Samaria who met Jesus at Jacob's well, the woman who was a sinner, and fell down before Jesus, washed his feet with her tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head, the woman who was taken in adultery and brought into the temple to Jesus; and others, all of whom he had graciously received with his favour and love, showing himself ready to pardon and save them; and said that they were in exactly the same state with those I mentioned. They heard with tears and deep attention all I had to say; what I could not clearly express Mr. Kemp interpreted.



When I had spoken to them about an hour we all kneeled down to pray, when to my utter surprise a young native woman began to pray. I never heard any address offered up to heaven with so much solemn awe, with so much pious feeling, with so much sweetness and freedom of expression, and with such humility and heavenly mindedness. I could not doubt but that this young woman prayed with the spirit and with the understanding also. She prayed fervently that God would pardon her sins and preserve her from evil, and for all the natives in the room, that they might all be preserved from falling into the temptations with which they were surrounded. Her very soul seemed to be swallowed up with the sense she had of the evil and danger of sin, and the love of Jesus who came to save sinners. Her voice was low, soft, and harmonious, her sentences were short, and fully expressed in the true spirit of prayer. I never expected to have seen in my day any of the natives of this barbarous nation offering up their supplications for pardon and grace to the only true God with such godly sorrow and true contrition.

The aged widow of the late chief Shunghee and two of his daughters were in the room. When we rose the old woman exclaimed, "Astonishing! Astonishing! Astonishing!" and then retired. I must confess I was not less astonished than she was, as the circumstance was equally as unexpected by me as it could be by her.

This young woman is one of Mr. Kemp's domestic servants. She is married and has two children. She has for seven years lived with Mrs. Kemp, and conducts herself in all respects as a true Christian and adorns the Gospel she professes. These are very promising tokens of Divine mercy towards these poor heathens. Her husband has lived with Mr. Kemp ten years and is a serious man. The Day Star from on High now shines upon them and intimates most clearly that the Sun of Righteousness will soon rise and dispel the thick clouds of darkness, ignorance, and sin in which their minds have hitherto been involved.

Monday, April 19th. – I engaged to hear this evening several young persons their catechisms. At the hour appointed they assembled at Mr. Kemp's. I was much gratified to learn that they had such a knowledge of the Christian religion, and were eagerly thirsting after more. They could answer every question in the two catechisms which had been translated into their own language, and such portions of the Holy Scriptures as have also been translated they have committed to memory. It will be a happy day when the Bible can be put into their hands complete. They are very fond of reading and writing, and will make great progress in knowledge when they obtain the means.

Tuesday, April 20th. – When I was at Rangihoua a Mr. Philip Tapsell wished to marry a native young woman, as already mentioned. She was the daughter of the

head chief there. She had long been in the families of the missionaries at that station. They all spoke very highly of her conduct. I had known her for about fourteen years. As she understood the English language and our customs I promised to marry them to-day, but the heavy rains prevented them from coming in time as they had ten miles to come by water. I shall expect to marry them to-morrow. Tapsell has lately commanded a whaler belonging





to Port Jackson and has been on the coast of New Zealand many years. As she is a very well-behaved young woman and a person of rank, I saw no impropriety in marrying them. Mr. Tapsell told me if they could not get married here they would go to Port Jackson and get married there. As she is now married, the missionaries' wives may show her some attention which they could not have done had she continued to live with Tapsell in an unmarried state, which was contrary to both their wishes.

Some persons may condemn the act of marrying them as she is a native heathen, but I have no doubt from my long knowledge of her character but that she will as a wife act with the greatest propriety, and give no cause of offence to the civilized world; I felt no objection in my own mind against their marriage.

Wednesday, April 21st. – This morning I went to the chapel to perform the marriage ceremony. Upwards of thirty natives had come from Rangihoua to the marriage. Most of the natives of Kerikeri attended, and several of the missionaries and their children. Warepouka, the principal chief, who is her brother, attended to give her away, and her sister was bridesmaid. The young woman repeated the ceremony very correctly in the English language, which she perfectly understood. She conducted herself with the greatest propriety. The company came in a war-canoe, and brought their provisions with them – a pig alive, which was killed, and plenty of potatoes. In the evening they returned home much gratified with the marriage. I stated to the clergy, Messrs. Henry and William Williams and to Mr. Brown, that Mr. Tapsell had applied to me to marry him to the young woman, and wished to know if they saw any objection to it, but they appeared to have none. I then proposed to marry them at the chapel at Kerikeri as I should be there, unless any of them wished to marry them at Paihea, when it was agreed that they should go to Kerikeri, which they did and were married this day.

The young woman was neatly dressed in European clothing. They were of her own making. She is stated by the missionaries' wives to be a good seamstress as well as domestic servant. The more Christian customs and manners prevail in New Zealand the more improvement the natives will make in the arts of civilization, and I consider lawful marriage to be of the first importance.

Saturday, April 24th. – Within the last three days we have had some heavy rains, which have confined me to the settlement. I have had several conversations with some of the chiefs relative to the intended settlement at Waimate. They are very anxious to have the missionaries with them. I have promised to go out on Monday again to see the land if no ship arrives, for which I am anxiously waiting – or if rain does not prevent.

Sunday, April 25th. – I preached this day, at Kerikeri, on the subject of St. Paul's conversion. The natives were all very still and attentive. The service of the church was in the native language. Some had the Litany written in copy-books and joined in the service. The Bible is much wanted. They would greatly rejoice if they could obtain more of the Scriptures in their own tongue. In the evening I preached from the twelfth chapter of Hebrews, verses 1-2: "Wherefore seeing





we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us. Looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith."

Monday, April 26th. – I observed a chief's wife sitting upon the bank of the river with a basket of maize beside her. She had stripped the maize of the leaves that covered the cob, and was scraping the grain with a shell and reducing it to meal as well as she could; but she could only scrape off the outside until the grain became level with what was in the cob, which might be about half the weight of the whole grain contained in the cob. With this rough meal she made a cake and put it into a little basket, and put it into the oven and cooked it with steam. What an invaluable benefit would any kind of a mill be in which they could grind their maize for the young children, the aged, and the sick; I am informed the old people are obliged to steep it in water for several days before they can eat it, from its hardness.

A chief called upon me a few days ago who lives in the interior. He informed me he had got a new sort of sweet potato, but he could not tell me where they came from. Two of these potatoes had been purchased from a ship by one of the natives, for which he paid a turkey and some other article. From the produce of these this chief had obtained two, which he planted, and the produce was two baskets, one of which he brought me this morning. They are very large and fine. I weighed one of them which weighed two pounds and a quarter. They are the finest vegetable I ever saw. I purpose to take the seed to Port Jackson when I return. The New Zealanders take great care of anything that they can get that will be an article of food. Nothing could have been more valuable to them than this sweet potato. What they have hitherto had are generally very small, but this is more like a yam; some are round and some long. I am of opinion they must have come from some of the islands in these seas, though I have never seen any of them before.[484]

This evening some young girls were in the room where I was sitting. One of them asked me how far the firmament of the heavens extended. This was a question I was not prepared to answer, but it led me to speak to them of the wonderful works of creation, and of the power and wisdom of God in making the earth and the heavenly bodies. I explained to them by a ball and a candle how the heavens surrounded the earth, and where England was, and where New Zealand was situated on the earth, and that, from the motion of the earth, it was night in England when it was day in New Zealand. They clearly understood the subject, and were astonished at the wonderful works of God, and asked me if God made those things; I told them He did, and He would at a future day destroy them all again when He came to judge the world. They were much impressed with what I said. Tears stood in their eyes as they caught every expression that dropped from me. The works of creation and the future judgment will be a subject of much serious conversation with them and their associates.





On one of my visits to New Zealand I was sitting one Saturday evening in the room I am in at present, meditating upon the 72nd Psalm, when the natives killed a young woman behind my room and offered her up as a sacrifice. The young woman was roasted, and the natives were dancing their savage dances round the victim of their superstitions and making the most horrid noise after she was killed. In the morning I went out and enquired what was become of the young woman, and was informed by the natives that she had been eaten. What a wonderful change has the Gospel wrought upon this little spot! Upon the very place where these hellish songs were sung and rites performed I now hear the songs of Zion, and the voice of prayer and supplication offered up to the God of heaven on an evening while sitting in my room, and I believe many now look with as great abhorrence as we can do upon their former cruel, superstitious, and bloody ceremonies. So wonderful is the power of God's word!

I cannot express my own feelings upon this interesting subject, when I reflect upon what I have seen and heard upon this very place and what I now see and hear. I can only say it is the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in my eyes. I am not surprised that Satan should raise up powerful enemies to the cause of missions. The spiritual weapons of the Gospel will shake his kingdom and overturn its very foundations. The British nation maintains a standing army to protect its rights and liberties against any foreign enemy. So ought the Church of God to maintain a standing army to protect the rights and liberties of Christ's kingdom, whose loyal subject every real Christian is. What is gold or silver to be compared with the precious souls of our poor perishing fellow creatures! While we behold many of our most valiant and warmest friends of the missionary cause taken away from the evil to come in the very midst of the contest – men upon whom our hopes and expectations were fixed for final success and whose memories will be had in remembrance – let us pray the Great Head of the Church to raise up others to fill their ranks. Every Christian is called upon to aid in this great work while it is day.

Tuesday, April 27th. – This day I intended to have gone out to Waimate to examine more fully the land intended to form the settlement upon, but the rain prevented me and I have spent it at Kerikeri.

Wednesday, April 28th. – Messrs. Williams and Davis came from Paihea this evening and informed me the brig Princess of Denmark was in, but they could not tell me whether she was going to New South Wales or not. I purpose to go down to-morrow as the man-of-war, the Crocodile, has not come in. I am anxious now to return to my public duty in the Colony.

Last night at the chapel, when the meeting of the natives closed, just as they were going away a chief named Taiwanga (Taiwhanga) said, "Stop, I have one word to say to you before you go. You little boys love the big boys, and you little girls love the big girls; that is all I have to say." Afterwards he asked Mr. Kemp if all the natives came in the evening for instruction. Mr. Kemp replied that all who felt a desire to come, came. He observed they all ought to come, for it was only by strong exertions and perseverance that the heart could be affected



and good done. Was it not by strong exertions and perseverance that the Naipo (Ngatipou) took Kororarika in the last battle? The same should be done in religion.

Thursday, April 29th. – This morning I left Kerikeri for Paihea with Messrs. William Williams and Davis. In the evening we had a committee in order to read over the papers and proceedings at our former committee and to approve of them. On some points we had long discussions. Rangihoua station came under our notice once more. It was now finally resolved that it should remain in its present state until the matter is laid before the parent committee. This was opposed only by the Rev. Henry Williams. The Rev. William Williams, though he did not exactly approve of the resolution, yet he did not oppose it. All the other missionaries were decidedly of an opinion that it should not be withdrawn. Admitting it was necessary, I contended it could not be done for a long time to come. There were too many houses to build.

Friday, April 30th. – This morning we had a committee upon the final arrangement for the settlement at Waimate,[485] when it was resolved that Messrs. Clarke and Baker should go out. Mr. Henry Williams contended hard for the breaking up of Rangihoua station, but all he advanced on the subject made no impression upon the minds of the body of the members and therefore all he said went for nothing.

I have been very unwell to-day, having got a severe cold in the night attended with a sore throat owing to sleeping in a room open to the wind and rain. All the clergy are miserably accommodated as to their houses. They are about building some now. What they have at present are as bad as cowsheds. They have been exceedingly inattentive to their own comforts in these respects.

Saturday, May 1st. – I left Paihea this morning and returned to Kerikeri very unwell from my cold.

Sunday, May 2nd. – I still feel very unwell. I preached twice at the chapel and was very much pleased with the conduct of the natives at public worship. The Spirit of God is working very powerfully upon several of their minds. They are earnestly praying to God and seeking after His salvation. I have no doubt but the Lord will take out from amongst them a people for Himself, and they shall praise Him. They now assemble every evening for prayer and religious conversation amongst themselves.

Monday, May 3rd. – My sore throat continuing, I spent the morning in my room. I dined with Mr. and Mrs. Clarke. We spent the afternoon in making the model of a very simple water-mill which I had seen in South America. As there are no mills in New Zealand, if this will answer it will be of infinite service to the country.

When we were sitting in the room in the evening some young men and women sent word in to say they wished to have a little conversation about religion, in consequence of which they were told to come in. There were about twenty. They sat down, and I spoke to them from the nineteenth chapter of Genesis. I told them how the Lord appeared



to Abraham with two angels and informed him that it was His determination to destroy Sodom, how Abraham prayed for the inhabitants and for his relative Lot, and how his prayers were answered with regard to Lot and his two daughters. I spoke to them about an hour. Mr. Clarke interpreted what I could not clearly convey to them. They were very deeply affected, and seemed humble and penitent when I had done. Mr. Clarke prayed in the native language, and they retired much gratified with what they had been told.

Thursday, May 6th. – This day I dined with Mr. and Mrs. Hamlin. A young native girl was there whom I had not seen before. On asking Mrs. Hamlin who she was, she informed me that she came out of the interior and had formerly lived with her. She had been absent about twelve months. The cause of her going away was that she by accident had let some hot water fall upon the hand of one of Mrs. Hamlin's children. She was so much distressed at the circumstance that she could not bear to stay in the house. She came back of her own accord and told Mrs. Hamlin she would never leave her as long as she lived. She seems very much concerned about her future state, and asked Mrs. Hamlin if there was any room in heaven. She said her mind was very dark and her heart hard, and wished Mrs. Hamlin would tell her what she must do. She told her she must pray to God. She asked, "What must I pray?" Mrs. Hamlin told her. She said, "O Mother!" – which they use as a term of strong affection. "They are the very words we used last night, when I and some of the girls were praying together, but I am afraid God will not pardon me, I am so great a sinner." She is humble and meek in mind. I was much interested in her simple statement.

[Marsden's sixth journal ends here. On May 27th he embarked in the Prince of Wales and returned to New South Wales.[486] In forwarding his journal, upon his return home, to the Rev. E. Bickersteth of the Church Missionary Society, Marsden apologised for the somewhat abrupt conclusion and general terseness of this journal saying, "I have been greatly prest for time or I would have given you more extracts from my diary; my daughter made a few in a hurry. They will shew you

from what daily occurred how their minds are impressed. I am sorry that I have not been able to send them in a more regular manner."]



## APPENDIX TO THE SIXTH JOURNAL

### NEW ZEALAND AFFAIRS – 1830-37

Marsden's account in his sixth journal of the satisfactory and promising state of the New Zealand Mission in 1830 is borne out by the various reports submitted about this time by the agents of the Church Missionary Society. In particular all rejoiced at the fact that a beginning had been made with the work of publishing translations in the New Zealand language.

The first translation of Scripture into Maori was published at Sydney in August, 1827, under the supervision of Mr. Richard Davis, 400 copies of a small book of thirty-one pages which contained the first three chapters of Genesis, the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, seventeen verses of the twentieth chapter of Exodus, thirty verses of the fifth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, the Lord's Prayer, and seven selected hymns being printed at a cost of £41.[487]

The second translated portion of the Scriptures was put through the press at Sydney in July, 1830, by the Rev. William Yate,[488] who spent six months in New South Wales for the purpose; 500 copies of a small volume of 117 pages were printed. The book comprised the first three chapters of Genesis, the first nine chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, the first four of St. John's Gospel, the first six of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, the Ten Commandments, parts of the liturgy and catechism, and nineteen hymns.[489]

Upon his return to New Zealand in July, 1830, Yate took with him a small printing press. A youth of fifteen named James Smith, who had had some little experience in the office of the Sydney Gazette and was strongly recommended by Marsden, accompanied the missionary to the Bay of Islands.[490] Yate and his boy had some slight success with the press, and on September 1st, 1830, Yate wrote to the Society – "Employed with James Smith in printing off a few hymns in the native language. We succeeded beyond our most sanguine expectations. . . . You will perceive by a copy of a hymn forwarded by this conveyance that we shall be able in a short time to manage it." Yate's hopes of success, however, were not realized, and he and his boy printed merely a few slips containing some hymns and a small catechism in Maori.[491]



### WILLIAM COLENSO'S PRINTING PRESS

At Sydney, in 1833, Yate supervised the publication of three works. The first – a book of 170 pages – contains translations into Maori of the first eight chapters of Genesis, the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Romans, and the First Epistle to the Corinthians; the second, a book of 88 pages, comprises adaptations of various forms of service, with four catechisms and twenty-seven hymns. These two publications consisted of 3,300 copies and cost £500.[492]

The third volume whose publication was supervised by Yate was a small one of 55 pages containing four catechisms.

In 1834 the Church Missionary Society decided to equip the New Zealand station with a printing press operated by a qualified man, and on 20th December of that year the Church Missionary press was landed at Paihia under the supervision of William Colenso. The first fruits of that press were translations of the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Philippians, printed at Paihia in 1835.[493]

Colenso, in his journal, gives a graphic account of the welcome given him by the Maoris, eager, as they were, to procure works printed in their own tongue. "When the Rev. W. Williams," he writes, "gave them to understand that I was a printer, and come out to print books for them, they were quite elated. No hero of olden time was ever received by his army with greater eclat: they appeared as if they would deify me. During the week I was busily employed with the natives in landing the goods; and on Saturday, January 3rd, 1835, a memorable epoch in the annals of New Zealand, I succeeded in getting the printing-press landed. I was obliged to unpack it on board, but I am happy to say it is all safe on shore. Could you but have witnessed the natives when it was landed! They danced, shouted, and capered about in the water, giving vent to the wildest effusions of joy; enquiring the use of this, and the place of that, with all that eagerness for which uncivilized nature is remarkable: certes they had never seen such a thing before. I trust soon to be enabled to get it to work. Throughout the Islands there appears to be a universal movement, a mighty stirring of the people.



### THE NEW ZEALAND MISSION IN 1830

The chiefs of distant tribes come down to Waimate and this place for books and missionaries. These seem to be the nil ultra of their ambition. I have seen them, myself, gladly bring their store of potatoes for a book."[494]

All were of one mind with regard to the benefits to be derived from the printing press. There was not the same unanimity, as has been seen, concerning the proposal regarding the abandonment of the Rangihoua station to which Marsden during his visit had devoted so much consideration. That station in 1830 was in charge of Messrs. John King and James Shepherd, who had under instruction seventeen men and boys and ten girls.

At Kerikeri, on the west side of the Bay of Islands, some two hundred natives were now under regular instruction at the hands of Messrs. William Yate, James Kemp, George Clarke, James Hamlin, Charles Baker, and James Smith, the youth who had just arrived with Mr. Yate. The natives of the district, however, were in a very unsettled state owing to their intertribal warfare, with the result that, as the missionaries reported, not more than two hundred Maoris were encountered in a journey of forty miles. At the missionary settlement there resided some forty-four men and boys and twenty-two females.

At Paihia, on the south side of the Bay of Islands, sixteen miles south-east of Kerikeri and the same distance across the Bay southward from Rangihoua, the missionaries were Messrs. Henry Williams, William Williams, Alfred Nesbit Brown, Richard Davis, W. Fairburn, and William Puckey. The special work of Mr. Brown, who had reached New Zealand in 1829, was the education of the missionaries' children. At Paihia seventy-seven men and boys and twenty-five women and girls resided in the mission settlement.

Altogether, in these three mission stations of the Church Missionary Society, four English clergymen were employed with ten laymen and thirteen females, while the four schools conducted by the missionaries contained 134 male and 65 female scholars. In December, 1829, when a general examination of all the scholars of the missionary settlement was conducted at Kerikeri, there assembled seventy-two Europeans of all ages, with 150 native men and boys, and 63 native females.

The missionaries appointed to superintend the new station at Waimate, some nine miles inland from Kerikeri, for which Marsden had now made arrangements by securing for the Society some 250 acres of good land, well wooded and watered, were Messrs. Clarke, Davis, and Hamlin.[495]

At Mangungu, the station of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, were stationed Messrs. W. White, John Hobbs, and James Stack, who ministered both to the crews of the English vessels who frequently visited the river and to the natives of the district.[496] New Zealand had become recognised as a place of great importance to New South Wales on account of both the whale fishery and the trade in flax, and the influence of the missionaries in preventing disturbances between the Maoris and European sailors was increasingly appreciated.[497]

The missionaries themselves felt, as Marsden did, that their work was at last beginning to bear fruit. Thus Mr. George Clarke, in writing of the visit to New Zealand of Marsden and his daughter said: " That darkness, that almost impenetrable darkness, which for such a length of time hung over the New Zealand Mission seems to be giving way; and day, yea, the glorious Gospel day, is breaking upon the long benighted New Zealander. Some begin to say and feel that, though once spiritually blind, now they have light in the Lord; some are walking in and adorning their Christian profession. The Sabbath is more strictly regarded in our settlements than in any Christian country that I am acquainted with, and many are reading the word of God, not only for themselves but also for others.

"The Rev. S. Marsden, with one of his daughters, having once more visited New Zealand and having spent between two and three months with us, will be able to give you much valuable information respecting the Mission and of our general proceedings. The good old gentleman's heart seemed to overflow with love and gratitude to God for what He had done; he said he could hardly have expected to see so much done in his day, knowing, as he did, the difficulties which were in the way of benefiting them in a spiritual point of view. While residing with us he often spoke of their present appearance and conduct, compared with what they were fifteen years ago; and often exclaimed, 'What hath God wrought, for His own name's sake, among the poor heathen!'"[498]

Mr. R. Davis, writing at the same time, bore similar testimony. "The work of Divine grace, at present, seems restricted to those natives only who are living with us in the different settlements," he said, "as I do not know an instance in which Faith has shown itself in a saving way, out of the settlement, save in the case of Christian Rangi. This

Mokomai. Page 496

A PRESERVED HEAD.

This fine specimen, which is in excellent preservation, is from Dr. Hocken's collection. Marsden records that heads of friends and heads of enemies were preserved, the primary motive in each case being the same, namely, honour to the former owner. When the Maoris discovered that these preserved heads had a considerable market value they ceased to preserve those of their friends lest they should be sold, but produced a great supply of hostile heads which were bartered for muskets and powder. The process of preservation was as follows: – First the head was cut off well down the neck so that the shrinkage of the skin of the face might be made good from the neck. Then the soft parts were removed from the neck and mouth and, by breaking the base of the skull, from the interior of the skull. The eyes were removed, the orbits cleaned and packed with flax fibre, and the eyelids usually sewn down. The nostrils were plugged and, in the case of friends, the lips sewn together. The head was then heated repeatedly and basted with fat. Finally it was smoked for a long period over a wood fire, the resulting pyroligneous acid making the skin proof against the attacks of insects.

These heads are numerous in British, American, and Continental museums, Major-General Robley, in his Moko, enumerating upwards of eighty, a number which could probably be doubled at the present time. The number in New Zealand does not exceed ten.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the head is the moko or face tattoo. It was not made by puncture, as is most tattooing, but by cutting and then by inserting fine soot. The designs have no parallel in recent Polynesia, but what seem to be rather closely related forms appear among tribes on the Sepik River in northeastern New Guinea. Drawings of the designs may be studied in Robley's book, in Augustus Hamilton's Maori Art, a work produced by the latter when he was Registrar of the University of Otago, and in the papers of H Ling Roth in The Journal of the Anthropological Institute from 1903 onward.

[Inserted unpaginated illustration]

A PRESERVED HEAD
OTAGO UNIVERSITY MUSEUM



evidently points out the utility of taking out the natives, in a certain way, from among their countrymen, and bringing them under the rules and regulations of Christian discipline.

"It no doubt appears rather 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 those feuds and broils, to which the natives are so much exposed and to which they are naturally so much addicted when living at their native places, have a direct tendency to distract their minds and draw their attention from every other object. This seems to be Satan's very stronghold in this country, and let it be also remembered that these natives are our labourers – both men and women. Some of the men are become very useful as mechanics; some are carpenters; some are brickmakers, etc. 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 missionary stations will be done after houses are built for the missionaries, and by that time, I trust, many of our young men will become so far established in grace as to return to their respective homes and there preach the Gospel to their benighted countrymen – not only with their lips, but in their lives. But, at present, it appears to me as a thing of the greatest importance that a certain portion of natives should be selected together from among their countrymen in order that they may have an opportunity to wait on the Lord without distraction."[499]

Meanwhile Marsden's New Zealand experiences and observations had created the definite impression upon his mind that until British authority was definitely established in the islands the situation there must continue to be dangerous and unstable. Thus, upon his return to Parramatta in 1830, he wrote a memorandum to Governor Darling in which, after giving him some account of the scenes at the Bay of Islands which he had just witnessed, he said: "From what I have stated your Excellency will judge what might have taken place if the angry feelings of the natives, excited by the deaths of their friends and the violence offered to their women, had not been appeased.

