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*:—"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.,† took to himself two Maori girls as wives.‡ 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

* S. Percy Smith, *Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes*, pp. 208-9.

† "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."

‡ 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 l'Astrolabe*, Vol. II, pp. 225-6.

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,* 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

* MS. Letters and Journals of the Rev. Richard Davis, 1824-63 (Hocken Library).

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* 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

* Marsden's sixth child. She subsequently married John Betts of Parramatta. Her youngest son, James Cloudesley Betts, became Canon of Cootamundra, New South Wales.

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.* 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

* 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.

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*:—"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

* MS. Letters and Journals of the Rev. James Kemp, 1818-57 (Hocken Library).

arrival at the Bay of Islands are described in his sixth New Zealand journal :—

Having obtained leave from His Excellency the Governor,* 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.† 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‡ 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§ 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.

* Sir Ralph Darling, Governor of New South Wales, 1825-31.

† North of Doubtless Bay.

‡ Rev. Alfred Nesbit Brown, afterwards Archdeacon of Tauranga. He arrived in New Zealand in 1829.

§ At Kororareka, the whaling port at the Bay of Islands.

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),* 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.†

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

* Hare Hongi, eldest son of Hongi Hika, was killed at Te Ikaranganui in 1825.

† 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.

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.*

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

* "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.

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.* 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.

* The Paihia Missionary Station was about two or three miles directly across the harbour from Kororareka.

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.*

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

* 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.

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.*

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

* 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."

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.

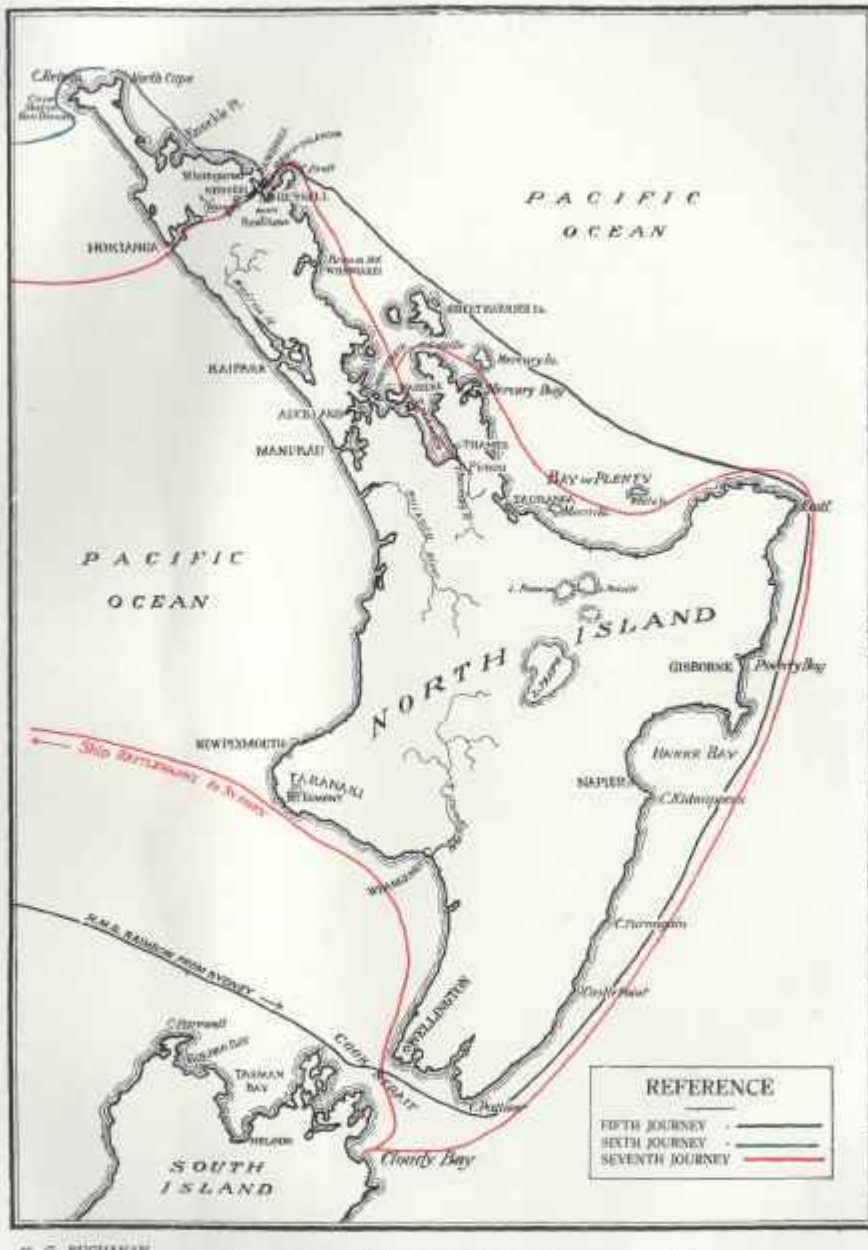
I consider this Sabbath to be one of the most pleasing and interesting I have ever spent. The Day Star from on High hath evidently begun to shine upon these poor benighted heathen. Some have begun to enquire what they are to do to be saved. Though the missionaries are situated in the very centre of Satan's 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,* 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

* Isaiah xl, 5.



