CHAPTER IV

MARSDEN'S THIRD NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL

Marsden left Sydney on February 13th, 1820, in H.M.S. Dromedary (Captain Skinner), and arrived at the Bay of Islands on February 27th. After a tour in the interior, he sailed on June 7th to the Thames in the Coromandel, tender to the Dromedary, and again travelled inland, rejoining the Coromandel on August 1st. He left that vessel on August 12th and made his way to the Bay of Islands, arriving there on September 4th. On September 17th he embarked in the Government schooner Prince Regent for New South Wales, to be driven back to the Bay by bad weather on the 24th. He then made a further stay of six weeks in New Zealand, leaving in the Dromedary from Whangaroa on November 25th and the Bay of Islands on December 5th. He reached New South Wales on December 21st, 1820.*

In the beginning of the year 1820, His Majesty's ship Dromedary,† commanded by Captain Richard Skinner, arrived in Sydney Cove with male prisoners, Sir Byam Martin, comptroller of the Navy, having instructed the master that this ship, after landing her prisoners and being prepared for sea, should proceed to New Zealand for spars. At the same time it was stated that the Coromandel was on her passage out, and that her commander had received similar instructions. It was intimated also that I should be requested to accompany the Dromedary in order to promote the object of her voyage to these islands. I gladly availed myself of this favourable opportunity to renew my intercourse with the settlement, and to use the influence I had obtained among the natives in preventing disputes and misunderstandings between them and the Europeans of the King's ships; being fully aware that it was of the utmost importance, for the future prosperity of the mission and the general happiness of the islanders, to make a good understanding between the natives, the soldiers, and the ship's companies during the time each vessel was procuring her cargo of spars. I was apprehensive if any misunderstanding should take place between the natives and the Europeans some unpleasant consequences might follow. I also conceived if these ships accomplished the object of their voyage, His Majesty's ministers might adopt some public measures that would second the views of the Society and promote the general benefit of the inhabitants. In order to prevent any unfortunate event and to promote the good of the public service as far as my knowledge, experience, and influence would tend, I felt anxious to accompany the ships, and for

* Cf. The Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1821-22, Appendix XVI, and The Church Missionary Register, 1822, September and October.
† The Dromedary store ship, formerly the Howe frigate, had sailed from Portsmouth for Port Jackson on September 11th, 1819, with 369 male convicts guarded by some sixty men of the 69th and 84th Regiments under Captain Cruise of the 84th. The majority of the convicts were landed in Van Diemen's Land, the remainder at Port Jackson which was reached on January 28th, 1820.—Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand, by Richard A. Cruise, Captain, the 84th Regiment (London, 1823).
this purpose solicited permission from His Excellency Governor Macquarie, which he was kind enough to grant. I immediately prepared for my voyage, and we sailed on February 13th.* I took with me sixteen head of cattle, fifteen females and one male, two mares and an entire horse, with sundry stores for the settlement. I was unwilling to lose so good an opportunity of introducing a few more cattle into New Zealand, as Captain Skinner was so kind as to afford every accommodation for them. We had a pretty good passage over and I was fortunate enough to take all the stock safe. We anchored in the Bay of Islands on Sunday evening, the 27th, and shortly after the missionaries came on board, all well. Monday and the following days (February 28th to March 4th) during the week were spent by myself and several officers in examining the timber in the different districts in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands; but what we met with was not considered of the best quality for duration, which determined Captain Skinner to send over the second master, Mr. Morley, and the carpenter, Mr. Mart, to Shokee Hangha (Hokianga) river in order to examine the spars upon the banks of that river and the entrance into the Harbour. I accompanied them along with Mr. William Hall, and we left the missionary settlement on Monday, March 5th, for the above river on the west side of New Zealand, and in one fortnight returned to the Dromedary.† Messrs. Morley and Mart, the carpenter, made their separate reports to Captain Skinner. Mr. Morley gave it as his opinion that the Dromedary could cross the bar, and Mr. Mart was very much satisfied with the spars as to their dimensions and quality.

From their reports Captain Skinner determined to go round to Shokee Hangha river with the Dromedary, and as soon as all the necessary arrangements were made we sailed from the Bay of Islands on Friday, March 31st. When we came off the mouth of the river Shokee Hangha, Captain Skinner and his officers examined the bar as well as the Harbour for four days, and at the end of that time Captain Skinner did not think it prudent to venture the taking in of so large a ship as the Dromedary, and we returned again to the Bay of Islands. I have already given you some account of this river and the inhabitants upon its banks when I returned from thence after my former visit, and therefore shall refer you to what I then stated.

* The Dromedary was attended by the Prince Regent schooner of about thirty or forty tons, Mr. Kent, commander, "who was directed by the Government of New South Wales to give us any assistance we might require" (Cruise, p. 5). Cruise gives 15th February as the date of sailing. He states that Marsden brought with him nine New Zealanders, chiefs or sons of chiefs, who had been living with him at Parramatta. The highest of these in rank was Hongi's son, Repero, a boy of about fifteen, the most striking in appearance Jetoro (Tetoro, Titore), a man of about forty-five. "He was six feet two inches high and was perfectly handsome both as to features and figure; though very much tattooed, the benignity and even beauty of his countenance were not destroyed by this frightful operation. The other seven were very young men, all more or less tattooed according to their ages and averaging in height from five feet eight to five feet ten inches. They were very dirty in their persons, and from the quantity of vermin they carried about them not very pleasant neighbours."—Cruise, p. 7.

One seaman, Thomas Cowen, died on the voyage on February 23rd, and was buried at sea, Mr. Marsden conducting the funeral service.

† The only account given by Marsden of this visit to the Hokianga is in a letter to Kendall written from the Bay of Islands on April 26th, 1820.—Vide infra, p. 333.
After our return to the Bay of Islands from Shokee Hangha, I determined to take a tour into the interior for a short time. On Monday, May 1st, I left the Dromedary with an intention of visiting several districts to the south-west. Lieutenant McCrae of the 84th Regiment,* and a Mr. Clark, who was sealing master on board the General Gates at the time that vessel was taken possession of by His Majesty's ship Dromedary and sent to Port Jackson;† accompanied me. On leaving the Dromedary we proceeded to Kiddee Kiddee (Kerikeri), where we arrived the same evening and remained for the night. The missionaries were busy preparing ground for wheat, etc., assisted by several of the natives, and the carpenters were working at the public buildings. I spent the evening in conversation with the Rev. John Butler and his colleagues on the general affairs of the mission.

Tuesday, May 2nd.—This morning I paid a visit to O Kora (Okura) to see how Mr. Shepherd was going on, and gave him some directions relative to his future operations. I found him at home with the chief Wyeterra (Waitara), who is a near relation to Temmarangha (Te Morenga) and a powerful chief. He had two sons with me at Parramatta; one died there, the other returned with me in the Dromedary, and is now very ill and not likely to recover. Wyeterra was very much rejoiced to see me. He requested I would allow him to return with me to Port Jackson for his son's bones, that he might deposit them in their family sepulchre. He was uncommonly fond of this boy; he was the son of his head wife and he considered him his heir. He wept much when he thought of him, and told me he was sprung from one of the first families in New Zealand. He had a fine boy sitting beside him, a younger son. I pointed to him and endeavoured to console his

*Marsden forwarded his third New Zealand journal to the Rev. Josiah Pratt, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, by this young officer of whom he had a very high opinion. In a letter dated Sydney, February 8th, 1821, he wrote:—

"I have sent my journal to you by the bearer, Ensign Alex. McCrae of the 84th Regiment, who has been serving with a detachment of his regiment on board the Dromedary. Mr. McCrae is a young man who has taken some pains to gain a knowledge of New Zealand and its inhabitants and can give you much information that may be depended upon. You will hear various accounts and probably contradictory ones, but you may rely with confidence upon anything that Mr. McCrae may say because he will speak from his own knowledge without prejudice. I beg particularly to recommend him to your attentions. You will learn if the British Government intends to form a settlement in part of New Zealand, which I think is probable. If this should be the case, and a party of military sent out, Mr. McCrae would be of infinite service in forming the settlement, as he would have very great influence with the natives and would prevent any unpleasant circumstances from taking place, which would be likely to happen if a settlement was formed entirely by strangers. I need add no more than to refer you to the above gentleman."

Edward Markham, who visited the Bay of Islands and Hokianga in 1834, suggests that the real author of the Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand was not Captain R. A. Cruise, who commanded the detachment of the 84th Regiment on board the Dromedary, but his subaltern, McCrae.—MS. Journal of Edward Markham (Hocken Library).

† The General Gates, an American sealer, commanded by Captain Riggs, was seized by the Dromedary on the afternoon of April 12th and sent to Port Jackson for trial on April 17th with a British crew on board. Riggs had induced eleven convicts to sail with him from Port Jackson. He had treated these men in the most barbarous fashion, and had endeavoured in every way to conceal their presence on his ship from the authorities.—Cruise, pp. 99-104; ante supra, pp. 143-4.
Waka.

DECORATED BOXES.

These boxes were of different sizes, and were designed to store objects of value of various kinds. Perhaps the largest single group are waka huia, intended to contain huia feathers when not being worn. Such a box is mentioned in the quotation from Nicholas on page 106. Other larger waka may have held specially venerated weapons such as the mere pounamu. Many diverse styles of decoration can be recognised, arising, doubtless, from the different districts in which the waka were carved, but at present no research has been carried out along this attractive line.

They are always provided with terminal knobs which are usually carved to represent human heads. To these were attached cords by which the waka was hauled to the roof of the dwelling, to hang there till wanted. For this reason the under-surface is often more richly decorated than the upper. The boxes were usually coloured in red and black, but time and the varnish beloved by mid-nineteenth century collectors have wrought havoc, and the colours can rarely be detected without very careful scrutiny.

All three of the waka here shown are of medium size and their carving has been executed with stone tools. The topmost exhibits a beautiful design, almost purely geometric, the human figure appearing only at the ends. Next below it is a box which has preserved the red and black colouring better than is usually the case. A line of small figures forms the handle of the lid. The third example, of which lid and side-view are shown, is probably from the Bay of Islands district.
WAKA (DECORATED BOXES).
mind by observing that this son would be his heir. He remarked that the mother of this boy was not of that noble family that the mother of the boy was who was dead, and on that account he regretted his death. I felt very much for his affliction for he wept sore. He said he had made a new canoe for his boy that was dead and wished me to see it. I went with him. This canoe was very small, would carry about three boys, and in every respect fitted up like a war canoe, painted and ornamented with feathers. He told me I must take it to Parramatta and keep it as a memorial of his son. His other son who was sick was a young man about seventeen years old. I saw he was too far gone to entertain any hopes of his recovery. When I conversed with him he said: "My eyes will soon be dark in death; I can live no longer in New Zealand. It is a bad country; I do not like the chiefs who are always fighting and distressing one another. It is a country also where there is no tea, sugar, rice, or bread; I cannot eat fern-root; I shall soon sleep in the ground." I never heard any persons speak with more feeling than this young man; he mourned over the degraded state of his country and appeared to have little wish to live any longer.

I seldom ever visited Wyeterra, or he me, but the death of his boy was the subject of his conversation, and at all times he expressed a wish to have his bones conveyed to New Zealand, and, if he could not go himself for them, as he was then very poorly, that I should allow his wife to go. I promised that when I returned he should have them sent, if no person went for them. Everywhere the New Zealanders are very particular about the bones of their departed friends.

After conversing some time with Wyeterra and his son, I went with Mr. Shepherd* to examine what he had done. I found he had got peas, beans, turnips, etc., growing and a quantity of fruit stones planted. I hope from this little spot he will be able in a short time to furnish most of the principal chiefs with fruit trees and seeds and plants of vegetables. I now returned to Kiddee Kiddee for the night, intending to set off the next morning on our tour.

* In a letter written from Parramatta to Butler on January 12th, 1820, Marsden had informed him of the departure of James Shepherd for New Zealand: "I have sent over Mr. James Shepherd to live with Temmarangha and his party," he stated. "You will give him all the aid you can in building him a little house, as he is well acquainted with gardening, grafting trees, etc., etc."

The "Instructions to Mr. James Shepherd, on his proceeding from New South Wales to New Zealand," illustrate well Marsden's interest in and knowledge of practical agriculture. "Your practical skill in gardening and agriculture," Shepherd was told, "will enable you to introduce into cultivation, by the New Zealanders, wheat, barley, maize, and other grains; vines, fruit-trees, and useful vegetables. You will instruct them in the dibbling of wheat by which two-fifths of the seed, required in the broadcast way, suffices.

You will direct a steady attention to the plant common in the country termed by botanists Phormium Tenax. Mr. Marsden's late travels in New Zealand have brought to light the existence of seven varieties of that plant, and further research will no doubt add to the number. One of them is distinguished by the convenient peculiarity of its boon, or useless vegetable matter, being easily separable from the fibres required for mechanical purposes. The others most probably possess distinctive properties which may render them fit objects of attention, as while one variety may be superior for cordage, another may answer better for linen and a third for the use of the papermaker. You should, therefore, have at least an acre of suitable land prepared and plant it in roots of the different varieties. Specimens
Wednesday, May 3rd.—This morning we prepared for our journey, but before we started I had the gratification to see the plough for the first time at New Zealand enter the ground and make the first furrow. I could not but anticipate the day when these valleys and hills will stand thick with corn and the wilderness blossom like roses. The districts I intended we should visit before we set off were the following: Wyemattee (Waimate), Pooka nuee (Pukenui), and Tiami (Taiamai). Wyemattee lies about twelve or fourteen miles west of Kiddee Kiddee. We set off for this settlement first. On our road we met a number of travellers who enquired whither we were going. When we told them they immediately informed us that there was the atua at Wyemattee. I could not comprehend what they meant, as they all seemed much interested about the atua; I thought some chief was either dead or near death, as they told us there were a great number of persons at Wyemattee.

We arrived there about sunset, at a farm belonging to a chief named Tarria (Taraia). Here we met the largest assemblage of natives I had ever seen. Tarria received us very cordially, and furnished us with a good hut and plenty of potatoes for ourselves and porters. There were some of the heads of tribes with their fighting men from Shokee Hangha on the west side of New Zealand to Bream Head on the east. We walked round the different groups as they assembled in separate bodies. We found a number of chiefs sitting in a circle in deep consultation. We understood that the heads of the different tribes had met to settle some war expedition and that each tribe had to furnish a certain number of men. The concourse of people and the bustle occasioned thereby resembled more a country fair than anything else I can compare it to. I inquired what had occasioned so very large a meeting of the chiefs from such distant parts, and was informed that, previous to the destruction of the Boyd (which happened ten years ago), Shunghee and his tribe had made war against the inhabitants of Kipero of fibre, of a silky lustre and softness, are brought from the southward: you should endeavour to ascertain the place of its growth, and obtain one or more roots from which to propagate it.

"The Society being desirous of a quantity of the raw material being sent home, you may encourage the natives to bring it for sale, and draw on the storekeeper for articles to barter for it.

"For many reasons the Committee recommend your moving from place to place and visiting the various chiefs. . . . The natives frequently making distant excursions, for war, traffic, or the gratification of a curious and roving disposition, and their memories being tenacious and correct, you have thus the means presented you of extending your acquaintance with the geography, localities, and physical and moral circumstances of the country far beyond the limits of your own travels.

"By persevering in your researches, and carefully reducing the information to writing as soon as obtained, you will, in a moderate time, accumulate a mass of materials which, with the contributions of others, may put the Society in complete possession of facts, with the views and opinions of its experienced servants in regard to its objects. Those objects should be constantly in your view and, though your time will not be misspent in obtaining such information as may have no apparent utility beyond the gratification of a liberal curiosity, your principal attention should be directed to the acquisition of facts calculated to throw light on the means of civilizing the people among whom you go to reside, and of introducing among them the Gospel of Salvation."—Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, Vol. IX, pp. 346-8.
(Kaipara) when he had been defeated and had lost a number of his officers and men, and amongst the number were two of his brothers;* that the heads of Shunghee’s tribe had called this meeting to arrange an expedition against Kiperro, in order to revenge the deaths of those who fell in the above war. I was also informed that Shunghee had been collecting ammunition ever since his defeat to enable him to renew the war with the people of Kiperro, and that he had left instructions with his officers to do so in a few months after his departure for England.†

We spent the evening in conversation with the different groups. They appeared all very cheerful and happy. There was great feasting in their way: some hundreds of baskets of sweet and common potatoes with fish were eaten, and the bustle continued more or less during the night. When we retired at a late hour we left the assembly of the chiefs sitting in a circle where we had first found them carrying on their deliberations.

Ever since our arrival we heard loud lamentation from a distant farm which appeared to be near a mile off; when we inquired the cause the natives told us the atua was there, and that was all we could learn. These lamentations continued without interruption, and we determined to visit the atua next morning in order to know what it was that interested almost everyone we spoke to.

Thursday, May 4th.—This morning we rose at the dawn of day and walked through the camp again. We found the chiefs sitting still in a circle from whence they appeared never to have moved from the time we arrived the preceding day to the present. After walking round and taking leave of the chiefs, we left this extraordinary assembly, intending to breakfast with Shunghee’s son, who had lived with me at Parramatta and whose village was near at hand, purposing afterwards to visit the atua, as the lamentations continued with increased cries. When we arrived we found him at home, his mother and sisters in the midst of their people. Mrs. Shunghee gave us a very hearty welcome, and ordered some provisions to be got ready immediately. While we were sitting talking with them, a number of armed men appeared on the edge of the wood close to a field of potatoes which lay between them and us. The armed men were naked, and put themselves into a posture of defiance. As soon as Shunghee’s son and daughters observed them they instantly flew to arms. At the first I was not certain whether we were going to have a real or a sham fight, but, when I observed that Shunghee’s daughters only charged their muskets with powder, I was convinced they were only going to make a sham battle. When both parties were ready and drawn up in military order, which was done very quickly, they began to fight. The women loaded and fired their muskets with much military spirit and appeared to be very fond of the sport, and I could not doubt but they would be equally active and brave in a real

* This occurred at Moremo-nui in 1807.—S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, p. 58.

† Taraia’s expedition to Kaipara took place in 1820 while Hongi was in England. (Hongi, with Mr. Kendall, reached England on August 8th, 1820.)

The atua under Taraia went by way of Mangakahia and the Wairoa River and reached the Aotea Bluff (South Kaipara Head) and the Ngati-Whatua settlements of Kaipara.—Ibid., pp. 63, 64.
THE ATUA

battle. The men fought with spears and pattoos (*patus*). In their contest they threw one another down, took what prisoners of war they could, and carried them off the field of battle. After they had amused themselves in this way for some time, they closed the whole with a war-dance and we then took our breakfast. The party who appeared in the wood belonged to Shokee Hangha, and had come to the general congress.

When our breakfast was over we took our leave of Mrs. Shunghee and went to see the atua, the lamentations still continuing. On our arrival we found a dead chief seated in great state. His hair was dressed according to their custom and ornamented with feathers and a garland of green leaves. His countenance was bright and clear, having been recently anointed with oil, and retained its natural colour. Whether there was a body or not we could not tell, as the mats covered the whole up to the chin; he had the appearance of a living man sitting upright in his chair. I had seen one some time before whose head was dressed in a similar way, and the body had been dried and preserved as well as the head. This chief had been a young man when he died, apparently about thirty years old. His mother, wife, and children were seated before him, and the skulls and other human bones belonging to his family and ancestors were placed in a row on his left hand. I inquired where he died, and was told he was killed in battle beyond the River Thames some months ago. This chief was called the atua, of whom we had heard so much the preceding day. The New Zealanders appear to entertain an idea that the deity resides in the head of a chief, as they always pay the most sacred veneration to the head. If they worship any idol it is the head of their chiefs, as far as I am able to form an opinion of their worship.

On the present mournful occasion a great number of persons had assembled together from a great distance, to comfort the mourners and to pay their respects to the remains of the departed chief. His relatives cut themselves according to their custom till the blood streamed from their faces, arms, and breasts. The more they wound their bodies the more they believe they show their love for their departed friends. When I told them that the Europeans did not cut themselves in such a manner for their dead, but only wept, they replied the Europeans did not love their friends as the New Zealanders did or they would do so too. To hear their loud lamentations, night and day, for the loss of a relative, shows what a state of darkness and ignorance they are in. They sorrow as men without hope. Reason can find no sufficient remedy to relieve the human mind in the day of trouble. It wants a more solid consolation than reason can give. It wants a Divine revelation to enable the surviving husband, wife, or father to say with David: "I shall go to him but he shall not return to me."

After we had visited the atua and mourners we proceeded on our journey, and met, as we passed along, the natives coming from different parts to see the atua. We also fell in with Kiterra (Kaitara), a chief of Tiami (Taiamai), and his wife; Kiterra had lived with me at Parramatta. I informed him it was my intention to visit him before I returned. He wished to accompany us, but he could not leave the mourning at that time, but said he would follow us during the day and that his wife should return the following morning.
We now left Wyemattee. This settlement is very extensive, the land rich and well adapted for cultivation. There appeared to have been more than an hundred acres in sweet and common potatoes this season; part were dug, and part were not. Some hundreds of baskets were heaped up one upon another when we were there, and a number of slaves were busy in drying the sweet potatoes,* which were spread upon hurdles raised about three feet from the ground with small fires under them. When dry they take up little room, will keep a long time, are easily carried from one place to another, and retain their sweet taste which is very grateful to the natives' palate. They consider the sweet potatoes, whether dried or not, their richest food, and prefer this root to all other kinds of provisions.

On leaving Wyemattee we proceeded to a settlement called Pookanu (Pukenui), through some rich land, and arrived in the evening at the house of a chief belonging to the place. He pressed us to stay all night with him. We very readily accepted his invitation, as the evening was threatening for rain. The daughter I had often seen before at the missionary settlement. She was much rejoiced to see us, and ordered some provisions to be got ready for our supper. They wished to kill an hog, but we would not consent to this as it was our intention to leave them early in the morning. Shortly after our arrival several natives came to see us from the neighbouring farms, with whom we spent the evening.

The following circumstance occurred while we were in conversation, which created a little bustle:—Lieutenant McCrae had seated himself on the stump of a tree, with his boat cloak thrown over his shoulders, where he was closely surrounded by the natives. When he got up he found the buttons cut off his cloak, and the clasp from the collar, which some one of the natives had carried off. He immediately told the chief he had been robbed, and showed where the buttons had been cut off. A boy whom we had observed in the company was accused of the theft but upon examination he could not be found, which confirmed the suspicion. Persons were immediately dispatched to apprehend the boy; in about half an hour he was brought before us and examined. The chief's daughter insisted that he had committed the theft; another stout woman warmly vindicated the boy's character, when she was as warmly opposed by a third woman. The altercation got to such a pitch that in a short time they came to blows with their hands, and at length they armed themselves with thick sticks. I now interfered, and laid hold of the woman who was the most violent and who contended that the boy had stolen the buttons, to prevent her from striking the other woman who advocated the boy's cause. The chief's daughter was very much vexed that the theft had been committed there, and desired me to let the woman alone and allow them to fight, for she was sure that the boy had stolen the buttons and no person ought to defend him. I, however, thought it more prudent to prevent any more blows passing between these ladies, and put an immediate stop to the

* The kumara (Ipomoea Batatas), introduced by the Maoris from Polynesia on their arrival in New Zealand and esteemed as their principal food. The preparation of dried kumara is known as kao
quarrel. I had never seen any fighting amongst the New Zealanders before. It is not common for them to strike one another. The chief's daughter and the other woman belonging to the family were very indignant indeed that any insult should have been given to us while we were at their residence. The chief was equally hurt that anything should have occurred to give us offence, and said he would endeavour to have the stolen things returned, and thus the business ended for the night.

Before daylight the next morning (Friday, May 5th) the clasp and buttons were brought back, but we never could learn who had actually stolen them. The chief informed us that the boy who had been accused was innocent.

Pooka nuee (Pukenui) is a very fine district, the land very fertile and capable of great improvement. This settlement is called Pooka nuee* from a very high hill on which part of the houses stand. The land is rich to the very summit of the hill, though stony, and the sides of the hill cultivated with potatoes. We went to the very top, from whence there is a very extensive prospect over a great part of the interior and also of the neighbouring ocean. It is situated about thirty-five miles from the entrance of the harbour of the Bay of Islands to the south-west.

On leaving Pooka nuee we proceeded through a very fine country to Tiami (Tai-a-mai). Kiterra, the chief of Tiami, had joined us the preceding day, and now conducted us to his residence. Here we found a young man named Ari (Arai), who had lived some time with me at Parramatta, very ill, past all hope of recovery. He was much gratified when he saw me, and requested me to pray with him. He had only returned in the Dromedary from Port Jackson; he was a fine healthy young man when we arrived at New Zealand, but was now reduced to a mere skeleton. He was affected with a bowel complaint probably occasioned by a change in his food and lodging, as he was compelled to adopt his former mode of living. Three of the young men who lived with me at Parramatta and returned in the Dromedary have died; two of them were strong healthy young men. Ari was possessed of three mats at the time of his death, which he directed his father to send to me after he was dead; these I received with the news of his death at the Bay of Islands.

Seven have died this year who were living with me at the beginning of it—four at New South Wales and three at New Zealand. These young persons belonged to the first families in the Bay of Islands. How mysterious are the ways of God!—they are past finding out. I had fondly imagined that some of these youths who are now no more would upon their return to their native country have promoted the general welfare of their countrymen, and forwarded, by their superior knowledge of civil life, their civilization; but God's ways are not as man's ways, neither are His thoughts as man's thoughts.

When I have conversed with the parents of these youths I have been much struck with the patient resignation of some of them to the afflictive dispensation. One of the principal chiefs, when he heard

* Pukenui, near Pakaraka.—It is the most symmetrical extinct volcano in New Zealand. Tai-a-mai district is about three or four miles further on, near the present Ohaeawae post office and the hot springs.
that his son was dead at Parramatta, came on board the *Dromedary* with his wife. They both wept very much. He was a fine youth and their only son. He requested me not to fret for his son, observing that, as he was dead, he was happy he had died at Parramatta, for he was sure he would want for nothing in his sickness that could do him good. His wife said she was childless now, that they had large possessions of lands but no heir, and requested me to send them one of my children, whom they would adopt as their own and who should succeed to their lands. They both ardently wished to have their son's bones conveyed to New Zealand in order that they might be deposited in their family sepulchre, and requested that one or both of them might be allowed to go to New South Wales for them.

The deaths of the above youths seemed to have attached the New Zealanders more than ever to the Europeans, though I cannot account why this should be the case. I should have thought it would have had an opposite effect. Notwithstanding the death of so many of the chiefs' sons, yet others are urgent to send their children to Port Jackson. When I have told them I was afraid to allow them to go lest they should die, they replied they would run the risk of their death if I would only permit them to go. Koro Koro, Tooi's (Tuhi) brother, has a fine boy about eight years old, whom he has pressed me very much to take with me to Port Jackson. When I told him I was afraid to take him since he would most probably die, he replied, "I will pray for my son during his absence, as I did for Tooi, and then he will not die."

Though the New Zealanders have no idea of a God of mercy, such a God as Divine revelation exhibits, yet they have a strong belief that they can appease the anger and avert the judgment of their god by their prayers. Notwithstanding the above mysterious dispensation, I have no doubt but the time is at hand for these poor heathen to receive the Gospel; but how, or by what means, God will accomplish His gracious purpose, I am unable to comprehend, as clouds and darkness are round about His footsteps.

From finding Ari near death on our arrival at Tiami, I have been led to make the above digression. My opinion is that if half the New Zealanders were to die in their attempt to force themselves into civil life the other half would not be deterred from making a similar effort, so anxious do they seem to introduce themselves into civil society.

Saturday, May 6th.—I shall now return to my narrative. We arrived at Tiami on Saturday evening. Kitierra accommodated us with a good hut with two rooms. He told me he had built this hut after the form which he had seen when at Port Jackson. The door-places were about the same height as the Europeans build their huts at New South Wales, and the whole building was much more commodious for us than the low huts of the natives.

On the Sabbath (May 7th) we rested. A number of the natives came to visit us, to whom I explained the institution of the Sabbath, and conversed with them upon the works of the Creator, and the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as visible in His works. Kitierra was very anxious to accommodate us in the best manner he could, and supplied us with pork and potatoes both of which were excellent in this
AN UNTOWARD OCCURRENCE

district. The land is very dry and rich, and produces the finest potatoes. The fern-root upon which the hogs feed is, on account of the goodness of the soil, very fattening. The fern upon the cultivated land in some places is twelve feet high, and the roots very good to eat. Kiterra has got some peach trees and vegetables growing very fine, which had originally come from New South Wales. He was very urgent for some Europeans to live in his district, and promised he would give them some of the best of the land.

On Monday (May 8th) I went with Kiterra over the cultivated ground where his slaves were preparing the soil for planting. I also fixed upon a place for the missionaries to settle upon if any should at a future period come out for that purpose. The situation commands wood, water, and good land—wood for the purpose of building, water for domestic use and a mill if necessary, and land for cultivation. There is also grass upon an extensive plain for cattle.

A circumstance occurred to-day which annoyed me very much. Lieutenant McCrae, Mr. Clark (Clarke), and myself had agreed to visit a hot spring about three miles distant from the settlement, and several of the natives were to accompany us. A European who had been transported to Port Jackson, a gardener by profession, had come over in the Dromedary to collect seeds and plants; for this purpose he left the Dromedary with us, as he would have an opportunity in our tour to add to his collection in passing through the woods and forests which had never been visited by any European. He set off with us to the hot spring. In our way we passed several potato fields where the people were at work. One of the chiefs called to me as we passed along. I turned out of the path to speak to him while the rest of the party walked on. The gardener took this opportunity unobserved by me to skulk behind. After I had left the chief and walked on a little distance after the party who had got now ahead, I heard a great noise behind me and, turning round, saw some of the natives running after me and calling aloud for me to return, which I immediately did. I soon met a chief named Evey (Iwi) in a most violent rage, with the gardener in charge, accompanied by several more natives. When he came up he stated that the gardener had stopt behind me and had violently dragged his wife into the bush and committed an assault upon her person, at the same time stopping her mouth to prevent her cries from being heard; and that he himself had taken the gardener in the very act of committing the assault, and would instantly have put him to death if I had not been there. He had struck the gardener one blow with the musket which he had in his hand when he caught him. I observed the gardener had received a blow upon the mouth. I felt very indignant at the conduct of the gardener. The evidence was so clear against him that there was no room left to doubt his guilt. All he could say in his own justification was that the woman was not a virtuous character in his opinion.

Evey had lived with me at Parramatta, which induced him to forbear inflicting that punishment which he otherwise would have done. I have no doubt if we had all been strangers but that the gardener would have been immediately put to death, and if he had, the cause of his death would probably never have been satisfactorily ascertained and might
HOT SPRINGS

have been attributed solely to the savage disposition of the natives. I expressed my approbation of Evey's conduct, and assured him that I would report the bad behaviour of the gardener and I had no doubt but he would be punished.