"Your Excellency is aware there is no legal authority – civil, military, or naval – to restrain the bad conduct of the masters and crews of those ships which put into the harbours of New Zealand, nor to notice their crimes, however great; and from the great quantity of arms, powder, and ammunition now in the possession of the natives, there is much reason to apprehend that they will at some period redress their own wrongs by force of arms if no remedy is provided to do them justice.

"I am of opinion that it would not be advisable to form at New Zealand a military establishment, as the soldiers would be too much exposed to temptation from the native women: a small armed King's vessel, with proper authority, would be the most likely to prevent much mischief, as she might visit all the harbours into which the European

vessels enter. The whaling vessels do not come into the Bay of Islands until the season on the coast is over. About March they put in for water and provisions; when they have obtained their supplies, they either return home or go to the northward to fill up in the winter season.

"I may further observe, from the constant communication between New South Wales and New Zealand, it will be impossible to prevent the convicts from making their escape to these islands, where they commit every crime until an opportunity offers for them to return to Europe or America, which is not difficult for them to meet with from the number of vessels which put into the different harbours. These runaway convicts would be easily apprehended by a King's vessel, whereas at present they go where they like and none can interfere with them. These evils will increase with the increased communications if no legal check is put to them."[500]

On April 18th, 1831, Marsden wrote to Mr. Dandeson Coates of the Church Missionary Society with reference to the same subject. "I lament to say that there are many Europeans now in New Zealand whose conduct is most scandalous. I had two interviews with Governor Darling last week on this subject, and have written to him to-day. Copies of my representation I purpose to forward to the Society, unless some effectual measures can be adopted here to restrain the infamous acts of the Europeans.

"I have two chiefs with me now – one from the Bay of Islands, who is come at the request of the chiefs to seek redress; the other was taken away by force from the Middle (South) Island. I have no doubt but Governor Darling will do all in his power to afford them protection. Whether the law as it now stands will enable the Governor to do them justice appears a matter of doubt.

"You will have heard of the conduct of Captain Brind; he has been the cause of much bloodshed. Many have been killed to the southward in consequence of what took place at the Bay of Islands, and the heads of the chiefs have been brought to Port Jackson by the Europeans for sale. When the chief who is with me went on board the Prince of Denmark he saw fourteen heads of chiefs upon the table in the cabin, and came and informed me. I waited on the Governor, stated the circumstance, and requested His Excellency to use every means to recover them in order that they might be sent back to their friends. The chief knew the heads; they were his friends; when he retired he said, 'Farewell my people, farewell my people!' The circumstances to the southward are more fully explained in my statements to the Governor. I intend to call upon His Excellency again in a day or two.

"On my return from New Zealand I recommended that a vessel commanded by a naval officer should visit the different places to which the Europeans resort, in order to check the conduct of the masters and crews who visit these islands. A copy of my letter I forwarded to your committee. In my present communication with the Governor I am of opinion that a Resident should be stationed in New Zealand, with proper authority to notice the misconduct of the Europeans and to



whom the natives can appeal for redress. If no measures are taken the New Zealanders will redress their own wrongs and take life for life, though they are most unwilling to injure the Europeans"[501]

Marsden's representations to Governor Darling concerning the wrongs inflicted upon the New Zealanders at the hands of debased Europeans, and his insistence that the Government must intervene in the interests of order, justice, and humanity, quickly bore fruit. On April 25th, 1831, Marsden could write to the Rev. E. Bickersteth, of the Church Missionary Society, expressing his satisfaction that the Governor had already been persuaded to take some action with regard to New Zealand affairs. "The Governor," he wrote, "has issued a General Order prohibiting the importation of the heads of the New Zealanders into New South Wales, many having been brought to the Colony.[502] I have no doubt but the Governor will point out the necessity of a Resident being appointed to New Zealand to whom the natives may appeal for redress for acts of cruelty, etc., done upon them by the Europeans. Something must be done or all commercial connection must cease between New Zealand and this Colony. The natives will most assuredly revenge their own wrongs unless some protection is afforded them. I am not under any apprehension for the safety of the missionaries, as their characters and views are well known by the natives and their persons respected.

"The British Government must take notice of them or expose their own subjects who visit that island to the constant danger of murder. I am fully aware that there may be great difficulty in obtaining legal evidence against the Europeans concerned in the business, as the evidence of the natives may not be admitted, and it seems to be the prevailing opinion that the law as it now stands will not extend to crimes of the above nature committed in New Zealand. Should this be the case, some act should be passed by the British Parliament to redress the wrongs of the natives. Many desperate characters who either are or have been convicts escape to New Zealand and mix up with the natives, and are capable of committing any crime. I have thought it my duty to state what has taken place, and I hope our Colonial Government



will immediately adopt some measures to check the conduct of the Europeans in future."[503]

Governor Darling's Proclamation with regard to preserved heads was printed in the Sydney Herald of April 25th, 1831. It was couched in the following terms: –

"Colonial Secretary's Office,
"SYDNEY,
"April 16th, 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 attempt. 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 characters of British traders, in a country with which it has now become highly important for the merchants and traders of this Colony, at least, to cultivate feelings of mutual 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 those heads belonged; this being the only possible reparation that can now be rendered, and application having been specially made to His Excellency to this purpose.

"By His Excellency's command,

ALEXANDER MCLEAY."[504]



MR. JAMES BUSBY, BRITISH RESIDENT

As a result of Marsden's representations, further, Darling, in despatches dated August 12th, 1830, and April 13th, 1831, recommended to Viscount Goderich that the British Government should take measures to protect the Maoris against outrages from lawless Europeans. The latter despatch made reference to the notorious case of Captain Stewart of the brig Elizabeth who had conveyed Ruaparaha and some of his warriors to the South Island and enticed their enemies on board his vessel, there to be murdered in cold blood. The charges were read by Goderich with "shame and indignation" and moved him to action.[505]

In September, 1832, Marsden could write to Coates congratulating himself upon the fact that his representations had had a further effect, and that the Government had decided that Mr. James Busby should be British Resident in New Zealand.[506]

Busby, who thus represented the groping and somewhat futile policy of the British Government in New Zealand, reached the Bay of Islands in H.M.S. Imogene on May 5th, 1833, landing on May 17th under a salute of seven guns, while the Maoris added their haka of



MR. BUSBY'S ARRIVAL

welcome, and fixed his residence at Waitangi, a short distance to the south of the missionary settlement at Paihia.[507] He was placed upon the Civil Establishment of New South Wales, being wholly under the direction of the Governor of that Colony. His appointment represented the action of the Government in response to such representations as those made to the authorities by Marsden with regard to the state of New Zealand affairs. It was hoped that the Resident would "repress acts of fraud and aggression practised by British subjects against the natives, and, by acquiring a beneficial influence over the various chiefs, protect the lives and properties of British subjects engaged in fair trade with the natives."[508]



CAPTAIN LAPLACE AT THE BAY OF ISLANDS

Marsden's representations with regard to the unhappy situation prevailing in New Zealand had been supported not only by the New Zealand missionaries but by the Maoris among whom they laboured and who were naturally influenced by them. In 1831 considerable excitement had been raised by a rumour which was current among traders, both in New South Wales and in New Zealand, that the French contemplated the annexation of New Zealand. The report, apparently, arose out of the visit of the French discovery vessel la Favorite commanded by Captain Laplace who anchored in the Bay of Islands in October, 1831, for the purpose of giving some relief to his crew who were stricken with disease after an arduous voyage in tropical climates. He remained only a week, but found time to make an accurate survey of some parts of the Bay and of the Kawakawa River with the surrounding district.[509] Apart from his interest in the natural beauty of his surroundings, he seems to have found little pleasure in his visit. In the natives he could see nothing of that savage nobility of character and demeanour of which earlier French travellers had spoken, while the Anglican missionaries compared very unfavourably, in his opinion, with the pioneers of the Roman Catholic Church in the Pacific; they showed themselves, he declared, greedy and self-seeking, lacking in ordinary charity and hospitality towards his enfeebled and decimated crew. He accused them, further – certainly without any foundation in truth for his statements – of having stirred up the natives against him by spreading the report that this large vessel, with its four hundred armed men, had been sent by the French Government to avenge the massacre of Marion and his crew and to annex the country. The fact of the matter was, in all probability, that Laplace found himself in a veritable no man's land, whose growing commercial importance and geographical situation rendered it worthy of the consideration of those who contemplated French expansion in the Pacific, and that he freely expressed his opinion on the matter. The missionaries, for their part, were anxious that New Zealand should develop politically as a theocracy in which they, so many Samuels, should be the power behind the throne, in a position to combat successfully any influence which menaced the effect of their teaching.[510]



THE PETITION OF THE NEW ZEALAND CHIEFS

The solution of the New Zealand situation which commended itself to the patriotic sentiments of the missionaries is apparent in the document which, under these circumstances, was now sent to the King of England by thirteen New Zealand chiefs who sought his protection. The letter was signed by the chiefs on the day after the Favorite anchored in the Bay of Islands, and was forwarded from Waimate to the authorities in London, with its translation, in H.M.S. Zebra by the Rev. William Yate on November 16th, 1831. The chiefs expressed their desires in the following terms: –

"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 the water, since the many ships which come to our land are from 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 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 Marian (Marion) 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 teazing 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 run 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 fall upon them.

"This letter is from us, from the chiefs of the natives of New Zealand.

"The foregoing is a literal translation of the accompanying document.[511]

"WILLIAM YATE,
"Secretary to the Church Missionary Society, New Zealand.





"(1) Warerahi, Chief of Paroa; (2) Rewa (Rewha), Chief of Waimate; (3) Patuone and Nene, chiefs of Hokianga, two brothers; (4) Kekeao; chief of the Ahuahu; (5) Titore, Chief of Kororarika (Kororareka); (6) Tamoranga (Te Morenga), Chief of Taiamai; (7) Ripe, Chief of Maperee; (8) Hara, Chief of Ohaiawai; (9) Atuahaere, Chief of Kaikohi (Kaikohe); (10) Moetara, Chief of Pakanai (Pakanae); (11) Matangi, Chief of Waima; (12) Taunui (Taonui), Chief of Hutakura (Utakura)."

In reply the following letter was transmitted to the chiefs: –

"Lord Viscount Goderich, one of the Principal Secretaries 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 letter, which you addressed to His Majesty, and which you entrusted 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 circumstances may occur in future to interrupt the internal tranquility 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.

"In order to afford better protection to all classes, both natives of the Island of New Zealand and British subjects who may proceed or may 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. It will also be his endeavour to prevent the arrival amongst 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 may 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 desire 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 part, you will render to the Resident that assistance and support which are 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 have, etc.,
"GODERICH."[512]
"Colonial Office,
"June 14th, 1832."

Busby's instructions from the Governor of New South Wales, Sir Richard Bourke, showed him clearly the difficulties which must attach to his peculiar position as British Resident in New Zealand.[513]

"You are aware," he was informed, "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 enquire 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 offences 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 authority 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 addition he was to arrest absconding convicts, to strive to end internal wars, and to aid the cause of justice and morality whenever possible.[514]

As was to be expected under the circumstances, Busby quickly found that with such limited powers he was entirely unable to deal with the New Zealand situation in an adequate fashion.

An outstanding incident among the many which emphasised the need for some stronger form of government was the attack in May, 1834, of a party of Ngatiruanui upon the crew of the Harriet, a small vessel of 245 tons which was wrecked in a strong gale near Cape Egmont on the Taranaki coast on April 29th. All on board, including Hall, the master of the vessel, Jack Guard of Te Awaiti, a whaler who was part-owner of the Harriet, Guard's wife and her two young children, one a boy of two and a half the other a girl of six months, and twenty-eight men, reached the shore in safety. About a week later, however, their encampment was overwhelmed by some two hundred Ngatiruanui. Between twenty and thirty Maoris were shot down, but resistance was hopeless; eleven or twelve white men were killed, while Mrs. Guard, who was severely wounded in the head, was taken prisoner and detained along with her two children at Waimate, about forty miles from where the Harriet had been wrecked. Guard and eleven others escaped from the massacre and fled northwards, to fall in with a party of Ngatiawa to whom they surrendered. Ultimately, upon his promising to return with a barrel of gunpowder as ransom, Guard and five of his companions were allowed to make their way south by boat to Queen Charlotte's Sound, the remainder of the shipwrecked men being left as hostages with the natives.[515]

Taking a passage in the Joseph Weller for Sydney, Guard placed his case before Governor Bourke and the Legislative Council who decided that Captain Lambert of the Alligator, then lying in Port Jackson, should proceed to New Zealand to demand the restoration of the



captives. An officer, Lieutenant Gunton, of the 50th Regiment (now the First Battalion the (Queen's Own) Royal West Kent Regiment) with twenty-five rank and file was ordered to embark on the Alligator, while the colonial schooner Isabella with a further detachment of the 50th of two officers (Captain Johnson and Ensign Wright) and forty rank and file, was also placed under Lambert's orders. The expedition sailed from Port Jackson on August 31st, 1834, Miller, a pilot, Battesby, an interpreter, and Jack Guard accompanying Captain Lambert.[516]

In communicating the adoption of these measures to the authorities in London Sir Richard Bourke wrote on September 23rd, 1834: "You will observe that the Council have recommended that I should represent to His Majesty's Government the urgent necessity of having a ship of war permanently stated in these seas, for the protection of British and colonial commerce, and the repression of the numerous outrages which are so frequently committed both by Europeans and natives on the shores of the South Sea Islands. I cannot too strongly support the opinion of the Council, and I am prepared to go the length of recommending the British Resident to be withdrawn from New Zealand and the British subjects settled there to be warned that they are altogether without the pale of British protection, unless at least one ship of war be stationed permanently in these seas."[517]

Two days later, on September 25th, 1834, Marsden wrote on the same matter from Parramatta to his correspondent, the Rev. W. Jowett, clerical secretary of the Church Missionary Society, his chief object being to reassure the English friends of the New Zealand missionaries. "You will probably hear," he wrote, "that there has been some serious disturbance between the Europeans and the natives, and some lives have been lost. The Government have sent a man-of-war and another small vessel to New Zealand to settle the differences if they can. I suspect some of the Europeans have been behaving ill to the natives, which has excited them to acts of violence. Twelve Europeans were killed and about the same number taken prisoner with the captain's wife and two children.[518] The vessel belonged to the Colony, and was driven on shore in a gale of wind and wrecked.

"The disturbance happened on the west side near Mount Egmont, far from any of the missionary stations.

"I have had some chiefs with me lately begging for missionaries. They told me wars would never cease amongst them unless they had some missionaries. They then would live in peace. The merchants and the Government should aid the Society in this great work. New Zealand will be a place for our whalers and other ships if they, I mean the natives, are treated with common civility. If they are not, they will take their own redress.

"A man-of-war and a smaller vessel are gone to New Zealand to recover the Europeans who were taken prisoners by the natives. How



the matter will end I cannot say. There is nothing to be apprehended to be done by the natives to the missionaries. I am confident they will be perfectly safe.

"Since I began my letter a chief and his wife have arrived from the South Cape and are with me. His object is to get a missionary to reside at his settlement. I introduced him to the Governor, in order that he might tell his own story. The Governor received them very kindly, which gave them great satisfaction. I intimated to His Excellency that the Government and merchants ought to supply the natives of New Zealand with instruction, as that island promises to be of such importance to New South Wales and the whale fishery.

"It is probable that the friends of the missionaries will be alarmed when they hear the reports of what has taken place, but they have no real cause. The missionaries will be safe. The chief from the South Cape told me he wanted no guns – he wanted missionaries.

"I write these few lines to prevent any unnecessary fears in the minds of the missionaries' friends in England."

While Marsden was writing in this strain the Alligator had reached the Taranaki coast. On October 8th the detachment of the 50th, with a party of sailors from the Alligator and the survivors of the Harriet, landed near Waimate pa, on the south side of the Kapuni River. Mrs. Guard and her infant child, with the adult male prisoners, had already been surrendered;[519] her boy, however, was still in the hands of the Maoris, who hoped that his friends would ransom him. The disembarkation of the punitive expedition, with its 12-pound carronade, caused the panic-stricken natives to hasten to the beach with the boy, who was quickly secured by one of the sailors. The Maoris thereupon opened fire which was returned by the British detachment, although a British flag of truce was flying at the time and Captain Johnson had given orders that the natives should not be molested if they gave up the child.[520] The British, however, were evidently roused by the attempt of the Maoris to retreat with Jacky Guard when ransom was refused, and the first volley from the Maoris was the signal for a general engagement which began, apparently, before orders were given to fire.

After this skirmish the force advanced against the pa that topped the Waimate Rock which had been shelled by the Alligator on October 1st and was found to have been evacuated. The Orangi-tuapeka pa, on the northern side of the Kapuni, which like the Waimate pa belonged to the Ngatiruanui, was also captured; both these fortified villages were fired, and on October 10th the forces embarked without being molested.[521]



This first encounter of British armed forces with Maori warriors – if one accepts the few occasions when Captain Cook was compelled to order his men to fire upon the natives – ended with a proclamation by Captain Lambert of the Alligator, dated October 11th, in which he announced the heavy punishment meted out to the

natives of Taranaki for their "horrid murder of part of the crew of the Harriet" and pointed out to the other tribes that, in spite of the strong desire of the King of England to cultivate friendship with the New Zealanders, he must feel great indignation at a repetition of such cruelty and punish offenders with the utmost severity.[522]

The whole incident brought little credit to the British forces engaged, and a committee of the British Parliament which investigated the matter expressed its strong disapprobation of the methods employed.[523] It served, at least, to show the danger of allowing New Zealand to remain without an ordered government.

An official paper of December, 1838, explains the sequence of events.[524]

"It has happened," it states, "that the authority of the Resident has, from various causes, proved for the most part inoperative; at the same time the chiefs severally have evinced a strong disposition to place themselves under British protection. In the year 1835 a declaration was adopted and subscribed by the chiefs of the northern parts of New Zealand, in which declaration they set forth the independence of their country, and declared the union of their respective tribes into one State, under the designation of the Tribes of New Zealand. They also came to a resolution to send a copy of that declaration to His late Majesty, to thank him for his acknowledgment of their national flag;[525] and to entreat that, in return for the friendship and protection which they had shown, and were still prepared to show, to such British subjects as had settled in their country or resorted to it for the purposes of trade, His Majesty would continue to be the parent of their infant State, and its protector from all attempts on its independence."



Busby himself set forth his considered opinion with regard to the political future of New Zealand in a communication to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales dated June 16th, 1837.

"What is wanted," he declared, "is a paramount authority supported by a force adequate to secure the efficiency of its measures.

"Without the establishment of such an authority by some civilized state, I cannot, after a full consideration of every circumstance connected with the actual condition of this people, see the least prospect of any permanent peace being established amongst them whilst there remains a stronger man to murder his weaker neighbour.

"There can be no doubt that the establishment of any authority whatever would be an incalculable advantage. But I cannot here avoid submitting, with all humility, a suggestion which has occurred to me, with no common force, in the course of my observations on the state of this country; namely, that it seems not more consistent with the arrangements of Divine Providence that an infant people which, by its intercourse with a powerful state, is subject to all the injury and injustice which weakness and ignorance must suffer by being thrown into a competition of interests with knowledge and power, should as naturally fall under and be not less entitled to the protection of the powerful state than the weakness of infancy and childhood is entitled to the protection of those who were the instruments of bringing it into an existence which requires such protection. I may go further, and submit that this would seem the instinct of natural justice, as exemplified by the reference which the chiefs made to the King of England in their declaration of independence.[526] They prayed 'that His Majesty would continue to be



their parent, and that he would become their protector.' The sentiment and the language were their own."[527]

By 1837, therefore, it had become evident to those best able to express a judgment that all forces combined to compel the British Government to accept full responsibility for the government of New Zealand.

The true value of the work of Samuel Marsden in founding the New Zealand Mission had thus become apparent. He had proved himself not only an apostle of Christianity but a pioneer of Empire, whose labours were ultimately to force his Government to make effective Cook's setting up of the British flag in New Zealand. Meanwhile he could say with truth that his influence and that of his agents had saved the Maori race from itself, and that the internecine warfare to which all the energies of the chiefs had formerly been directed was fast becoming but an unhappy memory. "The teaching of the missionaries now (by 1836) established in a great many places,"[528] writes Mr. S. Percy



Smith, "and the advent of a considerable number of white traders, all tended towards a cessation of the desolating wars that ever since the introduction of muskets had prevailed in all parts of the country. The fact that most tribes were, by the end of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, provided with muskets, tended also to put an end to the wholesale butchery that formerly took place. The missionaries, who had the best means of forming an estimate, calculated that between the years 1800 and 1840 over 80,000 people had been killed or died through causes incidental to the wars."[529]

Meanwhile a new era in the history of the Mission and of New Zealand had been inaugurated by Henry Williams. Till 1833 the missionary settlers at the Bay of Islands, occupied with the work of their own stations which, they were instructed, must be, as far as possible, self-supporting, and living to the north of districts which were devastated by native wars, made little attempt at exploration and extension. Kendall and King were the first white men to visit the Hokianga;[530] Henry Williams before his little Herald was wrecked in the Hokianga River in 1828 had already made four voyages to Tauranga and other places in the Bay of Plenty and had brought back with him to the Bay of Islands several sons of chiefs who had expressed a desire to be instructed in the Mission schools;[531] Marsden himself made notable contributions to geographical knowledge. Apart from these, however, the missionaries had been compelled, by their situation, to devote themselves to the tribes in the Bay of Islands district.

The first memorable attempt to extend the work of the Mission towards the south was made in October, 1833, when Henry Williams, who, along with Thomas Chapman, had already in the beginning of the year journeyed by sea to Tauranga, spending some eight weeks in his mission of peace,[532] decided to lead a party south with a view to selecting a site for a new settlement. Accompanied by the Rev. A. N. Brown, Messrs. William Fairburn, and John Morgan, with some Maoris, he set out again on a boat journey on October 22nd, reaching the estuary of the Thames on the 25th. By October 31st the party had arrived at Mokoia where, some twelve years before, Te Hinaki's people had been overwhelmed by the muskets of Hongi Hika. "The land was now overgrown with fern and tupakihi bushes," writes Williams, "no signs of an inhabitant could be observed in any direction."[533] In contrast, however, they came to many well-peopled districts as they proceeded up the Thames, and were convinced that the field was one of promise.

Their outward journey ended on November 15th at Matamata,[534] the pa of Waharoa, a superior chief and celebrated warrior, who welcomed them and anxiously pleaded for a resident missionary. Leaving him with the promise that his wishes would soon be gratified, the missionaries returned by the same route, reaching the Bay of Islands on



December 3rd. They had already decided that the first of the new stations should be established among the Ngatimaru at Puriri, near the mouth of the Thames, and when the Rev. William Williams with the Rev. W. Yate visited this place in the last days of the year, they found the natives already busily employed in the erection of houses for the accommodation of the promised missionaries which Williams described as "by far the best pieces of native workmanship he had yet seen."[535] In 1834 William Fairburn, John Morgan, James Preece, and John A. Wilson settled at Puriri.[536]

While the forward movement to the south had thus begun, there had been added to the existing stations at or near the Bay of Islands – Tepuna, Kerikeri, Paihia, and Waimate – a fifth, Kaitaia, some forty miles to the north-west of Waimate, founded during 1833 by the Rev. Joseph Matthews and William G. Puckey. The population at their new station they estimated to be sufficiently large to place 1,600 fighting men in the field.[537]

Meanwhile the southern extension movement continued. On February 26th, 1834, the Rev. A. N. Brown and James Hamlin proceeded from Waimate to explore the Waikato. From Kaipara Harbour an eight days' journey of more than seventy miles, over broken and trackless country where they travelled by compass, brought them to the Waikato River. By the end of March they were in the heart of the Waikato country among tribes who, they estimated, could muster 6,580 fighting men. Everywhere they were welcomed.[538]

Brown and Hamlin returned to their friends at the Bay of Islands in the middle of May, 1834, with reports so encouraging that it was decided that the Rev. W. Williams with the Rev. A. N. Brown and John Morgan should now visit the same district and decide where the new missionary settlements were to be situated, and they, in a journey of over four months' duration, made all the necessary arrangements for the establishment of the Mission among a willing people.[539] These expeditions had shown that the natives of Tauranga, the Waikato, and the Thames were alike eager to receive missionaries. By 1835 their desires had been, in a measure, gratified by the opening of frontier stations at Mangapouri, Matamata, Tauranga, and Ohinemutu, near Rotorua, Thomas Chapman being the catechist in this last most southerly outpost.[540]

The Church Missionary Society, when Samuel Marsden, in 1837, next visited the island, had thus established itself throughout northern New Zealand from Kaitaia to Rotorua, while the Wesleyan station was still maintained at Mangungu on the Hokianga, where four missionaries – W. White, John Whiteley, James Wallis, and W. Woon – were settled.[541] The years from 1835 to 1840 were marked by a rapid growth of missionary influence which, by 1840, had reached its highest point.[542]

**456** S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, pp. 208-9.

**457** An old settler informed me in 1880," writes Mr. S. Percy Smith, "that he had seen over sixty whale ships at one time anchored in the Kawakawa River opposite Opua."