N. G. BUCHANAN

THE NORTH ISLAND OF NEW ZEALAND

To illustrate Marsden's journeys of 1827, 1830, 1837

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)* 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

* 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.

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

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.*

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.†

* 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.

† 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

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.*

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."

* 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, Temorenga, 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.

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

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.

From a sketch by Archdeacon Henry Williams *By courtesy of Mrs. C. W. Hirst, Dunedin*

TOHITAPU, CHIEF AND *TOHUNGA* OF THE ROROA

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 Rangihoua should be withdrawn.* 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.

* The original station of Rangihoua, formed in 1814 with Ruatara's assistance.

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* 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.

* 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.

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.

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* 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.† 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 leaves used were those of the *karamu* (*coprosma robusta*). In mourning the leaves of the *kawakawa* (*macropiper excelsum*) were worn on the head.

† 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.

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

By courtesy of Dr. E. H. Williams, Dunedin

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.*

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

* *Vide infra*, p. 553.

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* 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

* 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).

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.*

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.

* 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.

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,* 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

* At Waimate, thirteen years later, Bishop Selwyn established his headquarters.

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.* 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."]

* *The Church Missionary Register*, 1831, p. 55.

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.*

The second translated portion of the Scriptures was put through the press at Sydney in July, 1830, by the Rev. William Yate,† 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.‡

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.§ 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.‖

* *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."

† The Rev. William Yate reached the Bay of Islands in 1828.

‡ *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."

§ *The Church Missionary Register*, 1831, pp. 67-8.

‖ 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*

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.*

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.†

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 éclat: 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.

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."

* 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.

† H. W. Williams, *A Bibliography of Printed Maori* (Wellington, 1924), p. viii.

‡ Dr. Woolls' pamphlet, printed at Parramatta in 1844.

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."*

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.†

* 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.

† 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

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.* 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.†

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!'"‡

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

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. III, p. 507.

* *The Church Missionary Register*, 1831, pp. 88-9.

† *Ibid.*, p. 117; cf. A. J. Harrop, *England and New Zealand* (London, 1926), p. 9.

‡ MS. Letters and Journals of George Clarke, Hocken Library; cf. *The Church Missionary Register*, 1831, p. 63.

Mokomai.

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 north-eastern 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.

OTAGO UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

A PRESERVED HEAD.

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."*

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

* MS. Letters and Journals of Richard Davis, September 1st, 1830, Hocken Library.

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."*

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

* Cf. McNab, *Historical Records of New Zealand*, Vol. I, pp. 707-8.

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"*

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.† 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

* McNab, *Historical Records of New Zealand*, Vol. I, pp. 705-6.

† 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 tête était une des plus belles et des mieux tatouées que j'eusse vues dans mon voyage, mais les chiens avaient rongé 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 résine que les naturels employaient jadis, ils avaient coulé de la cire rouge qu'ils étaient procurée par les Européens, et dont ils font un grand cas, tant à cause de sa facile liquéfaction, que de son poli, de sa belle couleur, et de son odeur."—Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage de l'Astrolabe*, Vol. II, p. 210.

will immediately adopt some measures to check the conduct of the Europeans in future."*

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."†

* cf. McNab, *Historical Records of New Zealand*, Vol. I, pp. 717-8.

† 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

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.*

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.†

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

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."

* A. J. Harrop, *England and New Zealand*, pp. 11 and 12.

† 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.

welcome, and fixed his residence at Waitangi, a short distance to the south of the missionary settlement at Paihia.* 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."†

* 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.

† Parliamentary Papers, *Correspondance with the Secretary of State Relative to New Zealand* (London, 1840), pp. 3-7.

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.* 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.†

* T. M. Hocken, *Early Visits of the French to New Zealand*, Transactions N.Z. Institute, 1907, pp. 137-153.

† Laplace gives the following description of his Maori visitors :—

" Ils affluaient à bord, avec leurs femmes, de tous les cantons d'elantour, s'installaient sans façon sur le gaillard d'arrière, et y demeuraient jusqu'à ce qu'ils eussent obtenu, par leur importunité, de la poudre, des balles, ou quelques galettes de biscuit ; puis ils s'en allaient après m'avoir toutefois prevenu officiellement de leur prochain retour.