Evey's wife was a young woman apparently about twenty. I had passed her in the field and spoken to her about a quarter of an hour before the assault was committed. It is much to be lamented that the Gospel with all its attendant blessings cannot be introduced into any heathen nation without the introduction of the crimes and diseases which obtain in civil society. Men of vicious principles and corrupt habits will always find their way into every state, and New Zealand must suffer much from her intercourse with Europeans before the people become a civilized nation, as well as afterwards.

After I had got Evey and the natives who were with him pacified we proceeded to the warm spring. It is situated in a wood on the bank of a small fresh-water stream. There are two warm springs opposite each other, one on each bank of the creek, about ten feet above the level of the fresh water, which runs between them. The warm water is offensive and possesses something of a sulphurous taste. They are both running springs, and the surface where the water lodges in small quantities is covered with a brown-yellowish scum which the natives use in painting themselves. The wood through which we passed contained very fine timber, and the land about is very good but stony.

In the evening we returned to Kiterra's residence where we remained until the next morning (Tuesday, May 9th). The natives informed me that there were several places a few miles distant where the water was very offensive, which we determined to visit. On our arrival at one of these places we found several hot springs, and in some of them the water was boiling hot. As we walked over the ground it shook under us and in some parts it was not able to bear our weight. The volcano was burning underground, and not very far from us the surface of the ground was hot. Some of it had been thrown up in small heaps and sent up a steam like boiling water. We removed some of the tops of these little hillocks and found them to be hollow within, in the cavities of which the sulphur was forming in the most beautiful pyramids, as close together as an honeycomb. When we looked into these cavities the little spires of sulphur shone with the most sparkling lustre that can be imagined. The sulphur was hot, and under the hillock the water was boiling and burst out in several places. There was one spring where the water was almost as thick as batter pudding and nearly as white as flour and water. I went as near as I could to examine it but the ground would not support my weight, but gave way with me when within a few feet, and I sank with both feet about one foot into this thick white batter, and found some difficulty in returning as the ground shook at every step and the surface broke. The whole surface of the neighbouring grounds had the appearance of volcanic eruptions.

There was one spring where the water was boiling hot, and another where the water was cold. The land for some miles is full of springs and swamps, very barren, composed principally of white sand, pipe-clay, and peat. Here and there I observed small quantities of sulphur
in the roots of trees which had been burnt at some former period, but I saw no appearance of coal, iron, or freestone in any part of this district. We visited a small white lake, which I have mentioned in a former account, and then returned to our lodgings with Kiterra. The land at Tiami is very good, well wooded, and with abundance of fine water. Kiterra is very anxious for some Europeans to reside in his district. He treated us with every attention while we remained with him. After we had accomplished the object of our tour into the interior, we returned to the missionary settlement [Wednesday, May 10th (Cruise)].

During our absence Captain Skinner had been cutting spars on the banks of the Cowa Cowa River.* This timber was not considered of a good quality, which determined Captain Skinner to visit the River Thames. On the Dromedary's return from Shokee Hangha to the Bay of Islands, Captain Skinner purposed to take in some spars of the kikatea (kahikatea)† and afterwards to examine the River Thames or some other part of New Zealand for timber, as he was anxious if possible to get kowree (kauri) spars, as that wood was deemed of a much superior quality to the kikatea.

Shortly after our return I met with George, the chief of Wangarooa, and inquired of him if there were any spars of kowree at his land. He informed me there was. I promised to go over to see them and know whether his brother and he would consent to the Dromedary taking a cargo, and the following day Mr. Hall took George on board the Dromedary in order that Captain Skinner might converse with him on the subject. After this interview with George it was determined that Messrs. Mart and Hall should go round to Wangarooa in a boat, and I resolved to walk across the country from Kiddee Kiddee a distance of about twenty-three miles.

On the following Tuesday (May 30th) we set off. I arrived at George's settlement that same evening, and remained with him and his brother all night. They were much pleased with my visit. The next morning (May 31st) Messrs. Mart and Hall arrived. When the woods were examined and the timber approved of by Mr. Mart, and all matters arranged with the two chiefs to the satisfaction of all parties, we left George's village in the boat in order to return by sea. About ten o'clock we went on shore and lay on the beach till towards morning, when we proceeded down the river and reached the Heads of the harbour before sunrise. The morning was very fine when we first put to sea, but the weather soon changed and the wind blew very strong with a high sea, which compelled us to make for the shore, when we left the

* "The carpenter had been some days up the Cowa Cowa with ten sailors assisting the natives in getting down the spars. For each tree was given an axe, which was supposed to be exclusively the property of the chiefs; and, as a further remuneration, the carpenter was in the habit of distributing, every second evening, articles of minor value among the men and women who worked under them. . . . The labour had become very hard, the trees were felled in a swamp which the late rains had flooded, and the men employed in dragging them to the river were often up to their waists in water."—Richard A. Cruise, Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand, pp. 121-143.

† The inferior white pine, kahikatea (podocarpus dacrydioides). Kauri trees (agathis australis) were wanted for the spars.
boat in charge of the native crew, having determined to walk to Rangheehoo. For this purpose we took two native guides and set off on our journey. We had a very laborious day’s walk, as the road was very bad and the afternoon very rainy and stormy. We arrived at a native village just at dark, very wet, where we took up our lodgings for the night, during the whole of which the storm continued.

The next morning (Thursday, June 1st) it rained hard and blew a very heavy gale which continued the whole day. We proceeded on our route early, but met with many difficulties from the creeks and rivers being filled by the rains, several of which we had to ford.

About seven o’clock in the evening we reached Rangheehoo. This was one of the severest day’s journeys I ever remember to have travelled, occasioned by the badness of the road, the heavy wind and rain.

During our absence the Coromandel had arrived in the Bay.*

Mr. Mart and myself remained at Rangheehoo the following day to rest, and the next morning returned on board the Dromedary, being the third of June, where I found some of the officers belonging to the Coromandel, who informed me that Captain Skinner intended in a day or two to proceed to the River Thames. On Mr. Mart’s report of the spars at Wangarooa to Captain Skinner, and all matters now being arranged with George and his brother Tippoohee (Te Puhi) by our visit, Captain Skinner determined upon taking the Dromedary round to that harbour and load her with spars at that place. As I conceived Captain Skinner would find no difficulty in procuring his spars at Wangarooa from the assurances the chiefs there had given me, I now wished to accompany the Coromandel to the River Thames in order to prevent any misunderstanding between the natives of the Thames and the officers and crew on board the Coromandel.

Monday, June 5th, 1820.—I went on board His Majesty’s ship Coromandel, and was politely received by Captain Downie. We had some conversation respecting the spars. I gave him what information I was possessed of respecting the timber I had seen in different places which I had visited. He informed me it was his intention to go to the River Thames and see what spars he could meet with there, as Captain Skinner had determined to take in his cargo at the Bay of Islands and Wangarooa; and expressed a wish I would accompany him. I told him I should have no objections after stating the circumstances to Captain Skinner, as it was my intention to have gone with him if the Dromedary had proceeded to that river. On my return to the Dromedary I mentioned the substance of our conversation. Captain Skinner approved of my going in the Coromandel as the chiefs at the Bay of Islands and Wangarooa were fully acquainted with Captain Skinner’s intention to take his cargo from them, and, a good understanding existing at the time between all parties, my presence was no longer necessary on board the Dromedary.

The following day I went again on board the Coromandel with Captain Skinner, when it was settled for me to embark the next morning. I wished to take with me Tooi (Tuhi), Temmarangha (Te Morenga),

* On May 30th.—Cruise, p. 143.
The map, drawn to illustrate Marsden's early journeys to the Gambier or Hokianga, shows northern New Zealand as a land unexplored by Europeans.
and a chief named Enakkee (Te Hinaki) belonging to the Thames who happened to be at the Bay of Islands at the time. TooI I knew could be of great service as an interpreter to Captain Downie from his knowledge of the English language and his attachment to the Europeans, and Temmarangha also from the rank he has in New Zealand and from his firm friendship to the English. Temmarangha had lived with me for some time at Parramatta. I knew his character well, and that he was a man that every confidence might be placed in.

On the 7th (Wednesday) in the morning I left the Dromedary and embarked on board the Coromandel, which was then under sail in the mouth of the harbour standing out to sea. The morning was exceeding pleasant and all was calm and serene, and the sea as smooth as glass and continued during the day, so that our progress was very small. For the five following days our passage to the Thames was rough and stormy and the wind generally strong against us; so that we did not reach the entrance of the Thames till the evening of the 12th when we came to anchor under the head of Cape Colville.*

Tuesday, June 13th.—The next morning I accompanied Mr. Anderson, second master, in the boat along the south side of the harbour to see if there were any spars in that quarter. We entered several of the coves in which a number of inhabitants had lately resided, but we saw none. Their hippahs were all in ruins, and had been lately burnt or destroyed in their wars. We observed some remains of the slain. TooI pointed out one beach which he said was covered with dead bodies like a butcher's shop only a few months before, and that one tribe had been wholly cut off, within two or three individuals who had been fortunate enough to escape. He had heard his brother Koro Koro was engaged in this destructive war. The alleged cause was that a near relation of Koro Koro's had been poisoned (bewitched—makutu) when on a visit at the Thames. He was the son of Kipo (Kaipo), who is better known to the Europeans who visit the Bay of Islands by the name of "Old Benny." The young man did not die at the Thames but was taken ill there, when TooI was sent from the Bay of Islands for him, and he died in the canoe before he reached home. Kipo offered up several human sacrifices for him and then commenced war against the suspected tribe at the Thames. Nothing will ever relieve these people from public calamities but the knowledge of Divine revelation. They find themselves bound by the chain of superstition to revenge the death of their relatives, whether they are killed in war or are supposed to have died by poison or incantation.

After we had examined the different coves and found no timber that would answer, we returned on board through a very heavy sea and reached the ship about nine o'clock, the wind blowing very strong.

Wednesday, June 14th.—Early the next morning Captain Downie weighed anchor and stood up the Thames, and in the afternoon anchored again on, or very near, the ground where Captain Cook anchored

* In Waiau, or Coromandel, Harbour, named after the ship. Cape Colville had been so named by Captain Cook who had served in Newfoundm and under Rear Admiral Lord Colville.
when he was in the river.* The river here is about ten miles wide and very open and exposed to the sea, which made the ship pitch very much. The captain deemed it necessary to lower the main yards and to relieve the ship as much as possible to prevent her from driving.

Thursday, June 15th.—This morning the weather moderated, but in consequence of the roughness of the water no canoe had ventured off to the ship, which lay about six or seven miles from that part of the river where it begins to narrow and into which the fresh water river falls. Captain Downie wished me to take one of the small boats and go up the river to see if I could fall in with any of the natives and gain any information there relative to the timber, and he would send Mr. Anderson after me in the launch in order that we might go up the fresh-water river and examine that part of the country for spars. I accordingly left the Coromandel and pulled up the river; after we had gone about four miles we were opposite a native village† and stood in. The natives came crowding to the beach inviting us to land, but the surf was so high, and the sea and wind, that we were afraid to venture near the shore lest the boat should be stove. I called to the natives and informed them I wanted a pilot and that I could not come on shore for the surf. One of the principal men of the village waded through the surf and came into the boat, when we stood from the land. I now observed the launch was following us, and, fearing she would not be able to find the channel, as it is very difficult, I got into a canoe and sent the pilot in the boat to meet the launch which was in some danger, as the wind was very strong, the sea high, and water shallow except in the channel, which Mr. Anderson did not know. I now proceeded up the river in the canoe to the first village‡ where I could conveniently land, in order to wait for the launch. The village belonged to one of the principal chiefs named Tipoohee (Te Puhi) whom I had formerly known. I found him at home. He was very much rejoiced to see me. I told him the object of my voyage to the Thames; that I had come in a large ship belonging to King George for spars, and wished to know if he could inform me where they were to be met with and by what means they could be conveyed to the ship; that the ship's boat was coming up the river to see if any could be found. He said there was a great quantity of spars growing upon his land which we might have if they would answer, and that he would go up the river with us to show them. He told me he was in great trouble; that the chiefs on the west side of the Thames, who are distinguished by the name of "Howpa's Tribe,"§ had lately made war upon him and killed a number of his people, amongst whom was his brother, and that he expected they would renew their attacks on him in a short time; that most of his hogs had been killed, his potatoes destroyed, and himself and people reduced to great want. I expressed my concern for his calamities and

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* Cook anchored here off Tararu on November 19th, 1769.—Wharton, Captain Cook's Journal, p. 158.
† Kauaeranga.
‡ Probably Tapuariki, near Mackaytown.
§ Te Haupa's tribe, the Ngati-Paoa, at that time in alliance with the Nga-Puhi, Korokoro's tribe.
felt very much distressed for him and his people, and promised that I
would see the chiefs on the west side and use my influence with them
to bring about a reconciliation. He observed they were too powerful
for him, as their friends at the Bay of Islands furnished them with fire-
arms and ammunition, so that he was unable to meet them; and that
he believed it was their determination to dispossess him of his land
and to drive him away altogether, and he thought nothing short of this
would satisfy them.

While we were conversing upon these subjects Mr. Anderson
arrived with the launch boat, when Tippoohee and I got into her, and
we proceeded up to the next village which belongs to another chief,
Towretta (Te Horeta of the Ngati-Whanaunga tribe).* Mr. Anderson
anchored the launch opposite this village, and we all went on shore for
the night. Towretta I had also known before, and he gave us a very
cordial reception. These (Te Horeta and Te Puhi) are the two prin-
cipal chiefs on the fresh-water river, both of them very tall, fine, hand-
some men.

June 17th.—The following morning we proceeded up the river
in the launch with a fair wind and tide. The two chiefs accompanied
us and about fifty of their people in canoes. Mr. Hume, the surgeon
of the Coromandel, the carpenter, and the captain's clerk were also of
the party. We had a very fine day, and arrived in the evening at a settle-
ment called Kowpah,† situated at the junction of two fresh-water rivers
whose united streams form the Thames.

On a point of high land where the two streams meet, and by which
it is surrounded, stands the hippah of the head chief or areekee (ariki)
as the natives call him. The hippah was very full of people, who
welcomed us on shore with loud acclamations and conducted us to the
areekee who was seated in the midst of his family. He was an old man,
apparently not far from seventy years of age, well made and of great
muscular strength. His mother was still alive with three generations
by her. The natives' houses here were much larger and better built
than any I had seen in New Zealand. The areekee appropriated one
for us, which afforded lodging to us and the fifty natives who had attended
the launch up the river.

* The noted Te Horeta of Waiau, Coromandel, who saw Captain Cook when
a child. He died at Coromandel on November 21st, 1852. The Karere Maori,
of April 20th, 1854, gives a long account of the life of "old hook nose," as the pakehas
irreverently called him. "He was a daring and successful leader, and noted for his
kindness of heart. He obtained his second and better known name of Te Taniwha
from the fact of his having leaped over a cliff into the water. Then, rising under the
bows of his enemy's canoe, he got on board and drove everyone away. "He is a
taniwha, not a man," said his enemies. He took part in many a tribal fight, but was
inclined to mercy after the battle, even in the sanguinary wars of old." "His friend-
ship with the pakeha," writes Mr. Percy Smith, "commenced with the arrival of the
Coromandel at his home (as related above), and he continued their steadfast friend,
often under severe trials, to the day of his death. His son, to whom his mana de-
sceded, was Kitahi Te Taniwha, well known in later years as the venerable chief
of the Ngati-Whanaunga tribe of Coromandel."—Cf. S. Percy Smith, Wars of Nor-
thern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, pp. 65, 67.

† Kaupa, at the junction of the Thames (Waibou) and the Ohinemuri.
The 18th being the Sabbath, we rested in the hippah, and I spent part of it in conversing with the natives upon the works of creation and the institution of the Christian Sabbath, Temmarangha acting as my interpreter on all occasions when I could not make myself understood. This settlement would be an eligible situation for a missionary station at some future period, should God be graciously pleased to visit the people of this dreary and benighted land with His salvation.

On the following morning (Monday, June 19th) Mr. Anderson went to examine the spars in the neighbourhood, and I got a canoe with some natives and proceeded up the left river; the land on the banks was very rich, and here and there adorned with lofty pines; some small farms were cultivated for potatoes, upon which the poor slaves were at work.

The tide runs a few miles up this river,* and when we had proceeded about ten or twelve miles, in which space the water was close confined by thick wood on high banks, it opened into a plain and became shallow, and, as night was coming on, I returned to the hippah. On my arrival, which was just at dark, I found the launch had returned also, and I immediately hired another canoe and proceeded down the river, and in about two hours found her at anchor and the officers and crew in their tents on shore, where I landed and joined them for the night.

The next day (Tuesday, June 20th) we proceeded down the river, and in the evening, after dark, we again anchored opposite Towretta's (Te Horeta) village, where we went on shore and remained till daylight, when we returned to the Coromandel after ten days' absence.

Wednesday, June 21st.—On and near the banks of the river there are spars of all dimensions, with a convenient carriage way; but the quality of the timber is not considered good enough for masts, especially a species of the Cyprus (cypress) which compose the principal forests here and is called by the natives kikatea.† It is a light wood—some of it white and other parts of a red tinge—and it is more fit for planks than for masts. Many of the trees are from eighty to one hundred feet without a branch, and from two to six feet in diameter, and some much more. I believe it is Captain Downie's intention to carry home a few of them as specimens. The timber already examined not being approved of, it became necessary to look elsewhere for better sorts. Towretta and the arekee informed us that some fine timber called by the natives kowree (kauri) grew on the east side of the saltwater river. Mr. Anderson was therefore sent in the launch to examine the woods in those parts, and on the following day (Thursday, June 22nd) Captain Downie weighed and followed the launch in hopes of finding a more commodious and secure harbour for the ship. In this he succeeded to his wishes, having found a most excellent harbour about sixteen miles from our first anchorage in the spot where Captain Cook's ship lay, which is behind two small islands on the east side of the Thames. This harbour is perfectly safe for ships of any burden, being completely sheltered from the sea.

* Near to the present Paeroa.
† Kahikatea (podocarpus dacrydioides), white pine.
When Mr. Anderson and the ship's carpenter, who had accompanied him, returned, they reported that they had met with some spars which would answer for masts. We were all rejoiced at this information, and on the following day (Friday, June 23rd) arrangements were made with the natives and part of the ship's company for cutting some of them down and preparing them for shipment.

As Captain Downie had now determined to take what spars he could procure from the neighbouring woods, and as the natives had come on the most friendly terms with the Europeans, I felt my time to be in a great measure at my own disposal, and I spent it chiefly among the natives of the different bays in examining the creeks, woods, and natural productions, for about three weeks.

At this time I told Towretta that I wished to visit Wyekotto (Waikato), a river in the interior where the population is very great. He dispatched a messenger to inform some of the chiefs of my intention, and a number of them came to conduct me to their settlement. At this time the weather was very stormy and a deal of heavy rain fell. I was, however, determined if possible to visit Wyekotto. The route to this settlement being on the west side of the Thames, it was not practicable to cross it in a canoe owing to the boisterous state of the weather, the river being here about fifteen miles over. Mr. Anderson had been on a cruise for about ten days on the east and west shores of the Thames looking for spars. On his return he reported there were some that would answer for masts on the east shore about seventeen miles from where the Coromandel lay, in a wood belonging to Tippoohoe who would assist to get them down to the river. This induced Captain Downie to send a midshipman and some of the ship's company to cut down and prepare this timber, and July 12th was the day appointed to proceed on this duty. As Mr. Anderson intended after landing the party with their provisions and tools, etc., to proceed again to the west side of the river, I determined to take a passage in the launch across the water and so get on to Wyekotto, as the people from that settlement had been waiting some time to conduct me thence.

At four a.m. (on the morning of Thursday, July 13th) I arose to prepare for my journey. The wind had blown hard during the night, attended with heavy rain, and the morning was on the whole very threatening. The launch was, however, got ready and at daylight we sailed from the Coromandel with a fair wind, and by twelve noon we arrived at the place where the spars grew. A number of the natives were on the beach ready to receive us, as they knew of our coming; among them were several from Wyekotto.

Immediately on our arrival all hands were busily employed in erecting two huts, one for the officers in charge of the party and the other for the men. Before evening one hut was completed, and two tents, which had been brought with us, were pitched, in one of which I took up my lodgings for the night. The whole day had been unpleasant, attended with thunder and rain, which continued during the night and beat through the tent, which made it very cold and wet. I lay down in my clothes but had little rest.
The following day (Friday, July 14th), we were visited by a chief from Towrangha (Tauranga) attended by his son and daughter. The old man was much astonished at the sight of Europeans as he had never seen white people before. I paid him some attention and made him a small present, which he thankfully received, and in the evening he returned. A chief also arrived from Wyekotto with a fine hog to sell; he offered it to Mr. Anderson for an axe. Mr. Anderson had no axe to spare; but he had a small tomahawk which he offered him for it and which he refused, observing that he could not cut down the large trees on his farm with so small a tool, and requested Temmarangha to speak to me that I might give him an axe. Temmarangha told me his wishes, and I informed him that I had no use for the hog and therefore did not wish to purchase it. He, poor man, seemed much distressed—said he had come a long way with the hog, and felt a great pain at his heart for the want of an axe, which I relieved by giving him one, and the hog was given to the work-people.

Last night was extremely cold and wet, the rain fell in torrents, and the morning threatened bad weather. The natives who had come as my guides from Wyekotto informed me that I could not return with them, because I should not be able to pass the rivers and creeks on the road—they would be too deep for me to ford. This was a great disappointment to both parties, as I had long had a wish to visit that part of the country. I therefore took my leave of them, and they returned. I next inquired if it was possible for me to go to Kiperro (Kaipara), a settlement on the west side of New Zealand, which I had often heard mentioned. The natives informed me I might; that there were no rivers in my way to prevent me. I therefore changed my intention and determined to visit Kiperro, and to take a passage in the launch with Mr. Anderson to the west side of the Thames, where he intended to proceed as soon as he had settled all his arrangements with the workmen.

Saturday, July 15th.—The stormy weather and heavy rain continued during the whole of the night; in the morning the sea was very rough with a strong wind from the western shore, which would prevent the launch from crossing the river that day. Mr. Anderson then determined to return to the Coromandel if possible. I had sent my baggage on board, with an intention to accompany him, but before I could get on board the surf broke so high upon the beach that I could not reach the small boat without wading through the breakers. As she could not approach near the shore, and as there was no prospect that the launch could possibly reach the ship that night, I thought it more prudent to remain on shore than to lie exposed to the wind and rain in an open boat all night and in my wet clothes. I therefore requested Mr. Anderson to put my luggage in the small boat, and the natives waded through the surf and brought it on shore again. I took my lodgings with Mr. Emery, who had charge of the workmen, in one of the newly built huts through which both wind and rain penetrated. Thus my prospect of visiting either Wyekotto or Kiperro was for the present at an end.

I was aware that the launch would not return again to Mr. Emery in less than a week, and therefore ventured to take a trip to Towrangha (Tauranga) by the head of the Thames. In order to gain correct
information with respect to the route I should take, I examined several natives, among whom was the chief Tipoohee, who informed me that by going up to Kowpah (Kaupa), a settlement already mentioned, where the areekee resides, I could get across the country to Towrangha.

Sunday, July 16th.—Last night was very stormy; I had little rest from the open state of the hut being extremely cold. In the morning a native informed me that the launch had not been able to get down the river and was lying at anchor round a point not far from us. Though my berth had been bad, it was much better than what I could have had on board the launch, which was some little consolation to think I might have been worse. The wind and rain still continued and, as it was the Sabbath, I explained to the natives the institution of this sacred day, with the assistance of Temmarangha as my interpreter when I had occasion for him. He told them that many of the public calamities, such as wars and famine, from both of which they greatly suffer, were owing to their ignorance and neglect of this day, and that he had learned from the white people that there was but one God and that the God of the Europeans was also the God of New Zealanders, which caused them to ask many questions about our God.

After I had finished my conversation with the natives I explained the commandments of God to the sailors for about an hour. This class of our fellow subjects are exceedingly to be pitied, both officers and men, as far as concerns their religious edification. The want of the sacred ordinances of religion and the means of duly administering them to these people is a great calamity. Wherever the Sabbath is neglected and forgotten, there God is neglected and forgotten also. These men fight our battles, defend our country, expose themselves to every hardship, and support our church and state against all foreign enemies; yet no adequate provision is made to administer to them the Bread of Life, but they are left to perish for lack of knowledge. I have felt much pained in reflecting upon their state while I have been on this service.

Monday, July 17th.—We have had another stormy night, but towards morning the weather began to moderate and I determined to set off on my route to Towrangha. Temmarangha and his nephew agreed to accompany me, but there was no canoe at the place we were in sufficiently large to venture up the Thames during the then turbulent state of the water produced by the preceding storms. The natives informed me I could get a large canoe at a village about two miles up the river. After dinner I engaged two natives to carry my luggage to the aforesaid village, where we arrived about two o'clock and were kindly received by the natives.

I informed the chief where I was going, and requested him to furnish me with a good canoe and crew to take us up to Kowpah—a distance we estimated at more than fifty miles. He told me I should have one, and ordered a canoe to be got ready and manned immediately. A subordinate chief offered to go with me, and to take his servant to assist in carrying my luggage, for an axe which I readily consented to give him. We then embarked, but were soon compelled to return to shore again from the violence of the wind and waves. As the natives were apprehensive the canoe would be upset they recommended me
to walk to the next village, where the river would be much narrower and consequently with less sea, and I could there procure a canoe. We therefore relanded and set off for the next village where we arrived a little after dark. The natives received us kindly, made us a large fire, and gave some provisions to my companions; they accommodated me with a good hut. We spent the evening in useful conversation, and then lay down to rest for the night. After committing myself and associates to the care of Him Who numbereth the hairs of our heads, I felt myself as secure as if I had been resting in the bosom of my family.

Tuesday, July 18th.—In the morning the stormy weather returned with great violence. There was no venturing on the river in a canoe from the village, and our only other alternative was to walk up the banks of the river till it became narrower and shut in by the land on both sides. With this view we left this village, and passed through four more villages upon the river's bank where we stopped to breakfast. The chief's wife at the latter village was very attentive: she made her little hut as comfortable as she could, laid down a new mat for me to sit upon, and, by every little act of kindness, showed her anxiety to please. During our stay here the rain fell very heavy and the wind blew a gale. In about an hour the storm moderated, and we proceeded and passed three other villages when we arrived at the hippah of the head chief Tipoohee.

This hippah (Te Puke) is situated at the mouth of the fresh-water river on a beautiful eminence which commands the River Thames both above and below. The prospect is very extensive, and there is a large quantity of good land around the hippah well adapted for the growth of grain. A creek of salt water, about one hundred yards wide, runs from the main river round to the rear of the hippah till it meets a fresh-water stream. The creek was navigable for small craft where I crossed it. A battle had been fought upon its banks a few months before, when a chief was shot. They showed me the spot where he had stood and the bush behind which his enemy had lain concealed when he was shot.

When we arrived at the hippah it was too late to proceed up the Thames; I therefore, after taking some refreshment, got a canoe in the evening and went up the fresh-water stream which flows down between some high hills from the interior. A large body of water comes down this creek occasionally. The land upon its banks is exceeding rich and could easily be cultivated by the plough. In the valley through which it runs I met a number of natives returning from their work with whom I walked back to the hippah.

Tipoohee's brother and several other chiefs were in the hippah, and I spent the evening with them in conversing on the various consequences of war, the advantages of peace, civil government, agriculture, and commerce. Tipoohee was not there. His brother appeared to be a mild, sensible man, and he expressed his disapprobation of the conduct of many chiefs, who were always fighting and thereby brought great distress upon the inhabitants. Their tribe had been attacked the year before by the people at the Bay of Islands and the tribes on the west side, from whom they had suffered much, and they expected
to be again attacked by the latter. I told him I would on my return see the chiefs on the west side and endeavour to make peace between them. Temmarangha informed me that this chief disliked war and never engaged in it. He presented me with some fine mats for which I gave him some edge tools.

I was accommodated with a large hut for the night, and, on retiring to rest, I informed him I should want a good canoe in the morning which he promised I should have.

This hippah has been made a very strong place both by art and nature. It is guarded by very deep fosses and a high fence made of split timber. In their former mode of warfare it must have bid defiance to any force which might be brought against it, but it cannot now afford security against an enemy armed with muskets. The natives showed me where the musket balls had penetrated their buildings, observing that it was impossible for them, armed with spears only, to contend against the power of fire-arms.

Should the British Government ever form a settlement at the River Thames, the ground on which this hippah stands is, in my opinion, the most eligible for the purpose that I have yet seen. It possesses many local advantages; it could easily be fortified and made impregnable. It commands the entrance into the fresh-water river, is surrounded by a tract of fine land for cultivation, and is convenient to timber for building. Though ships of burden cannot be brought close up to the place, it is yet more convenient to the anchorage ground, where they may ride in perfect safety, than any other situation: and small vessels, under 150 tons, may come up the river and anchor opposite to the settlement.

Wednesday, July 19th.—This morning we rose very early and prepared for our journey, having some distance to walk before we could be accommodated with a good canoe. We passed two villages, and at the third we embarked. While the men were launching the canoe and getting all ready the inhabitants of the village assembled round us, among whom was a very aged, sage priest who entered into close conversation with my friend Temmarangha (Te Morenga) for some time; the latter was all attention and at length became much agitated. I asked him what was the matter; he said the priest had told him he had seen his ghost in the night, and had also had an interview with the atua who had said that if Temmarangha accompanied me to Towrangha (Tauranga) he would die in four days, because he had when last there killed two chiefs, and the god of Towrangha would now kill him if he went: the priest concluded by recommending him to return.

Temmarangha then told me of his war expedition against Towrangha and that he was returning from that expedition the morning on which Mr. Kendall sailed for England,* and that the prisoners of

* Te Morenga's expedition to Tauranga left the Bay of Islands in January, 1820, and returned in March, 1820.

In February, 1819, Kendall returned to England in the whaler New Zealander, accompanied by the chiefs Hongi and Waikato. He took home material for the preparation of the Grammar and Vocabulary of the New Zealand Language which was edited by Professor Lee of Cambridge and published in 1820. Altogether Kendall and his companions remained only four months in England, their departure being
war and the chiefs' heads I had seen at Rangheeboo that morning were all brought from Towrangha. In consequence of this information I conceived there might be some danger to Temmerangha if he accompanied me; the people there might take advantage of him and cut him off. I was therefore induced to ask him if he was afraid that the people at Towrangha would kill and eat him if he went with me. He replied that he was not afraid of the people—they would not take advantage of him—but he was much afraid, from what the priest had said, that their god would kill him. I observed that, if he was only afraid of their god and not of being killed and eaten by the inhabitants, I would take care that their god should not injure him, because the God that would be with us was the true God and He would take care of us both. Upon this assurance Temmarangha said he would venture.

Though his mind was considerably enlightened and he had seen the absurdity of many superstitious customs practised by his countrymen, I frequently observed that his feelings were influenced less or more by his former notions of such things whenever any serious cause called it forth. When I have reasoned with him on the foolishness and groundlessness of his fears in believing that the atua can do him or his friends this or that injury, he would reply that it was very well for me to talk in that way, whose God was good and over Whom the atua of New Zealand had no power, but he and his countrymen were very differently situated; their god was always angry, and in his anger would cut their bowels out.