**458** Dumont d'Urville, upon the occasion of his visit of 1827, was shown, near Kororareka, the house which this whaling captain, Brind, had built for himself. Brind, he was told, was fascinated by New Zealand and intended to make his permanent residence there. – Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de V Astrolabe, Vol. II, pp. 225-6.

**459** MS. Letters and Journals of the Rev. Richard Davis, 1824-63 (Hocken Library).

**460** Marsden's sixth child. She subsequently married John Betts of Parramatta. Her youngest son, James Cloudesley Betts, became Canon of Cootamundra, New South Wales.

**461** The Toward-Castle had reached Kororareka from Tonga on February 4th, 1830, and sailed again on February 20th. Her captain, Brind, had given a passage to New Zealand to Peter Bays, the master of the Minerva whaler of Port Jackson which had been wrecked on Nicholson's Shoal, midway between New Zealand and the Friendly Islands, on September 9th, 1829, the survivors of the crew reaching first Turtle Island, and, on October 27th, Tonga. Bays found Brind a hospitable individual "who, from the day of my arrival on board the Toward-Castle," he puts it, "treated me in every respect as a brother and a companion, and on our arrival in New Zealand introduced me to every captain in the Bay, all of whom made me welcome and gave me a general invitation; in particular Captain Rennox of the Conway, who, with Captains Duke (of the Sisters) and Deane (Dean, of the Elizabeth)? made me an offer of any necessaries I stood in need of. Captain Brind procured me a passage home in the cabin with Captain King of the Royal Sovereign which lay in the Bay with her foremast out, being repaired." – Peter Bays, The Wreck of the Minerva (Cambridge, 1831), pp. 6-7, 98-144.

**462** MS. Letters and Journals of the Rev. James Kemp, 1818-57 (Hocken Library).

**463** Sir Ralph Darling, Governor of New South Wales, 1825-31.

**464** North of Doubtless Bay.

**465** Rev. Alfred Nesbit Brown, afterwards Archdeacon of Tauranga. He arrived in New Zealand in 1829.

**466** At Kororareka, the whaling port at the Bay of Islands.

**467** Hare Hongi, eldest son of Hongi Hika, was killed at Te Ikaranganui in 1825.

**468** Peter Bays, however, who from the Toward-Castle was a witness of these incidents, thinks that his friend Brind was blamed unduly, although he acknowledges that he offered Rewha muskets for use in the fight. Nevertheless, he states, "The natives were rather instigated to hostilities by laws of their own than provoked to it by any allurement which a foreigner might throw in their way." – Peter Bays, The Wreck of the Minerva (Cambridge, 1831), p. 145.

**469** "So numerous were the shot flying in every direction, and from which direction it was difficult to determine," writes Peter Bays, "that several balls struck Captain Deane's (Dean) boat in going off, and wounded two native men belonging to it, so that Captain Deane was compelled to retreat for shelter in a sawyer's hut, where, with others, they were obliged to lie down flat upon the floor till the firing ceased, which lasted from about ten a.m. till past noon, when the Ngapuis (Ngapuhi) retreated. Kivvee-Kivvee's (Kiwikiwi) daughter who was killed, with numbers of the wounded, were brought on board our ship, the Royal Sovereign, and some were carried to other ships; a coffin was made for the former, and she was sent on shore to her people.

"Some died of their wounds, and some few underwent amputation, but the very best were great sufferers, though the most patient creatures, under affliction, I ever beheld." – Peter Bays, The Wreck of the Minerva (Cambridge, 1831), pp. 146-7.

**470** The Paihia Missionary Station was about two or three miles directly across the harbour from Kororareka.

**471** The journal of Archdeacon Henry Williams adds some interesting supplementary matter to the events of this day (March 11th): –

"After breakfast, Rewa, Mr. Marsden, and I went up to the pa (Otuihu). We hoisted the white flag, at Rewa's request, as a signal that we were come to treat for peace. On our arrival, all assembled; and I told them we were come to receive their instructions as to the message 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 someone from the pa should go to them. This being concluded, we proceeded to Kororareka and met Ururoa and other chiefs. They appeared of one 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 devolves 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 very 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." – Hugh Carleton, The Life of Henry Williams (Auckland, 1874), Vol. I, pp. 79, 82-3.

**472** Archdeacon Henry Williams, in his journal, describes his experiences on these days as follows: –

"March 13th. – At breakfast Tohitapu came, and spoke about the necessity of making peace; that the distant tribes would arrive, and then there would be no restraining them.

"Sunday, March 14th. – 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 upon their present state, and offers of eternal peace held out by Jesus Christ. All were inclined for peace. In the evening, service as usual. Wharenui came from the pa, apparently under much concern by the delay in making peace."

**473** Isaiah xl, 5.

**474** Taiwhanga, one of Hongi's chief warriors, presented his children for baptism to the Rev. William Williams on August 23rd, 1829. William Williams' son, Leonard Williams, was baptized at the same time. Six months later Taiwhanga himself was publicly baptized, receiving the name of David. He proved an active and enthusiastic missionary, while his influence with his countrymen made his support invaluable. – H. T. Purchas, The English Church in New Zealand, pp. 48-50.

**475** Excitement, however, did not abate for some time. On March 26th, 1830, Peter Bays of the Minerva, sailed in the Royal Sovereign for England, having first, as he records, written on March 20th "to Sydney, by favour of the Rev. Mr. Marsden, chaplain of the Colony, to His Excellency Governor Darling, relative to our men left behind at Turtle Island, begging him to send a government vessel to their relief."

Bays' diary for March 26th reads: – "March 26th: Wind south, took our departure from New Zealand, but such was the state of affairs among the natives that it was considered advisable for no ship to be left alone in Kororarika (Kororareka) Bay, and accordingly the Royal Sovereign for England, the Anne for whaling ground, and the American ship India for New Brunswick, got under weigh together; the ship Elizabeth, which had not completed her water, having gone to the entrance of the river towards Kovva-Kovva (Kawakawa) and the barque Woodford of Sydney to Tippoona (Te Puna)."

The Royal Sovereign (Captain King) reached England on August 3rd, by way of Cape Horn, "after a passage of one hundred and thirty-one days (the ten first weeks of which our people had scarcely a dry thread upon them). We anchored in Margate Roads, having seen no land, nor spoken but one ship (the Princess Mary bound for London from the Bay of Islands) since our departure from the Bay of Islands." – Peter Bays, The Wreck of the Minerva (Cambridge, 1831), pp. 169-176.

**476** Archdeacon Williams, in his journal, adds a note with regard to this peace of Kororareka, which shows how tenaciously the Maoris clung to the law of utu or retaliation: –

"The victors proposed," he writes, "that Kororareka, the battleground, should be ceded by Pomare to Ngapuhi as an equivalent for Hengi's death. The proposal was accepted, and peace between those who had actually been engaged was maintained. But this did not hinder Mango and Kakaha, the sons of Hengi, from going southward for blood-payment, taking it from tribes who had been noways concerned with the battle or with its cause – better the blood of the innocent than none at all is a recognised maxim of the Maori law of utu. In their first expedition to the Mercury Islands they were successful; in their second to Tauranga and Motiti, after much destruction, they were themselves destroyed."

**477** The name of Te Morenga, who had been so closely associated with Marsden in his New Zealand travels, does not again appear in the journals. Captain W. Jacob, of the East India Company's service on the Bombay Establishment, visited New Zealand about the beginning of 1833, and had an interesting encounter with this chief. "Visiting the villages (near Waimate)," he wrote in a letter to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, dated March 13th, 1833, "I proceeded along some few miles of newly-made road, constructed by the neighbouring chiefs expressly to facilitate the visits of the missionaries to their villages. One of these chiefs, Te-morenga, on being asked by Mr. Davis what he had to say to me about the Good Word, replied significantly, 'Aye, that's what I wish to talk to him about: tell him to look at my road!' – the best proof he could give me of his anxiety for religious instruction. This chief spoke with much affection of the Rev. S. Marsden who was accompanied by him during his first tour in New Zealand in 1814, which appears to have made a considerable impression on his mind." Captain Jacob left New Zealand for New South Wales in the schooner Fortune on February 16th, 1833. – The Church Missionary Register, 1834, pp 59-63.

**478** The original station of Rangihoua, formed in 1814 with Ruatara's assistance.

**479** Archdeacon Broughton succeeded Archdeacon Scott in 1829. In 1836 he became first Bishop of Australia and in 1838 visited New Zealand, which was within his Diocese: cf. H. T. Purchas, A History of the English Church in New Zealand, p. 67 and infra, p. 518.

**480** The leaves used were those of the karamu (coprosma robusta). In mourning the leaves of the kawakawa (macropiper excelsum) were worn on the head.

**481** The rite of baptism among the East Coast tribes as described by Elsdon Best [Journal Royal Anthropological Institute, January-June, 1914] is very different from the rite here described. The priest stands in water up to his waist and dips the baby up to its neck, invoking Taka-maitu, personified form of thunder.

**482** Vide infra, p. 553.

**483** Mrs. Richard Davis died in 1837. Her death was the first to occur among the missionaries in New Zealand. – H. T. Purchas, A History of the English Church in New Zealand, p. 89, and E. Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol. I, p. 357. The first death among the children of the missionaries was that of Thomas Holloway King, second son of John King, who died at Rangihoua on November 12th, 1818, aged three years and nine months, "of a consumption." – John King to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, December 1st, 1818 (Marsden Correspondence, Hocken Library).

**484** A curious incident, in spite of the meagre information given by Marsden. The plant referred to may have been one of the many introduced by whalers which did not become established.

**485** At Waimate, thirteen years later, Bishop Selwyn established his headquarters.

**486** The Church Missionary Register, 1831, p. 55.

**487** The Church Missionary Register, April, 1828, p. 214; H. Coleman, A Memoir of the Rev. Richard Davis (London, 1865), p. 96; H. W. Williams, A Bibliography of Printed Maori (Wellington, 1924), p. 2. The book itself bears neither date nor title page. The imprint is "G. Eagar, Printer, King Street, Sydney."

**488** The Rev. William Yate reached the Bay of Islands in 1828.

**489** The Church Missionary Register, January, 1831, pp. 67-8. H. W. Williams, Bibliography of Printed Maori (Wellington, 1924), p. 3. This volume of translations also has neither date nor title page. Imprint: "Sydney, Printed by R. Mansfield for the executors of R. Howe."

490 The Church Missionary Register, 1831, pp. 67-8.

491 The only specimens of the work of Yate's press seem to be in the possession of the Church Missionary Society. – Vide T. M. Hocken, Bibliography of New Zealand Literature, pp. 500-1, and On Literature in New Zealand, Transactions N.Z. Institute, 1900, pp. 478-9; R. H. Hill, Early Printing in New Zealand, Transactions N.Z. Institute, 1900, pp. 410-1; H. W. Williams, A Bibliography of Printed Maori (Wellington, 1924), p. viii.

Yate's printing press, curiously enough, ultimately reached Parramatta. Dr. Hocken makes the following remark on the subject in his article On Literature in New Zealand: – "In a rare little pamphlet, written nearly sixty years ago at Parramatta, entitled A Short Account of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, ** the last paragraph reads as follows: 'It is rather singular that this little work respecting Mr. Marsden should have been printed at that very press which that reverend gentleman introduced into New Zealand. The press (in consequence of the arrival of others better adapted for the Church Mission) was sold by the Society to Mr. Isaacs, who brought it with him to Parramatta.' This Mr. Benjamin Isaacs was a printer, and, if I mistake not, printed and edited one of the earliest New Zealand newspapers – The Bay of Islands Advocate – which commenced publication in November, 1843, at Kororareka, and lived for about a year."

** Dr. Woolls' pamphlet, printed at Parramatta in 1844.

492 William Yate, An Account of New Zealand (London, 1835), p. 231; The Church Missionary Register, 1833, p 471; H. Carleton, Life of Archdeacon Williams (Auckland, 1874), Vol. I, p. 138, and Appendix D, p. 10; H. W. Williams, A Bibliography of Printed Maori (Wellington, 1924), pp. iii and iv.

493 H. W. Williams, A Bibliography of Printed Maori (Wellington, 1924), p. viii.

494 MS. Letters and Journals (January 16th, 1835) of William Colenso (Hocken Library).

Yate, upon his return from Sydney in 1830, had already given similar testimony to the eagerness of the Maoris to possess books written in the vernacular. "The natives," he stated, "are much pleased with the Maori books, and are very willing to purchase them: they will work a month for a book to call their own" – The Church Missionary Register, 1831, pp. 67-8.

495 Charles Darwin, the celebrated naturalist, who accompanied Captain Robert FitzRoy of H.M.S. Beagle in his circumnavigation of 1831-6, visited New Zealand in 1835 and wrote the following account of the Mission Station at Waimate: – "December 28th. – I went to Waimate, the settlement lately formed by the Mission with the view of introducing agriculture and the mechanical arts among the natives. The thoroughly English appearance of three well-designed, respectable houses, surrounded by gardens, out-houses, and well-cultivated fields, was surprising and delightful. About twenty acres of land seemed to be worked. Corn was in full ear and looked well. I was received by a person whose intelligent, kind, and truly respectable demeanour at once excited a kindly feeling. This was Mr. Davis, the superintendent of the farming establishment. Mr. William Williams and Mr. Clarke were absent, having gone to the opposite side of the island to attend the funeral of a young missionary of the Wesleyan persuasion. In the garden all English vegetables seemed to thrive. The farmyard was thoroughly English. A large barn, built entirely by natives under Mr. Davis's directions, a blacksmith's shop and forge, English carts and farming implements, successively engaged attention. In the barn two natives were threshing corn; another native was attending to the winnowing machine. A mill and mill-dam, entirely the work of the natives, were next examined: they were good works of their kind, and would have been interesting independent of their locality." – The Voyage of the Beagle (1839), Vol. Ill, p. 507.

496 The Church Missionary Register, 1831, pp. 88-9.

497 Ibid., p. 117; cf. A. J. Harrop, England and New Zealand (London, 1926), p. 9.

498 MS. Letters and Journals of George Clarke, Hocken Library; cf. The Church Missionary Register, 1831, p. 63.

499 MS. Letters and Journals of Richard Davis, September 1st, 1830, Hocken Library.

500 Cf. McNab, Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. I, pp. 707-8.

501 McNab, Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. I, pp. 705-6.

502 The trade in preserved heads had begun at an early stage in the relations between the Maoris and their European visitors. Thus Duperrey tells of his being offered a tattooed head while the Coquille lay in the Bay of Islands in April, 1824, the price asked being a pound of gunpowder. The head was that of a chief from the shores of the Hauraki Gulf whom Hongi had shot in battle – the ball penetrating the skull. Duperrey adds: "Cette tete etait une des plus belles et des mieux tatouees que j'eusse vues dans mon voyage, mais les chiens avaient ronge un morceau de la joue gauche." Either from feelings of delicacy or because he thought the grim relic too much damaged, Duperrey did not buy it.

D'Urville, again, who visited the Bay of Islands in March, 1827, purchased from Whitoi, Pomare's successor, the head of the father of Te Hinaki, the famous Waitemata chief, who perished at the hands of Hongi. Whitoi himself, a month before his meeting with d'Urville, had slain the warrior whose head he now sold. D'Urville remarks: "Dans les orbites des yeux, et au lieu de la resine que les naturels em-ployaient jadis, ils avaient coule de la cire rouge qu'ils etaient procuree par les Europeens, et dont ils font un grand cas, tant a cause de sa facile liquefaction, que de son poli, de sa belle couleur, et de son odeur." – Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de l'Astrolabe, Vol. II, p. 210.

503 cf. McNab, Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. I, pp, 717-8.

504 The Sydney Herald of the same date (April 25th, 1831), commented in a leader upon this Proclamation, making it plain to its readers that New Zealand as yet could not be regarded, in any real sense, as either a colony or a dependency of the British Crown: –

"A vessel from New Zealand having brought up several baked or preserved human heads to the number, it is stated, of twelve; and several accounts of very serious disturbances having occurred, to which, it is said, the Europeans were not entire strangers, an Order has been issued forbidding the further importation of that disgusting commodity: this order, though excellent in itself, falls short of the expectations of the public, though it must be admitted that the Government is limited in its power over crimes committed in New Zealand, as it is neither a colony nor a dependency of the Crown, but is considered, with very little propriety, as a sovereign and independent state. We may, therefore, regulate our own imports; but the law of nations, it is supposed, gives us no authority over their exports.

"We highly applaud the spirit of this Order, and trust that the good sense and rectitude evinced, in general, by British merchants and mariners in uncivilized countries will give it effect; and that these savage people will be excited to industry by finding a market for flax, potatoes, pork, oil, skins, and timber, reared or prepared by themselves, rather than by indulging in such barbarous practices which every honest and virtuous mind must condemn and discourage."

505 A. J. Harrop, England and New Zealand, pp. 11 and 12.

506 Mr. James Busby was born at Glasgow in 1801 and was educated at the High School, Edinburgh. Suffering from ill-health he visited the south of France in 1822. very carefully studying French methods of grape culture and wine-making. In 1823 he sailed for Sydney with his father, who had received an appointment in New South Wales as Mineral Surveyor, Busby himself becoming Collector of Internal Revenue. In 1825 he published The Culture of the Vine and the Art of Wine-making – the first book printed in Sydney – following up this work in 1830 by a further manual on the same subject which was also published in Sydney. Both books are extremely rare. In February, 1831, he returned to England, and spent some months in visiting the vineyards of Spain and France and adding to his already extensive knowledge of viticulture. He collected many thousands of the choicest vine cuttings, which he forwarded to New South Wales under the care of the British Government. His journal of his visit was also published.

Brought thus into communication with the Government, he was offered and accepted the post of British Resident in New Zealand, and returned to Sydney in the latter part of 1832, thence

sailing to New Zealand, where he acted with great ability as Resident until, in February, 1840, he was superseded by Governor Hobson, when he left New Zealand for Sydney, to return in a short time, however, as a permanent settler at the Bay of Islands. He brought with him the first hive of honey bees introduced into New Zealand.

He continued to take considerable interest in the various questions with regard to land and general policy which were so hotly debated in the early days of the Colony, and on these topics published many able and interesting pamphlets which are now very rare.

In 1870 he visited England for the purpose of an operation for cataract, which was successfully performed. Unfortunately an attack of acute bronchitis followed, and he died at Amerley, near London, in July, 1871, in the seventy-first year of his age. His wife died at the Bay of Islands in 1889. – cf. T. M. Hocken, The Governors of New Zealand – The Otago Witness, December 17th, 1896.

**507** Archdeacon Williams thus describes the scene upon the arrival of Mr. Busby: – "May 17th, 1833. – Everyone on the move at break of day in order that all things might be in readiness to give our guests a welcome, due to so great an occasion as the landing of the British Resident, and his introduction to the Chiefs and Nobles of this land, accompanied by the Captain and Officers of His Majesty's ship Imogene. . . . At half-past ten o'clock, observed the boats put off from the man-of-war under a salute of seven guns. All were in immediate motion to dispose of their numbers to the greatest effect; and we retired to the extreme end of the settlement from which the strangers were to enter. At eleven, Mr. Busby, with Captain Blackwood and the officers of the ship, landed and advanced slowly towards the natives who were crouching down, ready for a spring at the signal given. They arose with their usual horrid scream, and rushed forward with the utmost impetuosity till within a few paces of our party, when they halted; and, after regulating their ranks with much vociferation, set up a haka, brandishing their muskets and distorting their countenances to the no small astonishment of the strangers. They then delivered their speeches, bidding welcome to their land. This continued for a short time, after which we passed on to the chapel yard where all were soon assembled with manifest interest to hear His Majesty's gracious communication. Seats had been provided for the Europeans; and also a table upon which was placed the letter from Lord Goderich, the Secretary of State. After silence had been obtained, Mr. Busby broke the Great Seal of this important document, and read it in English. This, of course, could not be understood except by the Europeans. A translation had been prepared, which was then read; also of Mr. Busby's speech which he delivered at the same time. Several chiefs spoke in succession, expressive of their satisfaction at Mr. Busby's arrival. At the conclusion Mr. Busby presented the leading men with a blanket and about six pounds of tobacco each. The officers of the man-of-war and the Europeans residing in the neighbourhood, besides several of the missionaries, partook of refreshment at my house, about fifty in number – no small party in this distant land with our means of accommodation. At three the natives were served with their repast of beef, potatoes, and stir-about. As our boys have had some experience in this important duty at our annual meetings, our visitors were a good deal surprised at the order and expedition with which this assemblage of New Zealand rank was supplied, as the feast consisted of about 800 dishes constructed of a plant similar to the flag. All passed off very agreeably."

Mr. Busby's address to the assembled natives evinced the good feeling with which he entered upon the duties of his office. He concluded it thus: – "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 it 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 that come to trade, and the ships which come to trade shall bring clothing and all other things which you desire. Thus shall 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." – The Church Missionary Register, 1834, pp. 552-3

**508** Parliamentary Papers, Correspondence with the Secretary of State Relative to New Zealand (London, 1840), pp. 3-7.

**509** T. M. Hocken, Early Visits of the French to New Zealand, Transactions N.Z. Institute, 1907, pp. 137-153.

**510** Laplace gives the following description of his Maori visitors: –

"Ils affluaient a bord, avec leurs femmes, de tous les cantons d'elantour, s'installaient sans facon sur le gaillard d'arriere, et y demeuraient jusqu'a ce qu'ils eussent obtenu, par leur importunite, de la poudre, des balles, ou quelques galettes de biscuit; puis ils s'en allaient apres m'avoir toutefois prevenu officiellement de leur prochain retour.

"C'est en vain que je cherchai a reconnaitre dans ces mendiants suspects, couverts de haillons infects et remplis de vermine, ces princes, ces nobles guerriers ou rangatiras, dont les voyageurs nous racontent les visites avec tant de complaisance."

Laplace saw something of the ceaseless conflict between whalers and missionaries and summed up the case thus: – "J'avoue que les baleiniers n'ont pas, en fait de moeurs et de religion, des principes bien arretes; que leur caractere grossier, leur penchant a la debauche et a l'ivrognerie sont peu propres a edifier leurs hotes, et a leur inspirer de louables sentiments. Mais les matelots, a leur tour, se plaignent de ces hommes de Dieu; ils leur reprochent d'etre egoistes, durs et fanatiques envers eux; ils les accusent de prendre plus de soin de leurs propres interests que de la conversion des indigenes, et de n'apporter aucun devouement a l'exercice de leurs saintes fonctions."

At the same time, Laplace observed in a further note that he wished to make it plain that his animadversions were directed only against certain particular individuals among the Protestant missionaries of New Zealand and the Pacific. In particular he desired to place on record his admiration of Marsden, whose work, in his opinion, placed him alongside Las Casas, the Spanish apostle of the South American Indians. He puts the matter thus: – "Loin de moi l'intention de deprecier les travaux apostoliques des missionnaires protestants; je me serais, au contraire, estime heureux si l'occasion s'en fut presentee, de vanter le devouement, la charite, la douceur que plusieurs d'entre eux ont deployes dans la conversion des barbares habitants de ces pays lointains. J'aurais cite principalement le reverend M. Marsden, chef des missions anglaises de la Nouvelle-Hollande, qui, par son zele admirable a civiliser les aborigenes de la Nouvelle-Galles du Sud ainsi que de la Nouvelle-Zelande, et a plaider leur cause aupres des gouverneurs de Sidney, a merite d'etre surnomme le las Casas de la Polynesie." – Laplace, Voyage autour du monde (Paris, 1833), Vol. IV, pp. 10, 34, and 150.

**511** D'Urville makes the following somewhat caustic comment upon the petition thus signed by the New Zealand chiefs: – "Cinq ou six mois avant notre passage a la baie des Iles, le bruit ayant couru, on ne sait sur quelle autorite, que les Francais allaient prendre possession du territoire de la Nouvelle-Zelande, treize chefs signerent alors une petition au roi d'Angleterre, pour qu'il les prit sous sa protection et qu'il empechat les hommes de la tribu de Marion de s'emparer de la contree. Parmi ces chefs, figuraient les noms deja cites de Temarangai, Patou-One, Rewa, Tetore, Matangui, Ware-Rahi, etc. Les missionnaires eurent soin de me montrer une copie de cette piece ridicule. Je souris en la lisant, et je pense que le bruit qui y avait donne lieu n'etait probablement qu'un ruse de ces dignes serviteurs de Dieu pour determiner les chefs de la Nouvelle-Zelande a reclamer officiellement la protection du roi d'Angleterre. C'etait la une momerie semblable a celle de Vancouver a Hawaii, a celle de Porter a Nouka-Hiva, a celle de Wallis a Taiti, mais qui aujourd'hui n'a aucune valeur et n'excite qu'un sentiment de pitie." – Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque autour du monde (Paris, 1834), Vol. II, p. 395.