" C'est en vain que je cherchai à reconnaître 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 arrêtés ; que leur caractère grossier, leur penchant à la débauche et à l'ivrognerie sont peu propres à édifier leurs hôtes, et à leur inspirer de louables sentiments. Mais les mâtelots, à leur tour, se plaignent de ces hommes de Dieu ; ils leur reprochent d'être égoistes, durs et fanatiques envers eux ; ils les accusent de prendre plus de soin de leurs propres intérêts que de la

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.*

" WILLIAM YATE,

" Secretary to the Church Missionary Society, New Zealand.

conversion des indigènes, et de n'apporter aucun dévouement à l'exércice 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 déprécier les travaux apostoliques des missionnaires protestants ; je me serais, au contraire, estimé heureux si l'occasion s'en fût presentée, de vanter le dévouement, la charité, la douceur que plusieurs d'entre eux ont déployés dans la conversion des barbares habitants de ces pays lointains. J'aurais cité principalement le révérend M. Marsden, chef des missions anglaises de la Nouvelle-Hollande, qui, par son zèle admirable à civiliser les aborigènes de la Nouvelle-Galles du Sud ainsi que de la Nouvelle-Zélande, et à plaider leur cause auprès des gouverneurs de Sidney, à mérité d'être surnommé le las Casas de la Polynésie."—Laplace, *Voyage autour du monde* (Paris, 1833), Vol. IV, pp. 10, 34, and 150.

* 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 à la baie des Iles, le bruit ayant couru, on ne sait sur quelle autorité, que les Français

"(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

allaient prendre possession du territoire de la Nouvelle-Zélande, treize chefs signèrent alors une petition au roi d'Angleterre, pour qu'il les prît sous sa protection et qu'il empêchât les hommes de la tribu de Marion de s'emparer de la contrée. Parmi ces chefs, figuraient les noms déjà cités de Temarangai, Patou-One, Rewa, Tetore, Matangui, Ware-Rahi, etc. Les missionnaires eurent soin de me montrer une copie de cette pièce ridicule. Je souris en la lisant, et je pense que le bruit qui y avait donné lieu n'était probablement qu'un ruse de ces dignes serviteurs de Dieu pour déterminer les chefs de la Nouvelle-Zélande à réclamer officiellement la protection du roi d'Angleterre. C'était la une momerie semblable á celle de Vancouver à Hawaii, à celle de Porter à Nouka-Hiva, à celle de Wallis à Taiti, mais qui aujourd'hui n'a aucune valeur et n'excite qu'un sentiment de pitié."—Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (Paris, 1834), Vol. II, p. 395.

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.,

"Colonial Office, "GODERICH."*

"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.†

"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.

* Parliamentary Papers, *Correspondence with the Secretary of State Relative to New Zealand* (London, 1840), pp. 3-8.

† 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.

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.*

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.†

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

* 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.

† W. H. J. Seffern, *Chronicles of the Garden of New Zealand known as Taranaki* (New Plymouth, 1896), pp. 13-16

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.*

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."†

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.‡ 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

* 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).

† Parliamentary Papers, *Ibid.*

‡ Guard, however, as has been seen, was merely a passenger on the *Harriet*.

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 ;* 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.† 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.‡

* 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.

† W. B. Marshall, *Ibid.*

‡ *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.

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.*

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.† 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.‡

" 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 ;§ 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."

* Parliamentary Papers, *Communications, etc., Relative to the New Zealand Expedition of 1834* (Colonial Office, September, 1835).

It is interesting to note that Mrs. Guard lived 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.

† Parliamentary Papers, 1835, No. 585.

‡ Parliamentary Papers, *Correspondence with the Secretary of State Relative to New Zealand* (London, 1840), p. 3

§ 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

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.* They prayed 'that His Majesty would continue to be

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.

* 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

† 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.

their parent, and that he would become their protector.' The sentiment and the language were their own."*

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,"† writes Mr. S. Percy

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.

* Parliamentary Papers, *Correspondence Relative to New Zealand* (London, 1840), p. 18.

† 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.

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."*

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 ;† 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;‡ 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,§ 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."‖ 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,° 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

* S. Percy Smith, *Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes*, p. 234.

† *Vide supra*, p. 181.

‡ H. Carleton, *Life of Henry Williams*, Vol. I, p. 53.

§ *The Church Missionary Register*, 1834, pp. 365-375.

‖ *Ibid*, 1834, pp. 412-423.

° Map of Northern New Zealand, p. 520.

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."* In 1834 William Fairburn, John Morgan, James Preece, and John A. Wilson settled at Puriri.†

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.‡

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.§

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.‖

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.°

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.[1] The years from 1835 to 1840 were marked by a rapid growth of missionary influence which, by 1840, had reached its highest point.[2]

* *The Church Missionary Register*, 1834, pp. 517-8.
† *Ibid.*, 1836, p. 156.
‡ *Ibid.*, 1835, pp. 379, 380; *vide infra*, p. 523.
§ *Ibid*, 1835, pp. 520-2.
‖ *Ibid.*, pp. 522-7.
° *Ibid.*, 1836, pp. 342, 487.
[1] *Ibid*, 1836, p. 157.
[2] *Vide infra*, p. 545.