After Temmarangha had got a little the better of his fears, we embarked for Towrangha with a strong tide in our favour. The men pulled hard all the day, and we went up the river very pleasantly and did not stop till the evening, when we went on shore for a short time, kindled a fire on the bank, and dressed a basket of potatoes according to their custom. We had no other means of cooking anything, my kettle having been by mistake left in the launch; I had a small tin pot only to serve all purposes.

As soon as we had taken some refreshment we proceeded up the river till nearly daylight, when we found ourselves opposite a small
village. The night had been dark and cold, with some rain. Some of the men went, therefore, on shore to call up the inhabitants of the village, who kindled a fire on our landing and accommodated us with a hut. I supposed that I was then on the banks of the river.

Thursday, July 20th.—When the day broke I was astonished to find myself on the banks of a creek, upon which stood two small villages. The chief of the place was a very fine youth about sixteen years old. His name was Awaugh (Awa-huka?). His father, he informed me, was killed in battle. The land around appeared to be a very fine description of soil, and the slaves were then preparing it for planting. I informed Awaugh where I was going and he said he would go with me. He presented us with plenty of fine potatoes and a good hog. I saw his father’s hippah, which was not then inhabited; it had been a large, strong place. I observed several sepulchres within it; some of them are raised above the ground, painted, carved, and ornamented with feathers.

We breakfasted at this village, killed our hog, and roasted him whole for our journey. The inhabitants were much gratified with our visit, and I made them all small presents of fish-hooks, etc. The chief woman of the village had a little house about a yard square, neatly built, painted, and ornamented with feathers, in which she deposited the sacred food for her god; it stood on a post close to her hut.

We met here a chief from Towrangha named Towarroro (Tuwharoro). I enquired of him how long we should be in walking to Towrangha and he answered two days, and that he would attend us. After breakfast we set off, and in about an hour reached the banks of one of the main branches of the Thames, called O Emanonee (Ohinemuri), above Kowpah. About four miles up this river stands a hippah upon a very high, stony hill called Tipporari (Te Puriri). It commands a very extensive prospect of the Thames, some immense forests and plains, as well as of the mountains in the rear. It had formerly been a strong place and was then inhabited.

We crossed the river O Emanonee at a ford at the foot of the hill on which Tipporari stands. The ford was breast high, and the stream rapid; four New Zealanders carried me over on their shoulders in safety. They are so accustomed to the water that rivers and swamps present nothing difficult to them in their long journeys. I had fourteen natives, including chiefs and their servants, with me; so that I was under no apprehensions of meeting impediments which, with their assistance, I could not overcome.

At this part the country is very hilly and covered with timber: some of the trees are exceeding lofty and fine. The woods extend to the right and left of the pathway further than the eye can reach. O Emanonee runs through a deep chasm in a mountain, at the foot of some very high conical rocks on the right, and afterwards runs on to the left towards the sea-coast. We had to ford this river three times, and our path lay through the wood directly across the summit of the hill.

The wood may be about three miles wide at the place we passed through it, but of its length I could form no opinion as I could see no end to it even after I had got upon the high, clear land on the opposite
side, from which, as the country in rear of the wood is all open, the hills that encompass Towrangha are clearly to be seen. They appeared to be about sixteen miles distant, situated on the skirts of an intervening plain which is pretty level, covered with fern and completely clear of timber. In this plain there are a number of natural springs of water by the foot of the hills which overlook Towrangha, all sending their tributary streams to the O Emanonee—this river being formed and supplied by the union of these waters.

The natives informed me that the spars in the immense wood opposite to the plain leading to Towrangha might be floated down the O Emanonee to the Thames, but, as I had no opportunity of ascertaining the fact, I can say nothing on the subject. The timber is good, if it can be conveniently procured, should it ever be wanted.

The day was far spent when we reached the plain. We walked on till the sun was nearly set, when we stopt and prepared for the night. The servants who had the provisions to carry were very tired. There were no huts on the plain nor any inhabitants, and we were therefore compelled to take up our lodging in the open air. I was very weary, having had no rest the preceding night and having come a long day's journey, so that I felt that rest would be very acceptable even on a heap of fern or on anything else.

The peculiar scene that surrounded me furnished the mind with new matter for contemplation on the works and ways of God; the mystery of His providence, and the still greater mystery of His grace, were all unsearchable to me. I had come from a distant country and was then at the ends of the earth—a solitary individual, resting on an extensive wild upon which no civilized foot had ever before trodden. My companions were poor savages who, nevertheless, vied with each other in their attentions to me. I could not but feel attached to them. What would I have given to have had the Book of Life opened, which was yet a sealed book to them; to have shown them that God Who made them, and to have led them to Calvary's Mount, that they might see the Redeemer Who had shed His precious blood for the redemption of the world, and was there set up as an ensign for the nations! But it was not in my power to take the veil from their hearts. I could only pray for them and entreat the Father of Mercies to visit them with His revelation. I felt very grateful that a Divine revelation had been granted to me, that I knew the Son of God had come, and believed that He had made a full and sufficient sacrifice or atonement for the sins of a guilty world. With compassionate feelings for my companions, under a grateful sense of my own mercies, I lay down to rest free from all fear of danger.

Friday, July 21st.—We rose this morning at the dawn of day and immediately prepared for our journey. I felt much refreshed from the comfortable rest I had enjoyed. We walked for two hours and then sat down, made a fire, and cooked our breakfast. The day was favourable and our walk over the plain pleasant, as the road was tolerably good except where a few small swamps, produced by the springs, intervened. The land in this plain is, for the most part, fit for cultivation and might easily be wrought by the plough.
After we had walked a few miles we observed five young women coming on towards us who became alarmed and turned back on seeing us. One of our party ran after and overtook them, when they stopt till we all came up, and they then informed us that Anee-nee (Te Rangia-nini), one of the head chiefs, was gone on a war expedition to the southward, but that his wife was at home and Awarru (Te Waru) a chief with whom Temmarangha had lately been at war. After answering our enquiries, they started off before us to inform the people of Towrangha of our coming.

When we reached the high hills that overlook Towrangha, which lies about a mile distant below them, I sat down on the summit of one of the highest to take a view of the ocean, the islands in sight, and the mainland around. The prospect from this height is truly grand. I observed one of the islands distant fifteen leagues from the main sending up immense columns of smoke.*

I desired Temmarangha to give me some information respecting the islands in sight, the hills on the coast and in the interior, as far as he knew. He satisfied me on these points, and then gave me an account of his last visit to Towrangha as follows:—The last time he came to Towrangha was on a war expedition, which originated in the following circumstances: Some years before a niece of his had been taken from Bream Head by a brig from Port Jackson,† and afterwards sold to a chief at Towrangha named Shewkoree (Hukori or Hukere) who still resides there, and she became his slave. Shewkoree and another chief named Awarru (Te Waru) had some difference, when this young woman was killed by Awarru or by some of his tribe who roasted and ate her body.

Some time afterwards Temmarangha got information of his niece's cruel fate and felt himself bound to revenge her murder, in justice to his departed relative and for the honour of his tribe, as soon as he could put himself in a condition to demand satisfaction of Awarru. About sixteen years‡ elapsed before he thought himself strong enough to attack this chief. He had also a sister taken by the same vessel from the Bay of Islands who was used in a similar manner, at a place further to the southward, whose death he had revenged before that of his niece.

I mentioned the taking of the women in a former statement. It was not till January in the year I now write of that he mustered a force of 600 men, viz., 200 of his own tribe, 200 from the Bay of Islands, and the other 200 from Bream Head; the last 400 were auxiliaries. He proceeded with this force to Towrangha and landed on an island§ at the mouth of the bay (Mercury Bay). Awarru came out in his canoe to know what had brought him to Towrangha. Temmarangha replied that Awarru had killed, roasted, and eaten his niece and he had come to demand satisfaction for that offence, and wished to know what he was disposed to offer on that account. Awarru said, "If that be the object of your expedition, the only satisfaction I shall give will be to

* White Island.
† The Venus; vide supra, pp. 142, 154-5, and 172-3.
‡ Fourteen years in point of fact: in 1818.
§ Probably Motiti.
kill, roast, and eat you also." This gross insult roused the angry feelings of Temmarangha, who instantly appealed to arms for the settlement of the dispute. Awarru stated he was ready and would fight him that day. Temmarangha declined engaging that day, but was most willing to meet him on the following day to which the other agreed. The ground on which they were to meet was settled on; it was a level spot opposite to where Captain Cook anchored, as pointed out to me by Temmarangha.*

The parties met at the time and place appointed, and, when they had both drawn up their forces respectively, Temmarangha directed his men not to fire their muskets till he gave the word of command; he had 35 muskets, while Awarru depended solely on spears and patooes (patus). Awarru made the first charge with a shower of spears in which Temmarangha had one officer wounded. He then called upon his men to fire, when twenty of Awarru's men dropt dead at the first shot, amongst whom were two chiefs, one named Newkopango (Nuku-panga), Awarru's father(?), and the other Hoponeku (Hopu-nikau). The moment these two chiefs fell, Awarru's men were thrown into disorder and ran off the field of battle. Temmarangha commanded his men immediately to halt and not to pursue the fleeing enemy. He said he was satisfied with the sacrifice that had been made, as two chiefs were killed, and he did not wish to shed any more blood.

The allies were dissatisfied with his leniency, and the chiefs called a council of war and censured Temmarangha's conduct for not following up the advantage he had gained. They contended that, if Temmarangha was satisfied with the death of the two chiefs for the murder of his niece, yet Awarru ought to be punished for the insolent language he made use of at their first interview, when he said he would kill, roast, and eat Temmarangha—that this language was such as no chief ought to use to another—and recommended that they should immediately renew the attack. Temmarangha wished first to learn how Awarru was disposed. His father being killed, he thought he would readily come to terms of peace. He therefore went out of the camp in order to gain some information respecting Awarru, as he had fled along with his men. Temmarangha fell in with Awarru's wife and children, and some of his friends to the amount of thirty persons, and brought them into his camp under the assurance of personal safety. He inquired where their storehouses of potatoes were, when Awarru's wife pointed them out, from which Temmarangha and his men got a supply. Temmarangha wished to learn from Awarru's wife and friends if Awarru was inclined for peace. They informed him he was not.

The next day, while they and the chiefs were consulting together in the camp, they observed that Awarru had rallied his forces and was coming down upon them. They immediately flew to their arms, and in a very short time killed a great number of the enemy with their muskets, threw them into confusion, and pursued them when routed. Many were driven into the sea and perished; between three and four hundred were left dead upon the field of battle, and two hundred and sixty were

* An error on Marsden's part. Captain Cook was never very near the coast at Tauranga.
made prisoners of war. Two hundred of these prisoners came to the share of the chiefs at the Bay of Islands—part of them we saw landed at Rangheehoo on March 2nd—and the other sixty to the chiefs of Bream Head.

Awarru was now completely conquered. He fled to the woods with the few men he had left. Temmarangha went in search of him and, when he at length discovered his retreat, asked him if he was now willing to submit, reminding him at the same time of the insolent language he had used at their first meeting. Awarru acknowledged he was conquered, and said he had no idea that muskets would have produced such effects, and had till now despised them as instruments of war; but experience convinced him of their efficacy and power, and he therefore submitted.

He inquired if Temmarangha could give him any information respecting his wife and children. The other told him they were all safe in the camp, and would be delivered over to himself if he would accompany him for that purpose. Awarru expressed a grateful sense of Temmarangha's kindness in sparing their lives, and promptly attended him to the camp of the allies and received them there in safety as Temmarangha had promised.

He then observed that he was much distressed for the death of his father, and solicited some compensation for his great loss. Temmarangha gave him a musket, and the other chiefs made him also some presents which satisfied him, and he returned home with his wife, children and several friends who had all been preserved under Temmarangha's word of honour.

The conquerors remained three days on the field of battle, feeding upon the slain, and then sailed with their prisoners of war, taking Awarru's canoes also to the Bay of Islands. This fleet of canoes got to the Bay three days after the Dromedary arrived in New Zealand.

When I had noted down the foregoing statement from Temmarangha, he asked me if I intended to send it to England. I replied in the affirmative. He said he was afraid that, when those things were public in Europe and he should afterwards go on board an English ship, they would put him to death. I assured him that the custom of eating human flesh was condemned by all nations. New Zealanders were dreaded by all Europeans on that account, but they would not kill him merely because the habits of his country were bad.

I beg to observe here that I noted these particulars while we sat on the hill near which the battle was fought, and on our return to the Coromandel I reviewed my notes with Temmarangha by my side in order to have the facts repeated from his own mouth and more correctly set down.*

* Mr. Percy Smith, commenting upon Marsden's account of Te Morenga's raid on Tauranga in January and February, 1820 (which he quotes from d'Urville's *Voyage de la Corouette l'Astrolabe* (Vol. III)) writes:—"Such is Mr. Marsden's account of Te Morenga's raid on Tauranga, and, allowing for his inability to understand all that Te Morenga told him—though it is said the latter could speak English, learnt on his visits to Port Jackson and on whalers—it is probably correct in the main. It rather appears as if Te Morenga's other expedition in 1818, in which he killed Te Tawhio (an uncle or elder relative of Te Waru) had got confused with this account, where Te Morenga refers to Te Waru's father having been killed."—Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, pp. 37-8 and 70-73.
When we had finished this interesting conversation on the hill we walked down to the settlement, and first visited the residence of the head chief A-nee-nee (Te Rangi-a-nini) whose wife gave us a cordial reception, and appropriated one of the best huts for our accommodation, as also a new mat for me to lie on, etc.

Provisions in abundance for our whole party were immediately got ready, and we spent the evening very pleasantly. Most of the inhabitants came to see us, composed chiefly of women and children, as a number of the men had gone to war. I arranged the children in a row and gave each of them a fish-hook, which they considered a great present. I also made Mrs. A-nee-nee a present of some edge tools for her husband's use when he returned from the war.

As far as I could learn no ships had been at Towrangha since Captain Cook was there, and I saw an old chief who remembered seeing that great navigator. They are much in want of tools of every kind as they are not visited by any Europeans. Supplies for ships might be got here, as they had plenty of potatoes and also pork.

We inquired after Awarru (Te Waru) from Mrs. A-nee-nee. She informed us he was gone to war, but his brother Awerree was at home. These were my friend Temmarangha's opponents. He now urged me to see Awerree and make a final reconciliation with him. He had not seen him since the day of battle. I promised to call upon Awerree in the morning and hear what he said, which quieted his mind. I asked Temmarangha if he was not afraid of Awerree taking advantage of him now as he was alone; he replied no, but he wished for an opportunity to talk over their past differences, and he thought if I spoke to Awerree a reconciliation would easily be accomplished.

Saturday, July 22nd.—Early this morning we had a number of visitors. Awerree came also, full dressed, with a number of his friends. They all sat down in a row according to their rank. They were all strangers to me. Temmarangha came and whispered that Awerree was arrived and pointed him out. He is a very stout man, well made, and was well dressed according to the fashion of their country. His hair was tied up very neat, and he had a pattoo-pattoo in his hand, about six feet long, made of the jaw-bone of a whale.* Temmarangha requested me to take him by the arm, and walk up with him to Awerree, and tell Awerree what his wishes were. I immediately complied with his request, and we walked up to him. I told Awerree I had waited upon him to express my own and Temmarangha's wishes that mutual friendship might be in future established between them, and hoped that he was equally inclined to a reconciliation. He replied he was very willing to meet Temmarangha upon terms of peace. They now talked the subject publicly over, and finally settled that Awerree should send a person of rank to reside with Temmarangha and Temmarangha should send a man of rank to live with Awerree. Awerree then stood up and made a speech, informing the people that there now existed no more differences between the two chiefs, and they now sat down together.

* Hoeroa.—This weapon was long, sharp-edged, thin, and curved, making it a formidable weapon and difficult to guard. It was thrown after the manner of a dart at a flying enemy, and drawn back immediately after the impact by means of a strong flax cord attached at one end.—Vide p. 400.
as friends. Awerree presented me with his pattoo-pattoo, which I have sent by Captain Downie in the Coromandel for the Society's museum. Temmarangha expressed himself much gratified with the observations Awerree made in his speech, and they both appeared very happy.*

I made Awerree a present of some edge-tools, and invited him to see the Coromandel. He excused himself by saying that his wife was very near her confinement, and he was unwilling to be absent from home lest anything should happen; but after she had recovered he would come to the Thames to see the Coromandel, and it was his intention to pay Temmarangha a visit in two or three moons. I told Awerree, as they were so much in want of tools such as axes, etc., if he should set his people to make mats and send them to Temmarangha, he would forward them to me, when I would sell them and send him some tools. They all approved of this proposition, and Temmarangha promised he would act as their agent at the Bay of Islands. I wished much to remain with these friendly people two days, but before the middle of the day the weather began to threaten for rain. I was apprehensive, if much rain fell. I should not be able to ford the River O Emanonee. I was, therefore, anxious to return without delay, and acquainted the natives with my intention. They urged me much to remain with them a few days, but admitted we could not ford the river if there was a fall of rain, and for that reason they yielded to my wishes. They now furnished us with more provisions than we could either possibly carry or consume. Mrs. A-nee-nee ordered two slaves to assist in carrying what our servants could not take. When we took our leave, they accompanied us up the hill with songs and dances. We here met a chief and his wife belonging to Tipporari, the hippah I have already mentioned, who accompanied us on our return. We reached before dark the spot on the plain where we had lodged before and remained there all night, having made a screen of brushwood and fern to shelter us from the rain which now began to fall.

Sunday, July 23rd.—As soon as the day returned we prepared again for our journey. I missed the chief's wife of Tipporari (Te Puriri) and her servant woman. On inquiring where they were, I was informed that they had gone away very early in order to prepare dinner for us at the hippah, where the chief invited us to dine with him as we passed. We reached the hippah about two o'clock, and found the lady had got a plentiful supply of provisions for us and all her slaves ready to attend us. I observed several sepulchres in this hippah, painted, carved, and ornamented with feathers; some of them had cost much labour. One I took particular notice of which stood near where we dined. I inquired whose sepulchre it was, and was informed that one of the chief's wives who had been blown up with gunpowder was deposited in it.

At the time we arrived one old chief had just died. A number were assembled together to mourn over him. After we had dined we took our leave of this hospitable chief and his wife, and made the best

* The peace made by Te Morenga upon this occasion was maintained until 1831. In the interval they attacked the Thames, Waikato, and Rotorua districts, but did not again visit Tauranga until their attack of 1831 upon Maungatapu.—Cf. John Alexander Wilson, The Story of Te Waharoa, Auckland, 1866.
of our way to Awaugh's residence where we intended to rest for the night. Awaugh, myself, and three of our companions arrived a little after dark, very weary, having had a long day's journey. We saw no more of the rest of our party till daylight the next morning. They were too tired to reach the end of our journey and had rested by the way.

Monday, July 24th.—As the tide answered early for going down the river we took our leave of this fine youth, who appeared to possess every natural endowment for making a great man and good member of society if the means of improvement were only within his reach. I gave him an invitation on board the Coromandel, and he promised to pay me a visit. His residence from the ship I estimated to be about twenty miles.

After leaving Awaugh we proceeded down the Thames with a strong stream and tide from the late rains, and arrived about midnight at the place where the men belonging to the Coromandel were cutting spars. It had rained very hard in the evening, which still continued. We were very wet and cold. On my arrival I found the two huts, which had been built before I went to Towrangha, were both burnt by accident, and what things I had left with Mr. Emery were consumed in the flames, amongst which I regretted the loss of some fine mats. On this account there was no place for me to sleep in, as the hut which was just put up was too small to afford me any accommodation. I was therefore compelled to sit up till the return of day. The Coromandel's launch had also arrived that evening with provisions for the workmen, and Mr. Anderson informed me it was his intention to proceed in the morning to the west side of the river to see if he could meet with any spars. I now determined to embrace the opportunity to cross the river in the launch in order to visit Kipero (Kaipara).

After a cold, wet, and uncomfortable night the morning of the 25th (Tuesday, July 25th) returned with a fair wind, but stormy and rainy. We now embarked in the launch and sailed from the eastern shore and got well over to the west side, when we ran up a river called the Wyeroa (Wairoa)* in which there are a number of islands. We anchored under one of them during the night. A native we had on board informed Mr. Anderson that there were some fine spars up a river called the Wyeteematta (Waitemata) which fell into the Wyeroa, which determined Mr. Anderson to run up the Wyeteematta the following day.

Wednesday, July 26th.—This morning we weighed anchor and sailed up the Wyeteematta with a strong fair breeze, as much as the launch could carry. The Wyeteematta is a large river, in some places five or six miles wide, with a sufficient depth of water for large ships. It runs direct towards the west side of New Zealand. We anchored about five o'clock in the evening in five fathoms of water near the shore, tying the launch with a rope to a tree. I suppose we could not be much less than fifty miles from the Coromandel. There were some very fine spars, but not long enough for first-rate men-of-war. We remained here all night. I was now a considerable way on my route towards Kipero, but was at a loss for a canoe as we had passed all the native villages.

* In reality Marsden sailed through the Waiheke Channel which leads by way of Tamaki Strait to the Waitemata Harbour on which Auckland lies.
Thursday, July 27th.—Early this morning we heard the report of three muskets, and soon observed a canoe full of natives pulling towards the launch. When they arrived we found the party to consist of a chief from Kiperro and his people, and Enakkee (Te Hinaki) a chief of Mogoea (Mokoia)* belonging to a settlement on the west side of the Thames. We informed them what our object was in coming up the river Wyeteematta. The chief of Kiperro, Kowhow (Te Kawau)† said the land upon the Wyeteematta belonged to him, but if any of the timber would answer he would very readily give it to us, and informed us there was much more up some other branches of the river.

Mr. Anderson said he would remain at his present situation all the day to examine the woods, and that he should not leave Wyeroa for three days as it was his intention to visit Mogoea before he returned to the Coromandel.

I now inquired of the chief what distance we were from Kiperro and whether I could walk there in one day or not. He informed me I could, and if I would go he would accompany me. Mr. Ewels, Government Timber Purveyor, said he would join us. Kowhow immediately ordered his canoe to get ready and thirteen men to attend us, and in a few minutes we left the launch and proceeded up the river and landed about six or eight miles higher up. When we landed we saw the high sandhills on the western shore of New Zealand, the apparent distance eighteen or twenty miles. We walked very smartly in order to reach the place of destination before dark. Our road lay through one continued plain, free from timber and with very little rising ground till we came near Kiperro. We had one stream of water to cross, which was too deep to ford, about six or eight miles from the place where we landed from the canoe. This forms one of the branches of Kiperro River. The natives swam across, cut down some small spars which they lashed together, and made a rope of some native flax which they tied across the stream to the trees as a hand-rail, by which contrivance we got safely over.

A messenger was now sent forward to the chief’s friends to inform them we were coming. We arrived at the first village‡ about sunset, where a great abundance of sweet potatoes were provided for our supper, and amongst other things, a cat was roasted. When we declined taking any of the cat, as an inducement to partake of it they assured us it was an English cat. This we knew, for we had seen it in a basket during our journey.

On our arrival we found the chief’s brother lying under a shed, unable to stand from the wound of a spear which I understood he had received some considerable time before. Kowhow and two others who had attended us made great lamentations over him and wept aloud.

* Mokoia, now Panmure.
† Apihai Te Kawau, the principal chief of Ngati-Whatua at the time of the foundation of Auckland in 1841. Mr. S. Percy Smith describes him as a “fine old chief who, even in my time, was the most strictly tapued man I ever came across” (Northern Wars, p. 100). Te Kawau died at Ongarahu, Kaipara, in the "sixties, "full of honour, respected by Maori and Pakeha alike, and at an advanced age, probably over eighty."
‡ Ruarangi-haereere, where the Taou kapu of Ngati-Whatua were then living. In the vicinity of Woodhill.
The place where he lay, and the ground for some distance round his
shed, was tabooed. His wife and a pretty little girl were set apart to
attend him. No other person was permitted to tread upon the sacred
ground excepting myself and Mr. Ewels. I sat down by the side of
this poor afflicted warrior. He showed me his thigh. The flesh was
wasted away, and he had no power to move it. We gave him a little
tea which he relished very much. They all seemed to feel much for
his afflictions. We spent the evening in conversation upon the dreadful
calamities of war, the advantages of agriculture and commerce, etc.,
subjects upon which they were anxious to gain information. Kowhow
showed great aversion to war; reprobated the conduct of many of his
countrymen; stated how much the people of Kiperro had been destroyed
and cut off by war—that they had been fighting for years with the Napooes
(Ngapuhi) and the tribes in the Bay of Islands; and that the Napooes
were then in the districts of Kiperro, plundering and murdering the
inhabitants. I lamented these public calamities, and hoped when
more Europeans resided amongst them an end would be put to their
mutual contests.

Friday, July 28th.—This morning Mr. Ewels and myself set off
to the sandhills, accompanied by one of the chiefs, in order to take a
view of the western ocean and shores. We passed a hippah upon a
commanding spot, but the chief told us it now afforded them no pro­
tection against their enemies since firearms had been introduced into
New Zealand. He showed us where their enemies had fired upon them
in the hippah with balls, and that the distance was too great for them
to throw their spears. The sandhills are very high, and command a
wide prospect on the sea and in the interior. There is no vegetation
upon them and the sand shifts with the contending winds. They are
several miles broad, and extend along the coast both to the right and left
further than the eye can reach.* We saw the rivers running from the
interior into the harbour of Kiperro, but we could not see the harbour
or entrance into it. It lay to the northward, many miles under the
high land, the sea lying at the foot of those we were upon, and a small
flat of about half a mile intervening between them and the beach.

As our time would not allow of our visiting the harbour of Kiperro,
which would have taken several days, we determined to return imme­
diately to the Wyeteematta in order to secure a passage in the launch

* The Rev. Hauraki Paora of Reweti, near Ruarangi-haereere, where Marsden
stayed upon this occasion, gave Mr. Percy Smith the following information with
regard to his visit:—“Mr. Marsden stayed some time with Te Taou tribe here, and
the hill is still known on which he sat and is called to this day Te Tou-o-te-Matenga,
‘The sitting place of Marsden,’ because when he sat down a hollow was left in the
loose sand. I was told about this by Te Otene Kikokiko, in 1873, who was there
when Marsden came. He also described the wonder with which they all beheld
a white man for the first time. When Marsden stood up to pray they all said E mea
ma! Ka tu ki runga! ‘O friends, he stands up!’ When he commenced singing a
hymn they exclaimed to one another, E mea ma! Ka hamama to waha! ‘O friends,
he opens his mouth!’ And when he knelt to pray they called out E mea ma! Ka
tuturi nga turi, a ka komekome nga ngutu! ‘O friends, he kneels on his knees—his
lips move!’ We were all entire strangers to pakehas at that time. The things that
Mr. Marsden brought with him were pipes, Jew’s harps, and a she goat. The Maoris
were delighted at the Jew’s harp, for their own roria were made of supplejack bark.”—
Cf. S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, pp. 60-1.
to the Coromandel. On the sandhills we met a young man about twenty-four years old, his complexion very fair, with light hair. His master was with him. I saw he was an European from his countenance and asked his master, who informed me his father was an European and he had got him originally from the Bay of Islands. I wanted to redeem him with a view of sending him to the missionary settlement for instruction, but his master did not seem willing to part with him.

We now returned to the village, and on our arrival found Kowhow and the two young men, who had made such bitter lamentations over the afflicted chief the preceding evening, had been cutting themselves till their faces were covered with blood and had renewed their mournful cries. Kowhow requested me to pray to our God for the poor afflicted man. I promised him I would, and told them there was but one God, and that our God was their God also. I went up to the sick man's shed and kneeled down. He crept out upon his hands and laid himself down on his side, uncovering his thigh, laying his hand upon the affected part, and looked wistfully at me as if he thought I had the power to heal him. His conduct called to my recollection what Naaman the Syrian leper thought when he went to the prophet. He thought the prophet would stand and call upon the Lord his God and strike his hand over the place and recover the leper. The natural ideas of this fallen chief and Naaman appeared to be very similar.

After I had performed this duty, which deeply impressed my own mind under the peculiar circumstances in which I had been called upon to address the Father of all living, Who is loving to every man and Whose tender mercies are over all His works, I informed Kowhow that it was my intention to return that day. He urged me to stop one day more, said he was very weary, and could not go back with me till he had recovered from his fatigue. I told him if I did not go I should lose my passage to the Coromandel, and then I should have no means of returning to the ship, as a canoe could not cross the river in the unsettled state of the weather. He saw the force of this argument and said though he was tired he would go back with us, and we immediately took our leave of the sick chief and his people and proceeded on our journey. Several slaves were sent to carry potatoes for us to eat. The wind was very strong and blew in our face, and as the plain was quite open we had an unpleasant walk. Just at dark we arrived at the wharf where we had left the canoe. It now began to rain and continued to blow very hard. We made the best screen we could with fern, as there were no huts, and remained till the morning, though from the cold and rain we enjoyed little rest. From the tempestuous night the natives informed us frequently we should not be able to go down the river, the waters would be too rough.

Sunday, July 30th.—When the day returned there was no prospect that we should be able to leave our present uncomfortable situation, as the storm continued. However, about eight o'clock, the weather began to moderate and we prepared to embark. We had a set of very fine young men as our crew for the canoe, whom at length we prevailed upon to venture. We had appointed to meet Mr. Anderson that evening at Mogoea, which was about thirty miles distant. Kowhow told us repeatedly we should not reach Mogoea before the following day, as
the water was very rough in the river with the wind against us. After we had been pulling down the river about three hours, we got sight of the launch which inspired the crew with fresh hope. They now exerted all their strength to reach her, but she was too far off. In the afternoon the wind increased with an high sea which compelled us to go on shore, when we enquired if we could not go by land to Mogoea. The natives told us we could, but it was too far to walk. However, we resolved to try our strength, and succeeded in reaching Mogoea that evening, where we met the launch and took up our lodgings for the night; not without feelings of pleasure and gratitude, though a boat does not afford the best accommodation for weary travellers.

Monday, July 31st.—This morning I felt myself much refreshed. The first business I attended to was to pay the chief of Kiperro and his men for their kind attentions to us, which I did in axes, plane-irons, etc., to their great satisfaction. They were never possessed of so much wealth before. Kowhow requested he might be permitted to visit the Coromandel. I asked Mr. Anderson’s permission to take him, which he kindly granted.