**512** Parliamentary Papers, Correspondence with the Secretary of State Relative to New Zealand (London, 1840), pp. 3-8.

**513** William Barrett Marshall, a surgeon in H.M.S. Alligator which visited New Zealand in 1834, who, in 1841, lost his life in the Niger Expedition, wrote the following note with regard to the situation that faced Busby at this time: – "The British Resident, to whom I was introduced at the mission house, returned with me to the ship. During the brief conversation I had with this functionary on the passage off and in the subsequent intercourse between us, he exhibited the feelings and principles as well as the manners of a gentleman. Nor was he at all backward in acknowledging how greatly he had been indebted to the missionaries' families, since his first arrival in the country, for hospitable kindness and active friendship. Under their roof he had found a home for many months, when he had no home of his own; to their exertions the speedy completion of his present residence was chiefly owing; while almost exclusively in them had he 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." – W. B. Marshall, A Personal Narrative of Two Visits to New Zealand (London, 1836), p. 55.

**514** Parliamentary Papers, Correspondence with the Secretary of State Relative to New Zealand (London, 1840), p. 6; cf. A. J. Harrop, England and New Zealand, pp. 13, 14.

**515** W. H. J. Seffern, Chronicles of the Garden of New Zealand known as Taranaki (New Plymouth, 1896), pp. 13-16

**516** Parliamentary Papers, Copies or Extracts of all Communications received by the Colonial Office Relative to an Expedition sent out from New South Wales to New Zealand in August or September last (Colonial Office, September, 1835).

517 Parliamentary Papers, Ibid.

518 Guard, however, as has been seen, was merely a passenger on the Harriet.

519 Surgeon Marshall of the Alligator, in describing the surrender of Mrs. Guard, writes: "Mrs. Guard 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 parting presents of the tribe among whom she had been sojourning. She was, however, barefooted, and awakened very naturally universal sympathy by her appearance." – W. Marshall, Personal Narrative of Two Visits to New Zealand (London, 1836), pp. 344-8.

520 W. B. Marshall, Ibid.

521 Ibid; W. H. J. Seffern, Chronicles of the Garden of New Zealand known as Taranaki (New Plymouth, 1896), pp. 21-26; James Cowan, New Zealand Wars (Wellington, 1922), Vol. I, p. 431.

522 Parliamentary Papers, Communications, etc., Relative to the New Zealand Expedition of 1834 (Colonial Office, September, 1835).

It is interesting to note that Mrs. Guard hived for many years after this event, in spite of her severe wounds. Captain Guard acted, till his death, as a pilot in Cook's Strait. They resided at Port Underwood. – cf. W. H. J. Seffern, Chronicles of Taranaki (New Plymouth, 1896), p. 26.

523 Parliamentary Papers, 1835, No. 585.

524 Parliamentary Papers, Correspondence with the Secretary of State Relative to New Zealand (London, 1840), p. 3

525 The New Zealand flag had been chosen shortly after Busby's arrival at the Bay of Islands. Writing to the Secretary of the Society, the Rev. W. Yate gave the following particulars concerning the ceremony of choosing the New Zealand Flag on March 20th, 1834: – "We have had His Majesty's ship the Alligator in the Bay the last fortnight. The Captain brought down flags that the chiefs of New Zealand might choose a Standard for their country; which will be laid before the King of England, and orders given to honour it, in the same way as any other National Flag is honoured. Vessels built in New Zealand, carrying these colours, and having a register from the chief of the district where she was built, countersigned by Mr. Busby, will be no longer liable to seizure; but will be allowed to trade as other foreign vessels are in every British port. The ceremony of accepting the Flag was, for this place, imposing. When hoisted, it was received with a royal salute from the man-of-war, and with nine cheers from the Europeans, one hundred and twenty in number, around the flagstaff. The natives made several very interesting speeches, and the whole passed off very pleasantly and peaceably." – The Church Missionary Register, 1834, p. 553

The following proclamation with regard to the New Zealand Flag appeared in the New South Wales Government Gazette of 1835, p. 580: –

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Sydney, August 17th, 1835.

NEW ZEALAND.
His Excellency the Governor is pleased to direct it to be notified, for general information, that a Despatch has recently been received from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, conveying His Majesty's approbation of an arrangement made by this Government for complying with the wishes of the Chiefs of New Zealand to adopt a National Flag in their collective capacity, and also of the Register of Vessels, built in that country, granted by the Chiefs and certified by the British Resident, being considered as valid instruments, and respected as such in the intercourse which those vessels may hold with the British Possessions.

The following is a description of the Flag which has been adopted: –
A red St. George's Cross on a white ground.
In the first quarter, a red St. George's Cross on a blue ground pierced with four white stars.

By His Excellency's command,
ALEXANDER MCLEAY.

526 The "Declaration of the Independence of New Zealand" was signed by thirty-five chiefs or heads of tribes residing in the district lying between the North Cape and the latitude of the River Thames, the English witnesses to their signatures being the missionaries Henry Williams and George Clarke and two traders James C. Clendon and Gilbert Mair.** The Declaration is in the following terms: –

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 permit 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 Waitanga (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 entreat 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. – Parliamentary Papers, Report of House of Lords Committee of 1838, pp. 179, 245-6.

** Gilbert Mair, a native of Peterhead, Aberdeenshire, arrived in New Zealand in 1824 and became a prominent trader at the Bay of Islands. He died in 1857.

527 Parliamentary Papers, Correspondence Relative to New Zealand (London, 1840), p. 18.

528 John Watkins, a ship's surgeon, who was in New Zealand during December, 1833, and the spring of 1834, was one of the witnesses before the Select Committee appointed in 1838 " to enquire into the present state of the Islands of New Zealand." In his evidence he said much with regard to the influence of the missionaries with the Maoris. "The missionaries," he stated, "have immense influence among the natives; they are respected there as much as any gentlemen of character are respected here, and a great deal more; indeed, I may say they have unlimited influence. They had horses brought from Sydney; when the natives saw that the horses could not pass through the various tracks from Paihia to Wymattee (Waimate) they in consequence made little bridges and roads for their accommodation; this was all done by the natives exclusively for the use of missionaries, and frequently I have seen the natives perform acts of kindness towards them." – Parliamentary Papers, Report on the Present State of the Islands of New Zealand, p. 15.

529 S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, p. 234.

530 Vide supra, p. 181.

531 H. Carleton, Life of Henry Williams, Vol. I, p. 53.

532 The Church Missionary Register, 1834, pp. 365-375.

533 Ibid, 1834, pp. 412-423.

534 Map of Northern New Zealand, p. 520.

535 The Church Missionary Register, 1834, pp. 517-8.

536 Ibid., 1836, p. 156.

537 Ibid., 1835, pp. 379, 380 i vide infra, p. 523.

538 Ibid, 1835, pp. 520-2.

539 Ibid., pp. 522-7.

540 Ibid., 1836, pp. 342, 487.

541 Ibid, 1836, p. 157.

542 Vide infra, p. 545.

# CHAPTER VIII. MARSDEN'S SEVENTH VOYAGE TO NEW ZEALAND



CHAPTER VIII

MARSDEN'S SEVENTH VOYAGE TO NEW ZEALAND

Marsden left Sydney in the Pyramus on February 7th, 1837. He reached Hokianga on February 23rd. He re-embarked at the Bay of Islands on July 4th, reaching Sydney on July 27th.

MARSDEN'S account of his seventh visit to New Zealand is embodied in the various letters in which he gave an account of his experiences. As on a previous occasion, his voyage was occasioned by his desire to enquire on the spot into charges of grave misconduct which had been brought against one of the missionaries, the Rev. W. Yate,[543] who had left New Zealand in June, 1834, to visit England and who, while in Sydney, in August, 1836, in the course of his return journey to his station, had been suspended from his office by Bishop Broughton with the result that he again sailed for England.

That a New Zealand missionary should be involved in such circumstances as those in which Yate was now placed was naturally a matter of the utmost concern to Marsden, whose advancing years were fast depriving him of the strength necessary to withstand such blows. On June 25th, 1835, he had reached the allotted span. On that day he had written to Mr. Dandeson Coates: "I feel my natural strength failing me very much. My eyes are dim with age. I am seventy years old this day, so that I have no reason to expect a much longer period in this world. I have had my share of contentions with unreasonable



and wicked men, but out of all the Lord hath delivered me. The full conviction in my own mind that I am in the situation Divine wisdom hath placed me, has at all times made me perfectly reconciled to every good and perfect gift for all His mercies. I have nothing to complain of. I have no grounds for murmuring, for Goodness and Mercy have followed me all my life long."

A great blow fell upon the man who thus felt the growing infirmities of age when, towards the close of 1835, his wife died. In a letter dated November 5th, 1835, he told the Rev. Henry Williams of his great grief.

"It is with the most painful feelings," he wrote, "I now sit down to write to you My affectionate wife departed this life on the 2nd October last. This has been the heaviest affliction I ever met with. The wound it has inflicted will never heal on this side of the grave. We have travelled together between forty and fifty years through many storms both by sea and land with mutual happiness and comfort. Mrs. Marsden was completely dead to the world for months before she died. She told me that her work was done and that she was no longer wanted here. Her children were now grown up and were provided for, and no longer required her care. She told me she had no fear of death. For three months previous to her departure her mind was composed and happy. She had set her house in order before death. I found after she was buried, on opening her writing desk, her will, which she had made thirteen months before she died, directing how her own trinkets should be disposed of to her children and her grandchildren that there might be no disputes amongst them when she was gone. The Scriptures were exceedingly precious to her soul, particularly the 46th Psalm. 'Let not your heart be troubled, ... In my Father's house are many mansions.' Her placid, heavenly countenance never changed to the last moment of her life, and she left us without a struggle.[544]

"My heart is melted within me and my tears flow that I can hardly write. I do not murmur. I know infinite wisdom cannot err. Therefore I say 'Thy will be done.' My time cannot be long. I have attained to the age of more than seventy years. I pray that I may through Divine grace be prepared whenever my change may come. I feel myself an unprofitable servant, very poor and very ignorant, and am often afraid to go into the pulpit to preach to my people, from the fullest conviction of my own want of knowledge and ability. I could stand up to preach with more confidence thirty years ago than I can now. I am at a loss to account for my ignorance and want of courage. I pray that the great Head of the Church may support me and direct me in the way I should go.



"Give my affectionate regards to all your colleagues. I pray that the God of Jacob may prosper all your labours amongst the poor heathens. Excuse this feeble note. My mind is greatly agitated."

Early in the following year, on February 15th, 1836, he again wrote to the Rev. Henry Williams with regard to his recent loss: –

"I believe my time will not be long here, I am so feeble," he wrote. "At the same time I wish to promote the general good. The death of Mrs. Marsden has been a severe trial, for I want her society. When I come home weary and tired, I appear to find an empty house. I also suffer from my eyes. They are very dim, and it is with difficulty I can write or read writing."

A note written at this time by the Rev. Richard Hill of St. James's Church, Sydney, to Mr. Dandeson Coates, shows how much Marsden had been affected by his wife's death. Writing on November 10th, 1835, he said: "I am sorry to report to you the death of the wife of the Apostle of New Zealand, the venerable friend of missions, Mr. Marsden. She entered into rest on the 2nd October. Her end was peace. I had the pleasure to see her the previous day when she was in the utmost sincerity waiting her departure. She had been in a declining state some time, and from what has transpired, more than a year before she began to 'set her house in order.' Her age was sixty-three, and considering that she had a severe paralytic attack about twenty years before, it is, humanly speaking, surprising that she has continued so long and, for one so affected, so active and well. Dear Mr. Marsden is much comforted under the circumstances, as he looks forward to a happier meeting. He is now, I think, in his seventy-first year, and during the illness of Mrs. Marsden he appeared in a very critical state. He, however, revived, and has returned in a measure to his former activity."

The cup of sorrow, however, was not yet full. Early in 1836 his son-in-law, Thomas Marsden of Sydney, became seriously ill;[545] on June 1st of the same year his friend and colleague, the Rev. Richard Hill, died with tragic suddenness in the vestry of his church, St. James's of Sydney.

Oppressed by his troubles, Marsden unbosomed himself in a letter dated June 7th, 1836, to his friend the Rev. Henry Williams, for whom he evidently had a sincere affection. "I embrace the present opportunity to acknowledge your last letter," he wrote. "I was happy to learn you were all well. This is a world full of trouble. I feel more of its vanity since my dear wife died. My affliction has been heavy but infinite wisdom knew that it was necessary. Mr. Thomas Marsden, my son-in-law, appears to be dying. His recovery is not expected. He has been and is afflicted with violent fits and brought very weak.

"My much respected colleague, the Rev. Richard Hill, died on Monday, 1st June, in a fit, while writing a note in the vestry of St. James's Church. This is a very heavy

affliction also.

BISHOP W. G. BROUGHTON



"Bishop Broughton[546] arrived on Friday from England and landed at Sydney on Saturday. He preached yesterday at St. James's Church after I had performed the ceremony of installing him in the church. The loss of Mr. Hill cannot be repaired here. I feel it much. God knows and He rules over all."

It was at a time, then, when the aged clergyman was afflicted in many ways and almost prostrated by the sorrows which had come thick upon him that he was agitated by the fact that definite charges of misconduct had been brought against one of the servants of the New Zealand Mission – charges which included accusations both with regard to unnatural offences committed on board the Prince Regent and to others committed while employed at his mission station.

In spite of bodily weakness and affliction of mind, Marsden was roused to action by his anxiety to vindicate the reputation of the Mission upon which he had expended so much thought and energy throughout a period of almost thirty years, and, the old indomitable spirit conquering the frailty of age, decided to investigate these matters in person and to sail for New Zealand at the first opportunity. On February 7th, accompanied by his daughter Martha, he left Sydney in the Pyramus.

Writing from New Zealand on March 27th, 1837, Marsden explained to the Secretary of the Society his reasons for making this visit, which had been made at his own expense,[547] and gave him some account of his experiences. "When the reports relative to the Rev. William Yate's conduct in New Zealand became circulated through the Colony of New South Wales," he writes, "this occasioned me much trouble and distress. From the first I believed him to be a guilty man, while many of my best friends could not credit the things alleged against him. This naturally led many to entertain unfriendly feelings towards myself.[548]

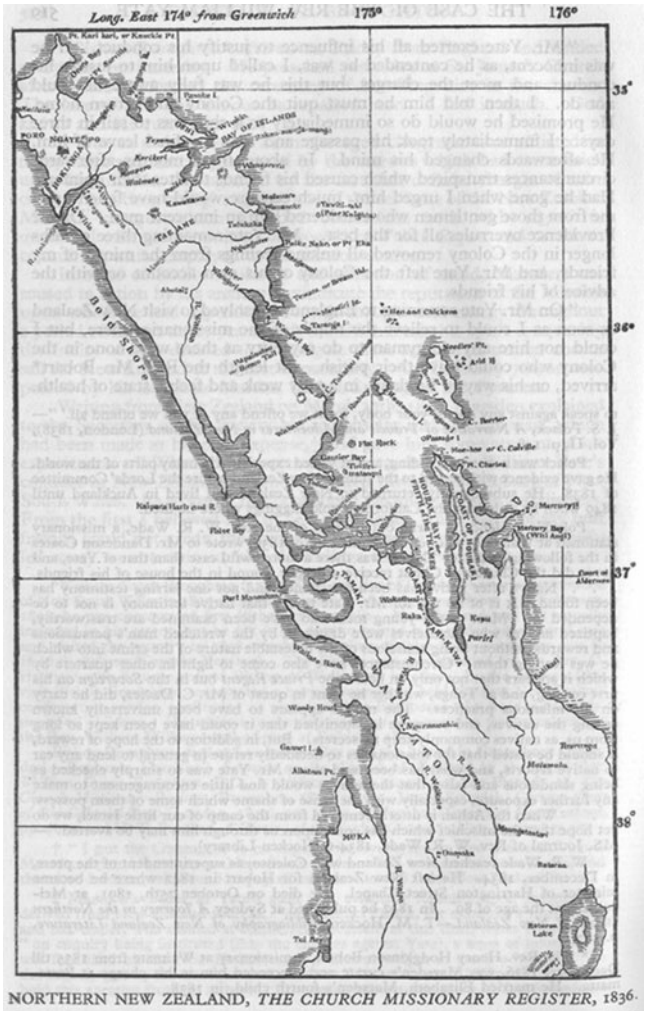
THE CASE OF THE REV. WILLIAM YATE



"Mr. Yate exerted all his influence to justify his conduct. If he was innocent, as he contended he was, I called upon him to justify his conduct and meet the charges, but this he was fully aware he could not do. I then told him he must quit the Colony and return home. He promised he would do so immediately as a ship was to sail in three days. I immediately took his passage and took my final leave of him. He afterwards changed his mind. In about three months afterwards circumstances transpired which caused his friends to alter their opinions. Had he gone when I urged him, much censure would have fallen upon me from those gentlemen who considered him an innocent man. Divine Providence overrules all for the best. Mr. Yate remaining three months longer in the Colony removed all unkind feelings from the minds of my friends, and Mr. Yate left the Colony of his own account or with the advice of his friends.

"On Mr. Yate returning to England, I resolved to visit New Zealand as soon as I could to relieve the minds of the missionaries there, but I could not hire any clergyman to do my duty as there were none in the Colony who could leave their parish. At length the Rev. Mr. Bobart[549] arrived, on his way to England, in a very weak and feeble state of health.






NORTHERN NEW ZEALAND, *THE CHURCH MISSIONARY REGISTER*, 1836.
The map shows the mission stations founded as the result of the pioneering movement from the Bay of Islands to the south inaugurated by Archdeacon Williams in October, 1833.

NORTHERN NEW ZEALAND, THE CHURCH MISSIONARY REGISTER, 1836

The map shows the mission stations founded as the result of the pioneering movement from the Bay of Islands to the south inaugurated by Archdeacon Williams in October, 1833.



He came and resided at the parsonage with me and began gradually to recover strength. I told him I wished to go to New Zealand, if he thought he could do my duty until my return or at least be an assistant to the Rev. Mr. Forrest; during my absence Mr. Forrest would take the laborious duty. To this proposition Mr. Bobart agreed. I applied to the Bishop for leave of absence, which I obtained. I agreed to allow Mr. Bobart £100 per annum and to live in my family until my return. I left him very weak, but Mr. Forrest will relieve him all he can.

"On February 7th I embarked on board the Pyramus, a very fine ship which was going to the west side of New Zealand for spars. As I was very weak and feeble, I took with me one of my daughters[550] to assist me. I purposed to cross by land from the west side of the island to the east.

"On the 23rd we crossed the bar at Okianga (Hokianga) River. The sea broke awfully upon the bar. The captain was much alarmed, as we had no pilot and were in great danger of being overwhelmed by the heavy, violent waves constantly breaking about the vessel, and one rolled upon deck. Through the Divine protection we escaped a watery grave. After we crossed the bar we came to anchor for the night.

"Next morning we proceeded up the river and came to anchor again near the Wesleyan Missionary Station, when I went on shore and visited the Rev. Mr. Turner, whom I had formerly known. I remained here thirteen days and saw many of the chiefs whom I had formerly known. I found many were enquiring after the Saviour and a large number attended public worship. I had much important conversation with them on the subject of religion and civil government. They have no established laws amongst them, and they feel and lament the want of a government.

"When I left Okianga a number accompanied me – upwards of seventy. Some met us from Waimate. We had to travel about forty miles by land and water. The road lay through a very thick wood. The natives carried me on something like a hammock for twenty miles. We reached Waimate as the sun went down, where we were kindly received by the Rev. William Williams and his colleagues. One principal chief, who has embraced the Gospel and has been baptized, accompanied us all the way. He told me he was so unhappy at Okianga that he could not get to converse with me from the crowds that attended and that he had come to Waimate to speak with me. I found him a very intelligent man, and anxious to know the way to Heaven. I met with numbers wherever I went who were anxious after the knowledge of God. I was much pleased to find that wherever I went I found some that could read and write. The church service has been translated into the native language with the catechism, hymns, and some other



useful pieces.[551] They are all fond of reading, and there are many who have never had an opportunity to attend the schools who nevertheless can read. They teach one another in all parts of the country, from the North to the East Cape. The prospect of success to the Mission is very great. Since my arrival at the missionary station I have not heard one oath spoken either from European or native. The schools and church are well attended, and the greatest order is observed amongst all classes.



"On the opposite side of the harbour a number of Europeans are settled along with the natives. Several Europeans keep public houses and encourage every kind of crime. Here drunkenness, adultery, murder, etc., are committed. There are no laws, judges, or magistrates, so that Satan maintains his dominion without molestation. Some civilized government must take New Zealand under its protection or the most dreadful evils will be committed from runaway convicts, sailors, and publicans. There are no laws here to punish crimes. 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.



"From weakness and want of light I cannot write correctly."

From Waimate, on May 6th, 1837, Marsden continued his account of his experiences in a further letter to the Secretary. "In February," he wrote, "I sailed from Port Jackson with a view to visit New Zealand in order to see the state of the Mission. It is upwards of seven years since my last visit.

"On my arrival I found two of the principal chiefs, Pomare and Titore, at open war, in consequence of which the whole island was in the greatest commotion. The chiefs from all parts have assembled with their men to support either Pomare or Titore. I have visited repeatedly both parties with a view of bringing them to terms of peace, but have not succeeded. The Rev. Henry Williams has used every means in his power, but as yet without effect. There were 131 Europeans in Pomare's pa or fortification, and a great number in Titore's camp. These are generally men of the most infamous characters, composed of runaway convicts and sailors, and publicans who have opened grog shops in the pas, where every scene of riot and drunkenness and prostitution are carried on daily. What will be the issue of the contest cannot be foreseen. Pomare's pa is very strong. It appears impossible for Titore to take it. A few days ago Titore sent 800 men in 42 war canoes to attack Pomare's pa, but they returned after much firing between both parties without effect. Two war canoes met and engaged, when three men belonging to Titore were killed. Two of them were brothers and men of high rank.

"In the midst of all the miseries of war God is prospering the Mission. Since my arrival I have visited many of the stations within the compass of one hundred miles, and have observed a wonderful change has taken place within the last seven years. The portions of the sacred Scriptures which have been printed have had a most astonishing effect. They are read everywhere by the natives where I have been. The natives teach one another, and find great pleasure in the Word of God and carry that sacred treasure with them wherever they go.[552]



"Great numbers have been baptized, both chiefs and their people. I have met with some very pious chiefs who have been invited by Pomare and Titore to join them in their present war, but they have refused. I met with one pious chief who was a great warrior and was severely wounded in action the very day I arrived in New Zealand on my last visit, who informed me Titore had sent for him but he would fight no more. I visited his station. He has built a neat, clean place of public worship which is visited by the missionaries. In this he teaches school, as well as his son.

"I am at present at Waimate, which was formerly one of the most warlike districts in the island, and I could not learn that one individual had joined the contending parties. Waimate is the most moral and orderly place I ever was in. A great number of the inhabitants for some miles have been baptized and live like Christians. There are no riots or drunkenness, no swearing or quarrels, but all is order and peace. The same effects I have observed produced by the Scriptures and labours of the missionaries in other districts. My own mind has been exceedingly gratified with what I have seen and heard, and I have no doubt but New Zealand will become a civilized nation.

"I consider the missionaries as a body very pious, prudent, and laborious men, and that they and their children are walking in the admonition of the Lord, so as to make them a national blessing when they have finished their labours.

"It was my intention when I came to have visited all the stations from the North to the East Cape, but from the state of the country at the present time it is not considered prudent for me to go to the south. I shall therefore return, God willing, to my duty in New South Wales. When this country is more settled in its political affairs something may be done in the south.

"My eyes are dim with age like Isaac's. It is with some difficulty I can see to write."

The visit of the venerable founder of the New Zealand Mission excited, as was natural, both interest and admiration in the minds of missionaries and Maoris alike.[553] Thus Mr. J. Matthews wrote from Kaitaia on April 8th, 1837: – "We are all much rejoiced to see this



venerable person, who has come to visit us in the infirmity of his age. I went to Waimate to meet him on his arrival there and to bid him welcome to Kaitaia. He promised to come after he had been to the southward, but he altered his mind and came here first. On Saturday, April 1st, he, with his daughter and the Rev. H. Williams, arrived at our settlement. The natives came, party after party, to see him, and had his stay been prolonged to a week the whole tribes of the Rarawa would have been gathered together.

"Being anxious about the safety of the vessel, and the wind being fair, our venerable friend took his departure probably to see us no more in this world. He is now seventy-two years of age. He resided at our house, and I thought myself highly privileged to hear an old believer pray. It was evident that he had grown in spirituality of mind as he had grown in years. The natives looked upon his grey hairs, and expressed their admiration of his love for them in visiting them in his old age.

"Mr. Marsden learnt all particulars with regard to Toki and Huru, two natives who were taken away from this part by Governor King to teach the prisoners of Norfolk Island to prepare the native flax, that plant growing on that island. A native chapel for the worship of the true God is now finished on the spot whence these two natives came. They died about two years ago, and are well known to these tribes as having first introduced the potato.[554]

"Mr. Marsden, on hearing that I came from the north, immediately made inquiry for these two natives, he having met them at Norfolk Island where they dined every day with the Governor. Mr. Marsden communicated this new information to us at the Waimate – that his meeting with these two northern natives first gave him a desire to benefit this interesting race. These two men were loaded with presents from Governor King and Mr. Marsden. They brought with them potatoes, and five very large pigs. There were no pigs in New Zealand before this, so far as we know, nor potatoes – this is more than forty years ago.[555] The potatoes they planted, but did not like them for many years; I suppose they attempted to eat them raw, as they did the corn, which was introduced also by Governor King in person at the North Cape. Two old chiefs mentioned his name to Mr. Marsden, I think, on the Wednesday, although we could not hear it by any of the younger men in the preceding days. Governor King told these people that if they were kind to the pigs they would have abundance in time. They received no produce from any of these pigs. They used to make sport of them by hunting them, and, according to them, one of these pigs would drag half a score of them along the ground. No doubt they killed them in this way, as they say one died full of young ones. The last large pig rooted up a corpse buried in a sacred place near our settlement, and was killed and eaten as a payment. Swine have been produced here from some introduced into the Bay of Islands, or somewhere in that



quarter, of a later date.[556] The natives at the north have had maize for forty years, but being a long time before they knew how to cook it it did not gain repute till of late years: very fine corn is now grown about



us. Mr. Marsden spoke to the natives through an interpreter, and he then gave the history of his first affection for their race. He told them that twenty years elapsed after his seeing those two natives before he saw another New Zealander, or did anything for them: he then went to England and brought out Mr. King, etc.[557] There were 300 natives to listen to his discourse."[558]

Age and infirmity had neither dulled Marsden's enthusiasm for travel nor diminished his desire to find fresh fields of enterprise for the missionary cause. On May 30th, 1837, he reached Kerikeri in company with Mr. Busby, the officers of the Rattlesnake (Captain Hobson),[559] and the Rev. A. N. Brown. From thence he sailed in the Rattlesnake, accompanied by Brown, visiting the mission stations at the Thames, and travelling as far to the south as Cook Strait. Heavy weather, however, prevented Marsden from landing in the southern part of the island although, as he subsequently wrote, the information given him that 1,500 natives lived near Cook Strait and that no missionary had yet visited them made him strongly wish to do so.[560] Brown describes this part of Marsden's journey as follows: –



"June 2nd, 1837. – Sailed with Mr. Marsden this morning in the Rattlesnake for the southward. We previously went on shore at Kororareka and saw the body of Titore, who died last night.[561] We were surprised at seeing some chiefs eating food within the sacred enclosure where Titore was laid out. The women, too, appeared to have laid aside their usual violent mode of showing grief by cutting and gashing their arms and breasts, nor does it seem probable that any of Titore's slaves will be killed out of honour to him. These are so many proofs that the edifice of superstition is crumbling away beneath the irresistible power of the glorious Gospel, and that, too, among a people of whom few have as yet bowed either the knee or the heart to the name of Jesus.

"June 6th, 1837. – I went with Mr. Marsden to our Thames station. During the evening a few chiefs called to converse with Mr. Marsden. One of them had accompanied Mr. Marsden, fourteen years since, from the Thames to Tauranga. At length we had to request the natives to leave, when one of them said, 'We wish to have a very long steadfast look at the old man, because he cannot live long enough to visit us again.'

"June 8th, 1837. – Rounded Cape Colville in the night, and, with light and variable winds, had a short run during the day through the Mercury Isles. We enjoyed a most lovely evening. In a long conversation with Mr. Marsden on deck, he spoke of almost all his old friends having preceded him to the Eternal World – Romaine, Newton, Thomson, Rowland Hill, Legh Richmond, Simeon, and others.[562]





"He then alluded, in a very touching manner, to his late wife. They had passed, he observed, more than forty years of their pilgrimage through this wilderness in company, and he felt their separation the more severely as the months rolled on. I remarked that their separation would be but for a short period longer. 'God grant it!' was his reply, and then, lifting his eyes toward the moon, which was peacefully shedding her beams on the sails of our gallant barque, he exclaimed, with intense feeling: –

'Prepare me, Lord, for thy right-hand;
Then come the joyful day!'"
[563]

Brown, who was stationed at Matamata, seems to have left the Rattlesnake at the Mercury Islands. He speaks with feeling of the parting scene: – "In the evening the vessel sailed with our valued and venerable father. This Mission, especially in its infant state, was deeply indebted to him for his advice, counsel, labours, and prayers, and his heart has now been cheered in witnessing the wonderful change which has taken place in this part of the island since he first landed on it as the herald of mercy to its savage inhabitants: for though his late visit to us has been made in troublous times and in the midst of war, yet the conduct, with few exceptions, of the baptized natives, the knowledge imparted in the schools, the steady progress of the translation of the Scriptures by the Rev. W. Williams, and the extensive preaching of the Gospel throughout the northern districts, have shown him that the great and good work which he was the honoured instrument of introducing into this land has been accompanied by the manifest blessing of Him in Whose favour is life; and I doubt not, from Mr. Marsden's own expressed sentiments, that he has left us with the language of good old Simeon in his heart, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation!'"[564]

From the Mercury Islands the Rattlesnake sailed southward to Cloudy Bay, in Cook Strait, and thence sailed for Sydney early in July, reaching her port on July 27th.[565]





From Sydney, upon his return, Marsden wrote to the Secretary of the Society under date July 31st, 1837, again explaining the occasion of his New Zealand journey and giving some account of his visit. "I deemed it necessary for me to visit New Zealand and see the state of the missionaries and the natives," he said, "as I could not tell what effect might have been produced by the painful circumstances connected with Mr. Yate.

"The death of my much esteemed colleague, the Rev. R. Hill, and the awful fall of Mr. Yate were almost too much for me. I am very anxious to hear the final issue of Mr. Yate's return. In all this painful business I have acted to the best of my abilities, and had many and great difficulties to contend with from the powerful support he met with from his numerous friends here against all of whom I had to contend. They believe him to be an innocent man, but I was as much convinced of his guilt as I was of my own existence. Mr. Yate has been condemned by his friends for taking his associate with him to England. Time will bring to light the hidden things of darkness.

"Should your committee disapprove of my conduct in the affair of Mr. Yate, I have to request I may be favoured with the grounds of their disapproval and given an opportunity of answering for myself. The Bishop was very kind during the whole enquiry. If he had not supported me I should have been placed in a more painful situation. I cannot conceive what induced Mr. Yate to remain in the Colony for three months after he had solemnly promised me he would sail in three days. I shall say no more at present on this painful subject but wait until I hear from your Society, and turn to New Zealand.

"I left Parramatta about the 1st February last to visit the Mission in the above Island, and landed at Okianga (Hokianga) on the west side and proceeded overland to the Bay of Islands. I am happy to say I found on my arrival the missionaries all well at all the stations I visited from the North Cape to the River Thames. They were all living in unity and love and the native inhabitants exceedingly improved. The natives are very kind to all the missionaries and consider them their best friends. They are under no apprehensions of injury from the natives. They are at war, but I hope they will make peace very soon.

"I shall write to you soon again, but at present I have not recovered from my sea voyages. I believe I have travelled by land and water upwards of 2,000 miles, and met with some very stormy weather. You must excuse mistakes. My eyes are very dim. It is with difficulty I can see to write."

To his friend the Rev. Mr. Jowett he wrote in similar strain from Parramatta on August 11th, 1837. "The last year has been very trying to me and almost more than I could support. The sudden death of my much esteemed colleague, Mr. Hill, and the affair of Mr. Yate were two awful events. The latter was a very heavy trial from the influence Mr. Yate had acquired amongst the higher classes of our church, who could not believe him capable of committing the crime with which he was charged. I was convinced he was guilty, and informed him I would not admit him into my church until he had met the charges against him.





"In consequence of the uneasiness created in New Zealand and in this Colony with respect to Mr. Yate, I determined to visit the Bay of Islands and other missionary stations upon that Island and see what state the missionaries were in, and applied to the Governor for leave of absence and obtained His Excellency's sanction. A ship named the Pyramus sailed from Sydney Cove for the west side of New Zealand. In her I took my passage and on the vessel arriving at Okianga (Hokianga) I crossed overland to the Bay of Islands, where I found the statement against Mr. Yate confirmed.

"I am happy to say I found the missionaries all well and living in mutual love, and their labour amongst the natives very successful. The natives as well as the missionaries were greatly rejoiced to see me again. Numbers of the natives have embraced Christianity and have laid aside their heathen customs. I found them much improved in Christian knowledge. Numerous schools are established for the instruction of the natives of all ages. Many amongst them read the Scriptures and instruct one another.

"You are aware there are no laws in New Zealand. There is no king. They feel the want of this, and they cannot make a king from their own chiefs as every chief would think himself degraded if he should be put under the authority of a chief of their own. There is a British Resident there but he has no authority to act. Why he is stationed there without powers I cannot tell.

"Amongst the letters I received I forward one from a chief addressed to me. It will show the committee how they are advancing in learning. I was sitting in my room when the chief came in with the letter in his hand addressed to me. He had no pen or ink and he had written it with a pencil. I gave him a sheet of paper, pen, and ink, and desired him to copy it, when he sat down and immediately complied with my request. I was much astonished to see him so ready with his pen. When he had copied it I got one of the missionaries to translate it for me. The translation I also enclose. The committee will judge from this letter the advances the natives are making towards civilization. This young man is a pious chief and succeeds the late Shunghee.[566]



THE SUCCESS OF THE MISSION

"The missionaries have great influence amongst the natives, and according to my judgment they are doing much good. I wished to visit all the stations, but the stormy weather being against me I visited at the Thames and some of the missionaries there. From the Thames I proceeded to Cloudy Bay and Cook's Strait. A missionary is wanted in Cook's Strait. I was informed there were 1,500 natives in the Straits. Besides natives, there are some Europeans settled in the Straits and at Cloudy Bay. Cloudy Bay is not less than 700 miles from the Bay of Islands.

"I would have landed at the different stations on the east side to the south of the Thames, but the weather was very stormy and I could not.

"When at the head of the Thames I learned from the missionaries there that the missionaries at Manekow (Manukau) were going on very well. When I visited the North Cape I found that mission in a very prosperous state. The place was becoming in every respect to be a European settlement, the natives working as sawyers and carpenters, etc., etc.

"I shall now conclude as my eyes are bad."

A week later, on August 18th, 1837, he wrote to the same correspondent. "The sudden death of the Rev. R. Hill left the largest church and the most populous parish in the Colony without a clergyman. 1 therefore detained the Rev. Mr. Taylor for the present in this Colony until the arrival of a clergyman from England. I wrote for an assistant for myself some time ago, but none has arrived. The Bishop has also written for clergy. Mr. Taylor while here will be no expense to the Society.

"It would be desirable that your committee send out a clergyman to reside at Sydney, in order that he may carry on all the correspondence between your committee and the corresponding committee here and at New Zealand – a pious, good man. The Bishop has promised he will ensure him a salary of £200 per annum from Government and a free passage. Should one come out for the above purpose, perhaps it would be as well not to appoint him a member of the corresponding committee. Let him be a gentleman equal to the duties.

"I have just received information from New Zealand that the natives at the Bay of Islands have made peace since I came from there. I used my best endeavours before I left them for this object. I cannot write much. I am so unwell and my eyes are so dim.

"I am now upwards of seventy years old. My eyes are dim with age. It is with difficulty I can write a word. You must therefore excuse all errors."

Anxiety with regard to the case of Yate continued to weigh heavy upon the aged minister, and on October 2nd, 1837, he wrote from Parramatta to the Secretary in words which showed how much he had been



THE CHARGES AGAINST YATE CONFIRMED

affected by the dismissal of that missionary. "I have been very anxious to hear of the arrival of the Rev. William Yate and how he was received by the parent committee," he said. "Before he left New South Wales he informed me he took with him sufficient documents to vindicate his character, but he showed none of these testimonies to me. When he was here I wrote to him and told him if he could meet the charges which were alleged against him I would give him every support in my power; and I afterwards called upon him, when he told me he could not justify his conduct, and, as he had received information that his brother was dead, he would go home immediately. He had gentlemen here of power and influence who would have done all in their power to support him if he had dared to venture an investigation, but this he declined. I have no doubt but that he obtained some strong testimonies in his favour upon which he seemed to rely.

"From the distressed state the Mission was in at New Zealand, I determined to visit the missionaries and the natives and hear from them what had taken place, and accordingly I engaged Mr. Bobart to do my duty and embraced the first opportunity to embark for the Bay of Islands. I took with me one of my daughters to attend upon me, as I was very weak and poorly. The ship in which we embarked was going to the west side of the Island. After we landed I remained a few days before we took our journey to the east side. I crossed the country much better than I expected, and arrived at Waimate much better than I expected. The natives received me with great joy and the missionaries also, who were in much distress.

"On enquiry I found all the charges against Mr. Yate confirmed. A very fine young chief who has lived with me and with whom Yate associated was dead. It is most painful to me to revert to this subject. Your Society may think I acted towards Mr. Yate without due consideration, but be assured I did not. I felt delicate in sending the depositions taken in New Zealand against Mr. Yate, and therefore I detained them. The Rev. Mr. Taylor is of opinion they should be sent, and therefore I have given them to him. In my communication with your Society, I conceived to convince the committee that Mr. Yate was unworthy of their countenance and protection. I have the same conviction now of his guilt that I had then. You can form no conception what I suffered on account of Mr. Yate. My warmest friends set themselves against me because they considered him an innocent man. If the committee should be of the same opinion, I must submit to bear the reproach of ruining an innocent man. I did not send all the depositions against him which I had in my possession, as I hoped the information I had communicated to your Committee would be sufficient to prevent his return. In the whole of this painful subject I have acted according to my views of the Christian religion and the dictates of my own conscience. There were many things brought forward relative to Mr. Yate which delicacy forbade me to mention. I believe Mr. Taylor will forward some depositions by this conveyance for the information of the Committee. I laid them before the Bishop and the legal officers of the Colony, when assembled with the Bishop and other officers of rank to take this awful case into consideration in the presence of Mr.



THE DISMISSAL OF YATE

Yate, who made no defence. Under these circumstances I had no alternative but to remove him from the Mission and send him home.

"It can hardly be supposed that at my time of life, being upwards of seventy years old, weak and infirm, I would have taken a passage to New Zealand for myself and daughter unless I had been anxious to know the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. I could have no will to injure Mr. Yate. He had always lived when in the Colony as one of my family in my house. I shall ever feel grateful to Bishop Broughton, as he was my friend in need. He will be a friend to the Mission and give what assistance he can.[567]

"You will excuse this letter. My eyes are dim. I can see but little and may have made some mistakes. I intend to forward to you the notes I made in my last visit, but I have not them by me at the present time."

One cannot but sympathise with Yate's desire for a public investigation of his case. On the other hand, it is plain that all in authority, both in Australia and in England, who had been compelled to make decisions with regard to him had come to the conclusion that the state of affairs revealed by their private investigations was such as to compel disciplinary action, and that a public trial would merely bring discredit upon the Church and the Society to which the missionary belonged and would, in the end, in no wise benefit the man himself. One must note further that Yate himself consistently refused to produce evidence in proof of his innocence and at no time took steps to institute legal proceedings for wrongful dismissal or defamation of character.

On December 10th, 1837, Marsden again wrote to the Rev. Josiah Pratt with regard to the state of the New Zealand Mission. "I have previously informed you," he said, "of my late visit to New Zealand. Since my return the Rev. William Williams and Mr. Davis have come over to New South Wales to purchase sheep, etc., for the Mission, and returned this week to their station.

"I am happy to say the Mission goes on well in the midst of every difficulty. I visited many places in my last voyage: from the North Cape to Cloudy Bay. I have no doubt but New Zealand will become a civilized nation. The Gospel has made a deep impression upon many of the natives, who now live godly lives. If the missionaries had not been sent out at the time they were, I am of opinion New Zealand would have become one of the most abandoned places in the known world from its intercourse with Europeans. Numbers of merchant vessels and whalers constantly visit the Bay of Islands and other harbours, from which many sailors abscond on account of the women and other reasons,



A Last Message

(DECEMBER 10th, 1837)

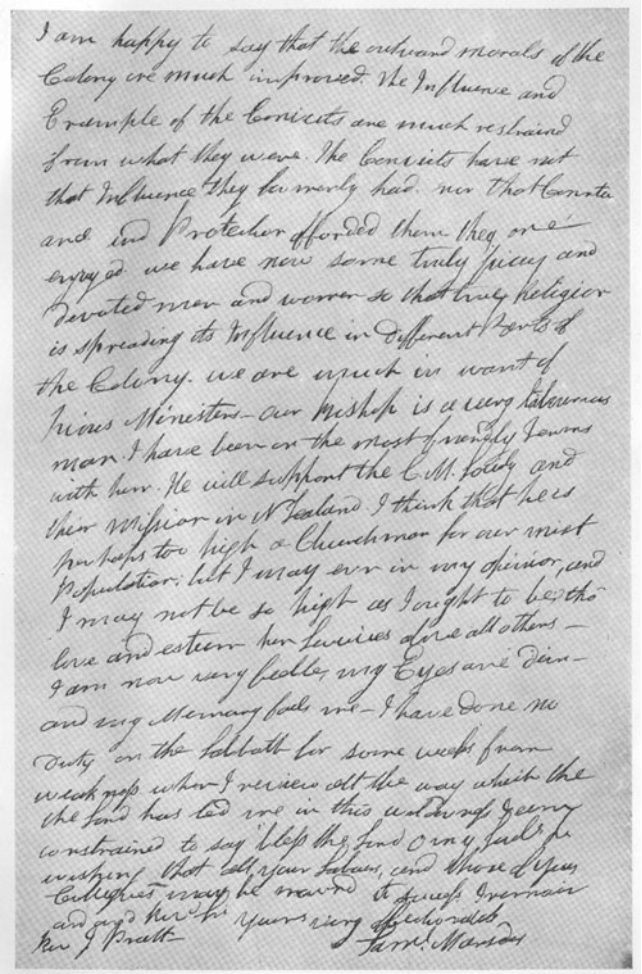
I am happy to say that the outward morals of the Colony are much improved. The influence and example of the convicts are much restrained from what they were. The convicts have not that influence they formerly had, nor that countenance and protection afforded them they once enjoyed. We have now some truly pious and devoted men and women, so that true religion is spreading its influence in different parts of the Colony. We are much in want of pious ministers. Our Bishop is a very laborious man. I have been on the most friendly terms with him. He will support the C.M. Society and their Mission in New Zealand. I think that he is perhaps too high a Churchman for our mixt population, but I may err in my opinion, and I may not be so high as I ought to be, tho' (I) love and esteem her services above all others.

I am now very feeble; my eyes are dim and my memory fails me. I have done no duty on the Sabbath for some weeks from weakness. When I review all the way which the Lord has led me in this wilderness, I am constrained to say, "Bless the Lord, O my soul!"

Wishing that all your labours and those of your colleagues may be crowned with success,

I remain,
Dear and Revd. Sir,
Yours very affectionately,
SAML. MARSDEN.
REVD. JOSIAH PRATT.

[Inserted unpaginated illustration]



A PAGE FROM MARSDEN'S LAST LETTER
TO REV. JOSIAH PRATT, DECEMBER 10th, 1837

A PAGE FROM MARSDEN'S LAST LETTER TO REV. JOSIAH PRATT, DECEMBER 10TH 1837



as well as convicts from New South Wales, and it would have been dangerous for vessels to enter their harbours, but now they are safe. A good understanding is maintained between the natives and the missionaries, and their influence extends far and wide. The last time I was there the Bay of Islands was the seat of war and continued so until I returned home. There were great numbers of natives who, from their knowledge of the Gospel, would not join either party, and many used their influence to prevent fighting. I did not leave the Bay of Islands until peace was nearly concluded. It will require time, and the deaths of some of the proud, warlike old chiefs, before they can live in peace like civilized nations, but we may confidently hope that this will soon be accomplished.

"I am anxious to learn the final issue of the charges against Mr. Yate. From the first to the present time his conduct has caused much unhappy feeling here. The Bishop conceived I had not communicated to your Society all the information I ought and called upon me for what official documents I had, which I transmitted to him, and His Lordship will forward them to you. Mr. Yate's powerful friends in England have created the alarm here that he is about to seek legal redress for the injury his reputation has suffered from the charge preferred against him from hence. A gentleman who was in New Zealand at the time and well acquainted with all the circumstances of his guilt, told me, not a month ago, that if Mr. Yate was tried he would, according to his opinion, be liable to suffer the penalties of the law for his crime. I am anxious to learn what is likely to be done or that the charge is sunk into oblivion."

That continued interest in the New Zealand Mission which remained a ruling passion in spite of the years was strikingly displayed in Marsden's next letter to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, which was dated February 18th, 1838. After displaying some irritation at the advent of a Roman Catholic Mission in New Zealand,[568]



he proceeds: – "I have some intentions of visiting New Zealand again if my health will permit. I am very weak and feeble and cannot preach now to a regular congregation, but can only visit the hospital and prison gangs and the sick at their houses. My eyes are very dim with age. I have now been appointed chaplain to New South Wales forty-five years, and have gone through many toils and hardships and have often had to contend with unreasonable and wicked men in power. I have gone through many dangers by land and by water and amongst the heathens and amongst my own countrymen in New South Wales, and have both suffered shipwreck and robbery, but the Lord in His mercy at all times delivered me. It is my intention to visit New Zealand again when opportunity offers and see how the Mission goes on. I applied for leave yesterday to our Bishop to go to New Zealand, and he complied with my request. My health may not allow me to go, but if it does I have made up my mind on this subject as it will be a great gratification to me to see these poor heathens again and some of them possessed of a hope full of immortal glory. I am happy to say from what I can learn that the missionaries conduct themselves becoming their character and are an honour to the Gospel. There is much communication now between Sydney and New Zealand, and the natives come occasionally.

"You may not be able to read what I have written. My eyes are so bad I cannot see what I write."

Some six weeks before his death, on April 2nd, 1838, Marsden penned his last letter to the Secretary of the Society over whose interests in New Zealand he had maintained such a faithful watch. He had just had an interview with the French adventurer who styled himself the Baron de Thierry, who had informed him that he intended to sail for New Zealand to take possession of 40,000 acres of land which he maintained that he had purchased from the late Rev. Thomas Kendall. "Whether he will give the missionaries any trouble or no I know not," he said. "I shall write to put them upon their guard. I have had an interview with the Baron and shall see him again before he sails. He tells me he purchased for the purpose of improving the natives of New Zealand. I fear he shall be greatly disappointed in the end.[569]

"I have had letters from New Zealand very lately," he continued. "The missionaries were all well and the Mission prospering. A Catholic



Bishop and several priests have landed on the Island and are doing what they can to promote the Catholic religion amongst the natives. We have a Bishop[570] and many Catholic priests with us. I believe our late Governor (Sir Richard Bourke) was a Catholic and did what he could to promote them. I much regret that the Catholic priests should have landed in these islands.

"I have wished for some time to pay another visit to New Zealand, but I have been very unwell and not able to preach in my church and am still weak and feeble. My eyes are dim with age, being now upwards of seventy years old. It will be a great gratification to me to visit New Zealand once again, as well as to see the missionaries. I want to get Mr. Taylor also from the Colony. Our Bishop objects to his leaving the Colony until some clergyman arrives capable of taking his duty. Mr. Taylor is also anxious to proceed to his station. I shall be glad to see him leave New South Wales.[571]

"Mr. Bobart is doing my duty and I pay him his salary. Government allows him nothing. Mr. Bobart is married to one of my daughters. Mr. Bobart is a man of weak constitution and not suited to a savage nation. He is very useful in my parish and much approved by the inhabitants.

"I have now been appointed as chaplain to New South Wales upwards of forty-five years, since the first day of January, 1793, and now feel my strength perfect weakness.

"When I visited New Zealand the last time, a young man, a chief, returned with me and has lived in my house to the present time. He is a pious young man and anxious to return to New Zealand to tell his countrymen something of the love of Christ. I intend him to go home the first opportunity that offers, and I hope he will be a blessing to his country. I pray that the great Head of the Church may bless all the labours of the Society wherever they send out missionaries.

"I am not able to preach in the church as my eyes are very dim. It is with difficulty I can read or write. You must therefore excuse my errors. I mentioned this in the former part of this letter. I have an intention to visit the missionaries in New Zealand if my strength will permit."