As soon as the supplies of potatoes which Mr. Anderson had purchased for the ship were put into the launch, we sailed from Mogoea. Enakkee (Te Hinaki), the chief who was at war with Tippoohee, accompanied us. I had promised Tippoohee I would use all my influence with Enakkee to bring about a reconciliation between them, which I hoped to accomplish when I got Enakkee on board the Coromandel. We sailed from the settlement at Mogoea in the morning, but, night coming on before we got out of the Wyeroa into the Thames, we anchored under one of the islands for the night.*

Tuesday, August 1st.—This morning it rained and blew hard, and the atmosphere was so dark and cloudy that we could not see the high land upon the opposite shore of the Thames. After breakfast we made sail for the ship, with a fair wind, and arrived on board the Coromandel about three o’clock p.m. I had now been twenty-four days from the Coromandel, during which I had slept in my clothes, and generally in the open air, boat, or canoe. A great part of the time the weather had been very wet and stormy. I had crossed many swamps, creeks, and rivers from Towrangha on the east side to Kiperro on the west, yet, during the above period, through the kind providence of God, I had met with no accident and no unpleasant circumstance; but, on the contrary, had been highly gratified with my route and returned to the Coromandel in perfect health. I hope my visit to the different tribes will be attended with future good. In every place I endeavoured to explain to the natives that there is but one true and living God, Who made all things, and that our God, therefore, is their God; that the tabooing their houses, themselves, their servants, their food, their fires, and all other things, could neither heal their wounds, preserve them from danger, restore them to health when sick, nor save them from death; but that our God, though they knew Him not, could do all these things for them. They all wished for Europeans to reside amongst them.

* Ponui, Chamberlain’s Island.
My constant companion, Temmarangha, recommended the chiefs everywhere to leave off fighting, reminded them how often their wives and children were crying for hunger, when their crops of sweet and common potatoes were destroyed by their mutual contests, and many of their children left fatherless and their wives widows. They said they were well aware of the miseries of war, but that there were some chiefs that would never give over fighting. Their fathers and forefathers were always fighting men. I have no doubt but those subjects will furnish them with useful matter for reflection and conversation, and will tend to enlighten and enlarge their minds.

Being now once more on board the *Coromandel*, and having got Enakkee with me, I wished to fulfil my promise to Tippoohee and settle their difference. That I might judge of the best mode to accomplish this object, I requested Enakkee to state to me the cause of the quarrel between him and Tippoohee. He stated that some time before their difference his father* was on the east side of the Thames in a canoe, when the canoe was upset in a squall, and his father and the crew who were with him were all drowned. Enakkee was informed that their bodies afterwards drifted on shore, and were taken by Tippoohee and his people† and eaten. In consequence of this insult offered to the dead he had made war upon Tippoohee. I admitted if this was a fact, Tippoohee’s conduct was very bad; at the same time their mutually killing one another only increased their calamities, and I wished him to meet Tippoohee on board the *Coromandel*, and we would hear what he had to say to the charge which was laid against him. Enakkee consented to this proposition, and the next morning Captain Downie was kind enough to send Mr. Anderson in his boat for Tippoohee, who returned with him upon the following day. When Enakkee saw Tippoohee coming in the boat, he immediately took a canoe and went on shore. I was apprehensive that he would not return again. When Tippoohee arrived I informed him what Enakkee alleged against him. He said he knew that was the charge—that Enakkee accused him and his people of eating his father and the crew—but that the charge was false; that their bodies never came on shore, but were destroyed in the water. He further stated that the author of the report was the areekee;‡ His servants and the areekee’s had quarrelled about some cockles and thatch in the first instance; he had justified his own people and the areekee his till they quarrelled. The areekee, to gratify his revenge, had propagated this report, which Enakkee and his people believed, and, on that account, had made war upon him and killed his brother and many more of his people.§ Tippoohee did not think that Enakkee would return or come to any accommodation with him. In about an hour afterwards Enakkee, however, came back again to the ship. When he came upon deck Tippoohee was sitting upon it. Enakkee sat on the opposite side; neither of them spoke for a considerable time. I

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* Rongo-mauri-kura, a chief of the Ngati-Paoa.
† The Ngati-Maru.
‡ The *ariki* or chief.
§ These engagements between Ngati-Paoa and Ngati-Maru are fully described in J. White’s *Ancient History of the Maori*, Vol. V, Chapter 7.
was going to address them when Temmarangha requested I would not speak but leave them to their own feelings. Temmarangha and Towretta sat upon the deck observing their looks, which portrayed contending passions. At length one of them broke silence and addressed the other. They now gave vent to their feelings—mutually reproached each other and advanced to meet each other with much apparent rage, sneers, and contempt. At times they seemed as if they would strike each other. Temmarangha and Towretta (Te Horeta) put in a word between them now and then. After they had said all they wished to say, they became gradually more cool and at length came to a reconciliation; when Captain Downie invited them into the cabin, where they took something to eat and drink together to the satisfaction of all parties.

After my return to the Coromandel, Captain Downie informed me that the areekee* was going to kill Amoppa, a subordinate chief in the Bay, and that he was determined to take his head off. Amoppa was accused of a theft—in stealing a mat belonging to the areekee's son—and the areekee had been for several days making spears and sharpening his instruments of war. Towretta also told me that the areekee would kill Amoppa. Amoppa came and begged I would intercede with the areekee and speak to him on his behalf. I therefore requested Towretta to go to the areekee with a message from me—to tell him that I wished the difference between Amoppa and him to be accommodated without coming to any battle—and I begged of Towretta to use his influence with him also. In a few days I received a message from the areekee through Towretta and Temmarangha to say that he would not put Amoppa to death, but that their difference must be settled in a public meeting.

Very early in the morning of Friday, August 11th, before I was up, Amoppa called at my cabin window. I got up and inquired what he wanted, when he informed me that the meeting between him and the areekee was to take place that day, and requested that I would be present. The surgeon, Mr. Hume, and Mr. Hilliard, captain's clerk, after we had got breakfast, went with me in one of the ship's boats, accompanied by Mr. James Downie. Amoppa, who had remained alongside, followed us with his friends in sixteen canoes. The areekee was about three miles off at the head of one of the coves. When we arrived the areekee was prepared to receive us. Amoppa's men were all armed. The areekee's were armed likewise, some with muskets, others with spears, pattoos, and other weapons of war. Amoppa drew up his canoes in a line, when all his men leaped into the water and ran like furies all naked, in a close body, with their spears ready for the attack towards the beach where the areekee's men were drawn up. After they had gone through their military evolutions and war dances, the areekee's party now went through the same exercises, closing their motions with the war dance.

The charges against Amoppa were now publicly discussed by the leading men on both sides. Several spoke with great warmth, while each party interested in the dispute attended to their public speeches which continued a length of time. We understood that the areekee demanded and received one canoe and one slave as an atonement from Amoppa for his crime, and thus the business was finally settled.

* The *ariki* or chief was in all probability Kitahi-te-taniwha, at that time principal chief of Coromandel.
All differences amongst the chiefs at the Thames were now adjusted, and mutual harmony restored. I now determined to leave the Thames on the following day, as I had given up all hopes of the schooner's arrival. Enakkee promised to furnish me with a good canoe and to go along with me to the Bay of Islands. I was very happy that no differences had taken place between the Europeans and the natives, and I hoped that a good understanding would continue between them till the *Coromandel* sailed from the river.

After we had returned on board the *Coromandel*, Temmarangha came to me in great agitation. I requested to know the cause. He informed me that when he was at the Thames on a former occasion a chief had given him a maree,* one of their war instruments, to sell for him for an axe. This instrument was made of the talc which they value very highly. Temmarangha got only a small tomahawk for it, which he conceived was by no means equal to its value. The chief was very angry with Temmarangha, and had sent him a message to say that if he did not procure him an axe he would employ one of their priests to kill him by incantation. Temmarangha assured me he should surely die if the chief put his threat into execution, and requested I would give him an axe to save his life. I endeavoured to convince him of the absurdity of such a threat, but to no purpose; he still persisted he should die, and that the priest possessed that power, and began to draw the lines of incantation upon the ship's deck in order to convince me how the operation was performed. He said the messenger was waiting in a canoe alongside for his answer. Finding it was of no use to argue with him I gave him an axe which he joyfully received, and delivered it to the messenger with a request that the chief would be satisfied and not proceed against him. In such strong chains of superstition does the Prince of this World bind the dark minds of these poor heathen captives! What an infinite blessing will Divine revelation be to the inhabitants of New Zealand when the glorious light once breaks in upon them! At the present their minds are tormented with the most painful fears upon the slightest occurrence which they suppose will offend their god, and their bodies suffer very severely from their strict observance of their ceremonial pollutions. From the influence which Satan has upon their minds, they are driven to the opposite extremes of religious superstition and crime. I have known a native tell me that his god would kill him in consequence of my having taken a little fire from his to light mine with, without any intention on my part to hurt his mind; and I am persuaded from his great agitation that he believed this would be his fate, while at the same time that very man would more than probably kill and eat his fellow creatures without remorse. I have never met with one New Zealander but who has considered God as a vindictive being, at all times ready to punish them even with death for any ceremonial neglect. Hence they labour by every mortification and self-denial to avert his anger.

A chief I am well acquainted with burnt his home, which had been built very neatly and had much carving about it, in hopes of appeasing the anger of his god. A very short time ago I went to pay him a

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* Mere pounamu.—See plate facing p. 304.
visit and stayed all night with him, and admired the neatness of his home; when I went again there was not a vestige remaining, and on inquiring the cause I was told he had burnt it to pacify his god.

Saturday, August 12th.—This morning I took my leave of Captain Downie and embarked in the Coromandel's launch for the west side of the River Thames. The Thames, opposite to where the Coromandel anchored, was about fifteen miles across. On the west shore another river called the Wyeroa* empties itself into the Thames. This river is large—some small islands are situated in it, and in some of the coves good shelter and anchorage may be found for shipping.

When I left the Coromandel my intention was to proceed to Mogoea (Mokoia), a native settlement upon the banks of another river† which falls into the Wyeroa. Here I purposed to take a canoe and immediately set off for the Bay of Islands.

On stepping into the launch alongside the Coromandel I observed a woman coiled up under a mat, and was informed she was the wife of a chief who was gone on a war expedition to the southward, and had formed an attachment to my friend Temmarangha and was determined to accompany him to the Bay of Islands. I immediately requested Mr. Anderson, the second master, to order this lady out of the launch, and informed Temmarangha that no woman of her character could be allowed to go with me. As she was another man's wife, she must be left behind; for, when her husband returned from the war and found that his wife had been taken away in his absence, he would seek revenge and probably blame the Europeans. Temmarangha made no objections to her being put out of the boat. He said it was her own wish to go with him. The lady was then ordered out, but she would not move. The sailors were then directed to take her out by force. She made all the resistance in her power, but was at length placed in a canoe and the launch put off immediately. When we had got about two hundred yards from the ship, we observed this lady swimming after us and making every exertion to reach the launch. Temmarangha was much agitated now, and called out to me saying she would be drowned, and that he wished the launch to be put back to save her life. I told him she was a bad character, and we could not put back for her, and that he need not be alarmed for she would return to the ship when she saw her efforts to gain the launch were in vain. She soon saw herself drop astern very fast, and we observed her turn again towards the Coromandel, which relieved Temmarangha's anxiety.

Our passage across the Thames was very pleasant, and we anchored the same evening at Mogoea, situated between forty and fifty miles from the Coromandel. As it was midnight when we anchored, I remained all night on board the launch though the air was very cold. Enakkee, one of the principal chiefs of Mogoea, was with us. He had been a few days on board the Coromandel, and had accompanied me with the intention of conveying me in his canoe to the Bay of Islands.

Sunday, August 13th.—Early this morning Enakkee's son, with several of the natives, came off to the launch which lay about four miles

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* The Rangitoto and Waiheke Channels.
† The Tamaki.
from the settlement, when his father went on shore. Enakkee is a great warrior, a very fine, tall, handsome man, apparently about thirty-six years of age, and has been in many actions. Mr. Anderson and I had the curiosity to count the scars on his body, which he had received from spear wounds, and found them to amount to fifty. One of his front teeth had been knocked out with a patoo-patoo and another broken.

After breakfast Mr. Anderson accompanied me to Mogoea. It is a very populous settlement, and contains the finest race of people I had seen in New Zealand, and very healthy. Their houses are superior to most I have met with. Their stores were full of potatoes, containing some thousands of baskets, and they had some very fine hogs. The soil is uncommonly rich and easily cultivated. The number of women and children was very great, but most of the fighting men were gone on a war expedition to the southward. After visiting the different chiefs I returned on board the launch for my baggage, and when we landed Enakkee provided me with a good hut for myself and native companions, and supplied us with plenty of potatoes and such food as they had.

I here met with two chiefs from Kipero, one of whom was a priest of great note amongst the natives. His name is Moodee-a-kow (Muria-kau).* The name of the other chief was A-ewe (Wai). They expressed their regret that they had not seen me when I visited Kipero, and observed that a number of people had assembled at the village where I had stopped in hopes of seeing me, but on their arrival they found I had returned, by which they were much grieved and disappointed. I endeavoured to convince them that I was as much disappointed as they could be, as it was my wish to have seen them all if my time would have allowed me; but that I was compelled to return at the time I did in order to meet the ship's launch on a certain day, or I could not have got back again to the Coromandel. I found the priest a remarkably mild man, and so were the other chiefs. We spent the evening in conversation on various subjects. The hut I was in was crowded with natives, and great numbers surrounded the outside. I informed Enakkee that I wished to sail for the Bay of Islands the next morning. He told me this would be impossible, as the canoe would require to be put into complete repair before he could venture to sea at this season of the year, and that it would take two days before he could get her ready. This information was very mortifying to me, as I was anxious to return lest I should lose my passage in the schooner should she come again to the Dromedary. However, I had no alternative and was compelled to submit to the necessity of my situation.

Monday, August 14th.—This morning I accompanied Enakkee and some other chiefs and workmen to examine the canoe and to set about the necessary repairs. The canoe was about sixty feet long, designed for war, and very commodious. Enakkee immediately set to work with several other men. He took all the canoe to pieces in order to make it as strong and complete as it was the day it was first launched.

* Muria-kau.—This name is not recognised by the Ngati-Whatua people. The only name like it is Muri-awhea, but he is not known to have been a tohunga or priest. —S. Percy Smith, *Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes*, p. 61. The chief Te Otene-kikokiko and his people accompanied Marsden to the Wairoa.
In the course of the day we were visited by different chiefs and some from remote parts of the southward. Several lent their assistance in repairing the canoe, so that by the evening they had put a great part of her together again. The weather was so wet and stormy that, if the canoe had been ready, it would not have been possible to put to sea. I spent part of the day in walking through the potato grounds in which a number of slaves were at work. Near the settlement there is a very high hill,* which commands a very extensive prospect. Its top and sides have every appearance that it is the production of some volcanic eruption. On the east side the flat land for the distance of near a mile is covered with stones of various dimensions, very hard, of a dark grey colour, full of holes, and some of them appear very much burnt. The soil, both amongst the stones and where there are none, is a very rich, dark brown loam and fit for all the purposes of vegetation. Agriculture by the plough might be carried on here to a very considerable extent, as a pair of horses could easily work the greatest part of the ground. They have no grain of any kind—sweet and common potatoes, with turnips and cabbages, constitute their principal food. After I had returned from my walks, and the natives from their labour, the evening was spent till a late hour in conversing upon agriculture, commerce, civil government, religion, etc., subjects with which they show much anxiety to become acquainted.

Tuesday, August 15th.—This morning Enakkee and his people began to work at the canoe in order to complete her by the evening. After working all the day they painted and nearly finished her, excepting a few ornaments made of feathers for the head and stern. The weather was very stormy, and from all appearances was likely to continue so. Enakkee informed me I might not be able to put to sea for a month or more on account of the weather. This news I was not prepared to hear. I was fearful of losing my passage to Port Jackson and, besides, I had only a few days' provisions.

I now resolved to walk to the Bay of Islands and to leave Mogoea the following day, and communicated my intention to Enakkee and wished to know from him which way I could travel. All the chiefs told me I could not make my way to the Bay of Islands on the east side of New Zealand, as the sea-shore in many places was nothing but high rocks which I could not pass. Neither could I cross the rivers nor head the bays which ran into the sea on the east side. If I was determined to go, I must take my route by Kiperro on the west side and strike off into the interior of the country in order to head the main rivers or bays.

My companion Temmarangha said he would accompany me, and, when we had made the western shore, we could pass up a river called Wyeroa to a settlement named Mongakaiea (Mangakahia) which would bring us within three or four days' walk of the missionary settlement at Kiddee Kiddee. He further observed the road from Mongakaiea at this season of the year would be very difficult to travel on account of heavy rains. We should have a number of swamps to wade through.

* Maungarei (Mount Wellington).—It is one and a half miles from Mokoia (Panmure) and is the chief of a group of seven craters, three of which are concentric on the summit of the hill. "The dark brown loam" of which Marsden writes lies between Mount Wellington and Panmure.
and one river which, in rainy weather, was both deep and rapid. The swamps I did not think anything of, but the river, which we should have to pass six times, presented a difficulty which I did not know how I could overcome as I could not swim. Temmarangha observed they could carry me across the river in a hammock, as they carried the wounded from the field of battle. This remark removed my objections in a moment, and I resolved immediately to prepare for my journey. As Enakkee had prepared the canoe entirely for my service, I thought it but just to pay him and his people for their labour. I called them together, and delivered into Enakkee’s hands the whole payment in order that he might satisfy every man according to his ability and rank. They were all much gratified. Enakkee said that if I would only stay till the weather would allow him to put to sea, he would man the canoe with his own people and accompany me to the Bay of Islands and afterwards make me a present of the canoe. I thanked him for his kindness, but could not accept his offer. After all matters were finally arranged we retired to rest.

Wednesday, August 16th.—No change in the weather this morning nor any prospect of any change. The wind blew hard attended with light rain. As soon as breakfast was over I collected all my baggage and opened my sea chest, as I could not take it with me, in order to show Enakkee every article it contained, as it was my intention to leave it with him, as he promised to bring it to the Bay of Islands when the weather was more moderate. I left some other articles with him which I could not put into the chest. I had received every mark of attention from these natives. The chiefs assured me that if the Active or any other vessel touched at their settlement they would pay every attention to them.

It was this tribe that had a contest with the Brothers and Trial, two brigs from Port Jackson, near Towrangha between four and five years ago, when six Europeans were killed and, as they informed me, two hundred of them were shot. The quarrel originated in some difference between the masters of the vessels and the chiefs. The natives were very near cutting them both off. In this contest one of the head chiefs was shot dead and his son wounded, who stated the circumstances to me and showed me where he received his wound, and another has a ball in his arm to this day.

The two chiefs belonging to Kiperro had remained with me at Mogoa at the present time. They were greatly rejoiced that I had determined to pass through their district on my way to the Bay of Islands, and told me they and their servants would attend me to Kiperro. We immediately prepared for our departure, and I took my leave of these hospitable heathens, hoping that the period was not far distant when their valleys would stand thick with corn and the voice of Joy and Gladness would be heard in those dreary dwellings where darkness, superstition, and death have taken up their constant abode.

On leaving Mogoa we crossed over a neck of land to a river called Wyetecmatta (Waitemata) up which we were to pass. I have already mentioned this river. On our arrival at the wharf where the chiefs had left their canoe, we found it had been taken away. One of the slaves was immediately despatched to the next village in order to procure a
A NIGHT NEAR WHAREPAPA

A night near Wharepapa. In about an hour he returned with a very fine canoe and some men. I immediately agreed with the owner to take us up to the head of the river, distant about twenty miles or more. It blew very hard, and there was a very high sea in consequence of the river being very wide, and a strong tide, which compelled us to keep in shore. We arrived at the head of the river* a few hours after dark. It was very wet and cold. The natives kindled a fire on the shore, as there were no huts, where we remained till daylight.

Thursday, August 17th.—We prepared for our journey at the dawn of day, and after walking for about two hours sat down to breakfast near a stream of fresh water. When we had taken some refreshment, we proceeded on our way and arrived at the first village in the district of Kiperro where I had spent a night when I was there before. It was now about two o'clock. The chief pressed me to stay with him till the following day. All my companions were tired. I wished to go a few miles further towards Kiperro River, but it was with difficulty I could prevail upon one chief to go with me as they wished to remain all night in their present situation. I left all the party excepting Awye (Hawai), the Kiperro chief. We walked very fast over the sandhills, which extend for many miles, and in about three hours we came to the edge of a small fresh-water lake† at the foot of a wood, and in the corner were a few native huts in which we found one young chief, his wife, and a few slaves. They were a very fine couple and appeared to have been newly married. Their own hut was very clean and neat and the floor covered with a clean mat. They were all much astonished to see me, as I believe none of them had ever seen a white person before. We determined to remain here all night. I immediately took off my clothes, as they were very wet, and dried them and put them on again. The name of this chief was Apoo (Apu). He immediately had some very fine potatoes dressed for us. Potatoes and fern-root with some wild fruit something like an olive‡ was all the food they appeared to have. He was just beginning to clear a part of the wood for cultivation, which is a most laborious operation as they have not proper tools. Being much fatigued, having walked hard from very early in the morning till evening, after taking some refreshment I lay down to rest wrap up in my greatcoat under the guardian care of Him who keepeth Israel. After I had been here a while my companions dropt in one after another till they all arrived. Apoo provided an abundance of potatoes, fern-root, and wild fruit for the whole party, who retired to rest as soon as they had taken the necessary refreshments.

Friday, August 18th.—As soon as the day appeared we prepared to leave this sequestered spot, near which no human habitation was to be seen for miles. Apoo and his wife prepared to accompany us. We passed the beautiful little lake and ascended the rising sandhills, which are soft and loose like mountains of snow. There is not a tree or shrub

* Pitoitoi (Riverhead).—Now a settlement at the head of the Waitemata, close to Helensville and Silverdale.
† Near Wharepapa.
‡ Berries of the koraha tree (Corynocarpus laevigata). The outside fleshy part is edible, but the seed is poisonous unless steamed or steeped in salt water. It formed a frequent food of the natives.
or any vegetation for a long distance to break the stormy blasts, so that the sand is driven in heaps by the contending winds every day. There are no paths or tracks in any direction, for the footsteps of travellers are immediately covered by the rolling drifts. As we crossed these hills and valleys of sand, we had now and then a very extensive view of the western ocean on one hand and the rivers that flow from the interior on the other.

In about two hours we arrived at the head of the valley situated at the foot of one of the sandhills. In this valley stood Awye's village (Haranui). He had sent a messenger, unknown to me, the preceding evening to inform his wife of my arrival: when we arrived at the village we found a number of people assembled together waiting our coming. Awye's wife, daughter, and slaves were full dressed. They were clothed with their best mats, their heads ornamented with feathers, and had prepared an immense quantity of common and sweet potatoes and some tarra (*taro)*, a root which they are very fond of, about the size of a small turnip. A shed had also been prepared and covered with clean fern for us to sit on. Here the natives had a great feast according to their custom. There was a portion for me, another for Temmarangha and the party who constantly attended me, dressed and placed before us in small baskets. In this manner the whole was divided. After breakfast was over, of what provisions remained each party deposited their portion in the same baskets they had been served in as their own in order to take it away with them. It is an invariable custom with the New Zealanders to take away what they cannot eat when they visit each other.

On my first entering the village the children were dreadfully terrified. They shrieked aloud and ran in all directions to hide themselves: screaming with all their might, one alarmed another. If I had come from the invisible world they could not have been more sore afraid. The impression upon their infant minds at the first sight of a white person was so alarming as not to be removed while I remained amongst them, though some of them attended me with their parents for three days afterwards in visiting the different chiefs. Whenever they caught my eye by any accident they shrieked aloud, and no attentions of mine could pacify them. I had not met with any circumstance of this kind before in New Zealand. The children are generally very easy, open, and familiar at the first interview, and show an anxiety to pay every little attention in their power to strangers. There can be no finer children than those of the New Zealanders in any part of the world. Their parents are very indulgent, and they appear always happy and playful and very active.

After stopping a few hours with Awye and his friends, it was proposed that I should proceed to the next village to dinner where two great chiefs resided; one named Amoka (Moka) and the other Mowetta (Mawete), the latter a very great warrior. Every party packed up what provisions remained in their baskets, and we marched towards the village which was two or three miles distant. Our company consisted of more than fifty; amongst the number were Apoo and his wife, the

* Tarī (colocaria antiquorum).—One of the *araceae* brought from some part of Polynesia. It is still to be found in deserted plantations.
priest, and Awy. We passed through some very rich land, but hilly. A number of slaves were at work preparing the ground for planting with potatoes. When we came in sight of the village we were hailed with loud acclamations. The chiefs and their friends were ready to receive us.

After the common introductions and salutations we all sat down under a shed. I had not been long seated when a chief presented me with a cat suspended by a cord at the end of a long spear, not quite dead. I understood he intended I should have this dressed as a delicate feast for dinner. I told him that the white people never eat cats nor dogs—that they are tabooed animals and never used as an article of food. He immediately took the cat away. They all seemed to think it strange that we did not eat these animals which they considered such choice food. I told him we eat other animals which they had not seen, and also hogs. Shortly after this I was presented with a very large fat hog. Temmarangha killed it in the English mode, and his servant dressed it in the same manner, when it was hung upon a tree as clean as if it had been killed for an English market. The New Zealanders kill their pigs not by bleeding, but by a blow on the skull and holding their heads under water till they are strangled.

At this village a number of chiefs soon assembled, amongst whom was one named Moodeepanga (Murupaenga).* This chief is considered one of the greatest warriors in New Zealand. I had often heard of the name of this man from Duaterra (Ruatara), Tooi (Tuhi), and others. He has been the rival of Shunhee and his tribe for almost twenty years. Before the 

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was cut off at Wangarooa in 1809, Shunhee went against Moodeepanga with a great force. Moodeepanga defeated him and slew two of his brothers, wounded him, killed the greatest part of his officers and men, and compelled him to save his life by flight.†

The chiefs on the south side of the Bay of Islands united their forces after this and went against Moodeepanga. As they relied upon their muskets and not upon their ordinary weapons of war—spears and patooes—Moodeepanga outgeneralled them. When the two contending parties met in the field of battle, Moodeepanga, knowing that the enemy was armed with muskets, directed his men that when the enemy advanced and were on the point of firing their muskets, to lie that instant flat upon the ground and, as soon as they had discharged their muskets, to rush upon them. This stratagem succeeded. The enemy's shot passed over his men, when they instantly rushed upon them, threw the whole into disorder, killed a number of their chiefs amongst whom were Weevaa's (Whiwhia) father and King George's. The chiefs that escaped saved themselves by flight, and returned home with only fifteen men; the rest were killed or taken prisoners. I have often heard the chiefs who escaped in this action speak of this battle.

My friend Temmarangha has accompanied four war expeditions against Kiperro, in two of which he was defeated. Many of his friends were slain; amongst the number was his grandfather who, after he was

* Murupaenga, the great chief of Ngati-Whatua at this time.

† This engagement took place at Moremo-nui in 1807.
killed, was roasted and eaten as a mental gratification by the conquering party. Though Temmarangha has been at war with most of the chiefs in these districts, yet he was treated with great respect wherever he came. The different battles and the places where they had formerly fought, who conquered and who fell, were frequent subjects of conversation; and also what became of the bodies of the chiefs—whether they were buried or eaten.

I met with no family but some branches of them had been killed in battle and afterwards eaten by the enemy. If any chief falls by the chance of war into the hands of a tribe whom he has oppressed and injured, they are sure to roast and eat him; and, after devouring his flesh, they will preserve his bones in the family as a memento of his fate, and convert them into fish-hooks, whistles, and ornaments. The custom of eating their enemies is universal. The origin of this custom is now too ancient to be traced. It is a subject of constant conversation with the principal families I have visited, and though they generally speak of it with a degree of horror and disgust, yet they expect that this will be their fate in the end as it has been the fate of their forefathers and friends. Whenever I came and the subject was broached, I represented to them how much their national character suffered in the opinion of all civilized nations from the horrid custom of eating one another; that the whole world looked upon them with the utmost abhorrence, as no custom of this kind was allowed in other countries. Many of them regretted that it should be the custom of their country, and observed that when they knew better they would leave it off; that it was not a new thing but had always been practised in New Zealand. If the head of a tribe is killed and eaten, the survivors consider it the greatest disgrace that can befall them, and, in their turn, they seize the first opportunity to retaliate in the same way. By this means their mutual contests are continually kept alive and war becomes their study and their trade.

All these subjects were now fully discussed between me, Moodeepanga (Murupaenga), and the other chiefs. Many of them are very intelligent men; Moodeepanga is a man of very quick perceptions—his mind is alive to every observation. His complexion is very dark; his eye fiery, keen, and penetrating; his body of a middle stature, but very strong and active. He appears to be about fifty years old. From the expression in his countenance and his manly deportment, he cannot fail in commanding respect amongst his countrymen.

I had heard so much said of him for years that I was gratified in meeting him. He told me that his residence was at some distance, but that he had come to pay his respects to me as soon as he heard I had arrived, and hoped he should see me at his village. I told him I was much obliged to him for his marked attention and that I should pay him a visit the following day. We had now continued our conversation till dinner was announced, when more than eighty arranged themselves upon the ground according to their rank. The slaves then placed a certain number of baskets of provisions before each family. When all were satisfied, each family packed up what remained into their baskets for their future use.
As soon as dinner was over, we entered into conversation again upon various subjects, such as civil government, agriculture, and religion. Superstition had a wonderful influence over the minds of the people I was now with. The trees and old stumps of trees and every kind of rubbish, as well as their fires and huts, were all tabooed. They were afraid lest any part of my provisions, dressed or undressed, should touch any of their tabooed things, and assured me they would die if they did—that their god would kill them. The chiefs and their wives were also tabooed. They could not touch with their own hands a potato or any other provisions which they wanted to eat. If there was no person at hand to serve them, they lay down upon the ground and gathered up their food with their mouth.

As the principal priest, Moodeekow (Muriakau), had attended me from the time I first met him at Mogeoa (Mokoia), before I left the Thames, and was still with me, I entered into a conversation with him on the subject of the taboo, and endeavoured to point out what privations they suffered from a mistaken notion of God. I told them there was but one God—that the God Who had made the white people had made them. He would never be angry with them for making use of their own hands to eat their provisions with, that if He had not intended that they should use them for all their purposes He would not have made them any hands; neither would He be angry with them for drinking water out of my cup or roasting a potato at my fire, or with them for allowing me to roast a potato at their fire. They might also eat in their houses without giving offence to God. I stated to them that Pomarre, King of Otaheite, once tabooed everything as they did, but had now laid aside this absurd custom and acted in all these things as the white people did. Yet God was not angry with him, he did not die; nor would He be angry with them if they acted in the same way. They heard me with apparent surprise, and asked a number of questions. I stated to them what God had forbidden them to do, and what He would be angry with them for: that He would be angry with them if they stole one another's potatoes, pork, or any other article, if they seduced one another's wives, murdered and ate one another; that those were the crimes which would make God angry and cause Him to punish them. They readily admitted that these were crimes, but said that our God and theirs were different. They said that I might violate their taboos, eat in their houses, or dress my provisions upon their fires—their god would not punish me, but he would kill them for my crimes.

I asked them if they knew anything of the god of Kiperro or if they had any communication with him. They replied that they often heard him whistle with a low note. I asked Moodeekow if he, as their priest, had any communication with their god; he also said that he had heard him whistle, and sounded the notes which he heard. I replied that I could not credit what they all said unless I heard him myself. They all asserted what they had stated was true, and that all the inhabitants in New Zealand knew it to be true. I still doubted, and told the priest that unless I heard the atua myself I could not believe that either he or any other person ever heard him, and that I wished to accompany him to any place where I could hear the communication between him and the atua. He told me the atua was in the bush and I could not
hear him. I replied I would accompany him into the bush to him.* When he came to be very close pressed he said they had no god at Kiperro; he had heard there was a god at Shokee Hangha, but they had none, and requested I would give him one of my gods and he would put him in a box that he might have him always with him. I had never seen any idol god, nor had I ever heard before that the New Zealanders had any idea of a material god. In answer to his request, I told him there was only one true and living God Who had made the world and all things therein, and that if I should give him a god he would be of wood or some other substance which could be easily burnt or destroyed. They all smiled at the idea of burning a god and evidently saw the absurdity of a material idol.