Another journey to New Zealand, however, was not permitted. The course was run. Samuel Marsden died at Windsor, New South Wales, on May 12th, 1838, having nearly finished his seventy-third year. He had been a servant of the Church for some forty-five years. He was buried in the churchyard of his church at Parramatta, the Burial Service at the interment being read by Archdeacon Cowper.[572] The Rev.



H. T. Stiles of Windsor,[573] in a funeral sermon preached in St. John's, Parramatta, summed up Marsden's achievement in memorable words: – "Samuel Marsden," he said, "was no common character. He was raised up for a special purpose. As Luther in Germany, John Knox in Scotland, and Cranmer in England, were sent by the Head of the Church and fitted with peculiar qualifications to unfold the glorious Gospel, . . . so no less truly was Samuel Marsden raised up in this southern hemisphere, abundantly fitted for the work, and made the honourable instrument of diffusing the light of that same Gospel and of bringing it to bear on the darkness of heathenism in New Zealand and the isles of the sea, and upon the darkness, too, no less real, of the depravity of society in eastern Australia."[574]

Mr. Davis's correspondence contains a letter which shows something of the thoughts of the New Zealand missionaries when the news of Marsden's death reached them, and which is also of interest as bearing witness to the practical form of Marsden's interest in New Zealand affairs to the very end of his long connection with the Colony. Writing from Waimate on June 5th, 1838, he says: – "News is just received to apprize us of the loss of our dear father, Mr. Marsden. We have now no friend and father left in this part of the globe. He is gone. He can no longer be present, but he will now live in our affections and in the affections of our children and I trust those of our children's children. The poor natives will never forget him. In their country his name will be handed down through all generations. He will never be forgotten. His last act was to provide stock for us when we were in the Colony. This he did in a way I shall not soon forget. We have his best breed of cows, sheep, and horses, and I value it much. When I parted from him at his own door he said with a glow of pleasure on his countenance, 'Now, Mr. Davis, should you but arrive in New Zealand safe with your valuable cargo, it will be the making of the country.' We arrived safe, and I can say, as it respects the breed of stock, never did a new country possess at its commencement so valuable a collection."[575]

While the missionaries in New Zealand thus put on record their feeling of loss at the death of the founder of the Mission and acknowledged gratefully the practical benefits which he had conferred upon the land of their adoption, the Committee of the Church Missionary Society set forth, in more formal language, their appreciation of his steadfast devotion to their interests: – "The Committee of the Church Missionary Society," their minute reads, "record the death of the late Rev. Samuel Marsden with feelings of deep respect for his personal character,



and gratitude to the Great Head of the Church who raised up and who so long preserved this distinguished man for the good of his own and future generations.

"In him the Committee recognise an individual whom Providence had endowed with a vigorous constitution both of body and mind suited to meet the circumstances which ever attend a course of new and arduous labours. Entering upon the duties of his chaplaincy forty-five years ago, at a time when the colonists of New South Wales were, for the most part, of abandoned character and suffering the penalty of the law, he, with admirable foresight, anticipated the probable future destinies of that singular and important Colony; and never ceased to call the attention of both the local and the Home governments to the real duty of providing for the interests, both temporal and spiritual, of the rapidly increasing population by a proportionate increase in the number of colonial chaplains.

"In the discharge of his diversified duties, the native energy of his mind was conspicuously exhibited in the unsubdued ardour, public spirit, and steady perseverance with which his various gifts were sanctified by those Christian principles, which, from his youth up, he maintained and adorned, both by his teaching and his life.

"But it is to his exertions in behalf of Christian missions that the Committee are bound especially to call the attention of the Society. While he omitted no duty of his proper ministerial calling, his comprehensive mind quickly embraced the vast spiritual interests, till then well nigh entirely unheeded, of the innumerable islands of the Pacific Ocean, whose inhabitants were sitting in darkness and the shadow of death.

"Under the influence of these considerations, Mr. Marsden zealously promoted the labours of the different societies which have established missions in the South Seas. And it is to his visits to New Zealand, begun twenty-five years ago and often since repeated, and to his earnest appeals on behalf of that people, that the commencement and consolidation of the Society's missions in the Northern Island is to be attributed.

"In calling to mind the long series of eminent services rendered to the Society by Mr. Marsden, the Committee notice with peculiar satisfaction the last visit made by him in the year 1837 to the Society's Missions in New Zealand – a visit justly termed by the Lord Bishop of Australia, 'Apostolical.' With paternal authority and affection, and with the solemnity of one who felt himself to be standing on the verge of eternity, he then gave his parting benediction to the missionaries and the native converts.

"The Committee, while acknowledging with thankfulness to Almighty God that combination of superior powers, largeness of sphere of action, length of days, and signal success which was graciously bestowed on this eminent servant of Christ, and which generally must fall to the lot of very few men, desire, at the same time, to express their humble hope and earnest prayer that it may please God to raise up and sustain, by the power of His Spirit, a large band of faithful and efficient



labourers to tread in his steps, to follow up his holy designs, and to carry forward the blessed work of imparting to all those vast regions the fullness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ."[576]

Such words of appreciation stand as a valuable monument to the labours of Marsden. Without doubt, however, he himself would have regarded as still more honourable to his memory the simple white marble slab placed in his church at Parramatta in July, 1856, by some northern Maoris who wished to place on record their veneration of one who had done so much for their race, and who requested their missionary, the Rev. Richard Taylor, to have a memorial tablet erected. It bears the following inscription: –

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
of the
REV. SAMUEL MARSDEN
THE FATHER OF THE AUSTRALIAN CHURCH
and
THE FOUNDER OF THE NEW ZEALAND MISSION.
This Tribute to his Memory
was placed by a
New Zealand Missionary and His Native Converts.
Obiit May 12th, 1838 - Aged 73.[577]

In Farsley Parish Church a beautiful stained glass window, and at the Bay of Islands the noble Marsden Cross, also witness to the achievement of the sturdy Yorkshireman for Church and Empire.

Meanwhile the times were changing. The advent of British sovereignty in New Zealand of which Marsden had dreamt was at hand, and those who guided the destinies of the New Zealand Missions were anxious for what the new era might bring. The Report of the Church Mission Society for the year 1839 sounds a note both of anxiety and of triumph: –

"Your Committee cannot close their Report of this Mission without adverting to the peculiar situation of New Zealand as it is now regarded by the public at large. What events may await this fair portion of the globe – whether England will regard with a sisterly eye so beautiful an island, placed, like herself, in a commanding position, well harboured, well wooded, and fertile in resources; whether this country will so stretch forth a friendly and vigorous arm as that New Zealand may, with her native children, become a well-ordered and Christian nation – it is not for the Committee of the Church Missionary Society to anticipate. But this consolation they do possess: they know that this Society has, for twenty years, done good to the natives, hoping for nothing again – nothing save the delight of promoting glory to God and goodwill



among men. The Society has sent them heralds of peace and messengers of salvation, and has thus contracted such an obligation toward those whom it has sought to benefit that your Committee are constrained to lift up their voice on behalf of that island, and to claim that no measures shall be adopted toward that interesting country which would involve any violation of the principles of justice on our part or of the rights and liberties of the natives of New Zealand."[578]

Samuel Marsden had gone to his rest, but men already recognized that his hopes for the spiritual and moral well-being of the Maori race had, in a large measure, been fulfilled in his own lifetime. The seed which he had planted had already attained to vigorous growth. Marsden, from the time of his first contact with New Zealand, had hoped that the Maori might ultimately find political freedom under the British flag. Within two years of his death that desire had been fulfilled, and the Maoris, to whom he had so frequently spoken of British law and justice, had become British subjects.[579]



at OIHI, RUSSELL, BAY OF ISLANDS, NEW ZEALAND.

Unveiled by His Excellency the Governor of New Zealand, the Right Hon. William Lee, Baron Plunket, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O. on Tuesday, March 12, 1907.

THE MEMORIAL COLLECT USED AT THE UNVEILING CEREMONY.

(Adapted from the Collect in the Sarum Breviary for S. Hugh, Bishop Lincoln, 1186-1200)

O God, who didst singularly adorn Thy servant, Samuel Marsden, with noble acts and shining signs of grace, grant that his holy pattern may enkindle us, and his

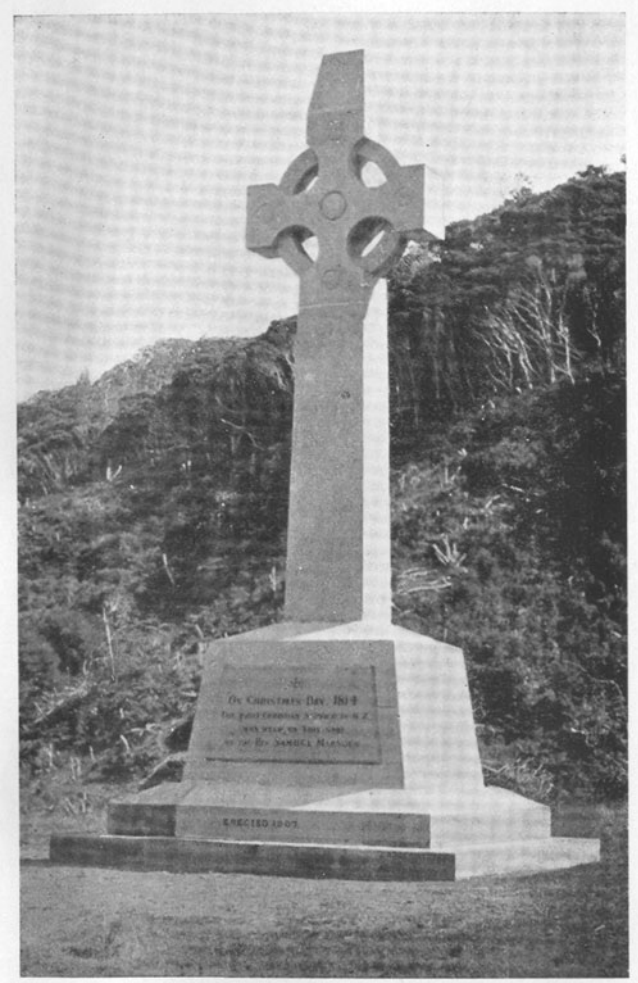
brave and virtuous deeds enlighten us, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE CROSS BEARS THE FOLLOWING INSCRIPTION: –

ON CHRISTMAS DAY, 1814,
THE FIRST CHRISTIAN SERVICE IN N.Z.
WAS HELD ON THIS SPOT
BY THE REV. SAMUEL MARSDEN

The cross, which is twenty feet eight inches high, is of hard volcanic stone from the Malmesbury quarries, Victoria, on a base and sub-base of Auckland volcanic stone.

[Inserted unpaginated illustration]



THE MARSDEN CROSS
AT OIHI, RUSSELL, BAY OF ISLANDS, NEW ZEALAND.

THE MARSDEN CROSS
AT OIHI, RUSSELL, BAY OF ISLANDS, NEW ZEALAND.



THE NEW ZEALAND MISSION IN 1838

The following list of the missionaries employed in New Zealand by the Church Missionary Society was furnished to the Lords Committee of 1838. Their names stand as a monument to the growth and achievement of the New Zealand Mission within the lifetime of its founder: –

| Name | Office | District | Station | Entered Mission |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brown, Rev. Alfred Nesbit | Missionary | Southern | Matamata | Nov. 29th, 1829 |
| Maunsell, Rev. Robert | do. | do. | Mangapouri | Nov. 25th, 1835 |
| Taylor, Rev. Richard | do. | (Detained in New South Wales) | | |
| Williams, Rev. Henry | do. | Northern | Paihia | Aug. 6th, 1823 |
| | | | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Williams, Rev. William | do. | do. | Waimate | March 5th, 1826 |
| Ashwell, Benjamin | Catechist | do. | Paihia | Dec. 23rd, 1835 |
| Baker, Charles | do. | do. | do. | Jan. 19th, 1828 |
| Bedggood, John | Wheelwright | do. | Waimate | August, 1836 |
| Chapman, Thomas | Catechist | Southern | Rotorua | July 31, 1830 |
| Clarke, George | do | Northern | Waimate | April 4th, 1824 |
| Colenso, William | Printer | do. | do. | Dec. 30th, 1834 |
| Davis, Richard | Catechist and Farmer | do. | do. | Aug. 13th, 1824 |
| Davis, James | Storekeeper | do. | do. | Went out with his father |
| Davis, Serena | .Teacher | do. | do. | do. |
| Edmonds, John | Stonemason | do. | Kerikeri | Feb. 7th, 1834 |
| Fairburn, William T. | Catechist | Southern | Puriri | July, 1819 |
| Ford, Samuel Hayward | Surgeon [580] | do. | Paihia | Aug. 22nd, 1837 |
| Hamlin, James | Catechist | do. | Mangapouri | Mar. 25th, 1826 |
| Kemp, James | do. | Northern | Whangaroa | Aug. 12th, 1819 |
| King, John | do. | do. | Tepuna | December, 1814 |
| King, Philip Hansen | do. | do. | Tauranga | Feb. 7th, 1834 |
| King, W. | Assistant | do | Waimate | Born in N.Z. |
| Hadfield, Octavius | Catechist | do. | do. | On his voyage out |
| Knight, Samuel Marsden | do. | Southern | Rotorua | June 20th, 1835 |
| Matthews, Joseph | do. | Northern | Kaitaia | Mar. 26th, 1832 |
| Matthews, Richard | do. | do. | do. | 1837 |
| Morgan, John | do. | Southern | Mangapouri | May 21st, 1833 |
| Pilley, Henry Miles | do. | do. | Rotorua | Feb. 7th, 1834 |
| Preece, James | do. | do. | Puriri | Dec. 21st, 1830 |
| Puckey, William Gilbert | do. | Northern | Kaitaia | 1821 |
| Shepherd, James | do. | do. | Kerikeri | February, 1820 |
| Stack, James | do. | Southern | Tauranga | 1834 |
| Wade, William Richard | Superintendent of the Press | Northern | Waimate | Dec. 30th, 1834 |
| Williams, Marianne | Teacher | do. | Paihia | Went out with her father |
| Wilson, John Alexander | Catechist | Southern | Matamata | April 11th, 1833 |

In these mission stations 2,176 persons attended public worship of whom 178 were communicants, while in 51 schools there were, in all, 1,431 scholars.

In addition the Wesleyan mission stations numbered six, situated at Mangungu, Newark, Kaipara, Whangaroa, Kawhia, and Taranaki, and in these there were ten missionaries.[581]

CONCLUSION



When Marsden, therefore, died in 1838, John King alone remained in the Mission of those who had reached the Bay of Islands with him in 1814. King wrote his last report to the Society on December 31st, 1853, when he gave thanks that he had been graciously preserved to commence his fortieth year of service in the Bay of Islands, although, crippled by rheumatism, he was unable longer to attend to his regular duties.[582] He died on May 6th, 1854, at the age of 67. "Throughout the course of a missionary life more than usually prolonged," the Committee of the Society remarked, in referring to his death, "he had witnessed all the changes of the Mission – its night of toil, the dawn of the morning, the full noon of large results, until his own eventide came."[583]

A few weeks after the death of the veteran missionary, on May 26th, 1854, a special meeting of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society was held at which Sir George Grey, Governor of New Zealand, who had just arrived in London, gave an account of the signal victory which had been achieved in New Zealand as the result of the Mission founded by Samuel Marsden forty years before. He stated "that he had visited nearly every station of the Society, and could speak with confidence of the great and good work accomplished by it in New Zealand; that he believed that out of the native population, estimated by himself at nearly 100,000, there were not more than 1,000 who did not make a profession of Christianity; that, though he had heard doubts expressed about the Christian character

of individuals, yet no one doubted the effect of Christianity upon the mass of the people, which had been evidenced in their social improvement, their friendly intercourse with Europeans, and their attendance upon Divine worship; ... if the work should be consolidated and perfected, as he hoped, the conversion of New Zealand would become one of the most encouraging facts in the modern history of Christianity, and a pattern of the way in which it might be established in all other heathen countries."[584]

Had Samuel Marsden heard the Governor tell thus of how his vision had been realised, he would, without doubt, from the fullness of his heart, have found expression for his thought in the words of the Psalm which he loved to quote, "Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that is within me, bless his holy name."



APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM HOBSON, R.N.

Governor of New Zealand, 1840-42.

WILLIAM HOBSON was born at Waterford, Ireland, in 1793, the third son in a family whose original home was Marylebone, London. The most prominent Waterford family of the time was that of the first Marquis of Waterford whose two natural sons, Admiral Sir John Poo Beresford and Field-Marshal Viscount Beresford, one of the most famous of Wellington's generals, both had distinguished careers. Through the patronage of Sir John Poo Beresford, who at the time was captain of a frigate, young Hobson entered the Navy in 1803 when he was not yet ten years of age, joining the 38 gun frigate la Virginie. A few days afterwards he set out on his first cruise. The greater part of his education was thus received in the Navy. The boy, nevertheless, must have been instructed with reasonable care in spite of his rough school for, as Dr. Scholefield remarks, "in later years he wrote a good hand and composed his despatches in irreproachable English."

A year after his admission to the Navy, he set sail for the West Indies in the Dart frigate of 28 guns and began a stirring career of service against pirates, French privateers, and slavers. In 1806 he became a midshipman. After some years of war service in European waters he was again, in 1811, sent to the West Indies as acting lieutenant in the flagship of Sir Francis Laforey, and by 1814, when the war with the United States broke out, he was lieutenant in the sloop Peruvian of 18 guns in which he served till the termination of the war with France in 1815.

After eighteen months of unemployment Hobson next saw service in the Mediterranean as lieutenant in the Spey and in the West Indies in the 28 gun ship Tyne, earning an enviable reputation as an officer of courage and resource in the numerous boat actions entailed by the effort to suppress piracy. By 1823 the young officer himself commanded a small flotilla of two schooners, the Lion and the Union, and two boats, detached from the squadron for the war against the pirates who infested Cuban waters, his success in this arduous service earning for him the thanks of the Admiralty.

Promoted commander in 1824 he saw further service in the West Indies in the sloop Scylla of 18 guns; his exploits in this vessel whose name he made famous are commemorated in the novels of his friend and shipmate, Captain Marryat, and in Michael Scott's "Tom Cringle's Log."

At the end of 1827 he married the daughter of a Scots West India merchant, Robert Wear Elliot.



CAPTAIN WILLIAM HOBSON, R.N.

His distinguished services in the West Indies were rewarded by his promotion to the rank of captain. He left the scene of his exploits, however, with a constitution undermined by fever and never entirely recovered from the effects of his long sojourn in the tropics.

He was not employed again until 1834 when, through the good offices of Lord Auckland who became First Lord in that year, he was given command of the Rattlesnake, 28 guns, commissioned as part of the East Indies squadron which then and for many years afterwards patrolled Australian and New Zealand waters. It was in gratitude for Lord Auckland's service in thus saving him from being placed on the retired list that in 1840 Hobson gave the name "Auckland" to the seat of government of the new Colony of New Zealand.

By 1835 Hobson was senior captain on the East Indies station while Lord Auckland was Governor-General of India. In 1836 the Rattlesnake was sent to Australian waters, and throughout the latter part of that year her officers took a prominent part in the survey of the harbour for the new settlement at Port Phillip, the northern part of the harbour being called "Hobson Bay" at the suggestion of Sir Richard Bourke himself, who, in March, 1837, visited the new settlement in the Rattlesnake and gave his approval of the site selected for the city of Melbourne.

Meanwhile the urgent despatches of the British Resident in New Zealand with regard to affairs there had considerably perturbed Bourke, with the result that Hobson was asked to proceed to the Bay of Islands and to make a report upon the state of the country. The Rattlesnake arrived there on May 26th, 1837, and Hobson spent the next week in interviewing the leading chiefs, European traders, and missionaries. The local war between Pomare and Titore, however, made the situation difficult, and Hobson was about to sail southward when he was informed of the death of Titore, to whose memory he fired a salute of seven guns.

The Rattlesnake now visited the Thames, East Cape, and Cloudy Bay, returning on June 30th to the Bay of Islands, whence, four days later, she sailed for Sydney with Samuel Marsden and his daughter Martha among her passengers for New South Wales. From Sydney the Rattlesnake proceeded to Calcutta, and thence to England where Hobson early in 1838 gave up his command, regretful that he was again on the unemployed list.

His report of August 8th, 1837, on New Zealand affairs, however, had shown him to be a man of sound judgment and common sense and when, in December, 1838, the appointment of a British Consul in New Zealand was mooted by Lord Glenelg, Hobson had good reason to hope that he might be considered for the post. Glenelg, however, went out of office in February, 1839, and Lord Normanby did not reopen the matter till June, 1839, when Hobson was offered the post of British Consul in New Zealand "with a supplementary commission as Lieutenant-Governor over such territory as might be ceded to the Queen." Meanwhile, in May, 1839, the New Zealand Company had despatched the Tory and she had already reached her destination when, on July 30th, Hobson's appointment was confirmed. On August 25th, with his family, he sailed for Port Jackson in H.M.S. Druid, arriving there on December 24th. Sailing again from Port Jackson on January 18th,



CAPTAIN WILLIAM HOBSON, R.N.

1840, in H.M.S. Herald, he reached the Bay of Islands on January 29th and landed on the afternoon of the next day, with a salute of eleven guns, to read his commissions and assume his office as Lieutenant-Governor.

Events moved quickly to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi on February 6th, 1840. The strain of an arduous life, however, exacted its penalty within a few weeks of his arrival in New Zealand, when he was stricken by paralysis and gradually declined in health till his death in September, 1842, mourned as a man of honour

and integrity even by those who had most strenuously opposed his measures By the Maoris who knew him he was held in high esteem, and some chiefs, in an address to the Queen at the time of his death in which they asked for a new Governor, said: "Let not the new Governor be a boy or one puffed up; let not a troubler come amongst us; let him be a good man like the Governor who has just died."

Hobson was buried at Auckland, and in St. Paul's Church there a marble slab, inscribed in English and Maori, was placed to his memory. His greatest memorial, however, is the city of Auckland, of which he chose the site.[585]

MARSDEN'S PORTRAITS



MARSDEN'S PORTRAITS

The portrait of Marsden which forms the frontispiece of this volume is taken from the engraving in William Yate's Account of New Zealand (London, 1835), and shows Marsden about the year 1833, when in his sixty-eighth year.

The portrait is found in the Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, as an oil painting and in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, as a water colour. The Turnbull Library portrait was bought by Mr. Turnbull in Sydney in 1907. It is unsigned but is ascribed by tradition to a painter named Bachler or Backler. The Mitchell Library portrait, which is also unsigned, came to the Library as part of the Mitchell bequest. The artist was a Sydney miniature and portrait painter named Read whose portrait of Mrs. Marsden is also in the Mitchell Library.

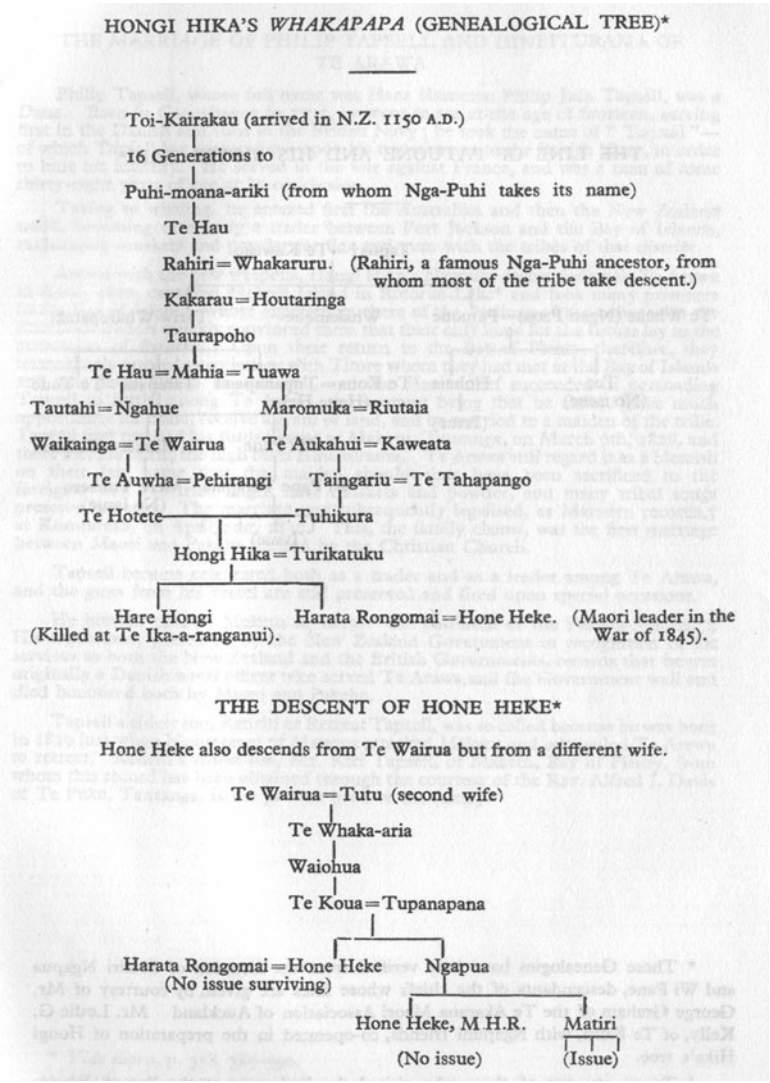
The Mitchell Library also has an engraved portrait of Marsden by a certain G. Terry, showing him as a young man of about thirty years of age.