Whether Satan is permitted to practise any oral deception in support of his spiritual dominion—for he is the god of this World—and in maintenance of those dark superstitions which universally pervade the minds of these poor heathens, I cannot tell. I have met with no New Zealanders, even the most enlightened amongst them, but who do firmly believe that their priests have communication with their god, and many, both of their priests and others, have told me that they have heard their god.† This is a subject of such a mysterious nature that I cannot make up my own mind either to believe or to disbelieve what is so universally credited in New Zealand. I do not pretend to know how far the agency of Satan may extend in a barbarous and uncivilized nation where there is no human or Divine law to check or restrain men’s corrupt passions. This I am fully convinced of; that in all regular civil government, where wholesome laws lay the necessary restraints upon men’s turbulent passions, the secret agency of Satan—that Spirit which worketh in the hearts of the children of disobedience—is greatly restrained and the force of his wicked instigations weakened and counteracted by those laws.

I have dropped the above hints as they struck me at the moment, and shall now go on with my narrative. We continued till very late in the evening discussing their ideas of God, their tabooing, and various superstitions under which they suffer many privations. Temmarangha

* Mr. Graham notes that the name of this spirit (a female) invoked in Kaipara was Rakataura—a daughter of Tane. She took the form of a cicada grub (hikikhi).

† Marsden here touches upon an interesting subject concerning which many later writers speak with uncertainty and suspended judgment. The opportunity of gaining information on many points connected with the religious mysteries of the Maoris were, unfortunately, almost entirely neglected by the early missionaries. Concerning the consultation of the gods by the tohungas, Dr. Edward Shortland (brother of Lieutenant Willoughby Shortland) wrote as follows in his Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders, p. 84 (London, 1854):—“Atua sometimes communicate their will to men in dreams; sometimes more directly, by conversing with them while awake. Their voice, however, is not like that of mortals; but a mysterious kind of sound, half whistle, half whisper. This I have myself heard, having been once honoured by a conference with the spirits of two chiefs who had been several years dead. And I have been assured that such is always the peculiar voice of atua when they talk with men.”

Some European observers have sought to explain such matters by attributing to the tohunga an acquaintance with ventriloquism. Others frankly refused to pronounce judgment.—Cf. F. E. Maning, Old New Zealand, Chapter X, passim, and Elsdon Best, The Maori As He Was, Chapter IV, passim.
Agricultural Implements.

No. 1 is a weeder, known as wauwau or pinaki. No. 2 is a larger implement of the same kind. No. 3 is a wooden grubber used in breaking the sods loosened by the ko, and called tima. No. 4 is a beautifully carved shovel or kaheru, found in a swamp in the Bay of Plenty district. So fine an implement would be used only on ceremonial occasions for hilling up the kumara in their regularly spaced mounds. No. 5 is a kaheru differing from the last in having a much longer handle and a much smaller blade. No. 6 is a ko of the kind used in breaking the ground for the extraction of fern-root. No. 7 is a ko of the type used in breaking ground for a garden. On its upper end is carved the whaka-maramara or crescent moon, under whose protection all crops were placed. The foot-rest by which the ko was driven was called teka. The foot-rest of No. 8 is carved in human shape.

All the above implements are from the Auckland district. In that district all three of the food-plants cultivated by the Maori—the yam, the taro, and the kumara—grew more freely than elsewhere in New Zealand. The yam was never grown south of the Auckland boundary. Taro and the gourd (hue) were grown as far south as Cook Strait. The kumara was raised, doubtless with much labour, in South Canterbury. Of the implements figured, only No. 6 was used in Otago in pre-European times.

Marsden's journeys were all made in what afterwards became the Auckland province. His accounts of Maori crops and gardens indicate how efficiently their agricultural implements were used.
observed there were too great a number of priests at New Zealand—that they tabooed and prayed the people to death. He related circumstances that happened to himself when he accompanied me to Towrangha; that one of the priests on the banks of the River Thames had told him that he had seen his ghost, and that if he dared to go with me to Towrangha that the *atua* had revealed to him he would kill him in four days. The priest entreated him to return. He was much alarmed and stated to me what the priest had communicated to him, and I told him to pay no attention to what the priest said for the god of Towrangha had no power to hurt him, and in consequence of my assurances he had proceeded with me and returned safe back, which proved the falsehood of the priest. Temmarangha argued very strongly against the taboo, though at the same time his mind is greatly fettered with superstition. He cannot admit the idea that our God is their god. He would frequently say our God was good and we had no need of the taboo, but the god of New Zealand was bad. Temmarangha explained our customs, manners, and religion to them as far as he was able. He is a very intelligent man, and at the same time a man of great observations, and having resided with me at Parramatta for some time he had gained considerable knowledge. When he thought my observations pressed too hard upon the superstitions of his country, he would observe: "When you send missionaries to Kipero and the inhabitants know better, they will lay aside the taboo."

After we had conversed till almost midnight to our mutual gratification, we retired to rest, but the natives would not let me sleep much; one and another would be calling to me and asking me some question on the subjects we had conversed upon.

Saturday, August 19th.—As soon as breakfast was over I prepared to return Moodeepanga's (Murupaenga) visit. Several of the principal chiefs accompanied me. In about an hour we arrived at the residence of Moodeepanga’s son, whose name is Kahoo (Kahu). He was much rejoiced to see us and urged us to dine with him. As I had devoted this day merely to visiting I had no objection. Dinner was immediately prepared and clean fern spread upon the ground for us all to sit down upon.

Moodeepanga’s son is a very fine young man and had not been long married. His residence is in a rich valley. The soil is well adapted for the growth of sweet and common potatoes, an abundance of which were now dressed for the party. When dinner was over we proceeded towards Moodeepanga’s. On our way we passed by a very fine and strongly fortified hippah* belonging to Mowetta (Mawete) and through some rich valleys; in one of them about two months ago a battle was fought in which one chief fell.

When I arrived at Moodeepanga’s he was ready to receive me. His children were all dressed and their heads ornamented with feathers, and his head wife had got her dogskin garment on. He had got the stump of a tree placed where he intended I should sit, and had made a cushion of bulrushes which was placed upon it. He expressed the great gratification which my visit gave him, and presented me with an

* Probably Piopio, a Ngati-Whatua stronghold.
immense hog; he ordered provisions to be prepared for my companions, and then we entered into a general conversation upon different subjects. We talked over the wars between Shunghee’s tribe and his. Moodeepanga said he did not wish to be at war with any tribe, but he was compelled to fight to protect himself and people; a party of Shunghee’s tribe (Ngapuhi) was now plundering and murdering the inhabitants in the districts of Kiperro (Kaipara), and he was afraid he should be compelled to appeal to arms again. He, as well as most of the chiefs, wished for some regular government by which they could obtain protection to their persons and properties. Temmarangha explained to them how the government of Port Jackson was conducted: that we had only one king, which was Governor Macquarie, and he put a stop to all fighting there. King George, he had heard, did the same in England. But while there were so many kings in New Zealand there would be continual wars. He said Captain Downie of the Coromandel had written to King George to send a man-of-war to New Zealand, and he thought when she came the country would be greatly benefited and she would prevent the people from the Bay of Islands from coming to the River Thames and Kiperro to plunder and murder the inhabitants. Moodeepanga wished to know if the ship would come round to the Kiperro River. I told him that would depend upon the harbour; if the entrance was good and the harbour safe I had no doubt but she would, but if there was a bar across the harbour-mouth a ship could not get in. He said there were plenty of fine spars on the banks of the river in his districts if the ships could come for them, which he very much wished. He should also like some Europeans to reside with him for the benefit of his people. I told him much would depend upon the river and harbour, but till these were examined nothing could be done in that respect. His residence is very beautiful, in view of the River Kiperro,* and the land about him is very good, though of a light sandy nature, completely free from stones as far as I observed. A great deal of it would grow fine wheat and barley. The country has the remaining vestiges of a great population but is now thinly inhabited.

In the evening I returned again to my former lodgings. The next day being the Sabbath (August 20th) I wished to spend it there and on Monday to proceed on my journey. We arrived at sunset, and spent the evening in a long conversation upon the immortality of the soul, which doctrine is universally believed amongst them, and the resurrection of the body, which they could not comprehend though they did not deny the possibility of the resurrection of the body. I stated to them the happy death of the righteous, and told them when their god revealed to them that they were to die they were not afraid of death, but were happy in the prospect of being in the same place where their god dwelt after death, but that they knew this was not the case with the New Zealanders. When they thought they were going to die, they were very much afraid and did not wish to die. They said this was the case always with their countrymen—they were at all times

* The name Kaipara was at an early date accepted as that of a locality near Helensville. The river called the Kiperro (Kaipara) by Marsden is known throughout its northern branch by the general name of Wairoa. Its southern branch is the Aoroa.
afraid to die. I told them when they came to understand God's Book, which He had given to the white men and which the missionaries would give to them and teach them to understand, they would not be afraid to die any more than the white people who were good. They clearly comprehended the difference between one who was afraid to die and one who was not.

They said all the souls of the New Zealanders went when they died into a cave at the North Cape,* and from thence descended into the sea to the next world. The privations and mortifications which those poor heathens suffer from a sense of guilt and fear are many and great. Without a Divine revelation is communicated to them, they can never find a remedy that can free their minds from the bondage of superstition, under the influence of which many sicken and pine away and die. They have no idea of a God of Mercy who can do them good, but they are under the most painful fears of an invisible being who is, according to their belief, at all times ready to kill and devour them, and will kill them if they neglect the smallest iota in any of their superstitious ceremonies. To drink a little water out of the same cup with me, at the time they are tabooed by the priest, would be considered an offence against their god sufficient to induce him to put them to death. When I told them that my God was good, that I was not afraid of His anger, that He took care of me both by night and by day wherever I went, and that He always heard me when I prayed unto Him, they said they had no such god. Their god only punished and killed them.

When I was amongst those tribes I always thought it proper to pray publicly amongst them, explaining to them, before I began, what I was going to do. The performance of this duty, though the natives did not understand what I said, yet furnished me with a subject of conversation which might tend to their edification. If they wished to know what I prayed for, I told them that I might be preserved in good health, that my God would not suffer any accident to happen to me while I was travelling through their country, and that my God would send them some missionaries to live with them, give them His Book, put an end to their wars, and give them also plenty of wheat and cattle that their wives and children might have plenty of bread and animal food to eat. They would pay great attention while I stated these things, and would add these things were very good. In the above manner we closed the week and retired to rest.

August 20th.—This being the Sabbath, I had made it known that I should stop one day longer with Mowetta. Moodeepanga and a number more came early to spend the day with me. Though these poor heathens had never heard of a Sabbath day, yet, as it was the Christian Sabbath, I was naturally led to converse with them on the creation

* Te Reinga, at the Land's End, whither some believed all departed spirits went previous to descending the precipitous path leading down to the sea and to the final darkness of Po or Hades. Others believed that the entrance to the spirit world lay in the distant west, under the setting sun, and that the released spirits made their way thither along the Ara Whanui a Tane (the Broad Path of Tane) which is "the golden path of the setting sun," thus reaching the ancient western homeland of the race, the land of Irihia. Maori religious belief held no teaching with regard to the punishment of the spirit in the after life.—Cf. Elsdon Best, The Maori As He Was, Chapter IV.
of the world and the institution of this sacred day. It furnished a large field for conversing upon these objects which were visible to their senses—the sun, moon, and stars, as well as upon other parts of creation which they could comprehend. The account given by Moses is so beautiful in simplicity and order that they found no difficulty in understanding the general outlines of his statement. The firmament, the heavenly bodies, the fowls of the air, the trees of the forest, the grass of the fields, the seas, and fishes that pass through the great deep, were objects with which they were daily conversant. The order of time in which the different parts of the creation are stated to have been arranged at the mighty fiat of the Supreme Being was so regular and plain in succession that the account struck their minds with great force. "God said, Let there be light, and there was light; and the evening and the morning were the first day." When God had finished all His works on the sixth day he rested on the seventh and set it apart for His own immediate worship. I found it very easy to communicate to them the institution of the Sabbath and for what purpose it was ordained. The various subjects which the account of the creation suggested furnished much interesting conversation during the day. When I found myself deficient in their language Temmarangha acted as interpreter, by which means I was generally understood. Moodeepanga was so much taken up with the various topics of conversation that he, as well as several of the chiefs, stopped with me the whole Sabbath; nor did he return home till I took my departure the next day, but remained during the night in the same hut as I lay in, in which I had very little sleep from their repeated conversations. The hut was well filled with men, women, and children. It was pretty large and contained more than forty.

Monday, August 21st.—This morning I prepared for my departure, and was very anxious to start early. We had about five miles to walk to the Kiperro River, where I was to embark in a canoe, but as several chiefs were present and wished to say something on the occasion of my visit it was two hours before their different speeches were ended. Moodeepanga expressed himself much gratified by my coming amongst them, and assured me that if any Europeans should come to Kiperro to reside there he would protect them, and he requested that, if the harbour should be found safe for ships, he might be furnished with colours to hoist as a signal when a ship might appear.

By this time the slaves were collected who were to carry the provisions for my party, and the men who were to man the canoe; my provisions consisted of about 700lbs. of potatoes and 300lbs. of pork, which were all ready and packed up in baskets. I now took my leave of Mowetta's residence. Moodeekow (Muriakau), the priest, Awy (Wai), Apoo (Apu), and upwards of thirty more accompanied me to the river. When we arrived the tide was down, and we had to remain upon the banks till two hours after dark before there was sufficient depth of water in the creek where the canoe was moored to carry her into the river. We got all our provisions and baggage on board and embarked before high water. Moodeekow, Awy, and Apoo, as they had determined to accompany me as far as the canoe could proceed, took an affectionate leave of their friends, who wept aloud and cut themselves according to their custom till the blood streamed down their
KAIPARA HARBOUR

faces. This is a painful sight to the civilized and enlightened mind. These poor heathens are tormented in every possible way that the influence of superstition can operate. What an infinite blessing will their deliverance from their present darkness be, even in a temporal view!

When the tide turned we proceeded with great rapidity down the stream. The river was broad, but as it was dark I could not ascertain the depth of the water. The night was cold. We went on shore a little before low water,* made a fire on the beach and there remained till the return of day.

Tuesday, August 22nd.—I found in the morning the tide to rise about ten feet, with ten fathoms water near the shore where we anchored the canoe. We embarked again a little before high-water, and in less than an hour arrived opposite a village where we slept for a short time. I went on shore and was informed that Shunghee’s tribe were plundering and murdering the inhabitants on the banks of the Wyeroa (Wairoa), a river we had to go up after we had entered the harbour of Kiperro. I regretted much to hear this report on account of the calamities these plundering, murdering parties bring upon the inhabitants, as many of them would be compelled to flee into the woods where they would be exposed to every hardship that nature could bear from hunger, cold, and rain.

After stopping about half an hour we proceeded down the river with the tide, and about two o’clock we arrived at a settlement belonging to a chief named O-Kakka (Hauraki). His village (Te Kauau) stands in a bight on the south side of the river, about four miles from the mouth of the harbour. This village is large and very populous. I went on shore. The chief was at home. He received me very kindly. I told him I had come to see the River Kiperro and to examine the entrance into the harbour in order to see whether any ships could come in or not. He said there would not be time to examine the mouth of the harbour that evening. I should cross over the river for Wyeroa. He replied he wished me much to stay one night, but, if I was determined to go, I might proceed down the river towards the entrance and take a view of it. He immediately accompanied me into the canoe with two more chiefs, and we pulled down the river. The wind blew very fresh and there was a very strong tide going down. When we had put off about a cable’s length from shore, I sounded the depths of the water with a line, which I had ready in the canoe, and found fifteen fathoms. The river here, or harbour, is very wide—I should imagine from five to seven miles at least—but I had no means to ascertain this accurately. We had not gone much more than a mile when we were compelled from the roughness of the sea to go on shore. As I could not get near the mouth of the harbour in the canoe I ascended an high hill, which commanded the sea to a great extent, but from the hill I could not see the entrance into the river—or rather the channel—but I observed breakers a long way out at sea. The chief told me there was a channel which ran to the southward free from the breakers and was twenty fathoms deep, but as I did not see this channel I cannot affirm his statement to be correct. Should a safe entrance be found into this harbour,

* At Aotea Bluff.
it will be a very convenient place for shipping masts and spars. There are three fine fresh-water rivers (Hoteo, Makarau, and Kaukapakapa) which run into this harbour, upon whose banks the finest spars are to be met with. I saw the spars upon the banks of two of these rivers; the third I did not go up, but was told there were plenty of spars upon the banks of that river also. One of these rivers takes its rise towards the Wyeteematta, a river already mentioned, on the west side of the Thames. The second runs from the interior on the east side near Bream Head. The third runs parallel with the sea coast for thirty or forty miles and then turns to the northward and eastward.

I crossed one of the branches of the first river, about seven or eight miles from the Wyeteematta, as I travelled overland to Kiperro, and observed the upper part of its banks covered with lofty spars, and after my arrival at Kiperro I went down the river.

On leaving the harbour of Kiperro I went up the Wyeroa. As the harbour is enclosed with high sandhills and the banks of the large rivers are sand, I should apprehend that there are many sandbanks in the harbour, some of which I observed, and most probably a bar across the mouth. Whether the immense body of water which must come rolling down these rivers in the rainy seasons, together with the strong tide, will open and clear a channel for ships or not, I am not competent to judge. As far as I can form an opinion, I am inclined to think there is a dangerous bar from the very nature of the seashores and the banks of the rivers.

Finding that it was not possible, from the strong wind and rough sea, to gain any true information relative to the entrance into the harbour, I made O-Kakka and his friends a trifling present for his attention, and then took our departure for the Wyeroa, with a strong tide and wind in our favour, which we entered after crossing the harbour. The River Wyeroa appeared to be not less than eight miles wide at the entrance, as far as I could judge by the eye from the canoes.

The wind increasing, with rain, we were compelled to go on shore a little before dark, and landed at a small village situated on the left banks of the river containing about fifty huts. All the inhabitants were fled into the woods for fear of the plundering party already mentioned. As the night was very stormy, cold, and wet, we were glad to take shelter in these deserted huts and therefore landed all our provisions and baggage for that purpose.* Having been in the canoe a great part of the preceding night and had scarcely taken any rest, we retired at an early hour and remained very quiet till morning though the rain beat and the wind roared loud.

Wednesday, August 23rd.—At daylight we found the wind had increased to a very heavy gale. The surf broke upon the beach with great violence, and threatened immediate destruction to our canoe. The natives threw all their mats off in an instant, rushed into the surf, dragged the canoe through the breakers, and then leaped into it. The waves tossed it like a cork. I expected every moment it would have been upset. They pulled off from the breakers, and then ran before

* At Okara Bay, north of Poutu Head.
the wind and tide up the river until they found a sheltered cove into
which they carried her. The storm continued all the day so violent
that the natives could not venture out into the river. The provisions
and baggage were conveyed along the beach to the canoe in order to
be ready to proceed when the weather moderated. As there was no
prospect of the storm abating, they put up a screen with stakes and
bulrushes, about seven feet high on the weather side, which shielded
us from the rain. They made a hammock of some of the flax plant and
slung it under the screen, and in this I slept during the night. It kept
me from the wet ground, and the bulrushes protected me from the
wind and rain.

Thursday, August 24th.—On the return of day the weather
moderated. We put our things into the canoe as soon as possible and,
with the wind and tide in our favour, we proceeded up the river at a
rapid rate, as we had a very fine sail as well as canoe. The river was
three or four miles wide. There were no natives to be seen on the left
banks, and we observed only a few fires on the right banks, as we sailed
up the river. The distance between the sea and this river for thirty
miles, I could hear the surf beat upon the seashore as we went along.

About two o’clock we arrived at a hippah belonging to a chief
named Tettoko (Te Toko),* a noted warrior in New Zealand. He
hailed the canoe and urged me to go on shore. I accepted his invitation.
We all landed. He received me with much pleasure. The hippah was
crowded with men, women, and children, and in a complete state of
defence according to their mode of fortification, which would afford
protection against spears and clubs but very little against firearms. He
informed me that part of Shunghee’s tribe was in their district, had
committed great depredations, and murdered five of his people. He
said his tribe was not able to meet them now in battle, as he had no
muskets to defend himself with while the enemy was strongly armed.
I told him I lamented much that they should live in such a continual
state of warfare and be exposed to such public calamities; but I hoped,
in time, an end would be put to these wars, and that they would have
a regular government which would afford them protection. He said
if any Europeans would only come and live with them, this would afford
them some protection. I told him it was possible that some missionaries
might in time reside in his district, but I would not promise him, but
assured him that on my return to Kiddee Kiddee I would use my influence
with Shunghee’s tribe to prevent them as far as I could from committing
such acts of violence and plunder.

Tettoko seemed very anxious to be permitted to live in peace and
cultivate his lands. He urged me to remain till the following day,
but I told him I could not do this as I was afraid of losing my passage
to Port Jackson. However, he would not let me go till we had dined
with him, and ordered a large quantity of fish and potatoes to be cooked.
After dinner he presented me with two fine hogs. I told him it was
not in my power to accept his present as we had already as much pork
as we could possibly make use of or carry with us. I could hardly
prevent him from putting them into the canoe till I told him to take

* Te Toko of the Uri-o-hau tribe of Ngati-Whatua.
care of them till one of the missionaries or some other European called upon him, as I intended if I could, during the summer when the weather was fine, to send some person to examine the harbour of Kiperro and see whether there was a safe passage for a ship to come in. Tettoko replied he knew there was plenty of water for a ship, and observed there were twenty fathoms. I told him if that was the case the inhabitants on the banks of the rivers would derive great advantages from the shipping, but this we should know when the entrance was examined. He promised he would take care of the hogs for the purpose I desired. We then took our leave of him, after receiving a quantity of fish and potatoes and making him a small present. There were a great number of very fine children in this hippah, sufficient for a very good school.

We left the hippah with a very fine breeze, and proceeded up the river, which continued till the sun went down. We continued to pull up the river till dark. As the tide was strong against us we came to anchor and lay in the canoe till the tide returned, when we immediately set off again and continued to pull up the river till near daylight, when we landed on the beach, made a fire, and cooked some provisions.

Friday, August 25th.—After we had taken some refreshment, and the day appeared, we embarked again and proceeded on our passage. We passed a number of small farms on the banks of the river, but did not see a single inhabitant till almost two o'clock when we arrived at a small village. The inhabitants were under great alarm in consequence of the plundering party that was ranging through the districts doing much mischief.

The farm and village* belonged to a chief named Tourow (Taurau) who lived higher up the river. Two canoes put off and accompanied us to the residence of the chief. His hippah stands on a rising bank on the left hand going up the river. When we arrived opposite his hippah he invited us on shore, which invitation we accepted. He ordered his slaves immediately to prepare dinner for us, and presented me with a basket of potatoes to take in the canoe for my private use. He had got one of the best houses I had seen in New Zealand, and had built a portico in the front, sixteen feet wide, where he and his friends could sit and enjoy their conversation sheltered from the weather. His hippah was completely fortified with upright split timber from twenty-four to thirty feet high put close together. The party already mentioned had done him considerable damage and had killed five of his people. All the inhabitants on the banks of the river were fled into the woods and had relinquished their farms. Their crops were destroyed, their storehouses plundered, and their hogs killed; numbers were greatly distressed for food. The firearms of Shunghee's tribe gave them such an advantage over other tribes that none could now stand against them.

Tourow (Taurau) had the appearance of a mild man. His place was neat and his storehouses well put up. There was a great number of people in his hippah. I expressed my deep concern for their distresses, and disapprobation of Shunghee's tribe robbing and murdering their countrymen as they were doing. I promised Tourow I would

* Tangiteroria, where afterwards the Wesleyan mission station of the Rev. James Buller was situated.
speak to the principal men belonging to Shunghee's tribe on my return to the missionary settlement, and persuade them, as far as I could, to leave off that dreadful system of war. I pressed upon his mind, and upon all the chiefs wherever I have gone, the necessity of some regular government being established in New Zealand for the general benefit and protection of the whole, and that, till something of this nature was established, the powerful would always murder and oppress the weak. The body of the chiefs that I have seen would be glad to live in peace and cultivate their grounds if it was possible for them, but this is impossible in the present state of their country.

After dinner we prepared to depart. Tourow wished us to stop all the following day. I told him the reason why I could not, with which he was satisfied. He said he would recommend me not to attempt to proceed any higher up the River Mongakaia (Mangakahia) in consequence of the heavy rains. I should find great difficulty in getting up the rapids, and, as the tide did not flow much higher than we were, we should have the whole stream of the river to pull against. He further added that a few days ago three canoes had been broken to pieces by the violence of the current driving them against the rocks. Besides, I should find great difficulty at this rainy season in crossing a large river (Awarua) which I should have to pass several times in walking across the country to Kiddee Kiddee. He also said if the men I had in the canoe pulled very hard I should be three days before I got to the place where I intended to land. I was a little stunned at these difficulties, and wished to know if there was no other way which I could go across the country to the east side of New Zealand to a settlement called Wangaree (Whangarei), not far from Bream Head, where I could get a canoe to take me down the coast. He replied that the road to Wangaree was pretty good, with no rivers to cross, and not much more than one day's journey in distance. I consulted with my friend Temmarangha, who approved of us taking the route by Wangaree as he had many friends who lived there whom he wished to see.*

I now took my leave of Tourow and his friends, and we proceeded up the river a short distance when we entered a river that ran to the right, at the head of which we were to take our departure for Wangaree. We got up as far as the canoe could go, to the foot of a fall, a little after dark, when we went on shore and made a fire where we remained till daylight. The night was wet and cold, but the thick trees afforded us some shelter.

Saturday, August 26th.—This morning I was to take leave of my kind Kiperro friends—Moodeekow, Apoo, and Awy—as they intended to return home in the canoe. We had been five days from the time I left Mowetta's village. My baggage was packed up, and they appointed three of the slaves to accompany me to the Bay of Islands to assist Temmarangha's servant to carry our baggage. I made them a few presents of such articles as I had remaining, and we parted with mutual esteem. I had received every mark of attention from these poor heathens from whom I had expected none.
the time I met them at Mogoea to the present period. I could not have
expected more kindness if I had been travelling through the most
civilized nation in Europe.

The morning was stormy and rainy, and the road very wet and
dirty. We had several runs of water and swamps to wade through. After we had walked about four hours I saw Mookeekow and his son,
a very fine boy, coming after us. When he came up he said he would
accompany me to the Bay of Islands. I was happy that he formed
this resolution, as he would see something of civil life and civil society
which might be of service to him and perhaps to the mission hereafter.

I could not think when we parted of asking him to go with me, as I
thought it would be too great a task for him. He was very happy that
he had joined us again. We passed a very large hippah on our right
hand in ruins. It had been a very strong place and apparently well
peopled at no distant period, since Temmarangha informed me the tribe
was now nearly extinct. They had been cut off principally by war.

In a short time we came to a small village on the plain, the land very
good, but all the inhabitants recently fled. They had left some few
articles behind them in their huts. We stopped here and dined in one
of the sheds, for the rain fell very heavy. The village is situated in the
edge of a wood through which we had to pass. Temmarangha, in
looking about the skirts of the wood, found the place where these people
had secreted their store of potatoes when they fled from their huts.

After we had taken some refreshment, we pushed on in order
to reach another village which Temmarangha knew was a few miles
ahead. We pushed on as fast as we could, though it rained and blew
hard, and arrived just as the sun went down. We found all the inhabi­
tants fled from this village also. A small miserable hut remained, and
also a shed; into these we crept for the night. As we were very wet
and weary I took off my clothes, but it was with some difficulty we
could procure a fire to dry them, from friction, on account of the wood
being wet, but at length we succeeded. If we had not we should have
had a much more miserable night.

Sunday, August 27th.—We proceeded on our journey early this
morning, and after walking some time we came to another village that
had been lately all burned. The land about it was very rich and capable
of growing wheat or any other grain in abundance. This village was
also situated on the skirt of a wood, and appeared to possess every local
advantage in timber, water, and soil to enrich the proprietor could he
enjoy the fruits of his industry; but in such a state of society there is
no security either for persons or property. I could not but lament to
see the dreadful effects of man’s fall—that man for the sake of a few
potatoes should murder his fellows, burn his habitations, drive his wife
and children into the woods to perish with hunger if they escaped the
murderer’s hand. Temmarangha made many judicious observations
as we passed those scenes of devastation, and expressed an ardent desire
that that time might soon come when his country would possess the
means to put a stop to such wanton cruelties and acts of injustice. He
thought when the man-of-war came out, which Captain Downie had
written for, his countrymen would be checked and deterred in some
degree from committing such murders as they do at present.
When we had passed this village about a mile, Temmarangha and the slaves began to tire and sat down to rest. I was very wet with wading through the swamps and also warm with walking, so that I was afraid to sit down lest I should check perspiration and by that means catch cold. I therefore walked gently on and Moodeekow behind me. In less than half an hour we ascended some rising ground, and, on the opposite hill, I observed a body of about fifty natives upon the lookout. I was aware that they either belonged to the party who were committing such dreadful outrages amongst the inhabitants, or else to an opposite tribe upon their guard against them. Moodeekow, when he saw them, turned back again immediately to Temmarangha and seemed much alarmed. I sat upon the hill. The natives saw me immediately. Two of them left the party instantly; one of them was completely naked; he had a long spear in his hand with a bayonet fixed at the point. The other had a carpenter’s axe with a long handle to it. They bounded across the intervening valley as swiftly as their strength would allow them, attended by their faithful dog. When they approached I observed the dog had got one of his eyes knocked out and a cut above the other. The man who had no clothes on, I observed, had received three spear wounds, but they were all healed.

When they came up they appeared much astonished to meet a white man in their forest, and took a silent view of me. They were both strangers to me, and I was equally strange to them, or more so. I told them my name, with which they were well acquainted. This information explained the singular circumstance of meeting a white man in such an unexpected place, and they now gave me a very cordial reception and called out to their companions informing them who I was. I told them Temmarangha was on the road and would soon be up. They were much rejoiced to hear this news. When he arrived I found that these two men were Temmarangha’s particular friends, and had been officers under him in his expedition against the people at Towrangha about January last, and that the man who had been speared was the first man wounded in the action fought at that time. They were mutually rejoiced at this unexpected meeting.