The Fittler engraving, which is reproduced in this volume, is from a copy of the engraving in the Hocken Library. It represents Marsden as a man in middle life and must date to his one visit to England of 1808-9.

MAORI GENEALOGIES



HONGI HIKA'S WHAKAPAPA (GENEALOGICAL TREE)[586]



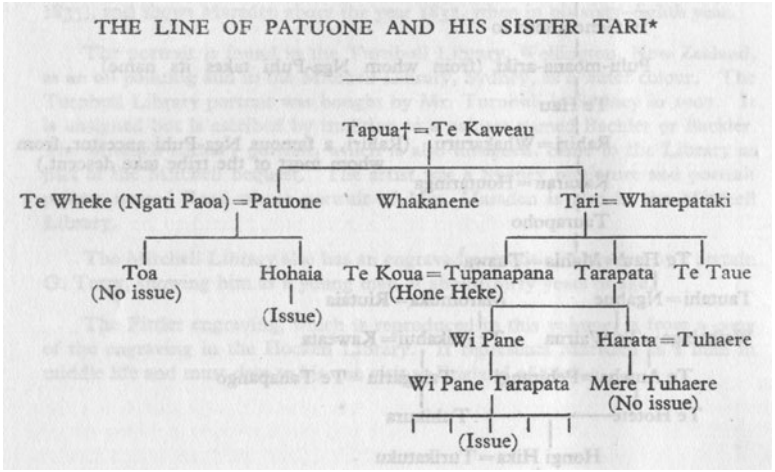

HONGI HIKA'S WHAKAPAPA (GENEALOGICAL TREE)
THE DESCENT OF HONE HEKE

[Names in the whakapapa: Toi-Kairakau (arrived in N.Z. 1150 A.D.), Puhi-moana-ariki (from whom Nga-Puhi takes its name), Te Hau, Rahiri, (Rahiri, a famous Nga-Puhi ancestor, from whom most of the tribe take descent.) Whakaruru, Kakarau, Houtaringa, Taurapoho, Te Hau, Mahia, Tuawa, Tautahi, Ngahue, Maromuka, Riutaia, Waikainga, Te Wairua, Te Aukahui, Kaweata, Te Auwha, Pehirangi, Taingariu, Te Tahapango, Te Hotete, Tuhikura, Hongi Hika, Turikatuku, Hare Hongi, (Killed at Te Ika-a-ranganui). Harata Rongomai, Hone Heke, (Maori leader in the War of 1845).]

[Hone Heke also descends from Te Wairua but from a different wife. Te Wairua = Tutu (second wife) Te Whaka-aria, Waiohua, Te Koua, Tupanapana, Harata Rongomai, Hone Heke Ngapua (No issue surviving), Hone Heke, M H.R. (No issue) Matiri (Issue)]



THE LINE OF PATUONE AND HIS SISTER TARI




THE LINE OF PATUONE AND HIS SISTER TARI

[Names in the whakapapa: Tapua[587] Te Kaweau, Te Wheke (Ngati Paoa), Patuone, Whakanene, Tari, Wharepataki, Toa, Hohaia, Te Koua, Tupanapana, Tarapata, Te Taue,(Hone Heke), Wi Pane, Harata, Tuhaere, Wi Pane Tarapata, Mere Tuhaere



THE MARRIAGE OF PHILIP TAPSELL AND HINEITURAMA OF TE ARAWA

Philip Tapsell, whose full name was Hans Hammon Philip Jack Tapsell, was a Dane. Born in Copenhagen in 1777, he went to sea at the age of fourteen, serving first in the Danish and then in the British Navy; he took the name of "Topsail" – of which Tapsell is a corruption – upon his transference to the British Navy, in order to hide his identity. He served in the war against France, and was a man of some thirty-eight years of age at its conclusion.

Taking to whaling, he entered first the Australian and then the New Zealand trade, becoming ultimately a trader between Port Jackson and the Bay of Islands, exchanging muskets and powder for flax and gum with the tribes of that district.

Armed with the new weapons, Hongi Hika's Ngapuhi descended upon Te Arawa in April, 1822, captured Mokoia Island in Rotorua Lake[588] and took many prisoners to the Bay of Islands, whose experiences there of the dealings of the tribes with the European traders quickly convinced them that their only hope for the future lay in the possession of firearms. Upon their return to the Bay of Plenty, therefore, they immediately opened negotiations with Titore whom they had met at the Bay of Islands and who knew Philip Tapsell well, and the Maori chief succeeded in persuading Tapsell to settle among Te Arawa, the promise being that he should have much opportunity for trade, receive a grant of land, and be married to a maiden of the tribe. Tapsell first reached his future home at Maketu, Tauranga, on March 9th, 1828, and there met his bride, the high born Hineiturama. Te Arawa still regard it as a blemish on their fair name that the maiden should thus have been sacrificed to the foreigner that the tribe might have muskets and powder, and many tribal songs preserve the tale. The marriage was subsequently legalised, as Marsden records,[589] at Kororareka, on April 21st, 1830. This, the family claims, was the first marriage between Maori and Pakeha blessed by the Christian Church.

Tapsell became celebrated both as a trader and as a leader among Te Arawa, and the guns from his vessel are still preserved and fired upon special occasions.

He himself died at Maketu in 1873, "the patriarch of the Pakeha-Maoris."[590] His tombstone, presented by the New Zealand Government in recognition of his services to both the New Zealand and the British Governments, records that he was originally a Danish naval officer who served Te Arawa and the Government well and died honoured both by Maori and Pakeha.

Tapsell's eldest son, Retiriti or Retreat Tapsell, was so called because he was born in 1829 just when Ngaiterangi of Matatua attacked Maketu and compelled Te Arawa to retreat. Retiriti's eldest son, Mr. Kiri Tapsell, of Maketu, Bay of Plenty, from whom this record has been obtained through the courtesy of the Rev. Alfred J. Davis of Te Puke, Tauranga, is the present head of the family.

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**543** Rev. W. Yate, curate at St. Swithin's Church, Cannon Street, London, was ordained a deacon in December, 1825, and a priest in December, 1826. He joined the service of the Church Missionary Society, and reached New Zealand on January 19th, 1828.* From 1830 to 1833 he was prominently engaged in supervising the publication of translations into Maori, while he also published in London in 1835 his Account of New Zealand.

Accompanied by his sister and the Rev. R. and Mrs. Taylor, the missionary again left England for New Zealand on February 18th, 1836, in the Prince Regent (Captain Aitken) which arrived at Sydney on June 12th, 1836.** He there took charge of St. James's Church which had been rendered vacant by the sudden death of the Rev. Richard Hill,*** but on August 13th he was interdicted by Bishop Broughton until such time as various charges with regard to his conduct while a passenger in the Prince Regent could be sifted by a church court. Yate strenuously denied the truth of these accusations, but, being threatened with legal proceedings, he left Sydney for London with his sister on December 17th, 1836, in the Ulysses brig, arriving in England in May, 1837.****

* The Church Missionary Register, 1828, p 414. ** Ibid., 1836, p. 157. *** Ibid., 1836, pp. 532 and 571. **** W. Yate, Letter to the Committee of the Church Missionary Society (London, 1843), pp. 11 and 16.

**544** At the time of her death in 1835 Mrs. Marsden had been an invalid for over twenty years. In June, 1815, Marsden wrote in the following terms to the Rev. Josiah Pratt with reference to her illness: –

"Mrs. Marsden being very lame and not able to walk much from a paralytic stroke which afflicted her more than three years ago, I should be much obliged if you could by any means procure me a light second-hand post chaise for the sum of £50 or there about. Nothing of that kind is to be procured here. This would be a great comfort to her in her present infirm state. The chaise must be light, as it will be only wanted to run about Parramatta occasionally. I have no doubt but the Transport Office would allow it to be sent out in one of their transports. I will account with you for the amount in the salaries of the settlers at New Zealand as I know what the amount may be should you be able to get one sent out to me." – (Marsden MSS.)

**545** Thomas Marsden, a son of Charles, brother of Samuel Marsden, married Jane Marsden. They had two children, Anna, who was unmarried and who ultimately resided at Clifton, Bristol, and Samuel Edward, who afterwards became first Bishop of Bathurst and subsequently Bishop Marsden of Bristol.

**546** William Grant Broughton (1788-1853), a native of London, became Archdeacon of New South Wales in 1829 upon the resignation of Archdeacon Scott. In February, 1836, he was consecrated first Bishop of Australia. New Zealand was not actually included in his patent, but he felt it his duty to regard it as under his pastoral care and visited the country in 1838, reaching the Bay of Islands on December 21st in H.M.S. Pelorus (Captain Harding). The Bishop was accompanied by the Rev. O. Hadfield who became second Bishop of Wellington in 1870. In the course of his visit Bishop Broughton consecrated a burial ground and held the first New Zealand confirmation service, confirming 44 natives and 20 Europeans who were mostly missionaries' children. His address to the natives upon this occasion was translated by the Rev. William Williams and printed at Paihia in 1839.

Bishop Broughton died at London in 1853 and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral. – Benjamin Harrison's Sermons on the Church of England by the Right Rev. William Grant Broughton, D.D., is prefaced by a memoir of the Bishop; cf. The Church Missionary Register, December, 1839, p. 551, James Bonwick, Curious Facts of Old Colonial Days (London, 1870), pp. 32-45, H. Jacobs, Dioceses of New Zealand, pp. 70-2, and H. T. Purchas, A History of the English Church in New Zealand, p. 67.

**547** "I put the Committee to no expense in my voyage to New Zealand," wrote Marsden upon his return to New South Wales. "It was an act of my own, and therefore I felt myself bound to pay all expenses to and from New Zealand."

**548** Marsden's belief in Yate's guilt was evidently founded upon information derived from New Zealand sources. Joel Samuel Polack, for example, a storekeeper and flax-trader, who resided at Kororareka (Russell) at this time, states bluntly that "on enquiry being instituted (into the charges against Yate), a mass of information was furnished by the New Zealanders of sufficient weight to crush a host." "To the enquiry put by the brethren to the natives," he continues, "'Why did you withhold this account from us hitherto?' the ready answer was given, 'You forbade us to speak against any one of your body, for if we offend any of you we offend all.'" – J. S. Polack, A Narrative of Travels and Adventures in New Zealand (London, 1838), Vol. II, p. 148.

Polack was a man of standing, and of varied experience in many parts of the world. He gave evidence with regard to the state of New Zealand before the Lords' Committee of 1838. He subsequently returned to New Zealand and lived in Auckland until 1849 when he sailed for the Californian gold diggings where he died.

Polack's evidence is borne out by that of the Rev. W. R. Wade, a missionary stationed at Waimate, who, on September 28th, 1836, wrote to Mr. Dandeson Coates in the following terms: – "Never was there a more awful case than that of Yate, and never did the Church of Christ receive a deeper wound in the house of his friends. . . . Native after native has been questioned and not one jarring testimony has been found. It is of no use for Mr. Yate to say that native testimony is not to be depended on. Most of the young men who have been examined are trustworthy, baptized natives who themselves were drawn in by the wretched man's persuasions and rewards, without being conscious of the detestable nature of the crime into which he was leading them. Circumstances have also come to light in other quarters by which it appears that not only on board the Prince Regent but in the Sovereign on his first coming, and at Tonga, whither he went in quest of Mr. C. Davies, did he carry on his infamous practices. The matter appears to have been universally known among the natives, and everyone is astonished that it could have been kept so long from us, as natives commonly keep no secrets. But, in addition to the hope of reward, it should be stated that the missionaries so decidedly refuse in general to lend any ear to native reports, and what has been said about Mr. Yate was so sharply checked as being slanderous and false, that the natives would find little encouragement to make any further exposure, especially with the sense of shame which some of them possess. . . . When the Achan is utterly removed from the camp of our little Israel, we do yet hope that the mischief which has come upon us through him may be averted." – MS. Journal of Rev. W. R. Wade, 1834-6 (Hocken Library).

W. R. Wade reached New Zealand with Colenso, as superintendent of the press, in December, 1834. He left New Zealand for Hobart in 1842 where he became minister of Harrington Street Chapel. He died on October 25th, 1891, at Melbourne, at the age of 89. In 1842 he published at Sydney A Journey in the Northern Island of New Zealand. – T. M. Hocken, Bibliography of New Zealand Literature, p. 107.

**549** The Rev. Henry Hodgkinson Bobart, a missionary at Waimate from 1835 till December, 1836, was Marsden's curate and succeeded him in his charge at Parramatta. He married Elizabeth, Marsden's fourth child, in 1838.

**550** Martha, his youngest daughter; the Rev. Frederick Wilkinson, a Church of England clergyman, a New South Wales chaplain, with his wife and two young children, also accompanied Marsden on his voyage and travelled with him across the country from the Hokianga River to the Bay of Islands. – Parliamentary Papers, Report of the Lords' Committee on the Present State of New Zealand (London, 1838), pp. 95-108.

**551** In the introductory chapter to his authoritative Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900 (Wellington, 1924), Bishop Herbert W. Williams gives an interesting account of the beginnings of Maori literature which now, he notes, "in addition to a large number of leaflets and pamphlets, embraces valuable translations into Maori, original compositions by Maoris as well as by European scholars, collections of ancient legends, esoteric lore, songs and proverbs, statutes, periodical publications, and school books." "It may be questioned," he adds, "whether any other Polynesian race has its language so well represented in print."

Thomas Kendall's A Korao no New Zealand; or The New Zealanders First Book, being an Attempt to compose some Lessons for the Instruction of the Natives, a small book of 54 pages, printed at Sydney in 1815, when Kendall had not yet been twelve months in New Zealand, was, so far as is known, the first work dealing entirely with the Maori language. "I have prepared a first book for the instruction of the natives which I transmit to you," Kendall wrote to Marsden. "You can get a few copies printed, if you think proper. There are, undoubtedly, many defects in it; but it is good to make a beginning. I wish to have it printed with a large type, and on good paper." In reporting the matter to the Society Marsden said, "Mr. Kendall sent me over a spelling book to get printed. I have had a few hundreds printed and bound. A few copies I have forwarded to you." – The Church Missionary Register, 1817, p. 525; cf. H. W. Williams, Bibliography of Printed Maori, p. I.

The numerous defects in Kendall's first attempt to reduce Maori to writing were made evident five years later when, in 1820, Kendall himself with the chiefs Hongi and Waikato visited England and supplied Professor Lee with the information which enabled him to establish the alphabet on a scientific basis and to publish The Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand (London, 1820), which made it possible to proceed with a Maori literature.

Apart from the tentative efforts of the Rev. W. Yate, of which mention has already been made, the history of printing in New Zealand begins with the arrival of Colenso and the Church Mission Press on December 30th, 1834. Colenso maintained his connection with the press till 1842, the works issued during the period including "some thirty-six items in Maori, the sizes varying from a single leaf to the New Testament (356 pages), and the numbers of each issued from 70 to 20,000." – (H. W. Williams, Bibliography of Printed Maori, p. viii.) John Telford, Colenso's successor, issued fourteen items from Paihia, including in 1844 the first edition of the Maori Dictionary by Archdeacon William Williams of Waiapu, which had been ready for the press six years before. In the following year, 1845, Bishop Selwyn's headquarters and his College of St. John were moved from Waimate, in the Bay of Islands, to Tamaki, near Auckland, where the College is now located. The Bishop took with him the press recently presented to him by the Church Missionary Society, and Maori books till 1856 bear the imprint Purewa (one Tamaki), or Te Kareti (the College), the press being described as the Mission, the Bishop's, or the College Press.

The Wesleyan Mission also had its press at Mangungu, on the Hokianga, and from 1836 to 1845 some thirty items were issued, the most important being the life of Christ told in extracts from the four Gospels.

The Roman Catholic Mission, under Bishop Pompallier, established a press at Kororareka in the Bay of Islands in 1839 when the Bishop moved his headquarters from Hokianga to that place. The press, as Bishop H. W. Williams notes, (Bibliography of Printed Maori, p. 9), had probably been brought from France in the schooner Reine de Paix which had arrived with supplies for the mission. Between 1839 and 1847 seven items were issued from this press, one Ko te Ako me te Karakia (Kororareka, 1847), being a book of 646 pages.

The missionaries had naturally devoted most attention to the printing of the Maori Scriptures. The Lord's Prayer, first printed in Lee and Kendall's Grammar of 1820, was again printed separately at "Atkinson's Office, High Row, Darlington," in 1827. Other portions of the Scripture appeared first in a small book published in Sydney in 1827, of which enlarged editions appeared in 1830 and 1833. The first complete Maori New Testament was issued from the Paihia Press in 1837, the translation being the work of the Rev. William Williams, afterwards first Bishop of Waiapu, who was assisted by Messrs. W. G. Puckey and J. Shepherd. The translation of the Old Testament progressed much less rapidly; at various dates from 1840 to 1856 the Mission Press issued authorized translations of portions, the chief translator being the Rev. Robert Maunsell. After 1846 the portions already issued were brought together and revised, the amended work being sent to the British and Foreign Bible Society for reprinting. In 1848, 1855, and 1858 the Bible Society issued consecutive sections, thus completing the Old Testament. The whole Bible (Te Paipera Tapu) was first issued at London in 1868; a second and revised translation was published in 1887.

In 1830 and 1833 portions of the Church Service with selected hymns and catechism had been printed at Sydney. The first Prayer Book from the Paihia press was published in 1839 and contained an arrangement of Morning and Evening Prayer, the Litany shortened and adapted, and forty-two hymns. This was reprinted, with slight alterations, in 1840, 1842, 1844, and 1850. The complete Prayer Book, bearing the date 1840, was published at the end of 1841. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge then undertook the work of publication, issuing its first edition in 1848, and a first complete edition in 1850.

The Wesleyans published their first Maori Prayer Book at Mangungu in 1839, a second edition following in 1841. The first Wesleyan Prayer Book contained thirty hymns, this number being much increased as new editions were issued.

William Gilbert Puckey, who rendered such outstanding service in the translating of the Scriptures, was born in 1805 at Penrhyn, in Cornwall, and arrived in New Zealand in 1819 with his father, William Puckey, the missionary artisan who frequently accompanied Marsden in his early New Zealand journeys. On October 11th, 1831, William G. Puckey married Matilda Davis, daughter of the Rev. Richard Davis, at Paihia, this being the first white marriage in New Zealand. From 1833 till his death in 1878 he was a lay missionary of the Church Missionary Society, living at the Kataia station in the Mangonui district which he established in 1833 along with the Rev. Joseph Matthews. Kataia, the original name of which was Te Ahu, was inhabited by the Rarawa tribe, whose great chief was Panakareao. Brought up from boyhood among the Maoris, William G. Puckey was a master of their language, manners, customs, and traditions, and had great influence with the Aupouri and Ngapuhi tribes. His wife survived him till 1884. – A. M. S. M. Williams, William Gilbert Puckey (Napier, circ. 1929, for private circulation).

The Rev. Robert Maunsell, who was also prominent in this work of translation, was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. His headquarters in New Zealand were at the Waikato, where he laboured amongst the Maoris for some thirty years. Leaving the mission field he was appointed to the incumbency of St. Mary's, Auckland, and remained in that charge for the succeeding twenty years. One of Bishop Selwyn's archdeacons, he died in 1894, aged 84. The honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by Trinity College, Dublin, in recognition of his work as chief translator of the Maori Old Testament. – H. W. Williams, A Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900, Introduction; T. M. Hocken, Bibliography of New Zealand Literature, pp. 503, 509, and Literature in New Zealand, Transactions of the New Zealand Institute, 1900, p. 482.

**552** The Rev. Frederick Wilkinson, one of Marsden's companions in his journey of 1837 from Hokianga to the Bay of Islands, while giving evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Lords of 1838 was asked if he had had an opportunity of observing whether, among the natives who had not had the advantage of being visited at all by the missionaries, there was any notion of religion, and replied: – "The second night that I slept in the bush in New Zealand I came to a native's house, and was exceedingly tired; he begged of me to stop there, and made me very comfortable indeed; they gave me a clean blanket and plenty of fern to sleep on, which I did. After their supper, which was potatoes, they got their book down (their Testament – they, most of them, had a Testament) and read a chapter out of the Testament, and the family collected round, and afterwards they knelt and prayed, and then we retired to rest. In the same way they began the day the next morning. That man was not a baptized Christian, but he was a Christian. I have seen him at the service afterwards, but he had not yet been baptized nor any of his family. He belonged to the Church Missionary Station at Waimate."

"In what language was the service read?"

"In the native language. They are exceedingly fond of reading; they never go away without their Book in their blankets. It did not appear to be done for effect but as if it was their common habit."

"They had not the expectation of getting anything from you?"

"Nothing at all. The man was very kind to me; when I returned from Waimate he came to tender his services." – Parliamentary Papers, Report of the Lords' Committee on the Present State of New Zealand (London, 1838), p. 97.

**553** The Rev. George Clarke, Chancellor of the University of Tasmania, in a letter written from Hobart to Dr. Hocken on November 30th, 1904, gives the following glimpse of Marsden during the last visit to New Zealand: – "He came to see our missionary school at Waimate. I see him now, with his white hair, heavy features, strong common sense, dignified ways and fatherly benignity in all that concerned us New Zealand boys. We boys, under the charge of the Rev. W. Williams, were reading Caesar and Cicero and a little of Xenophon and Homer. The examination was for us an anxious function. The good old man came for an hour to see how we acquitted ourselves. I remember his sitting down with a Caesar in his hand, seemingly absorbed in the Gallic War. I suppose it brought back to him the days of his youth when he knew much more Latin than he could remember. But it was bis fatherly interest in us all that most impressed us, and the feeling that he was nearly at the last that he could do for the Mission that he had served so well. The reverence that we and all the Maoris had for him is not to be told in words. No one since his time has at all approached it. That is my last glimpse of Samuel Marsden." – MS. Letter in Hocken Library.

**554** Vide supra, p. 58.

**555** Governor King visited New Zealand in November, 1793. – cf. ante, p. 59, and King's "Journal," Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. II, pp. 535-553.

**556** The first pigs to reach New Zealand waters of which there is record were carried on board Tasman's Heemskerck on his voyage of discovery of 1642 and were evidently used to provide fresh meat on special occasions. On Christmas Day, 1642, the "Sailors' Journal" of Tasman's voyage records, "there were two pigs killed for the crew and the commander ordered, besides the ration, a tankard of wine to be given to every man, as it was the time of the fair." – McNab, Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. II, p. 32. De Surville of the Saint Jean Baptiste, when he landed at Doubtless Bay on December 22nd, 1769, presented the chief of the district with two little pigs. "On leur a laisse," writes Monneron, de Surville's supercargo, "deux petits cochons de lait male et femelle et, enfin, un coq et une poule de Siam, les deux seules volailles qui restaient dans le vaisseau depuis tres longtemps." – McNab, Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. II, p. 286.

As the Adventure and the Resolution lay in Queen Charlotte Sound in April and May, 1773, during Cook's second voyage, both pigs and goats were landed "We had not only endeavoured to leave European roots in this country," writes Forster, "but we were likewise attentive to stock its wilds with animals, which in time might become beneficial to the natives and to future generations of navigators. To this purpose Captain Furneaux (of the Adventure) had already sent a boar and two sows to Cannibal Cove where they had been turned into the woods to range at their own pleasure; and we (the Resolution) now deprived ourselves, with the same view, of a pair of goats, male and female, which we left in an unfrequented part of East Bay." – Forster, A Voyage Round the World (London, 1777), Vol. I, p. 221. Anderson, the surgeon, in his account of Cook's third voyage, relates that Cook, before he left Queen Charlotte Sound for the last time in February, 1777, gave the chiefs of the district "two pigs, a boar and a sow, and two goats, a male and a female, . . . after the natives had promised not to destroy them." They were informed that all the animals which Captain Furneaux had left there were dead, "but no intelligence could be obtained concerning those which Captain Cook had left in West Bay and in Cannibal Cove in his former visit." They were afterwards informed by the two New Zealand youths who sailed with them that one of the chiefs of the district possessed "many cocks and hens, besides a sow." – George William Anderson, A Collection of Voyages Round the World (London, 1790), Vol. IV, p. 1313.