They now began to inform Temmarangha of some of the dreadful murders committed by the Napooes (Ngapuhi). Amongst others, they had killed ten belonging to Wangaree (Whangarei); in the number were a chief and his uncle and a niece of Temmarangha’s. These three they had eaten. Temmarangha was greatly afflicted at this information. The spirit of retaliation fired every nerve, and he seemed eager for vengeance. When the warmth of his indignation cooled a little he said he did not wish to go to war, but he was afraid he should be driven to take up arms as an act of common justice to his relatives and friends if they continued their cruelties. I told them that on my return I would accompany him to some of the chiefs of Shunghee’s tribe and hear what they said and what they intended to do. He was pacified with this proposition, and said he would overlook all that they had done if they would abstain from such murders and robberies in future.

We now proceeded to join the party on the opposite hill who returned with us to Wangaree, where we arrived about three o’clock in the afternoon. Temmarangha had now got amongst his own friends
who both wept aloud and rejoiced. Several of them were much afflicted for the murder of their relatives and the plunder of their farms, and were also under apprehensions lest the Napooes should attack them.

Wangaree is situated at the head of a small harbour that runs up several miles inland, into which a fresh-water river falls. Up this river there are very fine spars, but I doubt whether there is sufficient shelter and depth of water in any part for shipping of large dimensions. Small vessels may anchor in several places. The harbour is situated about ten miles to the northward of Bream Head.* We remained at Wangaree all night, a great part of which Temmarangha and his friends talked over their troubles.

Monday, August 28th.—This morning we prepared for our departure. The chief furnished us with a canoe well manned, and we proceeded down the harbour. The morning was very threatening. After we had been about an hour in the canoe it began to blow and rain very heavy, which compelled us to put into a small village situated on the left side of the harbour. We remained here about two hours, when the storm moderated and we proceeded, but were afterwards, from the tempestuous weather, forced on shore again lower down the harbour where we kindled a fire on the beach and sheltered ourselves as well as we could from the storm, as there was no prospect that we should be able to quit our present situation, though an uncomfortable one, till the following day.

Tuesday, August 29th.—This morning, as the storm had abated, we embarked in the canoe about two hours before daylight, and arrived before the sun rose at the residence of the head chief, whose name is Weyee Weyee (Wehiwehi), a near relative of Temmarangha's. Weyee Weyee is an old man, very tall, stout, and upright, and has a venerable appearance. He was greatly rejoiced to see Temmarangha, and informed him how all his people had been driven from their farms in the interior by the Napooes (Ngapuhi) and their potatoes and pork destroyed or carried away. He expressed an earnest desire that some Europeans would come and reside amongst them. I told him I was not sure whether their harbour was safe for ships to anchor in or not. If, hereafter, the harbour was found to be safe, this would be a strong inducement for ships at least to visit them, especially the whalers; and that it was very probable that a vessel would soon be sent from Port Jackson to examine the harbour. He told me a brig called the Venus had anchored there. This vessel had been piratically taken by the convicts of Port Jackson some years back.

* Mr. W. Fraser, Harbourmaster, Whangarei, states that the kauri spars seen by Marsden at Whangarei must have been growing at Mangapai, where a fair quantity of kauri was cut in the early days. There does not seem to have been any kauri on what is now called the Whangarei branch of the harbour. Mr. Fraser also points out that the whole of the land comprising the north side of the bay fronting Waipu and Ruakaka was known by the early missionaries and sailors as Bream Head. Marsden's statement therefore that Whangarei Harbour is situated northward of Bream Head is based on this interpretation of the term.

In Marsden's day Ahipupu was the name of the village landing at what is now Whangarei. The native settlement, or village, of Whangarei was situated at Whangarei Heads about three miles inside the Harbour from the entrance, and evidently the earliest geographers named the Harbour and the District after this village.
Weyee Weyee ordered some breakfast to be provided for us, and he pressed us to stay with him till the next day. I told him my time would not allow me, for I was fearful of losing my passage. After breakfast he ordered us a larger canoe. I told Temmarangha I would walk on the beach to the mouth of the harbour, which was about two miles off, and requested him to follow me as soon as the canoe was ready and I would wait till he came, which he promised to do. I then took my leave of Weyee Weyee.

When I got round the left head of the mouth of the harbour I came to a very large populous village. Some of the people I had seen at the Bay of Islands. They were greatly rejoiced when I entered the village. I sat down amongst them and remained two or three hours, expecting the canoe every moment; but, as it did not arrive, I returned again to learn the cause, when I found Temmarangha sitting with Weyee Weyee and some more chiefs in close conversation. I asked him why he had not followed me according to his promise. Weyee Weyee replied Temmarangha's talk was so good and sweet to him he could not part with him. If I had not returned no canoe would have come after me that day. After some persuasion Weyee Weyee was prevailed upon to let us go, and we sailed out of the harbour about three o'clock with a fine breeze in our favour. When we had got about eight miles down the coast the wind blew very fresh with a high sea, which obliged us to go on shore for the night. The coast here for some miles consists of very high, hard, perpendicular rocks, and there are few places where a canoe can venture near the shore from the continual surf.

Wednesday, August 30th.—This morning the weather was fine but the wind against us. We put to sea as soon as it was light. The men pulled very hard. We kept as close to the shore as the breakers would permit us and went round the coves, not being able to cross them from the adverse wind and sea. At dusk in the evening we reached the hippah where Moyanger resides, a chief who accompanied Dr. Savage to England about twelve years ago. The name of the hippah is Pic-anakka (Pataua River or Inlet). It stands upon the summit of a very high conical hill and is surrounded with water, or nearly so, at the time of high water. It appeared inaccessible on every side with the exception of one narrow pass.

As soon as the natives observed the canoe at the foot of the hippah they rushed down the pass with their spears in their hands, as if they were going to meet an enemy. We informed them who we were. They directed us to go round to the opposite side of the hippah, where we could land, and invited us to spend the night with them. This invitation we cheerfully complied with, for we were both hungry, cold, and weary. As soon as we landed I was conducted up the narrow pass which I could not ascend without assistance, the path was so steep and narrow. When I had reached the top I found a number of men, women, and children sitting round their fires roasting snappers, crawfish, and fern-root. It was now quite dark. The roaring of the sea at the foot of the hippah, as the waves rolled into the deep caverns beneath, the high precipice upon which we stood, whose top and sides were covered with huts, and the groups of natives conversing round their fires, all tended to excite new and strange ideas for reflection. Though God
has made of one blood all nations that dwell upon the face of the earth, and fixed the bounds of their habitations, yet how widely different are their situations! It would be difficult to draw a comparison between the comforts and enjoyments, mental and bodily, which those partake of who live in a polished Christian society, and the privations and miseries which those suffer who live in savage life. With such reflections as these I contemplated the state of my present society, and sat down amongst them. A woman immediately handed me a snapper ready roasted, others prepared me some fern-root and, being very hungry, I relished my supper much, notwithstanding the manner in which it was cooked and served. Moyanger was not at home. I did not know one of the natives. There was an officer in charge of the hippah who was very kind, as well as all the inhabitants. They accommodated us with one of their best huts in which we lay till the morning. Temmarangha amused them till a late hour with an account of our tour and the incidents that had occurred on our journey.

Thursday, August 31st.—Early in the morning we prepared to leave this romantic spot. The side next the sea has the appearance of an old abbey in ruins, and the broken rocks are like massy columns which time has wasted and corroded. On our departure the chief presented me with an hog for which I made him a small present. This hippah is situated at the bottom of a cove. On the north side there appeared to be pretty good shelter for a ship, where she may anchor in five or six fathoms water with a soft bottom. The chief told me there was only one small rock in the cove* and this is above water. He showed me the spot where a whaler had anchored some time back. In a short time we passed the head of the cove, and stood along shore till we came opposite a small harbour called Tootoo-Kakka (Tutukaka). I was in this harbour about six years ago. It is only fit for small vessels. The entrance is narrow and the harbour small within. The schooner *Prince Regent* anchored in it one night since the *Dromedary* has been at the Bay of Islands. There are plenty of fine spars in the neighbourhood of the harbour and some good land.

After we had passed the harbour of Tootoo-Kakka the wind began to blow fresh and the sea to rise, which forced us in a short time to run into a cove for safety. Here we made a fire, dressed our hog, and took our breakfast. This cove and the land for a considerable extent along the coast and in the interior belonged to Temmarangha. The ground here is exceedingly good, but no inhabitants are upon it at present. There was an extensive settlement ten or twelve miles further along the coast called Winnanakkee (Whananaki).

As there was no prospect, from the appearance of the weather, that we should be able to leave the cove for some time, I resolved to travel by land to Winnanakkee. Temmarangha told me the road would be very difficult and too fatiguing for him, but, if I was determined to go, his servant should go with me as a guide. We immediately

* The cove thus mentioned near Picanakka at the entrance to the Pataua River is the bay extending from Pataua to Ngunguru. The rock described to Marsden by the chief as the only one in the cove, is, Mr. W. M. Fraser states, known by the name of Tokahuna (hiding rock).
set off on our journey. I was in hopes we should be able to reach Winnanakkee in the evening. The servant told me we could not but must lodge in the woods all night, for the distance was too great. However, we pushed forward as fast as we could, and, after walking for a few hours up and down precipices and rocks, and wading through the water at the head of the coves which we could ford, we had the pleasure to observe the smoke of the settlement about five or six miles off, and that we had got over the worst part of the road. This inspired us with fresh confidence and caused us to exert all our efforts, and we reached the village before it was quite dark, very wet and weary. I had known the chief of this settlement and his wife formerly.

When I arrived they were overjoyed. It rained heavy, and my clothes were all wet. The servant had fortunately brought my blanket. I took off all my clothes and wrap myself up in my blanket till they were dry. The chief's wife did all she could to administer to my present wants. She had a good fire made with which my clothes were soon dried, gave me their own hut for my lodgings, which was very warm, and spread some good mats upon the floor for me to lie down upon. I enjoyed my hut very much after so laborious a journey, and felt grateful for my accommodations amongst these poor heathens. The chief's wife expressed much concern that she had no provisions which she thought I could eat. They had no pork, for all their hogs had been destroyed by war as well as their potatoes. She had some cockles and fern-root, but she thought I could not eat them. She had also some koomeras (kumaras), or sweet potatoes, and two pumpkins, which she could dress for me, and observed that if I could not eat the koomeras I should like the pumpkins for they would be very sweet. While this anxious woman was racking her mind to find out some provisions which she thought I could eat, her husband had sent out to purchase a basket of potatoes. Her anxiety was relieved.

My arrival soon spread through the settlement and, though the rain fell heavy, numbers crowded round the hut. Tingangha (Te Ngangi), for that was the name of the chief, wished to know where I had been and what had brought me to Winnanakkee, as he was much astonished as well as gratified to see me there. I gave him the particulars of my tour with which he was surprised, particularly that I had walked so far. I informed him Temmarangha had been with me and where I had left him waiting for the weather to moderate, and that, if he did not arrive soon, I should proceed without him to the Bay of Islands by land. Tingangha said the road was bad, that it would take me four days to reach Wyekaddee (Waikare), and that I must go in a canoe if I could. After conversing with him and others that were present I retired to rest, and felt myself safe from the stormy blast.

Friday, September 1st.—I was sorry to find no change in the weather this morning. Tingangha said Temmarangha would not be able to put to sea. I expressed my wish to leave him. He and his wife urged me to spend the day with them, and, if Temmarangha did not come by the following morning, I should have his own war canoe well manned to carry me to an harbour called Wangadoodoo (Whangaruru), and then I should be within a short day's walk of the Bay of
Short, One-hand Weapons, usually described as *Patu*.

This use of the Maori word *patu* is not strictly in accord with Maori usage, but is so useful that it has been generally adopted in descriptive work. No. 1 is of whalebone, and was dug up at Murdering Beach. Comparative study shows that each knob on the butt represents a bird's head. No. 2, a wooden weapon, probably of the type called *mitt*, was found in a cave in the Rock and Pillar Range. No. 3 is a whalebone *kotiate* from the Gisborne district. No. 5 is a wooden example of the same type. Nos. 4 and 6 are wooden *waha-ika*. No. 8 is a fine *onewa* made of andesite, from the Hauraki River. No. 7 is a *mere* made of the soft, translucent greenstone called *tangiwai* found only in Western Otago. This beautiful and unique specimen was presented to the Otago University Museum by the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The *patu* group illustrates clearly one important feature of Maori warfare: military tactics were based on conflict hand-to-hand. The idea of shaking the enemy's morale by long-range bombardment, a type of tactics already falling into disuse in Tahitian warfare, had vanished from Maori warfare as we know it. The bow was no longer used, and the sling is not known even to tradition. The one projectile weapon, the *kotaha* or spear-thrower, seems to have been employed rarely, and no European has recorded seeing it in use. This insistence on hand-to-hand encounter led to extraordinary dexterity in the practice of arms, since the life of every man must often have depended on his ability in wielding his weapons.
WEAPONS OF THE PATU CLASS
Islands. I told them my provisions were done and I was afraid of losing my passage also; but if I was sure of his canoe I would wait till the following morning. Mrs. Tingangha observed she had some small chickens under an hen, and she would kill them for me to eat and would send a man into the wood to get some pigeons, for she was very much concerned lest I should suffer from hunger. I would not allow her to kill her chickens as she had only one hen, and assured her I should never suffer from hunger while I had plenty of potatoes to eat. She wanted to know how I rested in the night, and observed that, as I had made up my mind to stay with them another night, she would set to work and clean out the house completely, and then she was sure I should sleep well. She was as good as her promise, and made a very clean, comfortable place for me in which I rested very well. I spent the day in visiting the inhabitants till dinner, and in the evening went in a canoe up a fresh-water river which runs from the interior. There is plenty of fine timber upon its banks, but there is no harbour at Winnanakkee for ships.

All the day was stormy, attended with showers, so that we had no hopes of Temmarangha's arrival. The land is very good about Winnanakkee, and their inhabitants are a fine race of people, exceeding kind and civil. They are much in want of tools of agriculture, and urged me much to procure them a little wheat, which I promised to do. I also promised to send them some fruit trees.

Saturday, September 2nd.—As Temmarangha did not arrive this morning, Tingangha launched his canoe, and manned her at an early hour in order to take me to Wangadoodoo. His wife said she would accompany me there. Before I took my leave of the chief, he introduced his two children—a son and daughter—which he informed me were named after two of my children, the boy after my son Charles and the girl after my eldest daughter.* He wept much when we parted, wished he could come to see me at Parramatta, and begged they might have some Europeans to reside with them. I told them if there were fewer wars in New Zealand Europeans might be induced to come and live amongst them, but at present they were afraid.

* Marsden's eldest daughter, Anne, born on March 2nd, 1794, on board the Charles, then off the Tasmanian coast, while her parents were making their first voyage to New South Wales. Charles was Marsden's fifth child and only surviving son. In 1819 his father sent him home to be educated, hoping that he would enter either the church or the medical profession and ultimately "employ his time and talents amongst the natives of New Zealand." Choosing the study of medicine, the boy was placed in the care of Marsden's friend, Dr. John Mason Good, but proved an unsuccessful student and returned to New South Wales in 1823, just before his father sailed for the fourth time to New Zealand. Marsden naturally found the failure as a student of his "thoughtless son" a great trial. "This is almost too painful a subject to me to dwell upon," he wrote to the Rev. Josiah Pratt on July 12th, 1823. "The Lord suffers His people to be tried and I have my share, but I cannot say with St. Paul that 'I glory in tribulations also.'"

Marsden had evidently expected too much of a young man whose preliminary education had, of necessity, suffered from the lack of educational facilities in New South Wales. Charles Marsden subsequently married a daughter of Captain Brabyn of New South Wales and had four children. The fact that his elder son was named Mason Good shows that he must have had kindly memories of his English friend and mentor, Dr. Good.
We now stepped into the canoe and proceeded down the harbour, and at the mouth we met Temmarangha. However, as I had got so fine a canoe I said I would go on, and that, if he did not choose to go with me, he could follow me to Wangadoodoo. He said he wished to see Tingangha and, when he had taken some refreshment, he would follow me, and then proceeded up the harbour and we pulled towards the sea. In less than half an hour the wind and sea rose again and compelled us to return. When we landed I took a guide with me and set off by land. We found the road very bad, as it lies along the seacoast. We had continually to strike off into the woods in order to cross the high necks of land which run out into the sea, and then to descend again down to the beach. Several swamps and runs of water we met with on our road through which we had to wade. In the evening we arrived at a small native village, when it came on to blow and rain very heavy. The natives received us kindly and accommodated us with an hut and plenty of potatoes. The night was wet and cold. I did not get much rest. Here Temmarangha and our whole party joined us. I understood there was no chief in this village. There were a number of poor people who were clearing ground and preparing it for planting with potatoes.

Sunday, September 3rd.—We rose at the dawn of day this morning and prepared for our journey. After we had walked about half an hour I observed a war canoe coming after us, which soon made a signal and pulled towards shore I saw it was Tingangha's. When the weather moderated, he had sent it after us to take us up in any part of the coast where it might overtake us. I considered this an act of great attention and kindness, as it saved me a severe and laborious journey. As soon as the canoe reached the shore we were all soon comfortably seated in it, and with a fair wind we passed along towards Wangadoodoo and reached the harbour about midday. Wangadoodoo appears to me as if it was capable of affording good shelter for shipping. There are a number of natives in the harbour We called upon the chief, who received us with the discharge of two muskets. I stopped and ate some fish for my dinner. The harbour is extensive; a pretty large island is situated in the middle of it, or thereabouts. This island is a considerable distance up the harbour, and that part above it is shut in from the sea. The depth of water I could not ascertain, but from the account the natives gave me there is water sufficient for large ships near the island, with a soft bottom. The harbour runs up several miles; a fresh-water creek falls into it at the head, where there is a small settlement at which we landed in the evening and remained during the night.

I now felt myself happy in having got within one short day's journey of the Bay of Islands after an absence of three months, and particularly in having got clear of the sea, where we had experienced such a succession of stormy weather. I was also thankful that I had not met with any accident in my journey either by land or water; nor had I suffered any material injury from cold and wet and want of my proper rest, though I had laid down in my clothes for the last three weeks in boisterous weather in whatever situation the night overtook me. A kind and watchful Providence had attended my going out and my coming in, and had given me favour amongst the heathen with whom I had sojourned.
Monday, September 4th.—This morning I called my companions up as soon as the day appeared. The night had been extremely cold, with more ice than I had ever seen at New Zealand. The grass, shrubs, and trees were as white as snow with the hoar-frost. Temmarangha was unwilling to move till the sun got up. He said he had no shoes, and it was too cold for him to walk through the grass and brush till the frost was off. At length we proceeded on our way, and in about an hour came to a small native village situated in a valley so retired and secret that I should not have expected to have met with any human beings in such a situation. The children were alarmed when they saw me and ran crying away. We stopped here and breakfasted. The people had got abundance of dried fish and potatoes which they liberally gave us, and as many as the servants could well carry when we came away. I now walked on and left the whole party excepting Moodeekow, the priest, and arrived in the district of Parroa (Pairoa) about three o'clock in the afternoon, opposite to where the whalers were lying. I got into a canoe to go on board the Catherine, and fell in with Captain Graham in his whaleboat and went on board with him, where I once more entered into civil life and felt it much sweeter than at any former period of time. The food, the conversation, the rest, were all sweet. I put a much greater estimate on the blessings I had always enjoyed in civil and religious society than I had ever done before, for I was able now from experience to form a true judgment of savage life.

I had not been more than an hour on board the Catherine when the Prince Regent, a government schooner belonging to Port Jackson, arrived in the Bay of Islands and brought me letters from my family and from many of my friends in England, which added to my present comfort. The communion of saints is sweet, and that communion I am inclined to think is mutually promoted by the mutual correspondence of Christian friends. The master of the Prince Regent informed me he should sail in a day or two for Wangarooa, where the Dromedary was taking in her cargo of timber, and in a few days afterwards would proceed to Port Jackson. As my leave of absence was now expired, I determined to return in the schooner to New South Wales, and with that view immediately set about arranging the affairs of the mission. When this was done I walked over to Wangarooa in order to join the Prince Regent.

As soon as she had taken in her spars and was ready for sea I embarked, and we sailed on Sunday, September 17th. Our little schooner was very deeply laden with spars—her decks were completely covered and not more than five inches from the water edge. Before we reached the North Cape of New Zealand a very heavy gale came on, with a very high sea breaking over our little bark from one end to the other, with heavy rain. I was now very sick from close confinement below, as the hatches were all battened down and everything made close to keep out the sea. The schooner soon began to make much water, and the Captain on the fifth day (Friday, September 22nd) did not think it prudent to continue at sea and returned into the Bay of Islands. I now felt myself extremely ill from wet, sea-sickness, and want of rest, and determined to leave the schooner and wait for the return of the Dromedary.
master landed the greatest part of the spars, and sailed again for Port
Jackson. After refreshing myself for a few days at the Bay of Islands
I went to Wangaroe and joined the Dromedary again.

Finding the Dromedary would not complete her cargo for six
weeks, I determined to visit the different tribes of inhabitants again
on the east and west sides of New Zealand, and immediately prepared
for another tour, as I thought I could not spend my time more to the
advantage of the mission than by paying another visit to the tribes I
had seen and visiting others I had not seen. With this view I once
more left the Dromedary, where I had always received the kindest atten­
tion from Captain Skinner and all the officers, both military and naval,
and which I shall ever retain a grateful remembrance of. On leaving
the Dromedary I proceeded to Kiddee Kiddee where the Rev. J. Butler
agreed to accompany me on my intended journey.*

Saturday, October 28th.—About noon this day I left Kiddee
Kiddee in company with the Rev. J. Butler and Mr. Shepherd for Ranghee
Hoo (Rangihoua) in the whaleboat, and in the evening arrived at Mr.
William Hall’s where we slept for the night.

Sunday, October 29th.—Performed Divine Service at Ranghee
Hoo in the morning and administered the Holy Sacrament. Mr. Butler
preached in the evening.

Monday, October 30th.—Rose at three o'clock this morning in
order to prepare for my intended journey to Kiperro (Kaipara), and
we proceeded down the harbour about four o'clock and reached Cape
Brett about seven. The morning was very calm and the water very
smooth, which rendered our passage to the sea very pleasant and agree­
able. The weather continued fine all the day, and in the evening we
reached the mouth of the harbour of Wannanakkee (Whananaki). I
wished to wait here in order to see Temmarangha whom I wished to
accompany us. We landed on the beach and prepared to dress some
provisions, when a fishing canoe came to us and informed us Temma­
rangha was not there but a little further down the coast in a small har­
bour which I had visited on a former occasion. I now determined
not to call at the settlement of Wannanakkee lest we should be detained;
we therefore took up our lodgings for the night upon the beach.

Tuesday, October 31st.—As soon as the day appeared we pro­
ceeded on our voyage, and about eight o'clock arrived at Teko Rangha
(Te Korangu), Temmarangha's settlement. We found him busy amongst
his people on the beach, upon which were a great number of fine fish
lying, having just been landed from the fishing canoes. Temmarangha
was very pleased with our visit, and supplied us with whatever fish we
could conveniently take with us. I informed him where we were going
and invited him to accompany us. He replied it was a busy time with
him; he was planting his potatoes and koomeras, and if he should leave
his place his slaves would lie down and sleep instead of cultivating his
ground; on that account he did not wish to leave home till his necessary
work was done. He informed us there were a chief and his son with
him from Kiperro, who would go along with us if we would allow them.
To this proposal we readily agreed.

* At this point there occurs an interval of about a month in the journal.
Teko Rangha is a very good place for a missionary station. The inhabitants on both sides along the coast are numerous and very friendly. Fish could be procured in the greatest abundance. The land is good and well supplied with timber and water; in the cove a small vessel may lie pretty secure. A mission here would be conveniently situated for keeping up a communication with other parts of the islands. Canoes are constantly passing up and down the coast.

After we had breakfasted with Temmarangha we proceeded on our voyage and arrived at Wangaree just at dark. This harbour is situated ten or twelve miles to the northward of Bream Head. I have already mentioned this place. The chief Weyee Weyee (Wehiwehi) and his people received us kindly. He presented us with an hog. We hung our hammocks under the trees on the beach where we remained at night. It was my intention to have left the whaleboat here and to have crossed the country over to the River Wyeroo (Wairua)* and proceed down that river in a canoe into the Kiperro, but here we learned that all the inhabitants belonging to the Wyeroo had fled for safety from the Napooes (Ngapuhi), some to Kiperro and others to Wangaree, and that it would be of no use to proceed any further in that direction as there was not a canoe upon the river. From this information I was fully convinced that we could never reach Kiperro by the Wyeroo and was therefore compelled to relinquish my first intention.

Wednesday, November 1st.—This morning I was at a loss what route to pursue. I had no alternative but either to go by the River Thames or to strike off from Bream Head to a river called Kottamatta (Otomatea), which falls into the harbour of Kiperro (Kaipara). I had seen the mouth of this river when I visited Kiperro before. In order to gain correct information relative to the practicability of making our way to the Kiperro by the River Kottamatta, I crossed the harbour of Wangaree to consult with a number of natives who were carrying fish on the opposite beach. They informed me I could not get down the Kottamatta as there were no canoes. The whole of the inhabitants had fled in consequence of the present war. We had no choice but to proceed to the Thames, and immediately directed our course to Bream Head.†

The inhabitants at Wangaree are very numerous at present. The harbour abounds with the finest fish of various kinds, which were hung up in all directions upon the shores. Some the natives appeared to be drying for future use. They were all in a state of alarm on account of the fighting parties who were outraging the country in different directions. The principal people here were very urgent for some Europeans to reside amongst them. I hope in time their wishes will be gratified, and that the Gospel of God, our Saviour, will relieve them from their present bondage to sin and Satan, and lessen their mutual jealousies and contests.

* Wairua, the chief branch of the Wairoa.
† Bream Tail.

It is evident, as Mr. W. Fraser points out, that the journey from Whangarei to the mouth of the Thames was made from Whangarei Harbour to Mangawhai by way of Bream Tail—not Bream Head.
After quitting the harbour of Wanganee we found the wind against us, and it was not till evening we reached Bream Head.* We turned round the south head into a small harbour (Mangawai Harbour) into which a river runs from the interior. The harbour is well sheltered, but only fit for small vessels drawing nine or ten feet of water, as the entrance is narrow and difficult and has a bar across its mouth. This river runs very near the Kottamatta (Otamatea) which affords very easy communication with Kiperro (Kaipara). The natives at the Bay of Islands, when they made war upon the inhabitants of Kiperro, came with their canoes across the narrow neck of land that separates the Kottamatta (Otamatea) from this river. When the country is better known it is more than probable that by the means of these two rivers an easy communication may be opened between the western and eastern shores of New Zealand. We had not time to examine the river into the interior as we only remained one night in the harbour.

Thursday, November 2nd.—This morning we put to sea at an early hour, and were favoured with a fair wind along the coast between Bream Head† and Point Rodney. The breeze became very strong and the sea rose pretty high. We sailed at a great rate and entered the mouth of the Thames‡ about the middle of the day, when we made for one of the islands in the river, not considering it safe to remain at sea. When the wind moderated we landed in a cove about two o'clock where we dined, and in the evening proceeded to the next island.§ situated in the west side of the river, on reaching which we went on shore for the night.

I felt a grateful mind to the God of the seas and the dry land Who had conducted us in safety this far while on the bosom of the great deep, and before we retired to rest we united in offering up our evening sacrifice of praise and thanksgivings to Him Who holdeth the waters in the hollow of His hand, and Whose presence fills heaven and earth.

Friday, November 3rd.—This morning the wind was moderate. We left the island at an early hour and steered our course for Mokoia (Mokoia), a populous settlement situated on the main on the west side of the Thames. I had visited this settlement three times before when I came in the Coromandel. We had to pass several islands in our course up the River Wyeroa which falls into the Thames.|| While we were in this river, which is several miles wide, the wind blew fresh and, the tide running strong, made a high sea, in consequence of which we were very near upsetting our boat in a narrow, shallow channel between two islands* where the surf broke with much violence. We were not aware

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* Bream Tail.
† Bream Tail.
‡ In reality the Hauraki Gulf.
§ Probably Kawau, Sir George Grey's island home, stated by Rev. John Butler, who accompanied Marsden, to have been uninhabited at this time.—Cf. Butler's MS. Journal (Hocken Library) and R. J. Barton, Earliest New Zealand.
|| Rangitoto and Waiheke Channels.
* The passage, apparently, between Rangitoto and Motutapu Island. Butler, in his journal, gives a dramatic account of the incident. "We went to the upper, instead of the lower, side of an island," he writes. "As we drew near I went forward
of our danger till it was too late to return, and were therefore compelled to risk the dashing of the boat to pieces against the rocks in order to reach the shore, which we were fortunate enough to do in safety.

After we had got clear of the breakers, and were under the shelter of the land between the two islands, we found there was not sufficient water in the channel to take the boat through. Here we met with about fifty natives, who dragged the boat through the passage into deep water. We were now about ten or twelve miles from Mogoea. As the wind was fair, though strong, we hoisted our sail, and very soon crossed the Wyeroa (Waeroa) and entered the mouth of the river on whose banks the settlement is formed. In the evening we landed, to the great joy of the inhabitants.* Here I found most of my former acquaintances; Enakkee (Hinaki)† and Totarée (Totokariwa), the two principal chiefs, were both at home. I was very happy to find Rupee (Rupi), the son of Enakkee, also a youth about fourteen years old, safe at home. When I left the Thames in August last I was compelled to leave my sea-chest with Enakkee as I could not take it with me by land. When the government schooner, Prince Regent, arrived at Mogoea afterwards, Enakkee sent his son, Rupee, and one servant to the Bay of Islands with my chest. When the schooner returned to the Dromedary, Rupee wished to visit Port Jackson and had embarked with that intent on board the schooner. When the schooner sailed from Wangarooa with dispatches for Governor Macquarie from the commanders of the Coromandel and Dromedary, I embarked along with Rupee intending to return home in her, but when the Prince Regent put into the Bay of Islands from stress of weather I determined to remain till the Dromedary returned to Port Jackson and take my passage in that ship. Rupee had been so sick while on board the Prince Regent that he also determined to leave her and return to the Thames with the chief who had the care of him. He procured a small canoe at the Bay of Islands for the purpose of going down to the Thames. I conceived he would be in great danger if he ventured in her, and requested him to remain at the Bay of Islands till a better opportunity offered for his return home, but he would not be prevailed upon to stop. I felt much concerned for the boy lest any accident should happen to him, as he had come on my account.

to look out, and I observed the land on one side very low, the entrance narrow, and the water discoloured. I said to Mr. Marsden, 'Sir, you have mistaken the passage; there appears to be no water.' He replied, 'There is water for the Coromandel.' At this time we were going before the wind at the rate of nine knots. As we drew very near the mistake was clearly seen, but it was too late to go about; we rushed through a tremendous surf, and, through mercy, we had just water enough to carry us into shelter. You may easily imagine our feelings at this moment.

"We then went on shore, and the natives of the place hauled our boat over the sandbank into the deep water. On finding ourselves sheltered and secure, we felt exceeding thankful."—MS. Journal of Rev. John Butler, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

* "We arrived about four in the afternoon," writes Butler. "The natives came running to the beach in great numbers. We were saluted by the firing of a musket and were received with every mark of respect and gratitude. They even ran into the water with eagerness to shake hands with us, so that, for a few minutes, it was impossible to land for the press."

† "Enackee is a man of mild countenance and gentlemanly in his manners," writes Butler.
Rupee was greatly rejoiced to see me, and informed me what
dangers and hardships he had suffered on his passage home—that the
canoe was upset and lost at sea in a storm near the Barrier Islands at
the mouth of the Thames, that he had been nearly drowned, as well as
the chief Maru who was with him, that with great difficulty they swam
to the shore after the canoe was lost, where they remained five days
before they were taken off the island, and had suffered much, in con­
sequence of which he had been very ill.

In consequence of Rupee's deliverance from the dangers of the
sea and his restoration to health, his father, Enakkee, had tabooed almost
everything around him, and the people had cut themselves in the manner
they do when they mourn for the dead. Enakkee asked me if I should
have been concerned had his son been drowned. I replied I should
have been much distressed, and particularly as he had come to the Bay
of Islands on my account. Enakkee replied that I should have had no
occasion to have been afraid on account of his son's death, as he would
not have blamed me for it in any way. I was much pleased with his
observations upon this subject, as he seemed anxious to convince me
that, whatever might have happened to his son, he would not have
altered his regard for me nor attached any blame to me in any way
whatever. We spent the evening very pleasantly with Enakkee and
his people. I met with Awarru (Te Waru), chief of Towrangha, already
mentioned in my journal, who made peace with Temmarangha. He
was much pleased with our accidental meeting, and informed me that
he had set his people to work to make mats, agreeable to the arrange­
ments I had made with him when at Towrangha. There were also
several chiefs from other distant parts. Enakkee cleared one of his
storehouses for our accommodation, in which we slept for the night.

The Rev. Mr. Butler was much gratified with these people and their
settlements at large.* He had seen nothing so much like civil life as
this settlement, where there is a very extensive cultivation carried on
and where the inhabitants have such an abundance of provisions and
appear so healthy and happy. Enakkee was very pressing for some
Europeans to reside with them should any missionaries hereafter be
sent out. I pointed out to him the ground where I wished their houses
to be built, school, etc., and to this he readily agreed. I need not notice
the soil and other local advantages of the settlement in this place as I
have mentioned it in a former journal. After singing an hymn and offer­
ing up our united addresses to the Father of Mercies, we retired to rest.

Saturday, November 4th.—We left Mogoea early this morning
in order to visit the Coromandel, which lay on the east side of the Thames
in a very safe harbour more than forty miles distant. Enakkee and Rupee

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* "I expressed a desire to go on the top of an adjacent mountain," writes Butler.
"Enakkee accompanied me with all readiness, leaving Mr. Marsden and Puckey with
his friends... The prospect from the summit is grand and nobly pleasing.
I observed twenty villages in the valley below, and, with a single glance, beheld the
largest portion of cultivated land I had ever met with in one place in New Zealand.
... It is by far the best place for a missionary settlement that I have ever seen
in New Zealand. The natives are very numerous. Enakkee informed me that there
were as many as seven thousand men, women, and children, but, judging it impossible
for him to tell accurately, I put down four thousand which, I think, from observation,
is near the mark."
accompanied us. After we had entered the Wyeroa* the wind blew very strong with an high sea, which compelled us to run to the nearest island† for shelter and safety, where we lay windbound all the day. On this island there is some very rich land, part of which is in cultivation. A few natives reside upon it for the purpose of raising potatoes, for which the soil appears well adapted. The whole island has the appearance of a volcanic eruption. In the middle of it the land is high. I went to the summit, where I found the mouth of a volcano in the shape of an egg when cut in two; the mouth may be about a quarter of a mile in circumference, and I estimated its depth at 300 feet as I went to the very bottom. The level land at the foot of the hill is very rich. It is all covered with porous stones which apparently have been burned. On this island we remained all the night waiting for the weather to moderate.

Sunday, November 5th.—This morning the weather appeared more settled. We left the island early and proceeded down the river towards the Thames, which we entered about five o'clock in the evening. The Thames was about twelve miles across where we had to cross it in order to reach the Coromandel. We had a moderate breeze and fair. The Thames was smoother than I had ever found it before when I crossed it. In general there is a very great swell and very often a very rough sea. We got over the river very well, and arrived on board the Coromandel about eight o'clock in the evening, when I found Captain Downie well and his ship's company. I was happy to learn that there had been no differences between the Europeans and natives and that Captain Downie had the prospect of accomplishing the object of his voyage. Captain Downie and his officers treated us very kindly. We remained with them two nights and one day, when we took our departure early in the morning of the 7th (Tuesday, November 7th), as the weather was very favourable for our returning across the Thames.

About eight o'clock we arrived on the west side of the Thames when we went on shore to breakfast. After breakfast we proceeded up the Wyeroa, but the wind blew so strong against us with an high sea that we were compelled to bear away for the first island we could reach‡ and landed upon one of the largest in the river where we took up our lodgings for the night on the beach. This island appeared to be as large as the Isle of Wight, and contained much good land; it would answer well for cattle or goats as there is plenty of grass and water. Hogs also might be reared upon it to much advantage. Hogs in New Zealand get very fat on the fern-root alone. They require no grass to feed them, and their meat is of the best quality.

Wednesday, November 8th.—This morning the weather was stormy. We were wind-bound all the day. The sea ran high in the Wyeroa§ so that we could not venture from our shelter, though we were very anxious to proceed on our route. The cove we were in would be a fine harbour for ships as there appeared a sufficient depth of water. Wood and water are easily procured for vessels in the cove.

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* Tamaki Strait and Waiheke Channel.
† Motukoreho, Brown's Island.
‡ Waiheke.
§ Really Waiheke Channel.
Thursday, November 9th.—This morning the weather moderated, and about four o'clock we left the island for Mogoea where we arrived about twelve in the middle of the day. It was our intention to leave the boat here till our return from Kiperro, and to proceed up the Wyeteematta in a canoe. I met several chiefs from Kiperro, amongst whom was Moodeepanga, a chief from Tipporari (Te Puriri), a settlement about twenty miles from Towrangha (Tauranga) above the head of the River Thames. I had dined with this chief when I was in that part of the country. This hippah is situated about 150 miles from Mogoea.

When I was at Mogoea before, I went to the top of a very high conical hill* near the settlement. From its summit may be seen both the western and eastern shores of New Zealand. I also observed several rivers and large sheets of water. One river† which ran into the western ocean seemed to join the Wyeteematta and the Mogoea Rivers, as I could not observe any land that separated them. On enquiry I learnt that one river (the Waiuku) which I saw ran towards the Wyekotto (Waikato) and the other was called Manukou (Manukau) which fell into the sea on the west side. Wishing to ascertain whether the River Manukou did unite with either the Mogoea River or the Wyeteematta, I determined to proceed immediately to Manukou to satisfy myself on this head. Having hauled up the boat and lodged with the chief such articles as we should not want till our return from Kiperro, we engaged some of the natives as guides and to carry our baggage to Manukou, and proceeded immediately on our journey.

Our way lay for four or five miles through a wood.‡ Afterwards we passed through very stony ground; the stones were very porous, and the whole surface of the land was broken into irregular hills by some volcanic eruptions. We reached Manukou in the evening. The estimated distance across the neck of land we travelled over between Mogoea and Manukou§ was about three leagues. When we arrived at the settlement we found an extensive harbour, and saw the Heads at the distance of about five leagues. At Manukou three brother chiefs reside named Kowhow (Kawau), Koroearua, and Tettawangh. They carry on an extensive cultivation of potatoes, and possess large tracts of land on the Wyeteematta, Wyekotto, and Kiperro. Kowhow I was acquainted with, as he had accompanied me from Mogoea to Kiperro when I visited that district the first time. Kowhow was very attentive to me at that time, furnished me with a canoe and servants, and attended the whole time till I returned again to the River Thames and joined the Coromandel. I made him a few presents of edge tools, which he highly valued, and promised in return he would send me mats to the Bay of Islands as soon as he could procure any. I did not consider him indebted to me but rather I was indebted to him, and therefore had no reason to place any confidence in his promise.

* Maungarei, Mount Wellington.
† The Manukau. Marsden was thus the discoverer of this harbour. Dumont d'Urville, seven years later, was credited with the discovery.
‡ The site of Epsom, an Auckland suburb.
§ Marsden thus covered the ground from Panmure (Mokoia) to Onehunga.
|| “He appears to be a man of bold disposition and a good countenance,” wrote Butler.
When we first arrived Kowhow was at his farm two or three miles distant. A messenger was sent to him immediately. On his arrival he expressed his satisfaction at our visit—told me he had got some mats ready for me, and produced a basket neatly tied up containing seven mats with which he presented me in payment for the articles I had before given him. This was much more than I expected. I told him we wanted an hog or two. These he also supplied to us.

I informed him that the object of our visit was to examine the harbour of Manukou, and that we wished to go down to the Heads in order to see if there was an entrance for ships. He told me he would furnish a canoe in the morning for the purposes I wished. I then asked him to let us have a large empty building, about eighty feet long by sixteen, which was near the beach, for the accommodation of ourselves and people who had attended us from Mogoea, which he readily granted, and in this we took up our lodgings for the night.

Friday, November 10th.—As soon as the tide answered we prepared to visit the Heads of the Manukou River. This river has two main branches, one (Otahuhu) runs up towards Mogoea, and is separated from it by a very narrow neck of land over which the natives take their canoes from one river to another. The other branch (Waikuku) runs to the southward towards Wyekotto and forms a very large sheet of water beyond which the eye can reach. This branch nearly joins the Wyekotto (Waikato) River, and is separated only by a narrow neck, over which the natives take their canoes and pass from one settlement to another. Manukou also, about ten or twelve miles from the Heads, nearly joins the Wyeteematta River.* Though the communication between the western and eastern seas is not entirely complete, yet it is very nearly so both into the Mogoea and Wyeteematta Rivers.

In the Manukou there are very extensive shoals and sandbanks, but there appeared to be a channel of deep water. This we were unable to examine in the canoe, from the strength of the tide which occasioned too great a sea to venture into with safety. The entrance into the harbour is also narrow, and it is probable a bar may be found on the outside; but this we could not ascertain as it would not be safe to go out to sea in a small canoe where the swell is so great. Within the Heads we had ten fathoms of water. There is abundance of fine timber in the neighbourhood of this river should it hereafter be found a safe harbour for ships. After making all the observations our means enabled us, we returned to the settlement where we arrived about midnight and retired to rest.

Saturday, November 11th.—Early this morning we settled with the natives of Mogoea, and they returned home and prepared for prosecuting our journey to Kiperro. They agreed to accompany us and to furnish us with servants to carry our baggage. As soon as we were ready we took our departure from Manukou. A few missionaries are much wanted at this settlement.† The land is good about it and there

* At Te Whau.
† "No Europeans had ever been here before," noted Butler, "and everyone, young and old, was eager, if possible, to touch the hem of our garments. The natives are numerous, the land good, the timber fine, and the little naked children ran about like rabbits in a warren. This would be a good place for a missionary settlement, but not equal to Mogoi."
is a very considerable population. After leaving Manukou we walked overland to the banks of the Wyeteematta, a distance of about eight or ten miles.* Our road lay over the summit of the very high round hill called Wyedakka† from the summit of which there is the most extensive prospect. The western and eastern shores are in view; several rivers, forests, and mountains are also to be seen, with Point Rodney and Cape Colville at the entrance of the Thames. On descending the hill Kowhow called us on one side to see a deep cavern which had the appearance of a mouth of a volcano. He told us the cavern was very deep. The whole hill appeared to be a volcanic production, and the stones around the bottom had a similar appearance. On our arrival on the banks of the Wyeteematta, Kowhow had procured a canoe to take us up the river where we were to land in order to cross the country to Kiperro. The distance we had to go by water was from sixteen to twenty miles. In the afternoon the tide was against us, by which we were compelled to go on shore for the night.

Sunday, November 12th.—This morning we embarked in our canoe and proceeded up the river with the tide. The canoe was very leaky, and required two men to bail out the water to keep her from sinking. About eleven o'clock we landed and walked about six miles, when we sat down upon the banks of a fresh-water stream‡ where we dined. This stream is the head of one of the branches of Kiperro. After dinner we pursued our journey, and in the evening arrived in a small wood about three miles from the sea. The inhabitants of this wood appeared much astonished at us.§ They could not have seen any white people before. The chiefs had fled to this sequestered spot from the present war. They were related to Kowhow. On our arrival the chief || said he had seen us in a dream when he was in a sleep in the night. We remained in the wood all night. They had not a single hut built, but lay down in the brush and fern. They had plenty of fish and fresh potatoes, and we observed some hogs also amongst them.

After we had taken some refreshment and prayed to God for His goodness and returned thanks to Him for the many favours enjoyed, we retired to rest. When I looked upon the surrounding scene, viewed the inhabitants of the woods and the neighbouring seas, and considered myself at the very ends of earth and that the voice of joy and gladness, of praise and thanksgiving had never before been heard since the foundation of the world in these gloomy regions of darkness and human misery, I could not but anticipate the time was at hand for the fulfilment of that precious promise, “All the ends of the world shall remember and be turned unto the Lord.” I often thought of the words which the Lord spake unto Elijah when he was on Mount Horeb. The Lord came unto him and said unto him, “What doest thou here Elijah?” A similar question I often put to myself when I viewed the distant lands whence

* Close to the present Ponsonby.
† Wai-o-raka, Mount Albert.
‡ The Kumeu at Muriwai.
§ “When I pulled off my hairy cap I travelled in, they shouted aloud; I apprehended they conceived my hat formed part of my head.” (Butler.)
|| His name, Homihamu, is given by Butler.
I came and the way in which the Divine Providence had conducted me. I have been wont to ask what was my business in this and in the other extraordinary situations I have been called to visit. Known unto God are all His works from the beginning, and He carries on His plans according to the counsel of His own will. The mysteries of His providence are great and past man's finding out, as well as the mysteries of His grace. In the morning of the resurrection of the just, when the sea and the earth shall give up their dead, perhaps the deep volume of the Divine counsels may be laid open to our view or our capacities enlarged to comprehend them.

Monday, November 13th.—As soon as we breakfasted this morning we proceeded to the seaside about four miles distant. From the banks of the Wyeteematta, where we landed, to the sea is almost twenty miles. The sea coast here is as straight as a line as far as the eye can reach, and the beach* as level as the sea is calm. Where the sea beats heavy upon the land when the tide is in, it is very firm and smooth to walk upon and very pleasant travelling when the tide is out. The coast is entirely high drift sandhills, generally three or four hundred feet high or more. These sandhills in many places are several miles broad. Under the sand there are beds of dead timber of immense size, as black as coal, from four to sixteen feet thick. These beds have very much the appearance of coal beds, but upon close examination I found them to be composed of large bodies of timber. How they came into their present situation, three or four hundred feet below the surface of the hills, I cannot ascertain. I can only state the fact, but shall leave others to account for it.

The appearances of this timber extend for more than twenty miles along the beach, and some roots of trees are to be seen of immense bulk when the tide is down level with the sand upon the beach; they are as black as coal, as if they had all been burnt off close to the ground; some of them are more than thirty feet in diameter. It is probable that originally two or more trees sprang from one root, but the roots appear now as if they had had only one tree to support.

Our day's journey lay along the beach. We walked very hard till towards evening, when we turned into the land behind the sandhills and took up our residence for the night near a fresh-water pond. We had seen no persons on our way nor any huts or signs of inhabitants. Our guide told us we were not far from the settlement of a chief named Teetennana (Te Tinana). Kowhow sent a messenger to this chief to inform him of our arrival. In about two hours we were visited by four young men from the settlement who remained with us during the night.†

*Rangatira Beach.
† Butler says more with regard to the difficulties of this day. "We walked on the sea beach upwards of twenty miles," he writes. "This was a very fatiguing march on the sands; and also, we suffered a good deal from thirst as the day was hot and windy and no water to be had for sixteen miles. . . . We arrived at the place where we had to turn off inland about four o'clock and, walking a little way, we halted in a valley between the sandhills where we found water and a few heath shrubs, with which we made a little shelter for the night. I rested during the night, but very little; I believe through weariness. Mr. Puckey was attacked with rheumatic pains, insomuch that in the morning he was obliged to be carried by natives; however, we had but a short distance to go, say about eight miles, which we accomplished before breakfast."
Tuesday, November 14th.—We rose early this morning, and prepared to visit Teetenana as our road to the Kiperro lay in the direction of his hippah. We arrived about eight o'clock and were welcomed by this old chief. Teetenana is the largest man I have seen in any part of New Zealand. He appeared to be about seventy years old but in full health. He had four sons, very stout men.* His hippah was full of people. We counted forty persons in one place beating fern-root for breakfast. The name of this settlement is Koopooa (Kopua).

We informed the chief and his tribe what our object was in visiting Kiperro. We wanted to examine the river, the harbour, and the entrance into the harbour, in order to ascertain whether ships might safely come to Kiperro or not. The chief was very anxious for some Europeans to live amongst them. He said it gave them peace and security. We requested him to furnish us with a canoe to go down the river. He said he would provide us with one if we would only stay with him one day. To this we consented. I told him it was my intention to return by land by way of Shokee Hangha (Hokianga) and requested he would furnish me with three servants to carry Mr. Shepherd's baggage and my own. He replied he was much afraid to do that lest we should meet any party of the enemy, for in that case his people would be cut off, and he had been informed that one party was coming along the sea coast and another down the Wyeroa. After much conversation he consented that three servants should accompany us with his son and nephew. I was very glad when this arrangement was made, for I was now persuaded I could make my way good overland to Wangarooa. He now furnished us with a couple of hogs; one we intended to take with us and the other to remain till Mr. Butler returned as he intended to go back again by sea.

We spent this day pleasantly with this venerable chief and his friends. In the evening he said he wished us to sleep near him that he might see us during the night. When the day closed we performed our usual devotions and retired to rest.

Wednesday, November 15th.—This morning we prepared at an early hour to proceed down the river. The chief's son took an affectionate leave of his friends. Many tears were shed. The old chief wept much; he was afraid his son would be killed by the enemy. He instructed him to behave well. Some of the women cut themselves very much to show their affection for Poro (Pahihora), and the old chief continued to pray and weep while we remained in sight.

After leaving the settlement, which stands on a small creek, we soon entered the main river and arrived about the middle of the day at Takowhow (Te Kawau), a village about four miles from the harbour mouth. A chief named Matouee (Matohi) lives here, whose daughter Poro was married to. I had visited Matouee when at Kiperro before, and had promised him I would come or send Mr. Puckey in about three moons to examine the harbour. Matouee was very glad to see us. Poro informed his wife where he was going. She immediately said she would

* "Teetenana is an aged man, but of an amazing size and full of flesh; his head is extraordinarily large, and his beard very thick and long, which gives him a lion-like appearance. Mr. Marsden said he would give twenty guineas for his likeness if it was possible to obtain it. One would suppose he had sprung from a race of giants." (Butler.)
accompany him, and another chief offered his services. I now felt confident that we should be able to return by land, which I was very anxious to do. It was our intention to have examined the entrance in the harbour this day, but the wind was too strong and the sea so high that no native would venture upon the water in a canoe. We were therefore obliged to remain in the village.

I observed upon the beach one large war canoe seventy-five feet long, and on enquiring where it came from was informed that it formerly belonged to Shunghee; that Shunghee had made war upon them some years back, and in order to carry it on more effectually he had taken his canoes up the river near Bream Head, and conveyed them from the head of that river over a neck of land into the Wyeroa; in the engagement with Shunghee at that time they took from him thirteen war canoes, killed three hundred of his men, amongst whom were many of his officers, and wounded Shunghee and compelled him to save his life by flight; the two principal chiefs, Koee Koee (Koikoi) and Ariwa (Rewa), who are now at war with them, both lost their fathers in the engagement with Shunghee and one of them also lost two brothers, besides many friends. They added that they were now in much alarm, as Shunghee's tribe were well armed with musket and powder, while they had none to defend themselves against their enemies. Matouee requested I would prevail upon my God to kill Koee Koee, the chief they are most afraid of.*

Thursday, November 16th.—After breakfast we proposed to examine the harbour and went down towards the Heads. The weather was fine and the water smooth when we set off, but before we reached the Heads it began to blow fresh and, the tide running out, we were afraid of being driven out to sea and therefore returned. The entrance appeared to be about two miles wide, and there are three channels where we observed no breakers and in which the natives informed us there was plenty of deep water. The sandbanks extend a considerable distance out at sea.

We went upon the highest hills in order to examine more correctly the outside of the harbour. Mr. William Puckey was of opinion that a ship might come in with safety, but this can never be fully ascertained till the entrance can be properly surveyed. Mr. Puckey observed the latitude and made the entrance in 36° 30'.†

There are three large rivers whose waters meet in this harbour—the Kiperro, which takes its rise towards the Wyeteematta, the Kottamatta (Otamatea), from near Bream Head, and the Wyeroa, which runs parallel with the sea coast for a long way and then turns into the interior of the country. In the harbour there are some extensive sandbanks,

* The defeat of Nga-Puhi by Ngati-Whatua took place in 1807 at Moremonui creek, near Maunganui Bluff. Of the 500 warriors who composed the Nga-Puhi taupou the loss has been variously estimated at from 150 to 300. Hongi Hika escaped the slaughter only by his swiftness of foot. This defeat, it is said, was the chief reason for his visit to England in 1820, since he desired to obtain firearms with which to avenge his tribesmen. Nga-Puhi in the end almost annihilated Ngati-Whatua in 1825 at Te Ika-a-ranganui.—S. Percy Smith, Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes, pp. 12-21 and 158-166.

† Mr. Puckey’s observations were remarkably accurate. The first surveys of the Pandora and the Acheron give the North Entrance Head 35° 24' 20".
formed, I apprehended, by the tide and the junction of the rivers. But there can be little doubt but there is plenty of water for any ship in all the rivers. After entering the mouth of the Kottamatta, the natives informed me, there was a fine harbour on the left hand which was behind a neck of land (Okorako) completely shut in from the sea. But this I had not time to examine.

Three canoes came over this morning from the opposite shore and informed Matouee that the enemy was on the Wyeroa, which greatly alarmed them. Poro now informed me he was afraid to go lest he and his people should fall into their hands. This information was very unpleasant to me as I had determined to go by land if possible. After much conversation on the subject it was once more finally arranged for the natives to accompany me, and they now set to work in order to prepare a new canoe for taking us across the Kiperro and up the Wyeroa to the place where they are wont to cross the land to the seaside.

It was determined that we should all set off the following morning, the Rev. Mr. Butler for the River Thames with his party, and Mr. Shepherd and I by land. We therefore made every necessary preparation before we retired to rest.

Friday, November 17th.—As soon as the day appeared we rose in order to take our departure. Mr. Butler soon embarked and proceeded up the Kiperro with a strong tide; our canoe was not completed.* About nine o'clock she was ready to launch and we got her into the water and soon afterwards embarked, but were compelled to put in again from the high sea and strong wind. We stopped a few hours till the weather moderated, and then proceeded down the river towards the mouth of the harbour. Here we met Tettoko, the head chief of the Wyeroa, with three canoes in which there were about twenty fine hogs. He had landed a number of his people on the south side of Kiperro to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy. He pressed me to accept a couple of hogs, but I was afraid, as the sea was high, they would endanger the canoe in crossing the river. He selected one very large hog and put it into the canoe. These people told us we should not be able to cross the river from the roughness of the sea. Tettoko said we should be able. We therefore took our leave and proceeded on our voyage, and in about two hours we got safely over and under the shelter of the land in the Wyeroa.

Tettoko is considered the greatest warrior in the west side of New Zealand. He had the principal command when Shunghee was defeated with the loss of so many of his tribe. Ariwa (Rewa), who commands now in Shunghee's absence, told me he would not rest till he had got the head of Tettoko, observing at the same time that his heart swelled very big when he thought of his father and two brothers who were killed in that engagement, and he felt great pain and could not rest till he had killed Tettoko. At the time I left Kiddee Kiddee for Kiperro, Ariwa

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* "Mr. Marsden and Mr. Shepherd proposed to return by land to Kidee Kiddee, and Mr. Puckey and myself to Mogoia for the boat and go by sea. This distance by way of Mogoia from the village to Kidee Kiddee is three hundred miles, while the way by which Mr. Marsden returned is only one hundred and eighty; this happens on account of the circuitous route of journey." (Butler.)
was there preparing for an expedition against these people, and intended to set off in a few days. We now heard he was upon the upper part of the River Wyeroa.

After we had crossed the mouth of the harbour we proceeded up the River Wyeroa till near dark, when we landed and remained all night on the beach.

Saturday, November 18th.—About five o'clock this morning we proceeded up the river with the tide, and arrived about nine at the place where the road turns off to the seashore. We rested as if it was the Sabbath,* and remained all the day at the landing place. The inhabitants on both sides of the river appeared to have fled, for we did not see an individual as we went up the river nor a single canoe.

Sunday, November 19th.—We rose early this morning and killed the hog Tettoko had given me before we set off on our journey. After our hog was dressed I gave a quarter of it to the men belonging to the canoe, paid them for their trouble in bringing us up the river, and sent a present to the chief Matouee. The presents they received for themselves and chief made them very happy.

We now packed up our baggage and provisions and set off for the seashore which we reached in about two hours. The road is pretty good and the distance about six miles. The morning was very fine when we reached the seaside and the water smooth. As soon as we came down to the beach we saw an hill called Manganuee (Maunganui Bluff) which is about half-way between Shokee Hangha and Kiperro; it is very high, and extends further out to sea than any other part of the coast, and may be seen at sea at the distance of thirty leagues or more. When I last saw it, it appeared to be about eight or ten leagues off at the most, and I thought we should reach it that day, or very nearly, as the land is very level, hard, and good to walk upon (Ripiro Beach). We pressed forward as fast as we could, but when evening came we appeared to have made little progress; it still seemed at a distance of seven leagues. Being very weary, having only stopped a short time to dress provisions, we rested on the beach all night.

Monday, November 20th.—As soon as the morning light appeared we began our march. The weather was very fine, and our walk pleasant along the shore. The battle between Shunghee's tribe and the people of Kiperro was fought upon the beach we walked over to-day. The chief Poro said he would not mention the spot where so many men were killed if I were afraid of the ghosts of those who were slain. I replied that I was not afraid. When we came to the place he showed us the particular spots where the great men fell in battle. He mentioned the particular deeds of valour that Tettoko had performed that day after receiving several wounds, and observed that the present war was begun in order to obtain satisfaction for the chiefs who were slain in the above action.

Passing the memorable spot, we continued our march until evening and reached within about half a mile of Manganuee when we took up our rest for the night. The coast for the last two days was quite

* Sunday fell on November 19th. Marsden apparently found it expedient to anticipate the day of rest.
THE JOURNEY TO THE HOKIANGA

straight and the sandhills very high and similar. When the wind blows hard from the southward and westward there must be a very heavy surf. For forty miles along the beach between Kiperro and Manganuee there is not a single cove or inlet during the above distance; the shores are all sand, with the exception of the timber I have mentioned at the foot of the sandhills lying in beds like coal, and the breakers extend a considerable distance in the sea.

Tuesday, November 21st.—This morning we began to ascend Manganuee; the base of the hill is solid rock, the middle appeared to be iron-stone. In some places the rock is perpendicular next the sea, and from its height makes every nerve tremble to look down. The native path is here and there near the edge. I was not able to walk in some parts, but crept along on my hands and knees. We got over in about four hours, but with great fatigue. This hill may be known at sea by a high point that stands out at the top like a horn and overhangs the sea. Its latitude, I think, will be found to be nearly 36°, but it is not possible to mistake it. It is covered with small trees, and on that account differs from the other hills upon the coast which are composed of white sand. Having crossed Manganuee, we sat down to breakfast* and then pursued our journey.

In passing along our party were much alarmed for fear of falling in with any of the enemy. On one occasion they observed two men upon a distant hill, which agitated their minds very much. The chief urged us to press forward as fast as possible, which we did. A few miles further they saw some men upon the beach, and immediately squatted down under the bushes and begged us to do the same till they reconnoitred the party. The chief threw off his mats, took his maree (mere) or stone patoo patoo, put on his war mat, and girded his loins very tight with a cord; they then all crept along the ground through the fern bushes in order to get a nearer view of them. Poro told me if they were enemies he and his party must run off into the bush and leave us to do the best we could. I requested him to run no risk on our account for I was not afraid and we could take care of ourselves. After lying some time they were not able to satisfy themselves who or what they were; they therefore determined to take a circuit behind the hill, where we could not be discerned by them, and come into the public path beyond them on the side next Shokee Hangha, where they thought they could examine them with less risk of being seen. After we had done this and reached the public road they reconnoitred them again and found that there were no enemies. They then went up to them to learn the news, and were informed that Ariwa and Koea Koea were on the Wyeroa with three hundred men. Their minds were now once more at ease and we pushed on as fast as we could, and in the evening got about five miles off the Heads of Shokee Hangha, where we took up our night's lodgings with a chief belonging to Terranakka (Taranaki) who had gone to pay a visit to Mowenna (Mauwhena). The chief was very much

* At Waikara.
tattooed, and had a very thick head of hair—not curly, but long. Terranakka is a settlement on the west side of the islands, a long distance from Shokee Hangha.

Wednesday, November 22nd.—We rose early this morning to make for Shokee Hangha where we shortly arrived. When I last visited Shokee Hangha, the head chief's son, his brother's son, and some other men of consequence were gone to the southward upon a war expedition,* along with another chief named Patuonee (Patuone), who was the head of the expedition. They had now returned, and informed me that they had crossed Cook Straits and landed on the Middle Island.† In this expedition Mowenna and his brother had both their sons killed.

On my arrival I was first conducted to two of the chief women, who were in deep distress. One was Mowenna's daughter, whose husband had been killed and eaten at Terranakka in an engagement with the people of that settlement, and the other was her late husband's sister.‡ They were under a shed together making loud lamentations and weeping bitterly. One had a mourning cap on, made of red bunting, fringed round the edges with white dog's hair about three inches long which hung over her face and concealed it in a great measure from view. The cap was also bound round with a ribbon made of India print. Her sister-in-law was dressed in a similar manner; only her cap was made of Otaheitan cloth. They appeared objects of the greatest distress, and recalled to my recollection St. Paul's observation, "They sorrowed as men without hope." They made signs to me to sit down by them, which I did. As soon as they were able to speak they told me the melancholy cause of their grief. The daughter of Mowenna said she would die with sorrow. Her husband had two or three children by her, and one fine girl about fourteen years of age who was greatly affected, apparently, with several ulcers in her joints. I had no doubt but this disease had been communicated to her by some Europeans since the vessels had been at New Zealand. Her distressed mother looked upon her daughter, showed me the state she was in, and asked if my God

* About 8th or 10th March, 1820.
† Marsden must have misunderstood his informant: the expedition did not cross to the South Island, an attempt to do so ending in disaster.—Cf. S. Percy Smith, *History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast*, p. 305.
‡ An important statement, since it gives the only existing exact record of the date of the return from the south of the great expedition of the people of Hokianga and the Roroa, kapu of Ngati-Whatau living along the coast south of Hokianga. The war party, led by Tuwhare and Patuone, left Hokianga about November, 1819. Unit ing at Kawhia with the warriors of Ngati-toa under Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata the warriors descended upon Taranaki, Wanganui, Port Nicholson, and Wairarapa, returning by the same route and reaching Hokianga about October, 1820. Tuwhare, the Roroa leader, was killed by the Wanganui people in the course of the expedition. Te Rauparaha, the Ngati-Toa chief, observing while in the south that flax-trading vessels were beginning to frequent Kapiti Island and the mainland in its vicinity and that it was possible to obtain muskets from them, decided to migrate southward with his people, and, in the summer of 1821, began his career of conquest.—*Polynesian Journal*, Vol. VIII, p. 216; S. Percy Smith, *Wars of Northern Against Southern New Zealand Tribes*, pp. 40-54, 62-3; Lindsay Buick, *Te Rauparaha*. 
had not thus afflicted her daughter; for she could not account for her miserable state. On this occasion I felt much pain in beholding the sad effects of sin, and that men born in a Christian country, instead of mitigating, should increase the miseries of the poor innocent heathen. I am fully convinced if the Gospel is introduced into New Zealand, which is the only remedy for the evils that sin hath introduced amongst men into the world, the prevailing vices of the civilized world will find their way at the same time and greatly add to the calamities which the heathens labour under. This is a painful reflection. What an awful scene will be opened when God shall bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and render to every man according to his works! Yet that day will surely come.