It seems clear, therefore, that Cook introduced pigs into the South Island of New Zealand. Evidently those introduced by de Surville into the North Island did not long survive. Governor King, when he visited the Bay of Islands in November, 1793, in the Britannia and presented the Maoris who came on board the vessel with "ten young sows and two boars," was careful to exact a

promise from them that they should be preserved for breeding. – McNab, Historical Records of New Zealand, Vol. II, p. 550.

While at Queen Charlotte Sound, in the course of his second voyage, Cook had planted potatoes, "with corn of several sorts, beans, kidney-beans, and peas." – Forster, A Voyage Round the World (London, 1777), Vol. I, p. 217. Probably various other visitors had also introduced potatoes at different points on the coast before Governor King, upon the occasion of his visit of 1793, presented the natives of the Bay of Islands with potatoes which the natives cultivated assiduously. Before the end of the eighteenth century the natives were thoroughly alive to the value of the plant, and Captain Wilson of the Royal Admiral found that the Maoris at the Firth of Thames, where he anchored in 1801, cultivated extensive fields of potatoes, and that their ordinary diet was potatoes and fish. Captain Rhodes of the Alexander, again, upon his return to Sydney in 1803, reported that he had bought from the New Zealanders some seven or eight tons of fine potatoes, and from 1805 onwards the natives at the Bay of Islands cultivated immense quantities which they sold to the whalers. Governor King was so much pleased with the trade that thus grew up that in 1805 he gave orders to the Commandant at Norfolk Island that pigs and other stock should be sent to the Bay of Islands for distribution among the chiefs, whenever opportunity offered. – McNab, From Tasman to Marsden (Dunedin, 1914), p. 94 et seq.

The potato crop was not neglected even in the extreme south. Robert Williams, a Sydney rope manufacturer who accompanied the Perseverance to southern New Zealand in 1813 and visited Bluff, reported that the natives "had a field of considerably more than 100 acres of potatoes which presented one well-cultivated bed, filled with rising crops of various ages, some of which were ready for digging while others had been but newly planted." – The Sydney Gazette, September 4th, 1813, quoted in McNab, Murihiku (Invercargill, 1907), pp. 146-7.

**557** Vide ante, p. 61.

**558** The Church Missionary Register, 1838, pp. 220-221.

**559** From Parramatta on August 3rd, 1837, Marsden wrote: – "Captain Hobson came to New Zealand when I was there on a visit to the missionaries. Captain Hobson is a serious man and behaved to me with the greatest kindness." – Vide Appendix viii.

Captain Hobson visited New Zealand in 1837 in accordance with instructions from Sir R. Bourke, Governor of New South Wales, who asked him to report on the New Zealand situation and give suggestions for the securing of the best interests of Maoris and Europeans there. Captain Hobson in his report, dated August 8th, 1837, suggested that some form of British jurisdiction be established. – Parliamentary Papers, Correspondence with the Secretary of State Relative to New Zealand (London, 1840), pp. 9-11.

**560** Mission stations at Cook Strait were established almost immediately after Marsden's journey of 1837. "The honours of the coming of the Church to Cook Strait were fairly divided between Wesleyan and Anglican," writes McNab. "The first native teacher was Ripahau, an Anglican (at Waikanae); the first visiting missionary was Mr. White, a Wesleyan (Queen Charlotte Sound and Cloudy Bay, 1836); the first mission stations established were the Wesleyan ones, by Bumby and Hobbs (Port Nicholson and Mana, about June, 1839); the first European preacher stationed was Mr. O. Hadfield, an Anglican (located at Waikanae and Otaki by the Rev. Henry Williams in 1839, in response to the request of Tamihana Te Rauparaha); finally, the first service preached to the Company's immigrants was by Mr. Buller, a Wesleyan (at Port Nicholson in January, 1840). – Robert McNab, The Old Whaling Days (Christchurch, 1913), pp. 333, 334.

The Rev. John Hewgill Bumby, the Methodist missionary who went with Mr. Hobbs in August, 1839, to the Cook Strait district for the purpose of fixing a spot for a permanent mission settlement there, found the natives of Port Nicholson "of milder aspect, and gentler carriage, than the natives of the north of the island." "Thinking the place suitable for a new station," he continues, "and presuming that the Committee would sanction such a step, we tapued a piece of land of the proprietors, two respectable chiefs, for some blankets and fish-hooks. The tapu secures to us the privilege of purchase, if we should fix upon the place for a missionary settlement. Having spent a week amongst these interesting barbarians, and furnished the lads we were about to leave as teachers with books, slates, pencils, etc., etc., for schools, we prepared to take our departure. The people showed us great kindness, bringing abundance of pigs and potatoes as a mark of their respect and gratitude." At Cloudy Bay he saw only about one hundred and fifty natives, who were "most importunate for books of hymns and prayers. The European whalers were numerous but had no welcome for missionaries." . . ."I am persuaded," he concludes, "if missionary operations were commenced here, there would be more opposition from civilized Europeans than from the untutored barbarians." – A. Barrett, The Life of the Rev. John Hewgill Bumby (London, 1852), pp. 210-12.

The Rev. J. H. Bumby, who had reached New Zealand in March, 1839, was drowned in the River Thames, New Zealand, on June 26th, 1840.

The Rev. Henry Williams had visited the Cook Strait district in November, 1838, almost a year before Bumby's arrival there. – Carleton, Life of Henry Williams (Auckland, 1874), Vol. I, pp. 214-8.

**561** Titore was killed in the course of the local warfare with Pomare. He left no issue. – S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, p. 226.

Concerning Titore's death, Captain Hobson wrote in his report of August 8th, 1837: – "The excellent chief Titore is dead and his people are under the direction of a perfect savage who thirsts for war; and Pomare, the head of the opposite tribe, is likewise a violent fellow, who claims a right to the land of Kororareka which was once his but was ceded to Titore at the peace of 1830. The gentlemen of the Mission maintain a constant intercourse between the parties and are received by both with the greatest respect. Their efforts to promote peace are unremitting, and of late they have felt confident of eventual success."

**562** Marsden counted among his friends many of the leaders of the eighteenth century evangelical movement which had had such an effect upon his own life. William Romaine (1714-95) who in 1766 became incumbent of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, was the central figure of the movement in London; John Newton (1725-1807) of Olney and St. Mary Woolnoth, stands out as the friend of Cowper and Whitefield; Legh Richmond (1772-1827) and Charles Simeon (1759-1836) were Cambridge graduates who both became prominent among the evangelicals. The latter, in particular, befriended Marsden in his early days of struggle and earned his undying affection. Rowland Hill (1744-1833), a student of St. John's, Cambridge, became prominent in all the religious and philanthropic movements of the time and was a pioneer supporter of missionary associations. A memoir of his life and work, with a portrait, is given in John Morrison's Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society (London, 1844), pp. 293-322. – Vide short accounts of his career and of those of the others mentioned above in the Dictionary of National Biography.

**563** The Church Missionary Register, 1838, p. 220.

**564** Ibid., 1838, p. 221.

**565** Captain Hobson in his report of August 8th, 1837, to Governor Bourke, gives some further particulars of the cruise, in the course of which, he states, he visited "the Bay of Islands, Puriri, and Waikaitewa on the Thames, the island of Waihike at its entrance, and Cloudy Bay in Cook's Straits." "I intended," he continues, "to have called at Entry Island and Marra, where a Mr. Bell has settled, but the boisterous state of the weather prevented my anchoring. I stood close in to both islands and feel convinced that the very appearance of a man-of-war in that quarter will have considerable weight from the terror in which we are held by the natives, in consequence of the severe chastisement inflicted on them by the Alligator and the detachment of H.M. 50th Regiment in 1835." – Parliamentary Papers, Correspondence with the Secretary of State Relative to New Zealand (London, 1840), pp. 9 and 10.

**566** The translation of the letter thus given to Marsden by the New Zealand chief reads as follows: –

"Sir,
Will you give us a law? This is the purport of my address to you.
1. If we say, let the cultivations be fenced, and a man, through laziness, does not fence, should pigs get into his plantations, is it right for him to kill them? Do you give us a law in this matter.
2. Again; should pigs get into fenced land, is it right to kill, or rather to tie them till the damage they have done is paid for? Will you give us a law in this?
3. Again; should the husband of a woman die, and she afterward wishes to be married to another, should the natives of unchanged heart bring a fight against us, would it be right for us to stand up to resist them on account of their wrongful interference? Will you give us a law in this also?
4. Again, in our wickedness, one man has two wives; but after he has listened to Christ, he puts away one of them, and gives her to another man to wife. Now, should a fight be brought against us, are we in this case to stand up to fight? Give us a law in this.
5. Again, should two men strive one with the other? Give us a law in this. My (ritenga) law is, to collect all the people together, and judge them for their unlawful fighting, and also for wrongfully killing pigs. Therefore I say, that the man who kills pigs for trespassing on his plantation, having neglected to fence, had better pay for the pigs so killed. Will you give us a law in this? Fenced

cultivations, when trespassed on, should be paid for. These only are the things which cause us to err – women, pigs, and fighting one with another.
6. But here is another. Should a man who is in the Church come in a fight against us? Give us also a law in this.
Another thing, which we are afraid of, and which also degrades us, is this – slaves exalting themselves above their masters. Will you give us a law in this also? " – -The Church Missionary Register, 1838, p. 219.

**567** Yate reached London in the Ulysses in May, 1837, to find that he had already been dismissed from the service of the Church Missionary Society, whose Committee refused to reopen their investigation of his case and passed a resolution on May 16th, 1837, confirming their former finding of February, which ended: "Without expressing any opinion adverse to Mr. Yate, the Committee do not feel themselves called upon to enter into an investigation of the merits of the question at issue."

All subsequent efforts on his part to have his case discussed by the Committee proved futile, although he held he was in possession of "satisfactory and overwhelming evidence both oral and written" with regard to his innocence. He set out this evidence in his Letter and Statement as to the Charges brought against the Rev. William Yate (London, 1843). As mentioned above, however, it must be noticed that he had offered no defence when called before the Bishop. Yate was subsequently appointed Chaplain to the Sailors' Home at Dover.

**568** In 1835 the Apostolic Vicariate of the Western Pacific Ocean was erected by Pope Gregory XVI, and in May, 1836, Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier, a Marist priest, was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Western Oceania. Pompallier, with his missionary companions, reached Tahiti in September, 1837, and there baptized "a New Zealand born child whose father, a European Catholic and a sailor, had brought him to the island."

At Tahiti he chartered the schooner Raiatea of sixty tons and set sail for Sydney, where he arrived on December 9th, having, in the course of his voyage, founded missions on the islands of Wallis and Futuna. At Sydney he learned that at Hokianga, in New Zealand, there lived "a few scattered Irish families, who were timber traders . . . and who were totally deprived of the succours of religion," and hence decided to establish his New Zealand mission station there. In spite of the storm of contemporary criticism there is no reason to connect his mission with the policy of the French Government of the day with regard to New Zealand. A Catholic Mission in the Pacific had been planned since 1827.

The Raiatea reached the Hokianga River on January 10th, 1838, and there, in the house of Thomas Poynton, an Irish Catholic timber trader, on Saturday, January 13th, Mass was first celebrated in New Zealand. Poynton's daughter, Catherine, was the first child baptized in the Catholic Church in New Zealand.

A wooden chapel at Totara, near Hokianga, was the first station of the Catholic Mission in New Zealand (January, 1838), and by 1840 others had been founded at Kaipara (October, 1838), the Bay of Islands (June, 1839), Whangaroa (September, 1839)5 and Tauranga (March, 1840).

Bishop Pompallier, who was born at Lyons in 1802, left New Zealand in April, 1846, and died in France in 1870. – Pompallier, Early History of the Catholic Church in Oceania (Auckland, 1888); Monfat, Les Origines de la Foi Catholique dans la Nouvelle Zelande (Lyons, 1896) ; Annali della Propagazione della Fede, 1838, pp. 237, 409, 1839, pp. 69, 148, 157; A. W. Ullathorne, The Catholic Mission in Australasia (Liverpool, 1837), p. 48 et seq.; P. F. Moran, History of the Catholic Church in Australasia (Sydney, 1895), pp. 897-903; and J. J. Wilson, The Church in New Zealand (Dunedin, 1910), pp. 3 and 9-16.

**569** The Baron de Thierry, upon his arrival at Hokianga on November 4th, 1837, found it impossible to substantiate his land claims. His efforts to secure French intervention on his behalf undoubtedly combined with the arrival of the French Roman Catholic Mission to hasten the proclamation of British sovereignty in 1840. Upon Governor Hobson's arrival de Thierry settled down to life in New Zealand, devoting much attention to processes and inventions for cleaning native flax. He died in 1866 at Auckland. His son survived till 1897 when he died in the Ponsonby Convent at Auckland. – Le Guillou, Voyage autour du Monde (Paris, 1844), Vol. II, pp. 253-6; Parliamentary Papers, Report of the Lords' Committee on the Present State of New Zealand (London, 1838), pp. 244-6 and 299-305; The Otago Daily Times, August 7th, 1897. – A. J. Harrop, England and New Zealand, pp. 16-22.

**570** The first Catholic Bishop in New South Wales was the Most Rev. Dr. Polding, consecrated in London in June, 1834; he reached Sydney in September, 1835. Soon after his arrival be baptized in Sydney "a young man and woman from New Zealand, the children of chiefs," who had arrived "under the care of an Irish sailor, to hear of the Catholic religion." – W. Ullathorne, The Catholic Mission in Australasia, p. 48; P. F. Moran, The History of the Catholic Church in Australasia, pp. 897 et seq.

**571** The Rev. Richard Taylor, M.A. of Queen's College, Cambridge and F.G.S., was sent out in 1836, but was detained by the Bishop in Sydney until January, 1839. He was stationed at the Bay of Islands and Wanganui and died at Wanganui in October, 1873, aged sixty-eight.

**572** On May 17th, 1838, Archdeacon Cowper wrote from Sydney to his son, the Rev. W. Cowper: – "On Tuesday last I was at Parramatta, by request, to read the Burial Service at the interment of the late Rev. Samuel Marsden. The funeral was the most numerous and respectably attended ever seen in Parramatta. He had nearly completed his seventy-third year." – Marsden Correspondence (Hocken Library).

**573** The Rev. Henry Tarlton Stiles was born at Bristol on June 24th, 1808. Ordained in 1833 he was appointed a Colonial Chaplain in New South Wales shortly afterwards and became the incumbent of St. Matthew's, Windsor. He died on June 22nd, 1867. – J- H. Heaton, Australian Dictionary of Dates (Sydney, 1879), p. 193.

**574** W. J. Gunther, Incumbent of St. John's, Parramatta, The Church of England in Australia from 1788 to 1820 (Parramatta, 1888), p. 8.

**575** MS. Journal of Richard Davis (Hocken Library).

**576** The Church Missionary Register, 1838, pp. 481-2.

**577** Richard Taylor, Te Ika a Maui or New Zealand and its Inhabitants, Second Edition (London, 1870), p. 601.

**578** The Church Missionary Register, 1839, p. 199

**579** The Rev. Frederick Wilkinson, in giving evidence before the Lords' Committee of 1838, was asked: "What should you think would be the feeling of the chiefs if, on any plan of occupation and colonization, they were to be invited to give up all their territorial and sovereign rights?"

"I think they would be very glad of it," he replied.

"And to live under a system that was established by a foreign government?"

"Not all foreign governments, but the British Government; I think they would be very happy to give up what little authority they possess, for they possess very little; they would be very glad to give it up to the British Government. They would not know what they were doing, but they would take for granted that they were safe in trusting to honourable people. They know the higher classes of English people, and they take the character of the English from them more than they would from the convicts who go there." – Parliamentary Papers, Report of Lords' Committee of 1838, p. 102.

Mr. Dandeson Coates, Lay Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, in his Present State of the New Zealand Question (London, 1838), elaborated the view generally held by his Committee with regard to the future of New Zealand.

"The solution of that question," he wrote, "is, undoubtedly, a matter of much difficulty. It requires the recognition and maintenance of these two principles: (1) The preservation of the native sovereignty and independence; and (2) the effectual interposition of British influence and power. No measures can be equitably adopted, or produce salutary results, which are not founded in justice, or, in other words, the recognised principles of international law.

"It must be admitted that the case of New Zealand is a peculiar and anomalous one. It is admitted, too, that it is not inconsistent with the essence of justice to deviate from acknowledged principles to meet an anomalous case. It may therefore be conceded that some departure from the strict letter of the law of nations is necessary to meet the New Zealand case; in other words, that the British Government may legitimately adopt proceedings in this case which, in the usual intercourse of independent states, would be an unjustifiable violation of the law of nations. Only, to justify such deviation, it must be strictly limited to the necessity of the case; and, in this instance, be specially directed to the promotion of the natives' welfare; that welfare including the preservation of their national sovereignty, the introduction of government and laws suited to their circumstances, and their religious and moral improvement."

The solution of the question ultimately forced upon the British Government was the proclamation of full British sovereignty in the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840 – the solution which men like the Rev. Henry Williams regarded as the only practicable one, and which Marsden, had he been alive, would have hailed with joy as ensuring the permanence of the structure whose foundation he had laid.

**580** Samuel Ford, it is noted by E. Stock in his History of the Church Missionary Society (Vol. I, p. 357), was the Society's first medical missionary. He resigned, however, after four years of service.

**581** Parliamentary Papers, Report of the Lords' Committee on the Present State of the Islands of New Zealand (London, 1838), pp. 185-6; The Church Missionary Register, 1838, pp. 481-2 ; Ibid., 1839, pp. 196-8.

**582** MS. Journal of John King (Hocken Library).

**583** Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1854-55, p. 154.

**584** Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1853-54, pp. 153-4.

**585** Captain William Hobson, R.N., His Naval Career, 1803-40. – Presidential address delivered by Dr. G. H. Scholefield, Librarian, General Assembly Library, Wellington, before the Wellington Historical Association, June 9th, 1932. – (Unpublished Typed MS. Hocken Library.)

**586** These Genealogies have been verified from the dictation of Matiri Ngapua and Wi Pane, descendants of the chiefs whose lines are given, by courtesy of Mr. George Graham of the Te Akarana Maori Association of Auckland. Mr. Leslie G. Kelly, of Te Kuiti, with Ngapuhi friends, co-operated in the preparation of Hongi Hika's tree.

**587** Tapua was one of those who visited the Endeavour at the Bay of Islands in 1769. – C. O. Davis, Life and Times of Patuone, pp. 7 and 8.

**588** Vide supra, p. 358. 389-390.

**589** Vide supra, p. 481, 487.

**590** Carleton, Life of Henry Williams, Vol. I, p. 54.

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THE MARSDEN MANUSCRIPTS

1. Marsden's journal of his voyage to New South Wales of 1793-4 is in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

2. The following manuscripts are in the Hocken Library, Dunedin: –

Two copies of Marsden's journal of his first visit to New Zealand (1814-5). The first, which is prefaced by his "Observations on the Introduction of the Gospel into the South Sea Islands," is written on foolscap folio (Watermark Britannia and W. and F. Fincher, 1833), pp. 184, the first 54 pages being occupied with the "Observations." This copy, which is in boards, was obtained by Dr. Hocken in the office of the Church Missionary Society in London in 1903. It is written very legibly throughout, the handwriting being not Marsden's but probably that of a clerk in the Society's office who copied Marsden's original after it had been used by the printer. The "Observations" refer to the King in the past tense, and must therefore have been written after the story of the voyage.

The second copy, written on foolscap folio, pp. 72 (Watermark Britannia and G. Pike, 1812) is written in a clear, neat hand, the signature alone being Marsden's. The "Observations" do not precede this copy, a short preface being substituted: – "I am happy to inform you (the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society) of my safe return from New Zealand to Port Jackson after fully accomplishing the object of my voyage to that island, having been absent four months, and have the honour to transmit to you the following account for the information of the Society which, I am persuaded, will be very gratifying to all who love Zion." The final paragraph of this copy is not found in the first. Otherwise it varies very slightly from it.

The original of the "Observations," the Rev. S. M. Johnstone of Parramatta notes, is with other family papers at Gladesville, New South Wales.

The Church Missionary Register for 1816 follows the original closely.

3. Two copies of the journal of Marsden's second visit to New Zealand (1819) are in the Hocken Library. The first is written on foolscap folio (Watermark Britannia and Smith and Allnutt, 1817), pp. 99. The MS. is clearly and closely written, although the writing is somewhat faded; the signature is that of Marsden, the address to the Rev. J. Pratt being also in his handwriting. This is apparently the copy originally forwarded to the Church Missionary Society and printed, with some omissions, in The Church Missionary Register of 1820-21. The latter, in particular, does not contain Marsden's comparison between the Maoris and the Jews, drawn on the last pages of the manuscript.

The second copy, obtained by Dr. Hocken from the office of the Church Missionary Society in 1903, is in two parts; the first on foolscap folio, in limp covers (Watermark Britannia and Webster, 1832), pp. 92, is written clearly and legibly, ending on September 16th, 1819. The second portion is on small quarto, bound in stiff covers, pp. 128, and is roughly written in two or three hands, the last that of a particularly careless person.

This copy has a page of introduction and gives very little with regard to the voyage to New Zealand. It follows exactly the printed version in The Church Missionary Register.

The original copy of this journal is in the Turnbull Library, Wellington.

4. Two copies of Marsden's journal of his third New Zealand visit (1820) are in the Library. The first, on foolscap folio in loose sheets (Watermark Britannia and J. Bates, 1815; Hay, 1817, on some sheets), pp. 140, is signed by Marsden, dated February 5th, 1821, and addressed by him to the Rev. J. Pratt of the Church Missionary Society. The greater portion is written neatly and legibly, the last 45 pages, in another hand, show little care.

This copy gives a very full account of the visit. Extracts from it are printed in The Register and The Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society.



A second copy, on foolscap folio (Watermark Britannia and Webster, 1832), pp. 107, is written legibly although the writing is somewhat faded. It is very imperfect, the whole of the last part from September 4th onwards being omitted. At the end (pp. 101-7) are a few remarks on Marsden's earliest contacts with the Maoris.

5. Three copies of Marsden's journal of his fourth New Zealand visit (1823) are in the Library. The first, on foolscap folio (Watermark Britannia and M. and Co., 1834), pp. 91, is in a stiff cover. It bears the title "Observations on my fourth visit to New Zealand" and is preceded by 69 pages headed "The Fifth Voyage" which, in reality, deal with the sixth visit. Pages 69 to 91 give a narrative of the journey as far as the wreck of the Brampton on September 7th, 1823. This is a very imperfect manuscript.

A second copy, obtained by Dr. Hocken from Canon J. C. Betts of Cootamundra, New South Wales, Marsden's grandson, is written on foolscap folio sheets (Watermark Britannia and Angell, 1814, and Hay, 1821), pp. 136, of which 1,18, and 32 are missing. Written by Marsden himself throughout, the MS. is in a very dilapidated condition, many parts being almost illegible. It gives, however, a full and complete account of this visit.

A third copy, written on foolscap folio sheets (Watermark Britannia, Superfine, 1817, T. Edmonds, 1819, and J. Rump, 1821), pp. 141, is taken evidently from the Cootamundra manuscript mentioned above, although the copyist, perhaps one of Marsden's family, makes occasional slight errors.

6. Two manuscript copies of the sixth journal are in the Library. The first is that mentioned above as bound up with a copy of the fourth journal. It has many important omissions, but, on the other hand, contains at various points remarks not included in other journals of this voyage. A second manuscript consists of about thirty pages which have many omissions. It ends with two pages in Marsden's handwriting. The rest of both manuscripts is the work of a copyist.

Dr. Hocken had access, through the courtesy of Miss Betts, Marsden's granddaughter, to the original in Marsden's handwriting which he describes as written on small quarto, pp. 122. Of this he took a copy. This copy, amplified from the other sources, is that of the text.

The Register and The Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society give only short extracts from these journals.

7. Marsden left no journals of his fifth and seventh New Zealand visits. The narrative in the text, as noted, is compiled chiefly from Marsden's letters, amplified

from other MS. missionary letters and journals, from The Register and The Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, and from other printed sources.

Marsden's letters in the Hocken Library are bound up in four large volumes. These volumes contain not only Marsden's letters to the Society and to various missionaries but much of the correspondence of Kendall, W. Hall, King, Butler, and others connected with Marsden's activities in New Zealand and in New South Wales. It has been possible to print only a selection here.

Many Marsden papers in the Library deal with the controversies in which he was involved in New South Wales, particularly the "Philo Free" incident, his quarrels with Governors Macquarie and Brisbane, and the Douglass case. Among these is the "Appendix for the different letters which I addressed to the Governor and the Magistrates" – an echo of the incidents connected with his public life written evidently about 1827-8. All these papers, written on loose foolscap folio sheets, are in Marsden's handwriting.

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