The scene before me called forth many reflections. On enquiry after Mowenna I was informed he would be with me in a short time. When he arrived he was much gratified with my visit to him again. His two brothers soon came also, fully dressed. They seemed also much interested in the war commenced against Kiperro, and gave the people who had come with me all the information they could. I met with a young chief, a relative of Shunghee's, who had lately married Mowenna's daughter, and who told me it would not be safe for the people who had come with me to proceed to Kiddee Kiddee as they might fall in with some of the party who were engaged in the war and be cut off. They also informed me that they were afraid to venture to Kiddee Kiddee, but they would go to Wangarooa, where they would be safe if I would go with them and take them with me in the Dromedary when she went round to the Bay of Islands, as by that means they would return on the east side home and escape the enemy. I found myself bound to protect them and therefore relieved their minds by promising them I would accompany them to Wangarooa and take them with me in the Dromedary.

While we were still conversing on this subject, a person on the look-out at the top of the hippah called out that there was a large strange canoe full of people. Mowenna had his shell* hung upon his arm, which he immediately sounded, when his people flew to arms in all directions, and those who came with me girded up their loins and prepared for war or flight as circumstances might dictate. All remained in this agitation for some time till the canoe approached near enough to ascertain who were in it and from whence it came. When they landed they were found to be friends who had come two days' journey to mourn with and comfort those who had lost their friends in the late expedition to the southward. The women now put on their mourning dress and

* The Maori made use of two rude forms of trumpet, one (pu tatara) made by attaching a mouthpiece to a Triton shell, found occasionally in the northern parts of the North Island; the other (pu kaea) a long wooden trumpet made in two pieces, neatly bound with the pliable stems of a climbing plant. These trumpets gave an untuneful hooting sound. They were used for signalling.—Elsdon Best, The Maori As He Was, p. 149.
sat down on the place where I was conducted to them on my arrival. Their friends who had come to visit them assembled round and began their lamentations and tears. They all cried aloud the greatest part of the afternoon, and seemed to be equally distressed with the real mourners.

These circumstances brought to mind the death of Lazarus and the mourning of Mary and Martha with the Jews who came from Jerusalem to comfort them concerning their brother. The custom seems to be very similar.

After this bustle was a little over I informed Mowenna I wanted a canoe to take me and the people with me up the river about forty miles. He told me I should have one in the morning. I spent the remaining evening very pleasantly with these kind and affectionate people, and hung my hammock in the hut which he had lent me for our accommodation when I first visited this settlement and when he and his brother remained with me all night.

Thursday, November 23rd.—This morning I prepared very early to take my departure. Mowenna ordered the canoe to be got ready, and he accompanied us up the river to see me safe landed where I wished in order to make my way to Wangarooa. He called at one of his farms to get some potatoes and fresh fish for us, and we proceeded up the river. When we had got about twenty miles we landed at Moodeey’s (Muriwai) settlement to wait for the return of the tide; Moodeey was at home.

As soon as he learned I was in the canoe he fired eight musket shots as a salute and invited us on shore. I landed and was received with much affection by Moodeey. There were several chiefs with him whom I had not seen. He told me he had never gone to war since I advised him against it, nor did he ever intend to go again. They pressed me to send some Europeans to live at Shokee Hangha. Mowenna was afraid he should die before that day came.

When the tide turned I requested to depart. Moodeey urged me to stay till the following day, but I told him I was afraid the ship would leave Wangarooa before I arrived, which would distress me very much. I used many arguments before they would consent for me to leave them. At length we embarked and proceeded up the river, and about twelve o’clock arrived at the place where I wished to land, when I took my final leave of Mowenna after recompensing him for his trouble. He returned with the tide down the river. We were now left in the forests of New Zealand without a guide, as none of us knew the way. When we landed we took up our lodgings for the remaining part of the night on the beach.

Friday, November 24th.—When the day returned we went into the wood to see if we could fall in with the path which leads to Kiddee Kiddee, and soon found it. After walking for some hours in the wood and crossing the river several times, we met with the wife of
Patuonee (Patuone) whom I had formerly seen on the banks of the river. She was much rejoiced to see me. I enquired where her husband was, in order to procure a guide to Wangarooa. She directed us to follow her and she would bring us to him. After walking about an hour we came to a farm where he was collecting fern-root in the midst of his people. He was much rejoiced to see me, and ordered me an hog, which was immediately killed, and a quantity of potatoes. He informed me he had been on the Middle Island across Cook's Strait, that on his way his party were attacked at Terranakkee and some of them killed, amongst whom was Mowenna's son and two more chiefs belonging to him. He said that he had retaliated upon the enemy, killed some and taken many prisoners, amongst whom were a number of children; at length he had made peace with them and returned their children when redeemed by instruments of war made of the green talc, and some mats. He had left ten of his own men there, who had got married, and had brought a number away with him, some of whom were then present. He and the people of Terranakkee were now completely reconciled and united in friendship. He presented me with a mat and wished me to stop all night with him, but I informed him that I had not time. After taking some refreshment I requested he would give me a guide to direct us through the woods, when he sent his son.

About three o'clock in the evening we came within ten miles of Kiddee Kiddee. Mr. Shepherd and I now parted. He proceeded to the missionary settlement and I struck off for Wangarooa. We walked as fast as we were able till dark, when we rested. The natives were now greatly alarmed lest they should meet any of Shunghee's people as we had to cross Shunghee's district. However, we were fortunate enough to see none of them.

Saturday, November 25th.—We began our journey early this morning in hopes of reaching the Dromedary before night. Our road lay in the thick woods nearly the whole way. We had to pass through deep ravines and over very high hills, which made the journey extremely fatiguing. The small river (Kaeo) which falls into Wangarooa Harbour runs through the ravines at the foot of the hills. We crossed it several times that day. About two o'clock we had the happiness to arrive at the village of Wangarooa. Here all my native companions rested; they were completely tired. Only one accompanied me to the Dromedary which we reached in the evening.

I had been absent from the ship five weeks and one day, during which period I travelled by land and water, about six hundred miles by estimation, and in some of the worst roads than can be conceived. This must naturally be expected, as the country in this respect is in its aboriginal state—no swamps drained, no bridges over rivers or creeks, no rubbish cleared from the paths. A New Zealander finds no difficulty

* If this information is correct, we have no other record of the crossing.
in crossing the deep marshes, swamps, or deep rivers. Through the one he wades, and through the other swims at his ease.

I have the honour to be,

Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

SAMUEL MARSDEN.

Rev. J. PRATT,
Secretary to the Church Missionary Society.

[The Dromedary reached the Bay of Islands from Whangaroa on December 1st, and left there on the 5th for Port Jackson, arriving there on the 21st.—(Vide Cruise's Journal.)]
Revd. and Dear Sir,

I must now write to you about the Active. As the Revd. J. Butler has come out Superintendent of the missionary settlement, I wish now to be relieved from all responsibility relative to the Active from the 1st of August, 1819, the period she returned from New Zealand. I have to request the Society to take the vessel into their own hands from the above period with all the profits and losses. I have had her valued. The report of her survey and valuation I have forwarded to you for the information of the Society. I have judged it best with the advice of Mr. Robert Campbell, a merchant of great integrity and experience, to fit the Active out as a whaler. She can attend to all the concerns of the settlement, and still procure oil for the benefit of the Society towards lessening her expenses. Her outfit for the fishery has been very heavy, but I hope in a few months she will make some suitable return. There is nothing at New Zealand that will pay her expenses. The duty upon the timber and the port expenses of various kinds are so ruinous that she ought not to come into this harbour more than once in a year if it can be avoided. Whether the Committee will approve of the measures I have adopted or not I cannot say. Mr. Butler is now in New Zealand, and can forward the interest of the vessel. Hitherto this has not been the case; though the settlers were deriving every comfort from the vessel, yet they were totally unconcerned in general about her interest. Perhaps the Society may feel some hesitation in purchasing the vessel from the amount of the expenses. If this should be the case, I must dispose of her when I hear from you.*

I think there cannot be a doubt remaining now upon any man's mind respecting the practicability of establishing a Mission at New Zealand, after more than five years' experience. Had any circumstances occurred to prevent the success of the Mission, it was my intention to have sold the Active and not to have called upon the Society for any part of her original purchase money, but as there is now every reason to believe that success will attend the Society's labours in these islands, I am anxious to be relieved from such a great charge.

I had got all the supplies on board of her for the settlement and also a number of the natives who were returning home when the Dromedary arrived, but as the Dromedary is going to the Bay of Islands I have taken out all the supplies, and the

* Marsden was ultimately compelled to sell the Active for some £400. On June 30th, 1825, he wrote to the Rev. J. Pratt: "I have sold the Active for two thousand dollars to be paid on or before the 31st of December, 1825. I had advertised her at different times before but could not get her value from the great changes that were made after the arrival of Sir Thomas Brisbane."
natives also, and put them on board the King's ship; at least the natives will accompany me. The Active will now have nothing to do for nine months but to look after a cargo, which will be immediately sent to England, or the amount of it to you. Should a regular communication be opened between Port Jackson and New Zealand, in time the Society may perhaps do without a vessel.

Much has been done already towards the civilization of the natives in those parts of New Zealand with which we had had any communication, and nothing has tended more to this object than the chiefs and their sons visiting New South Wales. It is very pleasing to see the sons of the rival chiefs living with me and forming such mutual attachments. I have some very fine youths with me now who are acquiring the English language very fast. I brought Mr. Butler's son back again with me to take the charge of these boys and to devote his time to their instruction. By the sons of chiefs living together in civil life, and all paid equal attention to, they will form attachments that will destroy that jealousy which has kept their tribes in continual war.

A very nice young man whom I have long wished to employ in the Mission, truly pious and his heart engaged in the work, is going over with me. His name is James Shepherd, a native of the Colony. His father is a very pious man. I sent him once to visit New Zealand to see the natives, and he has been very desirous of devoting himself to the work of the Mission. He understands gardening, grafting trees, etc. A man of this kind will be of infinite service.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

SAMUEL MARSDEN.

REVD. J. PRATT.

THE ADVANTAGES OF A NEW ZEALAND SETTLEMENT

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to the Secretary]

PARRAMATTA, February 7th, 1820.

REVD. AND DEAR SIR,

I herewith forward you my journal* for the information of the Society. I have not had time since my return to examine it or make any corrections. You will make allowances for any errors or want of method, as I wrote my observations where I happened to be at the moment, often surrounded with natives, in the midst of noise and confusion, when I was with them in the different districts. They let me have little rest either night or day, as they would be continually talking upon various subjects. I hope the Christian world will now be convinced from positive facts that the New Zealanders are prepared for the Gospel and ready for any instruction they can get.

I am now preparing to visit the settlers again in His Majesty's ship the Dromedary agreeable to your wishes. The Honourable Commissioner of Enquiry (Commissioner Bigge) wished me to go, as well as the Captain of the Dromedary. I have put the Commissioner in full possession of all the affairs of the Mission. He has seen the New Zealanders who are with me and is much pleased with them, twenty-five in number. Some of them will accompany me in the Dromedary.

* The second New Zealand journal.
I hope a good understanding will now be established between the chiefs and the British Government. If the spars are found to answer, New Zealand will be of great national importance, and there can be little doubt of this. The nation may derive all the advantages they may wish for from New Zealand without the expenses of forming a colony, and what Government will do will relieve the Society of part of the expenses and at the same time forward your views. Duaterra (Ruatara) had often informed me of a fine river which ran into the sea on the west side of the island. I had not time to visit it when I was first at New Zealand, but went to see it at the last time. I have sent you a chart of the river, which I have named Gambier.*

Should there be no more difficulties in entering the harbour than we were able to discover, this river will form a very fine settlement for the Mission. The King's ships will no doubt come here for timber, as the banks of the river are in many parts covered with the lofty pine. But this I am not certain of yet. It is my intention to visit it again with an officer of experience in the Dromedary in order to settle this important point. What spars the Active has brought formerly are much approved of and the gentleman whom Government has sent out to examine the timber gives it as his opinion that none can be better. Should Government succeed in their views, New Zealand will soon become a very great country.

The Society will be aware what difficulties have opposed their labours, and will learn the real state of this Colony from the examination before the Committee of the House of Commons and from the reports of the Commissioner of Enquiry. Should you see a document published in the Sydney Gazette relative to the human heads brought from New Zealand, you will not, I trust, give credit to such a statement. It appeared about six weeks ago. It came from the old quarter. I have the fullest conviction when the Honourable Commissioner returns, the Society will have the satisfaction to know that their labours have not been in vain, and that they may hope for every countenance from the British nation in the great work they are engaged in.

Mr. Bigge is a man of great judgment and honour, and will clearly see into the spirit of the times. From the moment I learned that the affairs of the Colony were to come under the consideration of a committee of the House of Commons my mind was relieved. I was comforted with the prospect that some relief would be provided for the public evils of which I had so long complained and the private wrongs I had suffered. I am very thankful to my friends for their kind support. The lies and falsehoods of every kind which were spread would never have obtained a computation without a public enquiry. The truth will now rise from under the rubbish under which it has long been buried.

When the Dromedary returns you will have then a full account of what may be looked forward to. I have had no communication with Governor Macquarie excepting by letter since my return. We have never spoken upon any subject. He will struggle hard, but the day of retribution will come. His superiors may aid him, but he cannot justify his measures. It is impossible. I have stood my ground hitherto but with the greatest difficulty, and now I hope to stand. I shall not return at present to Europe as the Commissioner is come out, and my business may be settled without that. I could not have remained had there been no check put upon the enemy

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours affectionately,

SAMUEL MARSDEN.

* The Hokianga.—Vide p. 361.
RANGHEEHOO (RANGIHOUA),
September 22nd, 1820.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

I have now been some months at this island and have travelled through many parts of it. Through every district I passed I met with the kindest attention from the natives. I had no European with me during the journey. As it is my intention to transmit to you my observations on the country and natives I visited during three months' absence from the Bay of Islands as soon as I return to Port Jackson, I shall not trouble you with them at the present, but only beg to add that I see no difficulty in any part of New Zealand to prevent the success of the Mission; but there is one great difficulty in another quarter, and that is in finding proper persons to carry the wishes of the Society into effect. Few men have had more practical knowledge of missionaries than I have had, and I can say with great truth that I have met with few who have inclined their hearts to the work who have been at all willing to put up with any self-denial. My soul has often mourned in secret for evils that I could not remedy. Some are stubborn and ungovernable, others are idle, proud, and conceited, others are so full of deception that it requires a long time to find out their characters, others have no relish for the work, no love to the poor heathens, no desire to do them any good. If the heart is not deeply engaged in the work, if the fear of the God of Jacob is not the ruling principle, no outward professions, no solemn vows, no sacred promises will induce a missionary to do his duty. Should Mr. Kendall be in England when you receive this, request him from me to state the whole of his transactions and those of his colleagues in New Zealand to you, keeping nothing back. It will come better from him than from me or any other person. I am willing to give him the utmost credit for all the good he has done, and always have been, but I cannot pass over in silence his improper conduct. This would be highly criminal in me as an agent in such a cause. I had little opportunity previous to his sailing to know the real state of things, but I learned enough to express my disapprobation of his conduct in many instances which I did not fail to tell him.

All the difficulties in New Zealand that I have met with have been in governing the Europeans. They will not do what is right. They will not live in unity and brotherly love. The love of money, the thirst for pre-eminence, the want of industry, and zeal for the good of the heathens, have greatly mitigated against the success of the Mission. I had used every persuasion and every means in my power to put a stop to the abominable traffic in muskets and powder. I had obtained their solemn pledges, signed with their own signatures, that they would put away this accursed thing. I relied upon their promises. Before I left New Zealand I found these promises broken. The promises were renewed, but on my return in February I then found myself deceived again and that no confidence was to be placed in them. I merely hint at these things now as I may have occasion to notice them again at a future time.

When I return to Port Jackson I will write more fully. Suffice it to say that there is every encouragement to go on in the Mission. I was on my passage to New South Wales in a small schooner this week—was five days at sea, but compelled to bear up again for the Bay of Islands where I anchored last night after suffering very
severely from seasickness and want of air.* I shall not venture again but wait till the *Dromedary* returns to Port Jackson. When the King's ships arrive, the *Coromandel* and *Dromedary*, you will be able from the officers to form a more correct idea of New Zealand. No difference has happened yet between the ships' companies and the natives, and I hope none will. There would have been difficulties in the way of the ships getting their cargo if the Mission had not paved the way for them. I think these ships will lay the foundation of a permanent intercourse between the British Government and these islands. Both commanders will recommend a small settlement to be formed, as the spars are found to be of the best quality, equal in length and dimensions to all naval purposes for masts for a first-rate ship of war downwards. I should think they are not to be excelled in any part of the world. If a settlement is formed this will relieve the Society greatly in the expenses.

At the River Thames the chiefs on both the west and east sides requested that they might have some protection afforded them from the British Government. Wherever I have been the chiefs and people are sensible of the advantages of some regular government, and most of them wish to lay aside their war pursuits and turn their attention to agriculture, but allege they are compelled to fight for self protection, as they have no government and nothing but their spear to depend upon. Many of the chiefs are very sensible men and well disposed, and would labour if they could only reap the fruits of their industry, but till there is some regular government, however small, the powerful tribes will murder and oppress the weak. When I return to Port Jackson I intend to impress upon the mind of the Honourable Commissioner the necessity for Government to interfere to prevent the whalers from importing into the Bay of Islands such large quantities of muskets and gunpowder, which proves very destructive to the population, and has a natural tendency to feed their native warlike spirits and keep up the flame of war. All the missionaries are well, and time will cure the evils I have hinted at. Similar ones existed in the Society Islands. The London Missionary Society has had many who have behaved ill. When the Israelites came to the borders of the Promised Land, Moses commanded that twelve princes, one from every tribe, should be sent to examine the good land. When they had performed this duty they returned and made their report to Moses. Ten of the twelve gave a false account of the land of Canaan. There were only two who proved themselves honest men, and these the congregation were ready to stone. If the Society get two good missionaries in every twelve they must be satisfied. The two will succeed if no more can be found. I have written these few lines in haste, as the schooner will sail the first favourable moment, and this may come to hand some months before any others. With my respectful compliments to the Committee,

I have the honour to be,

Dear and Revd. Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

SAMUEL MARSDEN.

REVD. J. PRATT.

* Vide supra, pp. 307-8.*
Dear Sir,

As a vessel sails this morning for Port Jackson I embrace the opportunity to write you a line. I am still in the Bay of Islands.

A few days after you sailed* I walked to the Gambier (Hokianga) on the western side and spent more than a week with the hospitable chiefs on its banks who were overjoyed to see me. I have felt great pleasure in their company. The morning I returned, when I reached the long wood, it began to rain very heavy. I remained in the wood all night though very wet. The next morning I set off for Kiddee Kiddee (Kerikeri). The rain had fallen in torrents all night and still continued. The swamps and creeks were all full and the streams very rapid and deep. I had to wade through them all, as the natives could not attempt to carry me, the waters were too strong. As I cannot swim, I was obliged to have two with me that could, to assist me in deep places. In the evening I reached the settlement, wet and weary. Most of the natives did not get in till the next evening; only two accompanying me. The rest remained in the wood all day. I have since been round by sea to the Gambier in the Dromedary but the captain was afraid there was not sufficient depth of water for so large a ship, being only nineteen feet upon the bar at low water, and therefore returned.

I have visited Whangaroa as well as all the districts around the Bay of Islands and was very kindly received. They all want missionaries. I expect we shall visit the River Thames.

I shall now say a little on the state of the Mission. You know in what great confusion I found the Europeans when I arrived. I had no time previous to your sailing to make any enquiry or I should have made a representation by you to the Committee. I found you had all fallen into that accursed traffic with muskets and powder again, notwithstanding all the resolutions that had been passed against it when I was with you in August last. . . . When I considered that the missionaries were furnishing the instruments of death to these poor savages by supplying them with muskets and powder, I could not but feel the greatest indignation at such a thought. No arguments which you or any other can use will ever convince me but that this is a great sin in the sight of God, and sordid to the Christian mind. I regretted that I had supplied Mr. Butler and his colleagues with a pound of powder. I did it for their preservation in case any unforeseen tumult should happen in New Zealand. I shall leave the Mission in future under the Divine protection. They shall not depend upon an arm of flesh.

As soon as I could I called a committee, stated again what I had often stated before, my sentiments upon this nefarious barter, and told the whole that I would have no more to do with their settlement or any of them if they would not put away

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* Kendall, with Hongi Hika and Waikato, left the Bay of Islands for London in the New Zealander on March 2nd, 1820, arriving in the Thames, after a lingering passage round Cape Horn on August 8th. Kendall left his station without permission, leaving his wife and eight children to be cared for by his colleagues.—The Church Missionary Register, 1820, pp. 326-7; Marsden Correspondence, Marsden to the Secretary, April 24th, 1820.
this accursed thing, I would give up the cause altogether for the present, as far as I was personally concerned, and have no more connection with them, and this I am fully resolved to do. The argument generally urged has been that neither timber nor pork could be bought from the natives without muskets and powder. This I do not credit, and I hope I shall stay long enough to prove that this opinion is not correct. The Rev. J. Butler and all the settlers have once more promised to have nothing to do with this traffic in future. I have explained to all the neighbouring chiefs that the settlers must not barter with them on any account with muskets and powder, and if they will not supply them with what they want they must return to Port Jackson. None of them will hear of the settlers leaving them. I think it much more to the honour of religion and the good of the New Zealanders to give up the Mission at the present time than to trade with the natives in those articles. . . .

This barter has been the cause of all the evils that have existed amongst you. It destroyed all Christian love, it excited avarice and jealousies, and murmurs and suspicions, and neglect of all your proper duties, and turned you aside from the right way, laid you open to the attacks of your enemies, covered your warmest friends with shame, and caused them to weep in secret. I am sure God will not bless any of you in your own souls while you are guilty of such things, but will in His righteous displeasure bring trouble and anguish upon you. No plea can justify such a crime in the sight of God. I pray that all concerned may be convinced of the evil of this barter. I have no doubt but God will bless these poor heathen and that nothing shall prevent His gracious designs from being accomplished. It is impossible but that offences will come, but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh.

I must now conclude. Your family are all well and all your colleagues. I wish you may return full of a real missionary spirit when you come,

And remain,

Yours sincerely,

SAMUEL MARSDEN.

MR. T. KENDALL.

P.S. (to the Secretary).—I have sent Mr. Kendall's letter open for your inspection and will thank you to hand it to him when you have read it.

OBSERVATIONS BY THE REVD. SAMUEL MARSDEN ON THE AUTHORITY WHICH THE CHIEFS POSSESS IN NEW ZEALAND*

There are chiefs who hold large tracts of land in New Zealand as their hereditary right, yet their authority over the persons and property of those who live within their jurisdiction is very circumscribed and confined to their own family, domestics, and slaves, over whom they have the most absolute power. Upon their lands a number of inferior chiefs generally reside by permission, who may be allied in some way or other to the principal chief by family connexions, intermarriages, or friendship. Each of these chiefs carries on his own cultivation, and has his own domestics and slaves over whom the principal chief has no authority whatever. Besides these there

* Undated, but evidently written after 1820.
are free persons who are poor, and who possess neither land nor slaves, and whose families have probably been reduced by war or other calamities. Over these also the chief has no authority whatever. They go where they please, and live as they please without interruption from anyone. As the chief is generally a military character, those who live within his jurisdiction look up to him in times of common danger for protection, and range themselves under his banner from motives of personal safety. He also on his part conciliates their esteem, and ensures their obedience more by courtesy and kindness than by command, knowing that he has no authority to command them. Many of the inferior chiefs with their domestics and slaves, as well as the poor freemen, will readily join the principal chief in his wars, in order to indulge their natural disposition for fighting and in hope of sharing the spoils of war. Were the principal chief to call upon any class of free people within his jurisdiction to labour, they would pay little attention to his commands. He has no authority over them in this respect, nor any means to enforce their obedience. The principal chiefs as well as the inferior ones are all extremely jealous of the authority they possess, though individually it is very small.

The most of the chiefs with whom I have conversed upon the moral and political state of their country are convinced they want a government. But there is no one chief possessed of sufficient information, power, and influence to enable him to establish himself as a king over the rest, and the chiefs are too proud and jealous to invest their authority in the hands of any individual of their own country. The chiefs at the River Thames requested that some European soldiers might be sent to them to assist them to protect themselves from the more powerful tribes at the Bay of Islands who have greatly the advantage over them from their fine army.

It is necessity, not choice, that induces them to solicit this assistance, and perhaps this necessity may open the way and lay the foundation for the establishment of a regular government in time. Though the chiefs know they want a government, and are sensible that their country would be greatly benefited from what they have seen, heard, and learned from their intercourse with the Europeans, yet they never can accomplish such an important object without the assistance of some civilized nation. If they lived under the authority of one chief, he might form some regular government, but under their feudal system this can never be done. Though one tribe or whole district would willingly receive foreign assistance to protect them from their more powerful enemies, yet I think it very probable that the body of the chiefs would hesitate before they placed their country under the power and government of a foreign nation. They will never wish to be commanded if they can possibly avoid this. Temmaranga (Te Morenga) is a man of very sound sense and very deep reflection. He laments the state of his country much more than any chief I have ever seen, and is better acquainted with its miseries. He is a chief of great consequence; has been a great warrior, but is now anxious to put a stop to their destructive wars. He has often told me that there is nothing but the high hand of authority that can restrain some of the chiefs from spoil and murder, and has observed if he was king and had the power he would take their heads off immediately if they would not be quiet, and seemed to think that nothing short of that would put a stop to their cruelties. He is very anxious that Captain Downie’s* recommendation to the British Government to send a man-of-war to New Zealand should be attended to, as he hopes his country will derive many benefits from such a measure, and particularly that a man-of-war will prevent those tribes who are possessed of firearms from ranging the sea-coast and murdering the tribes who are not able to resist them.

* Of H.M.S. Coromandel.
I am strongly inclined to think that those chiefs at the River Thames, at Wyekotta (Waikato), and further to the southward, who have no means to procure arms and ammunition, will be driven from mere necessity to place themselves under the protection of some civil government, should they have it in their power to do this. Should such an event ever take place, and security given to persons and property, New Zealand will then be a civilized nation in a short time, and agriculture and the simple arts will flourish. Its climate and other local advantages are so favourable for the productions of all the comforts of civil life that it will rise in importance and its inhabitants will abound with plenty.

SAMUEL MARSDEN.

HONGI AND THE NEW ZEALAND MISSION

[The Revd. Samuel Marsden to "Mr. Shunghee, Kiddee Kiddee," 1823]

PYHEA (PAIHIA), November 11th, 1823.

DEAR SHUNGHEE (HONGI),

I was sorry on my return to Kiddee Kiddee (Kerikeri) to find you were gone to Shukeehanga (Hokianga), as I wished to have seen you before I sailed. However, I have given directions for your house to be built immediately. Some person had told you that I intended to remove the stores to Pyhe (Paihia). This information is not correct. Kiddee Kiddee was the first place I wished the missionaries to settle in when I came to New Zealand with you in the Active. I never liked Rangheehoo (Rangihoua) because the land was very bad. You were amongst the first of my New Zealand friends, and I hope my friendship for you will continue until one or both of us die.

I intend as soon as I can to send you a good man as a fanner and to give you a plough and a team of bullocks to work your land. I never want to forsake Kiddee Kiddee but to do all I can for your good. You will tell Mr. Kemp to write to me for you and to let me know what you want. I will not promise to send you all you may wish for, because it may not be in my power. I intend to send Mr. Clarke from Port Jackson. I took Mr. Butler away because he was often very angry with the New Zealanders. I was angry also because he had not built your house and a school for the children.

You have always been kind to the missionaries, and I am sure you will continue to be so. I wish you would give over fighting as soon as you can and turn your attention to agriculture. Then you will become a very great man and will be able to feed and clothe many people. You shall have wheat for seed and tools to cultivate your land at Wymattee (Waimate) when you begin. If a ship comes next year in proper time I will send you some wheat for seed. I wish to make Kiddee Kiddee and Wymattee like England. You will always tell Mr. Kemp what you want. Mr. Shepherd will often go to pray with the people at Wymattee and to instruct them in all he knows.

I remain,

DEAR SHUNGHEE,

Your sincere friend,

SAMUEL MARSDEN.

PS.—Give Mr. Shunghee a suit of clothes.
Two pages of Samuel Marsden's letter of November 11th, 1823, to Hongi Hika
Parramatta, July 26th, 1824.

Dear Shunghee,

I promised to send a gentleman who would be able to make a farm at Wymattee (Waimate), and now he is coming to see you. I wish him to make a farm for you as soon as he can, and teach your people to grow wheat. When you have learned to plough, or your people, I have desired that you may have a team of bullocks to work your ground. I intend to send a mill to grind your wheat, and all the wheat that is grown in New Zealand, and I hope you will make a good road to Wymattee that the wheat may be brought to Kiddee Kiddee (Kerikeri). You will soon be a very great man if you only cultivate the land. You will then be able to purchase anything you and your people may want. I hope you will be good to Mr. Davis and take care of him and Mrs. Davis and their children. When Mr. Davis has taught your people to plough I wish him to appropriate his time in teaching others. You promised to come to see me, but you have not done so yet. I hope you soon will have an opportunity.

I am,

Your sincere friend,

Samuel Marsden.

Mr. Shunghee,

Chief,

Kiddee Kiddee.

* This and the previous letter are in the possession of Mrs. William Temple Williams, Te Aute, Hawke’s Bay, the fourth daughter of a well-known early New Zealand Missionary, William Gilbert Puckey (vide infra, p. 523) and the widow of the eldest son of Archdeacon Samuel Williams and grandson of Archdeacon Henry Williams. William Gilbert Puckey married Matilda Davis, daughter of the Rev. Richard Davis, at Paihia, on October 11th, 1831, this being the first marriage of Europeans in New Zealand.